

L.I. BREZHNEV

**FOLLOWING
LENIN'S
COURSE**



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

L. I. BREZHNEV

**FOLLOWING
LENIN'S
COURSE**

Speeches and Articles



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

Moscow · 1972

Translated from the Russian
Designed by Y. Davydov

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ЛЕНИНСКИМ КУРСОМ

На английском языке

First printing 1972

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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FIFTY YEARS OF GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM

*Report and Concluding Speech
Delivered at the Joint Jubilee Meeting
of the Central Committee of the CPSU,
the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR
in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses
November 3-4, 1967*

Comrade members of the Central Committee,
Comrade deputies,
Our esteemed foreign guests,
Dear friends,

An epoch-making event took place fifty years ago, when the workers and peasants of Russia, led by the Communist Party, took state power into their own hands.

Lenin's words: "The workers' and peasants' revolution, the necessity for which the Bolsheviks had spoken all the time, has been accomplished," resounded throughout Russia and the whole world. (*Applause.*)

The assault on the Winter Palace was still in progress when the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opened at the Smolny Palace. This Congress formed the Soviet Government with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder of our Party and leader of the Revolution, at its head. (*Applause.*) This marked the birth of the world's first state of workers and peasants, and the Great October Revolution began its invincible march across the boundless expanses of Russia.

November 7 ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, beginning a new, socialist chronicle. On that day the cornerstone was laid in the foundation of the new, socialist society.

The victory of the October Revolution opened the door to the realisation of the ideals of socialism. Within a short span of time our country surmounted its age-old backwardness and became a powerful, highly developed state.

Led by the Communist Party the working people of our country were the first to build socialism and the first to begin the building of communism.

The October Socialist Revolution gave a mighty impetus to worldwide social development and accelerated the revolutionary and liberation struggle. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, under whose banner the October Revolution triumphed, have today captured the minds and hearts of millions of people and become a great constructive force.

The historical result of the past half century is that the world balance of forces has changed radically in favour of the working class, in favour of all the forces of progress, democracy and socialism.

On the occasion of this memorable anniversary the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics warmly congratulate our dear compatriots—workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, men of the Soviet Army and Navy, all Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Throughout the world millions of working people are commemorating this jubilee of the October Revolution as their own. On this anniversary the Party of Lenin and the whole Soviet people send cordial revolutionary greetings to their foreign friends, comrades and brothers. (*Applause.*)

Centuries will go by, mankind will achieve heights surpassing even the most daring fantasy of our contemporaries and many events will be forgotten. But November 7, 1917, the day when the first victorious socialist revolution was accomplished, will always be kept alive in the memory of generations to come. (*Applause.*)

The cause of the Great October Revolution will live through the ages! (*Applause.*)

1. THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION— TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Comrades, in the history of mankind there have been many revolutions that swayed the destiny of peoples and social development. Among them the October Revolution occupies a special place because of its nature and historical consequences. It put an end to exploitation of man by man and

started the reorganisation of society in the interests of the working people themselves. It ushered in the era of the liberation of the working class and all working people from the calamities, sufferings and humiliations stemming from the millennia-long rule of oppressors.

Past developments evoke different feelings. However important and instructive, some are seen only as pages of history. Others, even after decades, remain part, as it were, of our present, kindling the interest of historians and of all the people active in the political struggle of our days. The October Revolution was precisely such an event.

During the 50 years that have passed since the October Revolution the world revolutionary movement has accumulated extensive and many-sided experience, which has broadened out the notions of the ways and means of revolutionary struggle and shown how important it is to take into account the entire range of conditions under which revolutions of the working class mature and are accomplished. At the same time, in the light of this experience the significance of the general laws of the socialist revolution looms larger than ever before. Owing to the fact that the October Revolution brought these laws to light with such fullness and clarity the powerful impact that it made on the world revolutionary process has not relaxed over the past half century.

The road that brought Russia to socialism is the highroad of world history and of the whole of human civilisation. Despite the purely Russian conditions under which it was accomplished the October Revolution mirrored the basic, principal trends of a whole epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, a transition that was prepared by the entire course of world socio-economic development.

The replacement of capitalism by socialism became necessary and inevitable when private ownership of the means of production became an obstacle to the development of the productive forces. Capitalism created its own grave-digger—the working class. The long and persevering struggle waged by the international proletariat gave birth to battle experience which became labour's formidable weapon in the class clashes with capitalism.

The development of advanced social thinking prepared the ground for the Great October Socialist Revolution. This development reached its peak in Marxism. By their truly creative feat which turned socialism from a utopia into a

science, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the great thinkers and revolutionaries, showed all oppressed and downtrodden people the road to freedom and happiness.

The socialist revolution matured in the bosom of the old world. And it broke out in its weakest link—in Russia, which was the storm-centre of all the basic contradictions of imperialism at the beginning of the 20th century.

In Russia the rapid development of capitalism gave rise to numerous insolvable problems and increasingly aggravated class antagonisms. Under the semi-feudal system the working people suffered not only from capitalist exploitation but also from landowner tyranny, ruthless political coercion and national oppression. In no other country at that time were the social and political contradictions of the epoch so acute and inflamed.

The First World War speeded up developments. It brought the privations and sufferings of the working masses to bursting point and laid bare the rottenness and helplessness of the tsarist autocracy and then of the Provisional Government. Lenin wrote that in those days the old machine of state was sitting on a volcano; great rumblings were beginning to rise from the depth of the people's consciousness and the air was becoming charged with electricity which unavoidably had to burst forth in a cleansing thunderstorm.

The experience of October thus demonstrated that a revolution triumphs only when the objective conditions for it have taken shape. Nobody can repeal this immutable law. At the same time, the October Revolution showed that besides the favourable objective conditions needed for the overthrow of the old system, the working masses must be properly prepared and organised for decisive battles with the class enemy.

The working class of Russia successfully coped with that task. (*Applause.*) It took shape as the most revolutionary contingent of the world proletariat. Its political role in the country's life was immeasurably greater than its numerical strength. It proved to be a worthy successor to the finest revolutionary traditions of the peoples of our country and it creatively assimilated the revolutionary experience of the world proletariat. It formed its own militant vanguard, the Bolshevik Party, which integrated socialism with the working-class movement and the spontaneous indignation of the masses. The teaching of Marx and Engels became the world

outlook of the foremost workers in Russia. Bolsheviks-Leninists upheld the purity of this teaching and developed it in conformity with the new historical conditions, the conditions engendered by imperialism, with the specific tasks of their revolutionary struggle.

Bolsheviks have always taken as their point of departure the fact that far from being either a coup at the top or a conspiracy by a group of heroes, a socialist revolution is a movement of the broadest masses of working people. By constantly being in the very thick of the masses and leading their struggle, the Party united millions of workers, peasants and soldiers into a single army of revolution. Bolsheviks tirelessly moulded the alliance between the working class and the working peasants, and this alliance became the bulwark of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. In the Soviets, brought to life by the masses as far back as 1905, the Party of Lenin found a new form of political power of the working people.

In the course of many years of class struggle and in the battles fought during bourgeois-democratic revolutions, Lenin and the Leninists steadily improved revolutionary strategy and tactics. While preparing for the October upheaval the Party gained vast experience of all forms of struggle—legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful, underground and open. It was prepared for a swift change from one form of struggle to another and had the skill to lead the working class in the most complex and tangled situation through all obstacles and twists and turns of history. And when the decisive moment came the workers and peasants of Russia, having seen for themselves that the policy of the Bolsheviks was correct, followed the Bolshevik Party, accepted its slogans and emerged triumphant. (*Applause.*)

The October armed uprising was prepared and accomplished with such consummate skill and understanding of the sentiments of the worker, peasant and soldier masses that it has rightly entered history as a model of revolutionary strategy and tactics. The flame of Revolution, ignited in Red Petrograd, enveloped the entire country, spreading to its remotest outskirts.

The triumph of the October Revolution was the result of the persevering and painstaking work and the heroic and tense struggle carried on by the Bolsheviks-Leninists over many years. The lesson of the October Revolution is that

even when conditions are most favourable the working class can accomplish a socialist revolution only if it is led by its vanguard, the Marxist Party, which has firm bonds with the masses and has mastered all forms of revolutionary struggle. That is another immutable law of revolution. (*Applause.*)

It will be recalled that at the close of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century opportunism, whose chief exponents were the leaders of the Second International, sank deep roots in the world working-class movement. There was a great debate on how to move towards socialism: through revolution or through reformism reducing the tasks of the working-class movement to a struggle for partial demands without affecting the foundation of the capitalist system. It was up to historical practice to decide this debate, to say the last word in it. This word was said by the October Revolution. It showed that the working class could achieve victory only through revolution, no matter in what form it was accomplished. (*Applause.*)

The October Revolution signified more than a change of political power. It signified a most profound socio-economic upheaval that virtually ploughed its way through the life of the nation and affected all aspects of Russian reality. By bringing the working class to power the October Revolution delivered the working people from exploitation, turned the factories, banks and railways over to them, gave land to the peasants, abolished national oppression that weighed heavily on half of Russia's population and took the country out of the imperialist war.

In face of incredible difficulties caused by the resistance of class enemies and by economic dislocation, the young Soviet state, as soon as it came to be, started to reorganise society. The tasks with which Soviet power began its activities were the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, the abrogation of all estate privileges, the introduction of an eight-hour working day, the granting of equality to women, a democratic reform of public education, the organisation of a public health service for the people, and concern for the advance of science and art.

All this was of fundamental significance. The peoples of the world, who witnessed the epic of socialist construction, could from the very outset see that the proletarian revolution was not confined to the destruction of the old. Its under-

lying purport and grandeur was the building of a new life.

Marxists-Leninists have always based themselves on the fact that the key issue of any revolution is that of power. But for them the conquest of power has never been a purpose in itself. They have always regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as the basic vehicle for the building of the new, socialist society, for promoting the well-being and happiness of the working people.

The entire experience of the class struggle teaches that a revolution is worth something only when it can defend itself. The Great October Revolution has demonstrated how important this truth is for a socialist revolution, against which all the forces of the old world take up arms. During the grim time when counter-revolutionary and interventionist hordes attacked the young Soviet Republic, when she found herself up against blockades, wrecking and kulak revolts, revolutionary Russia had to face the hardest tests. She passed this test and won the right to live. She passed it because in the Civil War, in the food requisitioning teams and on the labour front the workers and peasants fought for a cause that was dear to them, for a cause on which depended their own destinies, their freedom and their future. (*Applause.*)

The Red Army, born in the flames of the October Revolution, won unfading glory in those days. The heroism and devotion of the soldiers of the Revolution, their willingness to sacrifice themselves and endure any privation for the sake of victory to this day command the admiration of the world. The battles at Perekop, Kakhovka and Volochayevka, the heroes of the Chapayev division and of the Cavalry Corps are lauded in song. The feat performed by them is an example on which all the new generations of Soviet people are brought up. For us, heirs of the October Revolution, the traditions of self-sacrificing struggle for the socialist Motherland built up during the Civil War will always be an inexhaustible source of courage, staunchness and will for victory. (*Stormy applause.*)

A noteworthy feature of the October Revolution was its proletarian internationalism, which formed unbreakable ties between the workers of Russia and their class brothers throughout the world. There is every justification for stating that the victory of the October Revolution was a triumph of the internationalist fraternity of working people, a triumph

of proletarian internationalism. (*Applause.*) In the Red Army along with the sons of the peoples of our country there were Hungarians, Poles, Serbs, Croats, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Austrians, Germans, Finns, Rumanians, Mongolians, Koreans, Chinese and men of many other nationalities. This was a fighting international of revolutionaries. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Revolution was upheld not only by those who fought for it in the Civil War. The whole of Europe learned of the noble action of French sailors who forced the interventionists to withdraw their naval squadron from Odessa, and of the actions of English workers who moved forward the slogan "Hands Off Russia!". Europe seethed. There was wave after wave of uprisings, strikes and demonstrations. This powerful upsurge of the working-class movement fettered the forces of the international counter-revolution and relaxed the pressure of the imperialist interventionists.

On behalf of Soviet Communists and all Soviet people allow me to express profound respect and warm gratitude to our foreign comrades, to everybody who in those glorious years deeply appreciated the significance of the October Revolution, to those who helped our people defend their revolutionary gains. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the triumph of October was a triumph of Leninism. All the preparations for the socialist revolution in Russia, the founding and the history of our Communist Party and Soviet state, our victories on the military fronts and our achievements in peaceful construction are indissolubly associated with the name and work of the immortal Lenin. (*Applause.*)

Vladimir Lenin has entered history as the founder of the Bolshevik Party, as the great leader and organiser of the working masses and as a scientist of genius. He was a revolutionary in the loftiest and most noble sense of the word. His whole life was one of unremitting struggle for the happiness and interests of the working people.

Moreover, the leader of the Revolution is incomparable as a strategist of revolution and unsurpassed in political tactics. He intuitively sensed every change in the alignment of political forces and in the mood of the masses and knew how to translate this mood exactly into the language of high-level politics, put forward the most effective mass slogan in the given situation and chart the surest way to the objective.

He was irreconcilable with regard to questions of principle in ideology and politics. But this never hindered him from displaying maximum flexibility in the approach to specific problems. An ardent revolutionary, he mercilessly ridiculed pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongering. A born fighter, he could when necessary agree to compromise and retreat in order to muster forces and then take the offensive more successfully.

By his nature he could not tolerate anything smacking of bigotry or dogmatism. His creative approach to theory and politics enabled him comprehensively to develop and enrich the Marxist teaching of revolution and the science of building socialism. Despite being immersed in day-to-day work, in a host of urgent affairs, he mapped out the general line for socialist construction in Russia and laid down the principles underlying Soviet domestic and foreign policy.

Both as a statesman and as a person Lenin was an extraordinarily modest man. The leader of the world proletariat, the man whom the Revolution placed at the helm of the world's first state of workers and peasants was exceedingly exacting to himself, with absolutely no play-acting or vanity. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Lenin was 47 when from the rostrum of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets he proclaimed the triumph of the socialist revolution. He was 54 when his heart stopped beating. But death was helpless before the greatness of Lenin's genius. He was with us during the stirring period of the first five-year plans. He was with us on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War. He is with us today when the peoples of the USSR have entered a new stretch of history, solving in practice the tasks of building up communism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The cause of Lenin was continued by the Party created by him. To its lot fell the difficult but honourable task of translating into reality Lenin's immortal ideas, the deathless legacy of his thoughts. It may be said that our Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is coping with this task with flying colours. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is a triumph of Leninism, a triumph of the ideals and practical deeds of the Leninist Party.

Our Party and the Soviet people feel that the best way

to express unbounded respect to the memory of Lenin is always and steadfastly to follow the course charted by him. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

2. THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR— A GREAT FEAT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Comrades, after having upheld the Revolution with guns in their hands, the working people of Soviet Russia led by the Leninist Party began the ascent to the summits of socialism. This was a great and difficult road, a great and unforgettable feat of the Soviet people.

Soviet power inherited from tsarism a country with a low level of economic and cultural development, while seven years of war—at first the imperialist war and then the Civil War—flung the economy far back even compared with the prewar level. We were encircled by hostile capitalist states. The class enemies, defeated on the battlefield, did not cease their resistance; they sought to utilise the least possibility, the least loophole in order to undermine and weaken the young state of workers and peasants. Right and “Left” opportunists endeavoured to divert the Party from the Leninist general line.

Another reason why the building of socialism was a complicated business for us was that we were pioneering it. There was nobody from whom we could learn. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory the Communist Party knew the general road towards socialism. But it neither knew nor could know all the problems that it would face on each sector of that road, much less did it have ready-made solutions to these problems. To use a figurative expression of Lenin's, while the bourgeoisie, when it came to power, received “a well-designed and tested vehicle, a well-prepared road and previously tested appliances” the proletariat which had seized power had “no vehicle, no road, absolutely nothing that had been tested beforehand”.¹ It was precisely our Communist Party that had to blaze the trail to socialism, to build and test the “appliances” of the new society in practice.

Such was the situation in which the building of socialism was started. From our present heights it is not at all difficult to see the miscalculations and mistakes of the past. Some

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 205.

things could unquestionably have been accomplished faster, better and with less cost. But in order to arrive at an objective assessment of the road that has been covered it should always be remembered that for us every step was a quest and every advance was achieved in unceasing struggle against enemies within the country and in the world arena.

When the Party embarked upon the socialist transformation of our country it appreciated that in order to build socialism it was necessary to create a large-scale modern industry. This had to be done within the shortest possible period or there would be defeat—we had no other choice. For that reason the country's industrialisation became our prime target.

In those days the Soviet state was short of funds, of machinery and of trained personnel for the building of the industrial basis of socialism. We could not count on help from abroad. But we had the most advanced social system in the world. There was a tremendous charge of revolutionary enthusiasm among the masses and this enabled the Soviet people to accomplish the impossible. (*Applause.*)

Our country's first and the world's only state plan of economic development—the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia known as GOELRO—was approved on Lenin's initiative back in 1920, when the Civil War was at its height. The history of the scientific, planned, comprehensive development of the economy began with that plan.

The main targets of Soviet economic policy in the transitional period were formulated by Lenin and endorsed by the 10th Congress of the RCP(B) in 1921. They are known as the New Economic Policy, whose purpose was to defend the Revolution, deliver the country from ruin and famine, build the foundations of socialist economy and gradually oust and abolish capitalist elements. In many ways this plan was dictated by the situation obtaining at the time.

At the same time, Lenin looked far ahead. Already then he worked out the principles of socialist economic management that have fully retained their significance to this day. The Leninist principles of combining centralised planning with the promotion of popular initiative, of utilising commodity-monetary relations, cost accounting and material incentives, of integrating the interests of society as a whole with the interests of every worker individually, continue to underlie the Party's economic policy.

By utilising the signal advantages of the socialist system the Party was able in three five-year periods to resolve the key problems of the country's industrialisation as formulated in the decisions of the 14th Party Congress. By the 1940s the country already had a versatile socialist industry. For the total volume of industrial output and technical equipment the Soviet Union reached the level of the leading capitalist countries in Europe.

The farther the years of the first five-year plans recede into the past the more majestic becomes that difficult yet stirring period. Had the Soviet people not displayed the greatest political consciousness, organisation and courage our country would have never become socialist and a leading industrial power. Let us recall, comrades, how people lived in those years: there were bread ration cards, a shortage of clothes and footwear and an acute housing problem and other hardships. Yet, despite all the difficulties and privations, the country virtually seethed with the labour enthusiasm of the masses, and volunteers streamed to the building projects—the Dnieper Hydropower Station, the Magnitogorsk Project, the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, Komsomolsk-on-Amur and Berezniki, the giant Kharkov, Chelyabinsk and Stalingrad tractor works, and the Gorky and Moscow auto works—where the foreposts of socialist industry were being created.

Our first five-year plans were real battles for socialism, and like any other battle they gave birth to talented commanders and selfless heroes. The Party embarked on extensive work and moved to the fore a galaxy of outstanding organisers of industry, of leaders of the national economy. The enthusiasm engendered by the great projects and the nationwide scale of the socialist emulation movement gave rise to thousands upon thousands of foremost workers—shock workers, Stakhanovites, the finest representatives of the working class—whose labour achievements gave a mighty impetus to the entire work of building the industrial basis of socialism. The staunchness and courage of these people and their unswerving devotion to the Party's cause, to the cause of socialism, are to this day an inspiring example that lives on in the valorous deeds of the working class, of the entire Soviet people, who are building new factories and power stations, developing the expanses of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, bringing forth epoch-mak-

ing scientific discoveries, and, by their labour, continuing the glorious traditions of the first five-year plans. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In order to build socialism a large-scale industry had to be created and the countryside reorganised on socialist lines. That was an extraordinarily difficult task, which entailed overcoming the petty proprietor's age-old force of habit and the narrowness of his interests and views on life, and changing his psychology. The individualistic peasant had to be turned into an active participant of collective labour and social life.

The way to solving this gigantic social problem was indicated by Lenin in his famous co-operation plan, which the Party used as its guide in its work in the countryside. In addition to the organisation of state farms, the Party set the task of uniting the peasants in collective farms. In 1927 the 15th Party Congress set the course towards the collectivisation of agriculture.

Collectivisation was one of the key components of the socialist revolution. As any other revolutionary undertaking it was attended by a sharp struggle. The resistance of the last and numerically largest exploiter class, the kulaks, had to be broken. The complexity of the social situation in the countryside, the shortage of machinery, and the necessity for temporarily sacrificing many requirements of the countryside for the sake of industrialisation created many difficulties. But the purposefulness of the Party's work and the active efforts of the working peasants and the working class made it possible to surmount these difficulties.

When we speak of the socialist reorganisation of the countryside we cannot help but recall those who devoted their labour, willpower and energy to the solution of this colossal undertaking. In response to the Party's call the workers of Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals and the Donbas went to the countryside to help organise the new collective farms. They are known to history as the Twenty-Five Thousand, but there were many more of them. They brought to the peasants the ideas of the Communist Party, faith in the ideals of socialism, and the militant experience of the class struggle. The names of the Communists who headed the new collective farms, of the selfless workers of the machine-and-tractor stations and state farms, the organisers and veterans of collective- and

state-farm production are forever inscribed in the annals of collective-farm glory. (*Applause.*)

The triumph of the Leninist policy of industrialisation and collectivisation was of enormous socio-political significance. The economic foundation of socialism was built in town and country. The working class and peasantry changed and the alliance between them was consolidated. A lasting foundation was laid for the development of socialist social relations, for enhancing the country's defence capacity and for strengthening the moral and political unity of the Soviet people.

Comrades, the socialist remaking of our country would have been inconceivable if in the very first days after the October Revolution the Party had not energetically and purposefully launched a cultural revolution. This was a task of the greatest importance. It will be remembered that when the Revolution was accomplished three-fourths of the population of Russia were illiterate. Four years before the Revolution Lenin bitterly wrote: "There is no other country so barbarous and in which the masses are *robbed* to such an extent of education, light and knowledge—no other such country has remained in Europe; Russia is the exception."¹

Lenin called upon the people to "Study, study and study!" And the whole country got down to study. After a hard day's work millions of workers and peasants learned to read and write and mastered the rudiments of culture, science and Marxist philosophy in order to have the knowledge for building the new life.

We do not fortuitously call the process of bringing culture to the masses a revolution. The task was not only to teach people to read and write; the new, socialist ideology had to be established in all spheres of the spiritual life of society. We had to train our own, Soviet skilled cadres. We had to create a socialist culture that would absorb all the best and advanced achievements of thousands of years of civilisation and take a new step forward in the spiritual development of all mankind.

In those years we had to save on everything. But for the promotion of education, science and culture the Party and the Government allocated funds with a generosity that

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 139.

even the richest capitalist countries could envy. (*Applause.*) And if today the Soviet Union amazes the world with its scientific and cultural achievements it is due to the fact that the foundations of these achievements were laid back in those days when the Land of Soviets began to build a ramified network of schools, libraries, workers' faculties, technical schools, institutions of higher learning and scientific establishments. (*Applause.*)

The socialist revolution opened the road to the solution of the nationalities problem. By tearing down the "prison of nations", such as tsarist Russia was, the October Revolution brought complete emancipation to all the nationalities inhabiting our country. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a voluntary federation of nations welded together by a common struggle for a common objective, was formed in 1922. (*Applause.*) The formation of the USSR was a triumph of internationalism, a manifestation of the political wisdom of the Communist Party, the working class and all working people of the Union Republics, who regarded the pooling of their energies as the decisive condition for attaining the objectives of the Revolution and defending its gains.

The abolition of the exploiter classes, industrialisation, collectivisation and the cultural revolution were links of a single revolutionary process, which led to fundamental changes in the relations between classes and nations. Years of hard dedicated work yielded fruit. (*Applause.*) The titanic efforts of the Party and the people were crowned with success. Social and national antagonisms have forever departed from the life of our society. (*Applause.*) A new social system resting on the friendship and alliance between the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia was created. Socialist principles became firmly rooted in all spheres of social life.

Communists and all Soviet people knew that the building of socialism was only the first step towards communism. Already in 1939 at its 18th Congress the Party began to chart the first steps of the transition to the next stage, to the building of communism. But before these steps were taken our country, our people had to withstand the sternest test in their history.

The great successes achieved by the Soviet people, who in less than a quarter of a century turned their country

into a flourishing socialist state, evoked fury in the imperialist camp. Those who failed to strangle our Revolution at its birth never ceased to plan the military defeat of the Land of Soviets.

We did not need war. The Soviet Government did all in its power to avert it. But this proved to be impossible to do. In 1941 the perfidious attack by nazi Germany cut short the peaceful labour of the Soviet people. A battle on a scale unprecedented in history broke out between the assault forces of imperialism and the first socialist power. Our Party foresaw the possibility of a military clash with the forces of imperialism and had been preparing the country and the people for defence. The socio-economic achievements gained during the prewar five-year plans and the ideological and political unity of Soviet society won in the building of socialism predetermined our people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The guiding role of the Communist Party, under whose leadership victory was forged, manifested itself in all its strength during the war years. The armed forces of our country covered themselves with undying glory in the unparalleled battles against nazism. The mass heroism displayed by officers and men and the selflessness of the partisans and underground fighters demonstrated that socialist patriotism is a tremendous invincible force. By smashing the nazis Soviet people upheld the cause of the October Revolution, the cause of socialism, their homeland. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The front and rear formed a single mighty fist. The country became a single military camp. It was difficult for everybody. People were undernourished and did not get enough sleep. Women took the place of their husbands in the workshops and children took over machine tools from their fathers. But the industrial heart of the Motherland never missed a beat. Our factories gave the Soviet Army the weapons to crush the military machine of Hitlerism which had behind it the industrial might of almost the whole of Europe. Despite the acute shortage of manpower and farm machines and despite the drastic reduction of the crop area our collective and state farms gave the country the food it needed for victory. It was a civic and patriotic feat of the people. It was a feat performed by people who saw the meaning of their life in labour for the sake of

victory. (*Applause.*) And they did everything to ensure victory. (*Applause.*)

This feat, which knows no precedent, lasted for four long years. The heroic defence of the Brest Fortress, and the great battles at Odessa and Sevastopol, at the approaches to Moscow, at the walls of Leningrad, Stalingrad and Novorossiisk, in the Orel-Kursk Bulge and on the Dnieper and the Vistula have entered the history of wars as models of military art, of valour by armed forces, and remarkable staunchness and courage by the population. The Soviet people marched towards their great victory through the grimpest tests such as nobody had experienced and through the fire and blood of unparalleled battles. Under the leadership of their Communist Party they defended the gains of the October Revolution, defeated the aggressors and cleared their country of invaders. (*Applause.*) They crushed nazism, that sinister creation of imperialism.

We have forgotten nothing of the chronicle of that heroic epic. We remember the contribution that was made to the victory over the common enemy by the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia, Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, the USA and other members of the anti-Hitler coalition. We remember the courage and valour of the Resistance fighters in enemy-occupied countries. We pay tribute to those leaders of the allied countries of the West who in face of the threat of nazi enslavement took, in spite of the differences in social systems, the road of effective co-operation with the Soviet Union in the struggle against the aggressor.

The defeat of nazi Germany and her allies in Europe and Asia, a defeat in which our country played the decisive role, was of historic significance, for it opened for many nations and countries the road to freedom, independence and social progress.

The heroic feat of the Soviet people gave the world fresh proof that no force exists which can defeat a people liberated from capitalist oppression, which can crush the social system, socialism, created and loved by this people. (*Stormy applause.*) When the red banner, planted by Soviet soldiers, unfurled over the Reichstag, it was more than the banner of our military victory. Comrades, it was the immortal banner of the October Revolution; it was the

great banner of Lenin; it was the invincible banner of socialism, the bright symbol of hope, freedom and happiness of all nations. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The losses and destruction inflicted on us by the war are beyond compare. The war brought the people grief which to this day wrings the hearts of millions of mothers, widows and orphans. For a man no loss is more painful than the death of relatives, comrades and friends. No sight is more heart-rending than that of destroyed fruits of labour into which he has put his strength, talent and love for his country. No smell is more acrid than the fumes of ashes. The Soviet soldier returning home to his beloved liberated land saw it lacerated by fire and metal and lying in piles of rubble.

But nothing could break the will of Soviet people or stop the triumphant onward march of socialism. The bitterness of loss was hard to bear. But side by side with it in the heart of every Soviet person there was the jubilant feeling of victory. (*Applause.*) The feat of those who fell inspired the living. The heroic people, who had won everlasting military glory, rallied closely round the Party and during the years of postwar rehabilitation once again demonstrated remarkable qualities such as staunchness, dedication and industry. The history of those years, I would say, still remains to be properly written. But we clearly remember the chief thing, which was that in the main the prewar level of output was reached by industry in 1948 and by agriculture by 1950. In the years that followed Soviet people completely healed the war wounds and created realistic prerequisites for further progress on a much higher scale than before the war and for the transition to the full-scale building of communism.

Today when we mark the 50th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution we can with satisfaction and pride sum up the majestic results of what has been achieved.

The developed socialist society, built in our country, is a society ruled by the principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." Socialist relations of production ensure the planned, steady development of the entire economy at the modern technical level. Our industry is expanding at a rapid rate. This year its output will be 73 times greater than in 1913. Agricultural output has increased threefold in that period. Here it must

be borne in mind that the number of people engaged in farming has diminished by more than half.

At the back of these indices is a powerful industry embracing practically all branches of modern production. The Soviet Union has some of the world's biggest power stations using unique equipment. Suffice it to say that the capacity of only one of the turbines to be installed at the Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station is almost equal to the capacity of the prewar Dnieper Hydropower Station. The Soviet engineering industry is annually manufacturing nearly 200,000 metal-cutting lathes and more than half a million tractors and harvesters. The output of our iron and steel industry has topped the 100 million ton mark. The chemical, radio engineering, electronics and atomic industries are growing swiftly.

The high level of development attained by our industry, technology and science is strikingly illustrated by Soviet achievements in the exploration of outer space. A short time ago the successful flight of an automatic station to Venus won the admiration of the world. It is hard to picture the technical skill and the precision that was required to make the space vehicle, created by Soviet people, touch down on Venus after a journey of hundreds of millions of kilometres and transmit over that astronomical distance data which has considerably broadened scientific knowledge. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Some days ago the world witnessed yet another outstanding achievement of Soviet scientists, designers and engineers. The highly intricate scientific and technological problem of accomplishing an automatic link-up of space vehicles in orbit was solved with marvellous brilliance. This has opened the road to the creation of large orbiting space stations.

These new triumphs in outer space are a splendid gift for the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. (*Applause.*)

In addition to remaking the entire economic system, socialism has radically transformed the class composition of our society.

In socialist society the leading role is played by the working class. The Soviet worker has inherited the finest qualities of the revolutionary proletariat. Profoundly devoted to the ideals of the Party, he is a politically-con-

scious fighter for the people's cause and the creator of the traditions in labour and life which bring us closer to communism. The workers building communism today are worthy successors of the proletarians who fought at the barricades in Moscow's Krasnaya Presnya district and stormed the Winter Palace, and of the heroes of the first five-year plans from whom the present working class has taken over the baton of revolution.

Socialism, collective ownership of the means of production and collective labour have moulded the new people of the Soviet countryside—our collective-farm peasants. In the Soviet Union the words "collective farmer" are pronounced with deep respect. Solidly united with the working class, the collective farmers are a considerable political force in our society. Therein lies one of the great gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution. (*Applause.*)

Important creative tasks are resolved by the people's intelligentsia, which is indissolubly linked up with the working class and the peasantry. The higher the cultural level of our society and the greater the progress in science and technology, the more appreciable will be the growth of the role played by intellectuals in carrying out the far-reaching tasks confronting the Soviet people.

Welded together by a community of interests, objectives and ideals, all the contingents of the great army of builders of communism are moving forward in inviolable fraternal unity towards a bright future, towards the classless communist society. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Socialism brought women genuine emancipation. It gave them broad scope for creative activity, the development of talent and ability, and the mastering of many professions, which had formerly been closed to them. They are actively participating in the administration of the state. There are 425 women in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR alone, which is considerably more than in the parliaments of the entire capitalist West. (*Applause.*) Our Soviet woman, who is a worker, mother and heroine, is worthy of the most profound respect. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The whole world knows of the success of the Leninist nationalities policy. All the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union are flourishing and have achieved colossal progress in the promotion of industry, agriculture, science and culture. Socialism has set in motion a mighty driving force of

our development like friendship among nations. The unity of the multinational Soviet people is as solid as a diamond. In the same way as a diamond sparkles with multicoloured facets so does the unity of our people scintillate with the diversity of nations, each of which lives a rich, full-blooded, free and happy life. (*Stormy applause.*)

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is an occasion for genuine rejoicing by the fraternal family of all the peoples and all the republics forming the great Soviet Union. The Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenia and Estonia all live with the same thoughts and the same aspirations. (*Applause.*) They were together during the years of socialist construction. They were together during the stern years of war. And together they are building communism, working with dedication and by joint effort promoting the economy, science and culture of the Land of Soviets. (*Applause.*)

May the fraternal friendship of all the nations and nationalities of our country flourish! May the unity of the multinational Soviet people grow stronger! (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, created by the October Revolution, was the principal vehicle enabling our people to demolish the old world, crush the resistance of the exploiting classes and fundamentally change the destiny of their country. Experience shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat can exist and continues to exist in various forms. But no matter what its form is, the political power of the working class led by its vanguard, the Communist Party, is the indispensable condition for the building of socialism. (*Applause.*) This is convincingly demonstrated by the experience of our Revolution and it is confirmed by the experience of socialist revolutions in other countries.

Today, when the abolition of the exploiting classes has become a thing of the distant past, when the triumph of socialism has brought about the unbreakable ideological and political unity of our society, the Soviet state, which originally was a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a people's state, a political organisation of the

whole people with the working class playing the leading role.

The Party has done much to improve socialist democracy and create firm guarantees of socialist legality. A noteworthy part was played in this by the 20th Party Congress, which passed important decisions aimed at steadfastly and consistently implementing Leninist standards and principles in all spheres of our life and at further promoting the political activity of the people.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which are the political backbone of our society, continue to be strengthened. The deputies to the Soviet and the *aktiv* giving them day-to-day assistance in their work total more than 25 million people, i.e., almost a quarter of the country's able-bodied population. The work of the Soviets directly mirrors the power of the people, who manage social and state affairs themselves.

The trade unions, which have more than 80 million members, actively help to draw the masses into various forms of the administration of state affairs. With the guidance of the Party they are demonstrating that they are a school of administration and economic management, a school of communism. The Leninist Komsomol, which has 23 million members, actively helps the Party to educate young people in a communist spirit and enlist their assistance in the fulfilment of specific tasks of communist construction.

In these and many other mass organisations, which are a dependable bulwark of the Party, Soviet people learn to adopt a state approach to affairs and to show concern for the interests of society as a whole, for the interests of the nation.

Comrades, the proletarian revolution is accomplished for the sake of the vital interests of the people, for the sake of the well-being and happiness of the working people, for the sake of freedom and social justice. That is why concern for the Soviet people's standard of living continues to be, as it always has been, in the focus of the Party and the Soviet Government.

Socialism has given our people what the working people of even the richest capitalist countries lack, namely, freedom from capitalist oppression and confidence in the morrow. Soviet people neither know nor will ever know

the meaning of exploitation and unemployment. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Party and the Government show unflagging concern for improving working conditions and shortening the working day. During the years of Soviet power the average working week in industry has been shortened by 18 hours. This year the country is switching over to a five-day working week with two days off.

Under Soviet power the real incomes of workers have risen six and a half times and the incomes of the collective farmers have increased eight and a half times. During the past few years alone wage increases have been granted to some 25 million workers and employees, guaranteed remuneration for work and pensions have been introduced for collective farmers and disability pensions have been increased. Today more than 34 million people are drawing pensions either from the State or the collective farms.

It will be recalled that last September a plenary meeting of the CC CPSU and a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted new important decisions to raise the standard of living. These decisions affect more than 50 million people. We can say with deep satisfaction that never before in the history of our state have such large sums been allocated in a lump for raising the standard of living. (*Applause.*)

There has been a considerable increase in the consumption of basic foods and manufactured goods. Housing accommodation has been increased more than sevenfold in the towns; we are building more housing than any other country in the world. The number of health and holiday homes, holiday hotels, tourist camps and sports stadiums is steadily growing.

The USSR is the first country in which the government has shouldered concern for the health of the people, ensuring free medical assistance for all citizens. One-fourth of the doctors in the world are in the Soviet Union.

The conditions of a nation's life may be assessed by many indices. One of the most important of these is the expectancy of life. It is a summary, as it were, of all that is being done for man: the conditions of work and life, health protection and social insurance. In this respect, the Soviet Union has made colossal progress. In old Russia

the average life span was only 32 years. Today the average life expectancy in our country has reached 70 years, which is among the highest in the world. (*Applause.*)

Socialism is a society that has no privileged classes or estates. However, ever since the first days of Soviet power part of the population has been privileged. That part comprises our children, our youth. Every new citizen of the USSR begins to feel society's concern for the health and upbringing of the rising generation virtually from his very birth. We have secured outstanding results: during the years of Soviet power the child mortality rate has dropped more than 10 times. We have a large (but still not large enough) network of kindergartens and nursery schools catering for more than 9 million young citizens of the USSR.

Public education is promoted on a mammoth scale. The number of students in general-education schools, secondary specialised schools, institutions of higher learning and vocational schools is now drawing close to 60 million. That is one of the main achievements of the socialist system. (*Applause.*)

The future of the Land of Soviets will be shaped by today's Little Octobrists, Young Pioneers and YCLers. (*Applause.*) The Party is quite sure that this will be a wonderful future, that our children and grandchildren will honourably carry forward the great banner of the October Revolution. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, to fathom the depth of the changes brought about by socialism would require the painstaking work of a scientist and the inspired song of a poet. In the course of the past 50 years absolutely everything has changed in the life of the people. We have built a totally new world, a world of new, socialist relations, a world of the new, Soviet man. The spiritual horizon of Soviet people has broadened out immensely; their morals and their attitude to work, society and each other have changed. Renewed and remade by socialism, our country stands before all mankind in all its might and grandeur, in all the brilliance of the talent of its superb people.

The majestic edifice of socialism, built in our country, is a fitting reward for the efforts and feats of the Soviet people, for the half century of dedicated work and heroic battles for the triumph of ideals in whose name the Great

October Socialist Revolution was accomplished. (*Prolonged applause.*)

History is people and it is they who make it. Tens of millions of workers and peasants built socialism, tens of millions made the history of our epoch. The work performed by generations of revolutionaries and builders of socialism, of the statesmen moved to the forefront by the Revolution, of military leaders, scientists, captains of industry, shock workers and innovators will always be part of the history of our country and of world socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Today, when we mark the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, we pay heartfelt tribute to those who are no longer with us, to those who fell at the hands of the class enemy while defending the Revolution and the cause of socialism. We pay tribute to those who died at their posts, giving all their strength to the service of the people. Soviet people are continuing and will continue their cause, the cause of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, today our society combines the wisdom of maturity and the energy of youth. In our ranks there are veterans of the Revolution and the Civil War, heroes of the first five-year plans and those who defended Soviet power in mortal combat with nazism. Also in our ranks are fine, talented and educated young people, who are worthily furthering the glory of their fathers.

Our present society is an alloy of the minds and talents of all the generations, of all the nations and nationalities, of all working people in the country. There is no task or accomplishment that is beyond the strength of such a society, of such a people. (*Stormy applause.*)

The feat performed by our people, their victories in labour and on the field of battle will never be forgotten by coming generations.

Glory to the Soviet people! Glory to Soviet man, the real hero of our times! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

3. FOR NEW ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE WORK FOR COMMUNISM

Comrades, Soviet people regard the results they achieved not only as a measure of the work already accomplished. This, at the same time, is a point of advance from which

we look into the future, determining our tasks and prospects.

Life marches on, and each stage in our society's development brings up its own problems. There was a time when the main task was to hold out in face of the onslaught of the class enemy, to eliminate the backwardness inherited from the past and to introduce in life the basic principles of socialism. These problems have been solved, this stage has already been passed.

Today we are facing new tasks, new not only in magnitude but also in character. The thing is to utilise most fully the possibilities created by developed socialist society. We must learn to employ with maximum effect both our social gains and the tremendous productive forces our country possesses, the achievements of science and technology and the rising level of the Soviet people's culture and education. Only on this basis can we successfully build communism and advance along the path charted by the Party Programme. The scale and complexity of the tasks we have to accomplish make ever greater demands on everything we do, on the style and methods of our work.

The economy, the creation of communism's material and technical foundation, is the main bridgehead of the Soviet people's struggle for the victory of communism. Soviet society's rate of advance, the course of competition between the two world systems and our contribution to the development of the world revolutionary process will depend to a decisive degree on how we develop the economy.

The economy of the Soviet Union has entered a stage when a rise in the efficiency of social production and an improvement of qualitative performance indicators in all sectors, based on the latest scientific and technological achievements, are increasingly becoming the main source of economic growth.

This means that production must grow not only by commissioning new capacities and developing new lands but largely by making better use of each enterprise, each machine, each hectare of land. This implies such an allocation and use of capital investments when each invested ruble would yield a maximum return. This implies a reduction in per unit outlays of raw and other materials and fuel.

An important prerequisite for successful advance is to achieve a balance of social production and set proportions and rates which would optimally meet the requirements of both production and consumption.

We shall continue to devote primary attention to heavy industry. At the same time agriculture, the industries producing consumer goods and the public services will be developed at accelerated rates. This is necessary for further raising the country's potential, for ensuring scientific and technological progress, for further advancing the living standard of the Soviet people.

Life has set important tasks in improving the methods of managing and guiding the economy, improving the system of planning and economic stimulation. To cope with these tasks the Party and the Government have launched a broad economic reform. It is the main aim of the reform to raise the efficiency of social production and to ensure a further rise in the productivity of labour. To achieve this it is necessary, first of all, to make wider use of economic instruments and ably to combine centralised guidance with the initiative of the personnel of industrial enterprises, of state and collective farms.

The main trends of economic policy, in line with the present stage of the country's development, were mapped out in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the plenary meetings of the Central Committee held from 1965 to 1967. Not so much time has passed since the implementation of these decisions began, but the very first results show that we are on the right road. In the last three years the growth rates of industrial and agricultural production have noticeably risen. Key sectors of the national economy have begun to operate more profitably. All this has made it possible to carry out new measures for improving the people's well-being.

Our Party will continue to devote unflagging attention to the elaboration of scientifically based economic solutions aimed at further advancing the country's productive forces.

We have everything to build up an industry that will be the most powerful and advanced in the world as regards total output, scientific and technical level, the quality of the goods produced and the main economic indicators. Our social system enables us to utilise all the advantages of

planned economy. We have at our disposal modern, well-equipped production and technical facilities. We possess one-third of all the oil-bearing areas in the world, more than one-fourth of all the natural gas resources, huge sources of water power and coal deposits and exceedingly rich reserves of metal ores and timber. Remarkable personnel capable of coping with any problem have grown up in our country.

A fresh advance of Soviet industry will make it possible further to strengthen the defences of our great power and to cement the positions of socialism in the world.

The interests of the Soviet people, the interests of communist construction require that we have not only a powerful industry but also a highly developed agriculture capable of fully meeting the growing needs of the population in foodstuffs and industry in raw materials.

Since time immemorial agriculture has depended on the climate, on the whims of nature. Man has always sought to get rid of this dependence or, at least, lessen it. This is particularly important for our Motherland, which extends from the Baltic plains to the Pacific, from the mountain ranges of the Caucasus and the Pamirs to the Arctic tundra. Only in this way can we achieve high and stable growth rates in crop raising and animal husbandry.

That is why we attach prime significance to fulfilling the long-term programme of land reclamation and land improvement, to the use of chemicals in agriculture and to efficiency of farming. Our country is now able to allocate more resources for the development of agriculture. We want agriculture to achieve the same level as socialist industry as regards labour productivity, technical facilities and the use of scientific achievements. This is a fully feasible task at the present stage of scientific and technological progress. (*Applause.*)

Mankind has entered an age of a sweeping revolution in science and technology. The Soviet Union is proud of the splendid achievements of its scientists. The great successes of physics and chemistry open up new sources of energy, make it possible to create new materials and extend the horizons of all key industries. Discoveries in biology create new possibilities in agriculture and medicine. The achievements of cybernetics help raise the productivity of mental labour and blaze trails in automating various types

of business activity and management. Science is becoming a direct productive force in the real meaning of the word. This role of science will rise in future.

Scientists are faced with tremendously important tasks of penetrating the finest structure of matter, probing the secrets of life, transforming some kinds of energy into others, controlling thermonuclear reactions, further exploring space, influencing processes in the atmosphere and studying the depths of the earth and the sea. Much is to be done in the social sciences both in elaborating problems of communist construction in our country and studying questions of world development.

Paying due tribute to the achievements of scientists, the Soviet people expect of them ever greater achievements. Socialism develops, drawing on the most advanced, progressive things created by the human genius. We associate our future with science and are confident that Soviet science, our scientists will be in the forefront of world progress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The tempestuous growth of science and technology makes the eternal problem of the relationship between man and nature especially important and timely. Even the first socialists held that the bringing of man and nature closer together would be a characteristic of the future society. Centuries have passed since then. Having built a new society, we translated into reality many of the things which the predecessors of scientific socialism could only dream of. But nature has not lost for us its tremendous value both as the primary source of material wealth and as an inexhaustible well-spring of health, happiness, love of life and the spiritual wealth of every man.

All this should be recalled to stress how important it is to treasure nature, to protect and augment its wealth. (*Applause.*) Economical, efficient use of natural resources, concern for the land, forests, rivers and pure air, for the flora and fauna—all this is our vital, communist cause. We must preserve and beautify our land for present and future generations of Soviet people. (*Stormy applause.*)

The more rationally we utilise nature's riches, the greater the successes industry, agriculture and science will score, the higher the productivity of social labour will rise and the richer, finer and more cultured the life of the Soviet people will become.

We have every ground to speak of our successes but we see that we also have unsolved problems. We know that not all Soviet people, not every family live today the way we all would want them to. That is why in all its work, in all its plans the Party pays particular attention to raising the people's living standard. As our national income grows, wages of the working people will steadily rise and the production of consumer goods expand. We will continue to build houses and cultural and service establishments on a large scale so as to ensure an improvement of the housing and living conditions of every Soviet family. (*Applause.*)

Observing the glorious 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, our Party, fully aware of its responsibility, declares: with each passing year the might of the Soviet Union will grow and the life of the Soviet people will improve. The Soviet citizen will ever more fully enjoy the fruits yielded by our gains, feel ever more tangibly the advantages of the socialist way of life. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, Marxists have always acted on the principle that the development of social production underlies social progress. This, however, does not at all mean that it is possible to relegate to the background the solution of other important social and political problems. All aspects of communist construction are closely interconnected. It is well known that the solution of socio-political problems depends on economic achievements. And conversely, economic development is largely determined by the extent to which socio-political problems are resolved. Improvement of social relations, development of socialist democracy and statehood, ideological educational work—all this is a matter of paramount importance.

Essential distinctions between the working class, collective-farm peasantry and intelligentsia of our country are being obliterated at the present stage. Today we see more definitely and clearly how these problems will be solved. We know better what has to be done for this purpose.

The nature of agricultural labour is increasingly changing. Today the peasant has to deal with intricate machines, electricity, chemical products, with the sciences related to farming and livestock raising. Here you have the process of practically converting agricultural labour into a variety of industrial labour.

In recent years no little has been done to accelerate the drawing together of town and country in the way of life and culture. Now that telling successes have been registered in consolidating the economy of the collective and state farms, the basis for transforming the village, its face and way of life is becoming ever more substantial. It is a matter of large-scale building of houses and cultural and service establishments, of the completion of rural electrification and road construction. These are immense undertakings and much time will be needed to achieve them on the scale of a country like ours. But we consider this a matter of state importance and are tackling it in earnest. (*Applause.*)

The present-day level of production and scientific and technological progress are increasingly bringing closer together the labour of the worker and peasant with that of the engineer, technician and agronomist. The swift cultural advance of the entire population is playing an important part in this respect. The Party strives to have all workers, all peasants become intellectuals in the broadest sense of the word, to have them apply to the full their creative abilities and actively participate in society's spiritual life.

All this, of course, will not come of itself. Here the purposeful activity of the Party and the state is needed. Our plans provide for the further development of all spheres of cultural life, for the improvement of the entire system of education—general, higher and technical. Formulating economic plans for the future, we deliberately build into them elements which lead to the automation and mechanisation of production processes and a curtailment of the field of unskilled labour. The latter is very important because, in addition to the economic effect, it will also ease the conditions and nature of the work performed by millions of Soviet people.

The Party attaches great significance to creating the most favourable conditions for the all-round development of the personality. Big possibilities in this respect are opened up by the increase in the free time the working people have. Free time means not only rest and leisure, but, as Marx stressed, it provides a kind of "room" for the development of the personality. Everything should be done so that the extension of this "room" should give all mem-

bers of society greater opportunities to enjoy the benefits of culture, to study, to engage in their favourite occupation in various fields of scientific, technical and artistic endeavour.

As our society advances, the role of literature and the arts will rise still further. Today the treasure-house of world culture is available to the masses of the working people. This elevates the social mission of art and thereby the responsibility of writers, composers, workers in the theatre, cinema and pictorial arts. The Party and the people highly value their creative efforts. Men of letters and the arts are called upon to create works which would ideologically enrich the builders of the new society, spread communist morality among the masses and satisfy the rising aesthetical requirements of our people.

Improvement of socialist social relations presupposes the further strengthening of the Soviet state, the enhancing of its organisational role in the economy. It concerns the development of socialist democracy. What is needed is precision, co-ordination and high efficiency in the work of all links of the state apparatus, consolidation of law and order and state discipline, elimination of the elements of red tape and a formal attitude we still encounter in our life. All this is of prime significance for communist construction.

By its nature communism is a society created by the masses themselves and in the interests of all the people. To advance to communism means to draw the people more widely into the practical work of administering state, economic and social affairs. Utmost enhancement of the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and public organisations will make for greater participation of the people in handling state and public affairs, and stimulate the people's initiative and their constructive activity. Our Party is regularly doing much work along all these lines.

The Soviet system has brought up the working people in the spirit of devotion to the cause of socialism, of collectivism and developed the feeling of being master of their country. But to be master means that, alongside great rights, you also have great duties. It means to bear high responsibility not only for one's own personal work and behaviour, but also for the affairs of the collective, the enterprise, the entire country. The development of these

qualities, which must be inalienable traits of the inner world of every Soviet citizen, is one of the most important tasks of the Party in communist construction. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, great are the deeds and the exploits accomplished by the Soviet people in the past 50 years. Sweeping vistas are opening up before them at the present half-century milestone. We are convinced that the years of the second half century of our country, too, will be marked with new accomplishments of epochal significance. (*Applause.*) The revolutionary flame, kindled in the hearts of the people by the October Revolution, illumines our path forward, towards the triumph of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

4. THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Comrades, the October whirlwind fanned the sparks of the revolution into a mighty flame. The half century which passed after the October Revolution convincingly demonstrated its tremendous international significance. During these years, the entire face of the world has changed, changed in large measure under the impact of the October Revolution and its ideas, under the influence of socialism's victories.

With the birth of the Soviet state the struggle between the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie has acquired a new character; its main hub has become the struggle between the two opposite socio-economic systems. A dividing line has been sharply delineated; on one side of it are gathered all the forces of the old world, the forces of reaction, social and national oppression, while on the other side are the forces of socialism, democracy and progress.

At that time, the old world dominated five-sixths of our planet's territory, it was incomparably stronger economically and possessed big military superiority. But the revolutionary epoch, alongside the demolition of obsolete regimes, is also blasting the traditional notions of strength. The new world had on its side the laws of social development, the revolutionary energy of the masses and the most advanced ideas of our age. And even in the days when

socialism was represented by only one country this gave it the strength to hold out and then go over to an history-making offensive.

In the course of the half-century struggle the correlation of forces in the world has fundamentally changed. One-third of mankind has embarked on the socialist path. The break-up of the system of colonial slavery is being completed: more than 70 new states have arisen on the debris of former colonial empires. The organised working-class movement in the capitalist countries has become a tremendous force. Its influence is a big factor in the political life of these countries. Democratic movements, in which broad sections of the population take part, have grown tremendously. As a result of all these changes, it is no longer imperialism but socialism, the anti-imperialist forces that determine the main content and the main trend of social development. (*Applause.*)

The peoples of the world have been able to see for themselves that socialism has abolished exploitation of man by man and national oppression and provided broad possibilities for the elimination of backwardness, for the advance of the productive forces, for progress. They have become convinced that socialism blazes the path to genuine democracy and freedom of the individual, to a lasting peace, to the banishing of wars from society's life.

Against the background of socialism's successes it has become even more obvious that capitalism is incapable of solving the fundamental issues facing mankind. It is the source of immeasurable calamities and suffering for the masses. Imperialism breeds aggressive wars and today the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict emanates from it. It is imperialism that caused the death of tens of millions of people slaughtered in the two world wars. It is through its fault that immense resources are wasted on the arms race, on the manufacture of mass destruction weapons. Imperialism is the obstacle which prevents the greatest potentialities discovered by science and technology from being utilised already now to wipe out starvation, poverty and disease. Imperialism is responsible for the fact that the countries which had been kept in colonial bondage fell behind many decades in their development. Imperialism is a system which brutally subjugates the working people and suppresses democracy, a system which has begotten fas-

cism, the most extreme embodiment of reaction, obscurantism and terror.

The half-century separating us from the October Revolution has been a period when capitalism's general crisis has deepened, when imperialism has been exposed in the eyes of the peoples and its influence undermined. But imperialism is not laying down arms. It is a strong and perfidious enemy. It has learned a great deal and is trying to draw lessons from its defeats, to adapt itself to the new situation.

Under the pressure of the class struggle imperialism is manoeuvring, making partial concessions and widely employing social demagoguery. The exacerbation of internal contradictions and the successes of socialism in the competition with capitalism are compelling the bourgeoisie increasingly to resort to state-monopoly regulation of the economy in order to mitigate crisis phenomena and maintain production growth rates. On losing its colonies, imperialism is going over to more crafty and refined methods of exploiting other peoples. Imperialism spares no effort and resources in the battle for the minds of the people. The growing influence of socialism is compelling the imperialists constantly to adapt their ideological weapons, their propaganda to the changing situation.

All politically conscious participants in the revolutionary movement are taking into consideration these changes in the enemy camp and the complexity of the situation in which the class and liberation struggle develops today. They are devising the most effective ways of this struggle and are working to rally all the forces into a united anti-imperialist front.

In recent decades, the revolutionary process has gained a truly worldwide scale. There is no area in the world where the struggle for social and national liberation has not spread in one or another form. Imperialism is attacked from different sides. Even its positions which but recently seemed invulnerable have been shaken. Lenin's prediction that in the struggle against capitalism the most diverse forces and movements will merge in a single torrent is coming true.

We Communists are well aware of the scale and complexity of the tasks facing the revolutionary forces. Many tense battles have to be fought and obstacles surmounted

on the road to the triumph of the ideals of socialism and progress throughout the world. But we are confident that the present stage signifies a tremendous step forward on this road and it will take a worthy place in the annals of mankind's struggle for progress and freedom, for socialism. (*Applause.*)

Successful development of the world socialist system is the most striking and important feature of this stage. The world working class and all revolutionary forces rightly regard it as their greatest gain, their remarkable achievement. The emergence of socialism beyond the bounds of one country and the establishment of a system of socialist states marked a sharp turn in world development. This victory weakened the forces of imperialism still more. It instilled in the hearts of the masses greater confidence in the rightness of socialism and the invincibility of its great ideals. New conditions for a further upswing of the revolutionary and liberation struggle, for all democratic movements arose in the world under the influence of living and developing socialism and the magnetic force of its example.

In the past 20 years most socialist countries registered big achievements in the economy and culture, in the development of new social relations and socialist democracy. A fundamental achievement of world socialism which should be stressed is the creation of a new type of relations between states in which the socialist system triumphed. Fraternal relations between socialist countries rest on growing mutual trust and respect of the peoples and are based on socialist internationalism. Life shows that within the framework of the socialist community each country receives the most favourable opportunities for strengthening its sovereignty, its independence and at the same time enjoys all the advantages afforded by mutual assistance and comradely support.

The entire experience of the world socialist system with its great gains and its difficulties shows that with the victory of socialist revolutions in a number of countries relations of a new type do not come to of themselves. Socialist countries encounter new, intricate problems and they have to overcome the hard legacy of the capitalist past, to resist the intrigues of imperialism which seeks to split our ranks.

By their common efforts the fraternal Parties have con-

siderably strengthened the socialist community. Each nation contributes its own specific features to the common cause of building the new life. We value the contribution of each people, of each Marxist-Leninist Party to the international treasure-house of socialism. The common constructive efforts, expressing all the multiformity of reality, produce the great experience of world socialism, which is the possession of all mankind.

Speaking of the socialist system and its development problems, we cannot ignore the events which deeply agitate all of us. It is the situation in the Chinese People's Republic. The victory of the revolution in China was of great importance. It exerted a deep impact on the development of the national liberation and revolutionary movement in all countries of Asia and Africa.

Unfortunately, the chauvinist and Great-Power course of Mao Tse-tung's group, pursued in recent years, greatly harms the cause of socialism in China. This policy, aimed at undermining the unity of the world socialist community and the international communist movement, runs counter to the interests of the peoples' revolutionary struggle.

The events in China have fully laid bare the ideological and political degradation of some leaders of the Communist Party of China. At the same time they have shown that socialism in that country, even in a brief period and in the most intricate conditions, has succeeded in striking roots, in winning over the masses to its side. It is this that explains the stubborn struggle waged by the finest sons of the Communist Party of China, by the progressive forces of the Chinese people for preserving the gains of socialism. (*Applause.*)

The Chinese Communists have what to defend and what to fight for. The general line of the Chinese Communists is that of building socialism, the line charted by the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956. This is the line of planned balanced economic development and "maximum satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements". This is the line of "developing a democratic life". This, the Congress decisions stressed, is the line of "eternal and unbreakable friendship with the great Soviet Union and all the People's Democracies". (*Applause.*)

We believe that the present events in China are a historically transient stage of her development. We believe that

despite all difficulties the cause of socialism will triumph in the Chinese People's Republic. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the path followed by the socialist countries involves intensive labour and vigorous struggle. We know that ahead of us is much work, great tasks, whose accomplishment requires the joint efforts of the fraternal Parties and peoples. In their turn, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the entire Soviet people will spare no effort for the strengthening of the world socialist community and for the winning of fresh victories by it. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Allow me today on behalf of all the Soviet people cordially to greet the fraternal peoples who are building the new life. (*Applause.*)

We address our first words of greetings to the courageous people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam who arms in hand are defending their freedom and independence, their socialist gains. (*Stormy applause.*)

We warmly greet the peoples of Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia who are confidently marching forward under the banner of socialism. (*Stormy applause.*)

We greet the Chinese and Albanian peoples who are fighting for the preservation of the socialist gains in their countries. (*Applause.*)

We wish the peoples of all the socialist states the greatest success in their noble endeavours. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, an important place among the forces opposing imperialism is held by the working class in the developed capitalist states which is waging a struggle in the citadels of world imperialism. We know how difficult this struggle is. It demands not only great effort and courage but also the ability to pit a high degree of organisation and great political art against the imperialist bourgeoisie and all its manoeuvres and artifices.

Despite all difficulties the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is steadily gaining in strength and accumulating new experience. The activity, persistence and growing organisation of the working people in the struggle for their vital interests characterise the present stage of the class struggle in the capitalist world. At times strikes involve entire countries. The working class more and more

succeeds in getting its demands satisfied. These demands go farther, become more radical, developing into a programme of struggle against the economic and political omnipotence of the monopolies.

For the working class division of its ranks has been, and remains, the main stumbling block on the road to victory. But the experience accumulated by the working-class movement shows that unity is a vital necessity. This experience proves that differences in views between Socialists and Communists must not be an obstacle to uniting the ranks of the working class against the monopolies, against the war danger, and in the struggle for socialism. Despite the policy of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders who are hide-bound in their anti-communist positions, the striving for unity is growing, and definite successes along these lines have already been registered in a number of countries.

In the period after the October Revolution the role of the working class in the capitalist states substantially rose, and not only because it now comprises a majority of the population in these countries and is the decisive force in material production. The working class most consistently expresses the interests of the entire nation, rallying round itself the masses of the working people, all the anti-monopoly forces. It is beyond doubt that the proletariat in the capitalist world will ultimately score decisive successes in the struggle for its ideals. (*Applause.*)

A major feature of the 50-year period after the October Revolution is the merging of the national liberation movement and the struggle of the working class into one revolutionary torrent. The 1,500 million people living in the former colonies and semi-colonies have gained independence and emerged as an active force in the political scene. This has extended the bounds of the world revolutionary movement and accelerated social progress.

The winning of political independence, however, has not solved all the important issues confronting the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Considerable effort will be required to uphold and consolidate their sovereignty, to achieve economic independence and eliminate backwardness. The progressive forces of these countries are energetically demanding an anti-imperialist policy. The success of such a policy is guaranteed by an alliance of the national liberation movement of states, which have cast off the colonial

yoke, and world socialism, and by the strengthening of their co-operation with the socialist countries.

Deep social processes are under way in the newly free countries. The struggle over the fundamental question—the ways of their further development—is growing sharper. Influenced by the victories of world socialism, the Asian and African peoples are increasingly striving for progressive forms of social organisation. That a number of young states has embarked on the road of non-capitalist development is an event of great importance.

History shows that the elimination of backwardness and the advance to socialism, by-passing capitalism, presuppose the solution of many intricate social problems and require the creation of modern productive forces. The peoples of the countries which have chosen socialism as their guiding star still have to solve these problems, to do that in conditions when the heritage of colonialism has not been eradicated and conservative elements enjoy as yet considerable influence. Selfless defence of the revolutionary gains, unity of all the democratic forces of the people, hard work and persistent effort to advance the economy and culture—in all this the progressive representatives of the young developing states see a guarantee of their forward movement.

The Soviet people extend warm greetings to all the fighters of the working-class and the national liberation movements. (*Applause.*) We wish you, dear comrades, fresh great successes in the struggle for the vital interests and rights of the peoples, for peace and democracy, for national liberation and socialism. We are convinced that our militant alliance will continue to grow and gain in strength. (*Applause.*)

The experience of the past 50 years has conclusively demonstrated that the efficacy of the efforts of the revolutionary movement largely depends on the cohesion and co-operation of all its detachments.

The unity of the revolutionary forces rests on a reliable foundation. Each of these forces accomplishes its own tasks, but they have a common enemy—imperialism, they have common aims—the struggle for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and freedom. All this makes it imperative to unite the efforts of the world socialist system, the working-class and the national liberation move-

ments in a common offensive on imperialism. (*Applause.*) The international communist movement is the vanguard of the revolutionary forces, the standard-bearer of the idea of the unity of the revolutionary process. The contemporary communist movement, heir and continuer of the First International founded by Marx, arose on the crest of the mighty revolutionary wave set off by the victory of Russia's workers and peasants. The Communist International played a historic role in creating and consolidating the militant Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The communist movement has traversed a long path in the past 50 years. While in 1917 there were only several hundred thousand Communists in the world, at present there are already 50 million fighters united in 88 Communist and Workers' Parties. (*Applause.*) Among them are Parties which are directing the building of the new society in the socialist states. Among them are Marxist-Leninist Parties which are heading the struggle of workers in developed capitalist countries. In Western Europe, where more than 100 million factory and office workers are concentrated, Communist Parties have grown into a national political force, which is a development of great importance. The Communist Parties of Latin America are waging a tense struggle against the sworn enemy of the peoples, US imperialism, and internal reactionary regimes. The Communist Parties of Asian and African countries are rallying broad democratic sections and are increasingly winning the confidence of the masses.

We know what courage and selflessness the Communists need in the capitalist countries. Imperialism is doing everything in its power to undermine the Communist Parties, to compel the Communists to renounce their ideals. In nearly 40 capitalist countries working-class parties are outlawed. For loyalty to the ideals of communism people are thrown out of work and deprived of their livelihood, imprisoned and executed.

During the jubilee celebrations of the October Revolution we say to all Communists, to all revolutionaries who languish in dungeons and are persecuted: our hearts are with you, dear brothers and friends! (*Stormy applause.*) We are confident that no trials can break the spirit of Communists, no barriers can stop the development of the communist movement. (*Applause.*)

Communism has become a mighty force and its ideas are triumphantly marching over our planet. Their deeds have made the Communists the vanguard of social progress and earned them the reputation of the most consistent fighters for the interests of the working class, of all the working people. Communists have proved their ability to head the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism. They have proved that they are the staunchest defenders of the working class in the capitalist countries. They have proved that they are selfless fighters for national freedom and social progress of the peoples in the colonies. They are upholding peace, freedom and democracy for all the peoples. (*Applause.*)

Favourable conditions have arisen for a fresh powerful advance of the communist movement, for its new victories. But we must never forget that the mission entrusted to the Communists is a sweeping and intricate mission of remaking society's entire life in a revolutionary way. Mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism is an involved and multifarious process. In the course of it certain setbacks, temporary retreats and even defeats on some sectors are possible. The communist movement draws lessons from this.

Experience shows that such a strong and perfidious enemy as imperialism can be defeated only if it is opposed, alongside determination and selfless readiness for struggle, by sober political analysis, cool-headedness and tenacity. The Communists put up against this enemy a strategy which rests on a scientific analysis of the relation of forces within a given country and in the world. They counterpose it with a tactic and forms and methods of struggle which most fully take into consideration the concrete conditions. Naturally, it is not easy to find at once correct solutions for the problems that arise. The world is changing and the ranks of fighters against imperialism are extending. All this requires constant study and generalisations, creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the spreading of its influence in the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

Utmost extension of the struggle against the policy and ideology of imperialism acquires particular importance in present-day conditions. In an attempt to raise a barrier to the liberation movement imperialism is stepping up its activity and is launching new reckless ventures and provoca-

tions. To successfully resist imperialism, to repulse its attacks and inflict fresh defeats on it, the Communists, all revolutionaries must exert tremendous efforts and mobilise the forces on all the main sectors of the battle.

The Communist Parties are stepping up the offensive on the ideological positions of the bourgeoisie and are exposing the policy and ideology of anti-communism. Widely popularising socialism's successes, they blast the slander and falsification, the anti-communist fables and myths circulated by imperialist propaganda. The Communist Parties are revealing the groundlessness of the various new cunning "theories" which are devised to whitewash capitalism. The Parties see in ideological work a requisite for winning the masses to their side and strengthening the anti-imperialist front. Our Party, for its part, will continue to exert greater effort in repulsing anti-communism and exposing imperialism's entire policy and ideology. (*Applause.*)

The Communists of all countries draw from the experience of the class struggle the conclusion that strengthening the militant co-operation, cohesion and active co-ordination of effort by all the fraternal Parties of the world is a prime requisite for solving the difficult, diverse problems confronting them. Only by acting as a united international movement will world communism be able to attain its great goals. The feeling of comradely support and constant co-ordination of action on an international scale is important for all of us today.

The building of socialism and communism in countries of the socialist community, rebuff to the aggressive actions of imperialism, defence of universal peace and the security of the nations; the rallying of the masses under the banner of democracy, national liberation and socialism; further improvement of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism—such are the main problems for the solution of which the world communist movement is closing its ranks. "Workers of all countries, unite!" (*applause*)—this slogan, which resounded like a tocsin at the dawn of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, today too calls for the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces. (*Applause.*)

We are convinced that the further consolidation of our movement is dictated by the vital interests of each fraternal Party. It goes without saying that each Party has its own

tasks and applies in each situation the appropriate forms and methods of struggle. All Parties are doing it on the basis of full independence. But the striking power and efficacy of a Party's struggle depend not only on its achievements in its own country but also on the achievements of other fraternal Parties, on extensive and deep co-operation among all the detachments of the communist movement. (*Applause.*) Experience shows that deviation from the principles of internationalism, attempts to put up the interests of separate detachments of our movement in contrast to the general tasks of the revolutionary struggle and manifestations of national seclusion inevitably weaken the positions of the Communists in face of the common enemy.

We note with great satisfaction that the position of the CPSU fully coincides with the positions held by the overwhelming majority of fraternal Parties which resolutely call for the consolidation of our ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. (*Applause.*) A big role in working out the common ideological and political positions of the communist movement was played by the meetings of representatives of the fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960. The growing desire to strengthen unity is evidenced by such indicative recent developments as the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist Parties, the regional and bilateral meetings of representatives of fraternal Parties and the movement of solidarity with heroic Vietnam and the peoples of Arab countries who became victims of aggression. Today it is perfectly clear that the majority of fraternal Parties favour the convening of a new international conference. Our Party fully supports this idea and is ready to do everything for the success of such world meeting of Communists. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, today the entire communist movement, together with us, is celebrating the jubilee of the Great October Revolution. Observing it, Marxists-Leninists summarise the results scored until now and outline the prospects of further struggle for the triumph of our common communist ideals.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always considered, and considers now, its activity and its experience an integral part of the activity and experience of the world communist movement. The CPSU has always derived strength and inspiration for its struggle and endeavours in

unbreakable friendship, in the militant alliance with the fraternal Parties. (*Stormy applause.*)

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of our Party to voice the most sincere gratitude to all fraternal Parties, to all Communists, for their friendship, for sincere support of the Soviet people in their effort to build communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Allow me to convey to all Marxist-Leninist Parties heartfelt greetings and wishes of fresh great successes. (*Applause.*) Glory to the world communist movement, the leading political force of our epoch! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

5. THE LENINIST FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrades, our foreign policy plays a major role in our great constructive work, in ensuring favourable conditions for the building of socialism and communism.

The victory of the Great October Revolution has initiated truly revolutionary changes in international relations. For the first time in the world there appeared a state which opposed the imperialist policy of oppressing and enslaving the peoples, the policy of colonial exploitation, violence and predatory wars, with a policy of upholding the freedom and independence of the peoples, of safeguarding peace against the imperialist aggressors. The struggle of these two opposite policies has continued for half a century now.

The nature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and its distinctive features stem from the very essence of the socialist social system.

What are its major features?

Our foreign policy was born in the crucible of the socialist revolution. It has been, and remains, an instrument serving the revolutionary transformation of society in our country. Defence of the revolution's gains—this is the task Lenin set before Soviet foreign policy immediately after the victory of the October Revolution. Addressing leading Party functionaries in January 1918, he urged them to solve questions of foreign policy "from the point of view of the conditions which best make for the development and consolidation of the socialist revolution which has already begun".¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 445.

The foreign policy of the Soviet state is invariably based on this Leninist directive. Its main task is to defend the gains of the October Revolution, to frustrate the imperialist intrigues against the homeland of socialism and to ensure the necessary external conditions for building communist society. It was this that Lenin regarded also as the supreme internationalist duty of the Soviet Land to the world revolutionary movement.

Our foreign policy is internationalist, because the interests of the Soviet people coincide with those of the working masses in all countries. It is infused with the spirit of solidarity with the revolutionary, progressive forces throughout the world and represents an active factor of the class struggle on the international arena.

Many splendid examples of revolutionary internationalism are inscribed in the half-century annals of our state. We find there striking manifestations of solidarity of young Soviet Russia with the proletarians of Germany and Hungary who rose up in rebellion, numerous facts of support over many years of the struggle the Chinese people waged against the forces of imperialism and reaction. The glorious epic of the brotherhood-in-arms with revolutionary Spain is unforgettable. Our country went to the aid of the Spanish people with everything it could—from diplomatic support and economic help to the personal contribution of thousands of Soviet volunteers who to the last day, together with the Spaniards, fought at Barcelona barricades and in the Madrid sky. Throughout the ages there will shine the liberatory exploit of our people in the Great Patriotic War when the victory won at the cost of millions of lives of Soviet men and women delivered many countries from fascist enslavement. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the persistent struggle the Soviet Union has been waging in the postwar period for a just democratic peace and, above all, in defence of the independence of the new, people's democratic states.

The spirit of revolutionary internationalism permeates all the activities of the Homeland of the October Revolution on the world arena and we Soviet people will always be loyal to this lofty principle.

Profound and genuine democracy is one of the primary features of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

Having resolutely broken with the traditional foreign

policy of the exploiting classes, with the methods of secret diplomacy and the policy of collusion behind the backs of nations, the Soviet state abrogated all secret treaties concluded by tsarist Russia. On major questions affecting the destinies of mankind, our country began to address itself not only to the governments of other states, but also directly to the peoples.

In our relations with all countries we follow the unshakable democratic principle: recognition in practice of the equality of all nations, big and small, and recognition of the equality of all races and nationalities.

On Lenin's initiative the Soviet state solemnly proclaimed a "complete break with the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilisation which has built the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of the working people in Asia, in the colonies in general and in the small countries".¹

The Soviet Republic unhesitatingly recognised the right of all peoples, including those of the former Russian Empire, to self-determination, that is, the right to decide their fate for themselves. It was the first power which approached such countries as Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and China with an unprecedented proposal—to conclude genuinely egalitarian agreements and to establish relations resting on disinterested friendship and mutual support.

Adhering to Lenin's behests, the Soviet Union always was and will continue to be a tireless champion of democratic rights, freedom and independence of all peoples, a faithful ally of those who are for eradicating all forms of colonial or national oppression and for genuine equality of all nations.

Finally, still another fundamental feature characteristic of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is its consistent line of promoting peace, security and friendship of the peoples. Socialism knows no goal other than concern for the interests of the people, which above all presupposes the fight against war, that, as Lenin had said, greatest scourge of the people of labour.

One of the slogans which the Party had advanced to raise the people to revolutionary action was the peace slogan. For us the fight for peace is still a task with a profound class and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 424.

revolutionary meaning, because to work for peace means to isolate the more bellicose, aggressive circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie, to turn public opinion against them and to thwart their anti-popular designs.

The record of our state's existence is one of persistent, unceasing struggle against the aggressive policy of the imperialists and for safeguarding the peoples against the calamities of war. A few hours after the victory of the Revolution the new workers' and peasants' government issued the Lenin Decree on Peace in which it proposed to the governments and peoples of all countries to conclude a just peace without annexations or contributions. In 1919, a Congress of Soviets adopted Lenin's resolution which proclaimed that the "Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic wishes to live in peace with all peoples and devote all its forces to internal development".¹ In 1922, in Genoa at the first international conference to which Soviet Russia received access, our country tabled a comprehensive programme of peaceful co-operation and disarmament.

During the years when the threat of fascist aggression loomed over the world, the Soviet Union persistently worked for a system of collective security which could have bridled the aggressors and prevented a second world war. When the appearance of nuclear weapons and rockets had made the prevention of a new war a particularly urgent issue, the USSR proposed a concrete plan for general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

The banner of peace and friendship between peoples raised aloft by the Soviet Union is winning for socialism the sympathy and support of millions on all continents. People throughout the world see that in its foreign policy the Soviet Union is consistently implementing the new principles that were proclaimed by our great Revolution. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, such are the principal features of our foreign policy course. It was shaped under the leadership of Lenin and further developed by the Party in its subsequent decisions. This Leninist course forms the permanent and principled foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

The Party considers it of tremendous significance that the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 231.

foreign policy of the USSR should be consistent and resolute, that it should be firm in defending the interests of the Soviet people and of the great communist cause and irreconcilable towards aggressors while remaining flexible and realistic. Alongside major issues of the country's development, foreign policy issues are always in the focus of attention of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government. They are regularly discussed at Central Committee plenums, at Party congresses and at the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU has charted the main directions and tasks of our foreign policy for the next few years, and we are undeviatingly adhering to the Congress decisions in our practical activity on the international arena.

Taking into account the enormous historical role played by the world system of socialism in the destiny of mankind, our Party and Government deem it their duty to do everything to strengthen the might and unity of the great community of socialist states.

We are firmly steering the course aimed at furthering political co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries, maintaining still closer and more systematic contacts with the leaders of the Communist Parties and Governments of the fraternal countries, co-ordinating our policies and developing diverse forms of ties and exchanges between our peoples.

In recent years the Soviet Union concluded new treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, Bulgaria and Hungary. We highly treasure these charters of fraternal friendship whose rich content mirrors the new, higher stage which we have reached in our relations.

Jointly with the leadership of the fraternal Parties and countries, the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government unceasingly work to further the fruitful economic co-operation of the socialist states on a bilateral and multilateral basis taking into consideration the great significance of the long-term division of labour and the attainment of scientific and technical progress.

The co-operation of the socialist countries in strengthening their defences is extremely important in present-day conditions, and we are devoting unremitting attention to

this matter. This, above all, concerns relations with the countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation which is a powerful instrument of the political and defensive co-operation of the socialist countries.

Our friendship with the fraternal socialist countries is strengthening and blossoming. (*Applause.*) It is becoming still more profound and multisided and is turning into an indispensable requirement for the peoples of our countries. Permit me to assure you, comrades, that the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government will continue to do everything in their power to consolidate, develop and defend the gains of world socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The fight of the Soviet state for the democratic rights of the peoples, for the complete eradication of all forms of colonial and national oppression is also acquiring new forms in present-day conditions. On the initiative of the Soviet Union and with the active support of other socialist states the UNO by majority vote adopted the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and then the Declaration on the Impermissibility of Interference into the Internal Affairs of States, and on Protecting Independence and Sovereignty.

Today, too, our militant union with peoples which still have to carry on an armed struggle against the colonialists constitutes an important element of our line in international affairs. Now that the colonial system of imperialism has practically disintegrated a new task has come to the fore, that of developing co-operation with states that have already cast off the colonial yoke and are fighting to strengthen their independence and for social progress.

Today we have good relations, which are based on mutual trust and respect, with the young national states. The extent and the concrete forms of these friendly relations depend on the general political course which a particular state pursues. We have closer economic and political ties, closer relations with countries which in their development are heading towards socialism.

The countries that have freed themselves from colonialism regard the Soviet Union as their sincere and selfless friend. They are well aware that the policy of the USSR and even the very existence of our socialist power is an important factor in safeguarding their independence from imperialist encroachments. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union is, as is known, rendering the newly free countries extensive friendly assistance in developing their independent national economy. Factories and mills, power-station dams, hospitals and institutes built with Soviet assistance and co-operation have risen in the jungles and in the arid deserts of many Asian and African countries. Each of these projects is a monument of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the countries that have discarded the colonialist yoke.

An important source of our strength on the international arena is the union with the national liberation movement and with the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. By marching in step and supporting each other, it is easier for us to find solutions to many international problems, including the problems of consolidating peace.

Comrades, in its struggle to thwart the threat of a new world war our Party and the Soviet Government are taking into account the specific features of the present-day international situation.

The war in Vietnam, the US intervention in Laos, the Middle East developments, the reactionary coups engineered by the imperialists in some Asian, African, European and Latin American countries, the demands to remake European frontiers and for access to nuclear weapons stubbornly made by West German revanchists, and their absurd and insolent claim to speak on behalf of the "whole of Germany", as they say, show that imperialism has not changed its aggressive nature. It remains the embodiment of the worst reaction, bloody violence and aggression, and presents a serious threat to peace and security of all peoples, and we cannot, nor do we have the right, to forget this.

It is all the more necessary to be vigilant with regard to imperialist provocations and gambles considering that in present-day conditions a world nuclear and rocket war could kill hundreds of millions of people, destroy whole countries and contaminate the earth's surface and its atmosphere. The Communists cannot but draw the most serious political conclusions from this. The struggle to prevent a new world war has now become an important condition for solving problems of the construction of socialism and communism and the development of the entire world revolutionary process.

Those who want to save mankind from a world nuclear and rocket war must struggle against the aggressive intrigues

and sorties of the imperialists with redoubled energy. It is necessary to counter the imperialist actions with a united front of anti-imperialist forces.

The imperialists do not achieve their goals where the aggressors are firmly rebuffed by the freedom fighters. This is exemplified by the events in Vietnam.

In an effort to suppress the national liberation struggle of the South Vietnamese population, prevent a democratic unification of the country, hinder the construction of socialism in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and intimidate the fighters for national emancipation and progress in other countries, the American imperialists have thrown their armed forces against the South Vietnamese patriots and then directly attacked the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The crimes of the US military in Vietnam bring back to memory the atrocities of the fascist brutes. The killing of tens of thousands of peaceful inhabitants, the methodical destruction of towns and villages, the reduction of schools and hospitals to ruins and the destruction of crops, all this marks the disgraceful path of the US interventionists on Vietnamese soil. The murderers, under the guise of defenders of the so-called free world, have not forced and never will force the Vietnamese people to their knees (*stormy, prolonged applause*) nor intimidate the fighters for freedom and independence. (*Applause.*) The peoples of the whole world, including millions of Americans, are branding the sanguinary aggression against Vietnam with shame. The intervention in Vietnam is increasingly undermining the international prestige of the United States.

Neither the half million American soldiers in the jungles of South-East Asia, nor the powerful navy, nor heavy bombers, nor the army of the Saigon puppets, nor the regiments dispatched by the obedient satellites of the USA can win the day for the aggressors.

Displaying heroism which evokes the admiration of the whole world and overcoming tremendous difficulties, the Vietnamese people are repulsing the hordes of the interventionists and dealing them blow after blow. In doing so they have the support of progressive peace-loving forces throughout the world and primarily the constant extensive assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Weapons, munitions, food, clothes, transport facilities and equipment are all concrete manifestations of the solidarity

of the socialist countries which are helping the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle.

The military successes of the Vietnamese people could have been still more significant if not for the stand of Mao Tse-tung's group which hampers co-ordinated assistance to Vietnam from all socialist countries, including China. We regret that the Peking leaders have taken this line. For its part, the Soviet Union is fully resolved to render every assistance and support to the fraternal Vietnamese people who are fighting for their just cause. (*Prolonged applause.*) This assistance will continue until the American imperialists stop their shameful and criminal venture and get out of Vietnam. (*Stormy applause.*)

The people of Vietnam are fighting for a just cause, and they will win. There can be no doubt about it. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The actions of the USA, Britain and the FRG which are encouraging the aggression of their puppets, the Israeli rulers against the neighbouring Arab states, have once again disclosed the predatory nature of the imperialist policy and have aroused the indignation of all progressive forces in the world and the just indignation of the multi-million Arab people. At the same time the Arab people had one more occasion to see for themselves that the Soviet Union and other socialist states are their true friends and a reliable bulwark of their independence.

The Soviet Union is honestly fulfilling its duty by doing a great deal to bridle the aggressive imperialist forces and strengthen peace. There is no doubt that the vigilance of peoples with regard to imperialist intrigues and the joint efforts of all peace-loving states will reliably safeguard the cause of peace.

We have helped and will help those who are fighting against imperialist interference into the affairs of the peoples, and those who have become the victims of imperialist aggression. This assistance may have the most diverse forms: political, diplomatic, economic or military, depending on circumstances, but its content will be always the same—to rebuff the aggressors, defend the peoples' right to independent development, defend the peace and security of the peoples and in this way to defend the interests of socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, being well aware of the aggressive nature of

imperialism, our Party considers it essential that the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union should be supported by its indomitable defensive might. This is also made imperative by the interests of the Soviet people and the interests of ensuring universal peace.

Therefore the strengthening of our glorious Armed Forces is a constant concern of the Central Committee, the Soviet Government and the whole people. (*Applause.*)

We realise that the might of the Soviet socialist state has been and remains the chief bulwark of peace in the world, the principal obstacle standing in the way of the imperialist war-mongers. Lenin had pointed out that the creation of a socialist army, inspired with the ideas of struggle for the emancipation of the working people, will make the Soviet land invincible. Today, looking back on the road we have covered, we can say with pride that we have solved the task set by Lenin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) Our glorious army is fulfilling its duty to the people and the Revolution with honour. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet Army is a mighty, formidable and invincible force. It has the best weaponry in the world. Its men, from soldiers to marshals, from sailors to admirals, have an excellent knowledge of military science and of the superb military equipment entrusted to them, they are people boundlessly loyal to our Party and to the communist cause. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We take into account the lessons of the past and are doing everything so that no one should catch us unawares. And the Soviet people will not flinch if someone will be mad enough to make an attempt on the security of the Soviet Union and of our allies. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) This attempt, wherever it might come from—the north or the south, the west or the east—will encounter the all-conquering might of our Armed Forces. (*Applause.*) No shields and no distances are too great for this might. Let it be known to all that in a clash with any aggressors the Soviet Union will win a victory that will be worthy of our great people, of the land of the October Revolution. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

On our great holiday we send warm greetings to the defenders of our Homeland, its sky and seas, and also to the talented designers and makers of the formidable weapons with which our soldiers are armed. (*Applause.*) Honour and

glory to the heroic Armed Forces of the Soviet Union—the reliable guard of the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of our socialist gains! (*Stormy applause.*)

Our might is great, but we never use it to attain selfish ends. The colossal might of the world's first state to be building communism serves the just cause of struggle against aggression and oppression, for freedom, democracy and peace. The growth of this might and the increasing influence of the USSR on world developments accord with the vital interests of the masses in all countries.

Our foreign policy is socialist and consistently revolutionary in its entire content. But Marxists-Leninists have always understood that socialism cannot be implanted by one country into another by military force, that it is a product of the internal development of a given society. They firmly believe in the righteousness of their cause, in the advantages of the socialist system and are convinced that there is no need to resort to wars between states for it to be victorious.

Lenin said that in foreign policy it is necessary to take into account both the plans of the imperialist adventurers and the stand of the sober-minded sections of the bourgeoisie. We remember these instructions and today, when the Soviet Union has attained unprecedented might, it continues to advocate renunciation of attempts to settle issues in relations between the two social systems by means of war. We call upon the governments of bourgeois countries to heed the voice of the peoples who want peace and stable security. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union deems it its duty to do everything in its power to translate these aspirations into life. That is why it is fighting and will continue to fight with unabated energy for general and complete disarmament. We also consider useful such partial steps in this direction as the agreements on banning nuclear weapons' tests, on nuclear non-proliferation or on banning the use of nuclear weapons.

We attach great significance to the United Nations and together with other freedom-loving and peaceable states we will work to turn it into an efficient organ of international co-operation in the interests of defending peace and the rights of peoples. Jointly with its allies the USSR will continue to work persistently for a stable peace in Europe, and to struggle against everything that threatens the security of

the European peoples, and will support mutually advantageous co-operation of states with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The fight of the Soviet Union for peace and friendship between peoples has completely dispelled the false legend about "the aggressiveness of Moscow" and "the communist threat" with whose help international reaction headed by the US imperialists had misled the peoples and knocked together NATO, SEATO and other aggressive military blocs. By creating these blocs they intended to encircle us, and thus prevent the consolidation of the world socialist system and the development of the national liberation revolution of the oppressed peoples.

But things turned out not as Washington and other capitals of the capitalist countries had calculated. The positions of socialism and its allies are strengthening from day to day. The aggressive imperialist forces have found themselves in growing isolation and their blocs are showing signs of cracking up. The peoples and even some bourgeois governments are more and more overtly evincing their desire to cast off the fetters that had been imposed on them, and to dissociate themselves from the dangerous adventuristic policy of the organisers and leaders of the imperialist blocs. A factor contributing to this is, undoubtedly, the influence of the principled and consistent peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, looking back at the 50 years covered by the Soviet socialist power we say with confidence that our Leninist foreign policy has solved and is solving successfully all problems before it.

In the first years after the October Revolution our correct course in international affairs helped us to frustrate the plans of the enemies who strove to crush the young and the then still weak Soviet state. It helped the Soviet people to build socialism in conditions when our country was encircled by a hostile capitalist world. It enabled us to foil attempts to establish against us a united front of world imperialism in the Second World War and in this way helped the Soviet people to achieve their historic victory. The fact that for the third decade the Soviet people are living in peace and are dedicating their efforts to the construction of communism means that our country's defences are reliable and that the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are, as before,

successfully effectuating their foreign policy. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our foreign policy is approved and supported by all Soviet people, by all champions of freedom, progress and peace. This policy will continue to follow the path it has followed for 50 years, the path bequeathed by Lenin, charted by the Party and tested in the course of history. The Soviet Union is fighting for the happiness of all peoples in alliance with all that is progressive, honest and rational in the world; and we are therefore confident that the cause for which the land of the October Revolution is fighting on the international arena will be victorious. (*Prolonged applause.*)

**6. THE COMMUNIST PARTY—
THE MILITANT VANGUARD OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE,
THE INSPIRER AND ORGANISER
OF ALL OUR VICTORIES**

Comrades, the victory of the October Revolution, the victory of socialism in our country is the victory of the ideas of the Communist Party and a great triumph of its Leninist general line. Since the beginning of the 20th century the history of our country has been indissolubly bound up with the activity of the Communist Party.

In the past 50 years the Party has carried out work unprecedented for its content and scale: it solved major theoretical problems of socialism and communism and carried on day-to-day practical organisational work; guided the country's economy in towns and villages and elaborated the most complicated problems of foreign policy; unceasingly worked to educate the people ideologically, promote culture and strengthen the Soviet state, and took measures to ensure the impregnable defence of the country; devoted constant attention to the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and the cementing of the fraternal friendship of all the peoples of our great country. In a word, there was not a single major problem to the solution of which the Party had not applied its wisdom, will and inexhaustible energy. (*Applause.*)

Throughout these years the CPSU advanced under the unceasing fire of the opponents of communism. The forces of the old world madly attacked both our Party and the country for whose destiny it has assumed responsibility. But

the Party of Lenin was like an unshakable fortress against which the onslaught of the enemies and the numberless attacks of political and ideological opponents came to grief.

The Party has travelled a long road; from scattered Marxist groups and circles it developed into a multi-million organisation which has become the leading force of Soviet society. (*Applause.*)

In 1903, when the Second Congress of the RSDLP adopted the first Party Programme, which was a programme of struggle against tsarist autocracy and capitalism, its ranks numbered only a few thousand members.

The Bolsheviks were shot, left to die in penal servitude or tortured in prisons. But whenever a fighter of the revolution fell tens of new fighters came to take his place. They were real heroes, people of indomitable will and fortitude, endowed with high principles, crystal honesty, and extraordinary staunchness and determination. They were inspired by their unshakable belief in the righteousness of their cause and in the inevitable victory of the Revolution. The cause of the Party, the cause of the Revolution was sacred for them and that is why they dedicated themselves to it. (*Applause.*)

In February 1917, when the Party emerged from the underground, it had about 24,000 members. By October 1917, there were already 350,000 Bolsheviks. And that was all there were in Russia with her population of 160,000,000. What incredible energy these people had to have and what indestructible strength had the truth they carried to be able to lead tens of millions of workers and peasants.

The Party came up to the October Revolution as a militant political organisation fused by iron discipline and supported by workers' and soldiers' masses, progressive intellectuals and a considerable section of the peasantry. It came up to the October Revolution armed with the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution, the theory which showed our people the road to socialism.

The victory of the October Revolution and the formation of the Soviet state meant that the first Programme of the Party had been fulfilled. In 1919, the Eighth Congress of the RCP(B) adopted its second Programme, that of building socialism.

To change over from demolishing the old social system to building a new one, the Party and the working class had

to effect a thorough reorientation—political, organisational and even psychological. We, history's first ruling party of the working class, had to work out a political course capable of showing the way for solving problems which not a single society had hitherto encountered. It was necessary to elaborate new methods and forms of guiding the masses that would correspond to the requirements of peaceful construction. Finally it was necessary to achieve such a change in the sentiments of the Communists themselves which would help them to go over from the heroic spirit of the armed uprising and the Civil War to ordinary everyday labour.

As the Party solved these tasks it waged a relentless struggle against the Trotskyites, Right opportunists and other oppositional groups, whose views mirrored the pressure of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sections. The oppositionists, repudiating the possibility of building socialism first only in our country and not believing in the strength of the working class and in the stability of its alliance with the peasantry, tried to lead the Party away from the Leninist road. But it routed the opposition, ideologically and politically, retained the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the Leninist general line and consolidated the unity of its ranks. (*Applause.*)

The Party's vast theoretical, political and organisational work produced its historical results. The building of socialism in the USSR meant that the second Programme had been fulfilled, too.

Towards the beginning of the 'sixties the Soviet Union reached a new stage, it launched the construction of communism on a large scale. The principal content and the problems of this period found their expression in the third Programme of the CPSU adopted at the 22nd Congress. The main trends of development and the basic tasks indicated in this Programme are extremely important guidelines for our activity in the next decades.

The 23rd Congress generalised the experience accumulated by the Party in recent years and charted concrete paths for the further development of our society. The road covered by our country in the course of half a century shows that the Party's words are never at variance with its deeds. (*Applause.*) The third Programme of the Party, the programme for the building of the foundations of communist society will likewise be fulfilled. (*Applause.*) The Soviet Union, the

birthplace of socialism, shall become the birthplace of communism on our planet. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the life-giving source of our Party's invincible strength is its inviolable link with the people.

Lenin had repeatedly underlined that the vanguard alone, the Party alone cannot build socialism. The vanguard, he said, "performs its task as a vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward".¹ Through the preceding fifty years our Party viewed the consolidation of its links with the people as one of its more important tasks.

The great Lenin, describing the content of the Party's work among the masses, said that the main thing is to mould in them the will, readiness and the ability to build communism. To all appearances it is a simple idea. But in order to translate it into practice truly gigantic work embracing all spheres of human activity, all sections of our society has to be carried out.

To mould the will of the masses and make them prepared to build a new society it was necessary first and foremost to arm the people ideologically and to work out ways, forms and methods of building socialism. And today we cannot but pay tribute to the wisdom and courage of our Party which captained the search for means and ways to build up a new society and, unafraid of sharp turns, effected extremely deep-going social changes. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet working class and all the working people of our country have firmly identified themselves with the Party. Proof of the boundless trust of the working people in the Party can be seen in the fact that the influx of the working people into the Party was the greatest during the most difficult and crucial stages in the history of the Soviet Union. Tens of thousands of people joined the Party during the hard period of the Civil War when the enemy was approaching Tula and Moscow. In 1924, during the Lenin enrollment, 240,000 workers became Communists. More than 5,000,000 people joined the Party in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

The ideas of building communist society advanced by the Party have gripped the hearts and minds of Soviet people becoming a matter of vital concern for all of them; they

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 227.

inspire them to perform remarkable feats of labour. In the current year in which we are marking the great anniversary of the emergence of a new world, half a million people have joined the ranks of the Leninist Party (*applause*), more than 50 per cent of them being workers. (*Applause.*)

The Party highly appreciates the trust people have in it and regards it as an earnest of success in the building of communism.

Tens of thousands of Party organisations, beginning with the Central Committee down to the smallest Party cell, had to perform gigantic organisational work in order to endow the masses with ability to build socialism. And today, too, the task is to help each member of society better to determine his place in the process of communist construction. Moreover, it has to be a place where his talent and ability will give the best results.

The revolutionary creativity of the people produced an extensive and smooth-working system through which the Party maintains its daily links with the masses and leads them. This system, made up of Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and the voluntary societies of working people, has stood the test of time over the past fifty years and showed its indubitable advantages.

The purport of Party leadership is to ensure the inviolable ideological and political unity of the whole society, and the purposeful and co-ordinated development of all the components of the social organism. We do not have and cannot have any political organisation other than the CPSU which would take into account the interests and the specific features of our classes and social groups, of all nations and nationalities, and of all generations and would embody these interests in its policy. The Party takes care that even the smallest streams of everyday activity harmoniously merge into a single mighty torrent.

A solution of all these complex political and organisational problems requires consistent improvement of the forms and methods of Party work. Today we have 13 million Communists. To embody in a single policy the thoughts and will of all Party members it is essential always to combine a correct political course with competent organisational work. Only observance of this condition will enable the Party to fulfil its role as a leading and guiding force in the country's development.

Bearing this in mind we shall continue to consolidate our Party and improve the activity of all Party organisations from bottom up. We shall continue to perfect inner-Party democracy, consolidate the principles of collective leadership, promote the initiative of Party members, see to it that all Communists actively participate in discussing, working out and implementing the Party line, and strengthen Party discipline. We have a reliable foundation for this work, namely the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and the Leninist standards of Party life. For us the observance of these standards is an immutable law. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The strength of the Party consists in that at every historical stage it is self-critical of its activity and uses this approach as a basis for rectifying whatever errors there are. The Party will continue to be more exacting to all Communists and promote criticism and self-criticism. We are sure that whatever difficulties or problems might stand in our way they will be successfully overcome. (*Applause.*)

The Party is fully conscious of the fact that its role and its responsibility for the destiny of the people and the country increase as the scope of communist construction grows. This accounts for the heightening role of Party Congresses, and the plenary meetings of its Central Committee at which major foreign and home policy problems are discussed. The Party is consistently perfecting its work by combining the priceless wealth of the Marxist-Leninist theory with the experience accumulated by our people.

The name Communist imposes many duties. Communists have no privileges except the privilege to devote more efforts to the common cause and to fight and work for its triumph better than the others. Communists have no special rights except the right always to be in the forefront where difficulties are the greatest. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Today, when the land of the October Revolution is at the threshold of the second half-century of its existence, we Communists with a full sense of responsibility declare that we shall continue to devote all our knowledge, strength and ability to the people and to the struggle for their interests and happiness. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our Party has a great and eventful history, and if we have successfully traversed a long and difficult road and

withstood all trials with honour it is above all due to the fact that we have always used our most reliable weapon, the Marxist-Leninist teaching, undeviatingly adhered to it and developed it further. And if our Party, the big tightly-knit family of Soviet Communists, is today successfully coping with all problems, and if the Communists with honour fulfil their vanguard role in all matters whether big or small, it is because our Party has been reared in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and imbued with the ideas of this great teaching. For us Leninism has become in the true sense of the word the science of how to win, and such it will remain for ever. (*Applause.*)

We Communists often heard discourses that Marxism-Leninism has become obsolescent and lost its purport. Bourgeois ideologists, reformists and revisionists, and petty-bourgeois muddlers keep on asking: how is it possible to be guided in practical activity today by a theory that was created many decades ago? And we tell such critics: it all depends on what kind of theory it is.

Yes, history knows of tens and even hundreds of examples when theories, concepts and whole philosophic systems which had laid claim to renewing the world did not pass the test of time, fell to dust and perished ignominiously upon coming into contact with life. This is the common lot of all those who tried or are trying to replace Marxism-Leninism with all sorts of cunningly devised falsifications adapted to the interests of the bourgeoisie, or with half-baked unrealistic pseudo-revolutionary theories.

Theories which are based on dogmas and cannot march in step with social development are doomed to become obsolescent. But the historical fate of the theory of scientific communism has been and will be different. Marxism-Leninism is strong because it rests on the revolutionary materialistic dialectics which always requires a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. The living spirit of Marxism-Leninism lies in its close permanent contact with practice, with life itself and in its strictly scientific approach to reality. This is the secret of its eternal youth. (*Applause.*)

We preserve as a great achievement of social thinking all the knowledge about society and the class struggle, about the laws of historical development, about the socialist revolution and ways of building socialism which Marx, Engels and Lenin had given us. We preserve them not as an archivist

keeps old documents, but in a way befitting the heirs of this great teaching, boldly employing this priceless capital of knowledge in practice and constantly developing and multiplying the great theoretical wealth that has been handed down to us. Without developing Marxism-Leninism there is no moving forward for us.

Marxism-Leninism has become the ideological banner of the Soviet people. It is the greatest gain of our revolution and the key to the victory of communism. (*Applause.*) The Party wants every Soviet person to view Marxism-Leninism as a trustworthy compass and a reliable guide to action.

The strength, influence and the prestige of our Party comprise one of the great gains of the dedicated struggle and colossal labour effort of generations of revolutionaries who had devoted themselves body and soul to the service of the people.

The glory and pride of the Party are its Leninist old guard, the Bolsheviks who took part in underground activity and fought in the Revolution and the Civil War. Together with Lenin they waged the first battles against the enemies for the happiness and freedom of the people and laid the foundations of socialism. (*Applause.*) Their life is an exploit and a great example of dedicated service to the cause of the Party and the Revolution. (*Applause.*) On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution more than 128,000 persons who had fought in the Revolution and the Civil War have been decorated with Soviet orders and medals. (*Applause.*) We extend our heartiest greetings to the Party veterans still militant today. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Working fruitfully in the Party is the generation of Communists who had built up the economic might of the Soviet state and in the stern years of the Great Patriotic War defended the gains of the October Revolution arms in hand. The younger generation of Communists is marching shoulder to shoulder with their elder comrades. They are devoted to the ideas of communism and are confidently following the road charted by the fathers. Profound belief in the triumph of our cause, boundless devotion to the interests of the working class and of the people, and staunchness in struggle, all these magnificent traits are handed down by one generation of Communists to another.

There is no loftier duty for all Communists and for all Soviet people other than to safeguard the prestige of the

Party, to consolidate its bonds with the people and to multiply its strength. (*Applause.*)

Glory to the Party of Lenin, the militant vanguard of the Soviet working people! (*Stormy applause.*) May the inviolable unity of the Party and people, the key earnest of all our victories, go from strength to strength! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution, all Soviet people take legitimate pride in their gains. A vast socialist emulation movement in honour of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution has unfolded in the country. News of the pre-schedule commissioning of new factories and mills and of the wonderful achievements of industrial and agricultural workers and men of science and culture are flowing in from all areas.

All that is said in these reports cannot but gladden us. In the ten months of the current year industrial output increased 10.4 per cent. Today we note with particular gratification that the plan for this period has been overfulfilled by all industrial ministries and by all the Union Republics. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our farmers have also registered important achievements in the anniversary year. They are marking the great holiday in a befitting manner. Despite this year's adverse weather conditions, the collective farmers and state-farm workers reared a good harvest and overfulfilled the grain procurement plan. The state has received about 3,500 million poods of grain. (*Applause.*) Plans for the purchases of animal products, potatoes, sunflower seeds, beet and tea leaves have also been overfulfilled. Purchases of cotton, vegetables, fruits and other agricultural products are proceeding apace. (*Applause.*)

As you know, the personnel of hundreds of enterprises, organisations and collective and state farms recognised as winners of the socialist emulation movement in honour of the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution have been awarded memento banners of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Council of Trade Unions. Permit me to extend hearty congratulations to the

glorious winners of the jubilee competition and sincere thanks to all the working people for their dedicated labour and for the fresh successes in economy, science and culture which they achieved this jubilee year. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is not only a holiday for the Soviet people. It is also a holiday for the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, for the Communists of all countries, for the international working-class movement and for all the working people. On behalf of our Party and the whole people we extend cordial gratitude to our friends in other countries for their participation in the great holiday of the Soviet Land. (*Applause.*) Your friendship and solidarity, your victories, dear friends and brothers, will continue to be a source of inspiration for the Soviet people in their effort to build communism. (*Applause.*) We highly appreciate the contribution of the fraternal Parties to the common cause of struggle for human progress. (*Applause.*)

On these anniversary days we cannot omit mentioning our enemies. Of course, they too tried, after their own fashion, to contribute their so-called bit to the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The enemies of communism toiled virtually in the sweat of their brow. The huge imperialist propaganda machine worked in high gear. Moth-eaten remnants of old Russia went into action and a hullabaloo was raised by apostates and renegades, the paid agents of imperialism and its accomplices in different countries. But we live at a time when no one can detract from the greatness of the Land of Soviets, or pervert the true purport of our deeds and the gains of socialism. (*Applause.*) The efforts of our foes, their slander and lies will boomerang against them. And the country of the October Revolution, the land of the victorious socialism, has been, is and will continue to be the hope and the mainstay of all the oppressed people, the mainstay for those who are fighting for peace, freedom and happiness of the people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the banner of socialism raised by the October Revolution waves in the world today as a symbol of the future of the whole of humanity.

The Communist Party and the whole Soviet people are firmly convinced that the gains scored by the Soviet state in the first 50 years of its existence and the achievements

which all the contingents of the world revolutionary movement have won in this period are a prologue to a still more magnificent future of both our country and the peoples of other countries. Communism is mankind's tomorrow! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Before the working people of the world the Leninist Party solemnly declares: the Communists of the Soviet Union, the great Soviet people will fulfil their historic mission and will build the world's first communist society! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution which has ushered in a new era in the history of mankind! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the heroic Soviet people—the builder of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the stronghold of friendship and happiness of the peoples of our country and a reliable bulwark of peace and progress! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of the great Lenin—the inspirer and organiser of all our victories! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the all-conquering revolutionary teaching of our epoch! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

May the unity of the socialist countries, the Communist Parties, the international working class, of all revolutionary and progressive forces strengthen in the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy, socialism, national independence, and the security and freedom of the peoples! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Forward to the victory of communism! (*All rise. Stormy, prolonged applause. Ovation. Cries of "Hurrah!"*)

CONCLUDING SPEECH

Dear comrades,

Esteemed foreign guests,

Our meeting commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution is coming to an end. It has passed in an atmosphere of a tremendous upsurge in the Party and in the whole country. It was as though here, in this hall, we have once again lived through the glorious half-century

history of the Soviet state. A vivid panorama of the present-day dynamic creative life of the Soviet people, a complex and swift-changing picture of the contemporary world, were also unfolded before our eyes.

We have received an endless stream of felicitations, greetings and reports from Soviet people and collectives of working people. We could feel the colossal vital energy, the surging pulse of labour of our great Homeland. Permit me, comrades, on your behalf to sincerely thank all working people, all collectives who have sent us these letters and telegrams and to wish them fresh outstanding labour successes for the good of the people, and great happiness in life. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Here, in this hall, we heard representatives of the Soviet people, envoys from all the Union Republics of our multinational country. Their speeches were permeated with pride for the magnificent successes of socialism in our country, for the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy, for our half-century history. They all expressed the confidence that the inviolable unity of the Party and the people, the growing friendship of the peoples of the USSR will remain the unshakable foundation for the further successes of the land of the Great October Revolution ensuring its victorious advance to communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Here, in this hall, the representatives from the fraternal socialist countries spoke up for the whole world to hear about the superb victories won by the forces of socialism, about the need to continue consolidating the unity and the might of the socialist community, and about unity in the fight for the triumph of our common cause.

Here, in this hall, we heard the stirring speeches of the representatives of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. They vividly expressed the staunch determination to continue the work for the realisation of our great ideals, the desire of all the contingents of the communist movement to consolidate the unity of its ranks.

Here, in this hall, we heard the passionate words of representatives of countries and peoples that have thrown off the yoke of colonial oppression and who have taken the road of struggle for their national independence and freedom.

Communists, all Soviet people are profoundly grateful to our friends for their high estimate of our country's

contribution to the working people's cause throughout the world, to their struggle to liberate humanity from national and social oppression. Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, on behalf of the whole Soviet people to warmly thank our foreign friends for their heartfelt greetings, for their expressions of fraternal friendship to our country and to wish them new victories in their ardent fight for the happiness of their peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Your words, dear friends, inspire Soviet people to new deeds in the name of communism. Today we all are particularly aware of the great responsibility which history has placed on our Party and the Soviet people. On the day of our great holiday we not only think about the greatness of the past accomplishments, but also of the greatness of the future tasks, of the deeds which we have yet to perform.

From this lofty rostrum we assure the people of the world, the working people of all countries, that the Soviet Union will as always fight unremittingly for the realisation of the great, noble and just ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, our country is entering the second half-century of the existence of Soviet rule in the full bloom of its strength. The dawn of the Great October Socialist Revolution flared up 50 years ago. The first rays of the rising sun of a new world pierced the darkness of centuries of social oppression, and today we can say with pride that the rays of the October Revolution are illuminating the road into the future for the whole of mankind. Our old planet has never been as young as it is today. And it owes this youth to the light of a new life which the Russian proletariat kindled in 1917. (*Applause.*)

Within a few days our country will enter the second half of the first century of its socialist history. Soviet people are crossing this line filled with pride for all that has been achieved and confident that they can achieve still more. (*Applause.*)

Today the efforts and the creative energy of the Soviet people are directed to fulfilling still greater tasks in the building of communism. To accomplish them organisation, persistence and purposefulness are required. The Soviet people, closely rallied around their Leninist Communist

Party, possess all these qualities. (*Applause.*) There is no doubt that the plans drawn up by the Party will be successfully consummated. We are confidently advancing along the road charted by the October Revolution.

To follow the road of the October Revolution means to strengthen the economy of our country, heighten labour productivity, improve the living standards, and raise the cultural level of the people.

To follow the road of the October Revolution means to promote socialist democracy, consolidate the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, persistently educate the people in the spirit of high communist principles, and to cherish the unity of the Party and the people as the apple of the eye. (*Applause.*)

To follow the road of the October Revolution means to work consistently for the unity of the international communist movement, for the cause of socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace in the world. (*Applause.*)

By following the road of the October Revolution we achieved the victory of socialism! By following the road of the October Revolution we will achieve the victory of communism! (*Stormy applause.*)

Glory to the Great October Revolution! (*Applause.*)

Glory to the Soviet people who are building communism! (*Applause.*)

Glory to the peoples of the socialist countries! (*Applause.*)

Glory to the fighters for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism! (*Applause.*)

Under the invincible banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin forward to the victory of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

**SPEECH AT A MEETING IN LENINGRAD
COMMEMORATING THE 50th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION**

November 5, 1967

Dear comrades,

During these days the whole Soviet people is experiencing a feeling of great joy, an incomparable spiritual upsurge. November 7, 1967, the glorious date marking the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the half-century jubilee of the world's first socialist state, of our Soviet state, is approaching.

For us the half-century of the existence of the Land of Soviets constitutes 50 years of heroic struggle and intensive work, 50 years of victories in the field of battle and labour in the name of the freedom, happiness and prosperity of all the peoples of our socialist motherland, in the name of communism. That is why this jubilee is so dear to our hearts and that is why we are marking it with such celebration, with such jubilation in our hearts.

But our jubilee is dear not only to Soviet people. It is the birthday of the world's first state of workers and peasants, of the first state where an end has been put once and for all to exploitation of man by man, a state which has shown other countries and peoples the road to the socialist future. That is why together with us the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is being marked by millions upon millions of our friends in other countries as their own great festival.

Comrades, in this hall are gathered the finest people of the city of Leningrad and of Leningrad Region—Party activists, deputies to the city and regional Soviets, veterans of the October Revolution and the Civil War, distinguished

workers of Leningrad's enterprises, and soldiers and sailors of our valiant Armed Forces. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics allow me to congratulate you and all the people of Leningrad on the approaching jubilee—the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. (*Prolonged applause.*)

During these days our people and all our friends abroad are summing up the results of the glorious historical advance of our revolution. As you all know, the commemoration sitting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation devoted to this memorable date ended yesterday in Moscow. It was attended by leading personalities of the fraternal socialist countries and most of the Communist Parties of the world, and by delegates from countries that have recently won liberation from colonial tyranny. The speeches of our guests in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses resounded as an anthem of revolutionary internationalism. They spoke movingly of the feat accomplished by the Soviet people and their Communist Party, and of the homeland of Lenin, who raised the banner of socialism over the world. They noted that our Leninist Party and our Soviet people have always been true to the lofty principle of proletarian internationalism, that the Land of Soviets has been and remains a reliable bulwark of all the forces fighting for peace, freedom and progress. (*Applause.*)

Indeed, the five decades of our great revolution occupy a prominent and inimitable place in the history of mankind. Indivisibly linked by revolutionary continuity, these glorious five decades have witnessed the titanic deeds of a people which has irrevocably shaken off the yoke of exploitation, poverty and ignorance and is confidently advancing towards the communist future.

I'll not hide the fact, dear Comrades Leningraders, that it is gratifying to be among you today, to be in the city which the Soviet people rightfully call the cradle of the October Revolution. Here everything is reminiscent of the unforgettable events of those historical days, of the work of our teacher and leader—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. (*Stormy applause.*)

To this day the square in front of the Finland Railway

Station, where Vladimir Lenin called on the working people to start the socialist revolution, the Smolny Institute, which was the headquarters of the revolution, the Vyborg District and the Narva Gate, where workers' Red Guard units, the assault forces of the revolution, were formed and the legendary cruiser *Aurora*, which gave the signal for the storming of the Winter Palace, continue to stir the minds of Soviet people and revolutionaries throughout the world and are illumined by the eternal flame of the Great October Revolution. (*Prolonged applause.*)

October 1917 saw the realisation of what generations of revolutionaries had dreamed and for whose sake they had fought unremittingly in the course of many decades: the socialist revolution triumphed in our country.

The chronicle of the great revolution will always preserve the memory of the peerless valour and staunchness of the proletarians of Petrograd and the sailors of the Baltic Fleet, the workers of Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Minsk and Lugansk, and the working people of the Urals, Siberia and other regions where the first victories were won in the revolution's triumphant march across our country.

Educated and tempered by the Bolshevik Party, by the Party of Lenin, the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, the steel cohort of fighters of the revolution, in alliance with the millions of working peasants, completed the work of demolishing the hated system of exploitation and oppression. The Land of Soviets commenced building a new, socialist life.

During the grim years of the Civil War and intervention, the workers of Petrograd along with the working people of the whole country courageously rose to defend the gains of the October Revolution and unflinchingly they repulsed the pressure of the internal counter-revolution and the foreign interventionists.

Present here today are active participants in the heroic epic of those unforgettable years—participants in the October Revolution and the Civil War. During these commemorative days we wholeheartedly greet and congratulate the glorious guard of veterans of the revolution. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Together with them we take immense pride in the fact that the cause for whose sake half a century ago they gave battle to the old world today triumphs in the glorious achieve-

ments of the Soviet people, the builder of communism, and in the successes of the world socialist community. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The decision adopted in 1924 by the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets to rename Petrograd Leningrad was the highest assessment of the heroic deeds of the proletarians of Petrograd, of their services to the revolution and the whole country. This historical document states: "Henceforth may this major centre of the proletarian revolution be forever associated with the name of the greatest leader of the proletariat, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov-Lenin."¹

Leningrad has proved to be worthy of its name. (*Stormy applause.*) Both in peaceful socialist construction and during the stern trials of wartime, the people of Leningrad have always honourably discharged their revolutionary duty.

The unparalleled staunchness, valour and courage displayed by Leningraders during the Great Patriotic War virtually stunned the peoples of the world. With the powerful support of the entire Soviet motherland, the city of Lenin held out in the life-and-death struggle with a brutal and strong enemy, surmounted the immense trials of the blockade, endured everything—and won. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The star of Leningrad shines brightly in the galaxy of hero-cities of Moscow, Sevastopol, Volgograd, Odessa, and Kiev, and the hero-fortress of Brest. (*Applause.*)

The banner of Leningrad has been decorated with the motherland's highest awards. The people of Leningrad have deserved them by their heroism in battle and outstanding achievements in peaceful labour.

Today, as in the years of the first five-year plans and the postwar rehabilitation, Leningrad is making a large contribution towards the great projects of our people. The creative innovatory thinking, skill and energy of the workers, engineers, designers and all working people of the city of Lenin are to be found in the giant power stations on the Volga, the Angara and the Yenisei, in the new projects in the North and in Siberia, at numerous factories and mills, in all the Union republics—wherever the creative

¹ *Congresses of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. A Collection of Documents 1922-1936, Russ. ed., Vol. III, Moscow, 1960, p. 39.*

work of Soviet people is in full swing today. (*Applause.*) The scientists, writers, musicians, artists and stage and screen actors of Leningrad occupy a prominent place in the development of science and culture, in the creation of the cultural values of socialism.

The factory workers, collective farmers and state-farm workers of our country are marking the half-century jubilee of the October Revolution with valorous deeds. Here, too, as always, the people of Leningrad are in the forefront. During these days sixty-one working collectives of the city of Leningrad and Leningrad Region have been awarded commemorative banners of the Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in token of the motherland's gratitude for their labour achievements. (*Applause.*) This honour has been conferred on the machine-tool builders of the noted Kirov Works (or the Krasny Putilovets as it used to be called), the metalworkers of Krasny Vyborzhets, shipbuilders, the makers of giant turbines and generators that have won world renown, the makers of the most precise and most up-to-date kinds of output—electronic machines and the most intricate optical instruments—the workers of the Krasny Treugolnik Rubber Works, the shoemakers of the Skorokhod Factory, and many other contingents of the Leningrad working class, and also the foremost state and collective farms in the region. (*Applause.*) Red banners of labour valour have been awarded to the winners of the jubilee competition in perpetuity. They are a great honour and, at the same time, impose a great responsibility. (*Applause.*) We wish the decorated collectives to be always worthy of the high honour that has been conferred on them. (*Stormy applause.*)

Dear comrades. Esteemed Leningraders. Further joyful news was flashed round the country yesterday: Leningrad, the cradle of the revolution, and Moscow, our country's capital, were the first to be decorated with the newly instituted Order of the October Revolution for outstanding services in the revolution and in strengthening Soviet power, for courage and heroism in the battles with the enemies of the Soviet state, and for achievements in peaceful labour, in the building of communism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*) It may be said with certainty that all Soviet people

wholeheartedly welcome this decision, which justly marks the services rendered by Leningraders and Muscovites to the people and the revolution. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Several generations of Leningraders have earned this new high decoration by their absolute devotion to the cause of socialism and communism, by their heroism in battle, and by their conspicuous achievements in labour.

The award to Leningrad is a decoration for the glorious working class of the city of Lenin (*applause*), its numerous technical intelligentsia, its distinguished workers in science, culture and art, Party and local government functionaries, and men of the Soviet Army and Fleet, in short, for all who live and work in your splendid city. (*Prolonged applause.*) For us, your guests—Nikolai Victorovich Podgorny, Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin and me—it is a great pleasure to be among you, dear Comrades Leningraders, and warmly, from the bottom of our hearts, to congratulate you and all the people of the city of Lenin on the receipt of a further high decoration from the motherland. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

Comrades, the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government are fully confident that Leningraders shall continue to be in the front ranks of the builders of communism, that they shall always be true to the fine revolutionary traditions of their fathers and that they shall be always worthy of their distinguished title of citizens of a Hero-City, of a city that bears the name of the great Lenin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Honour and glory to those who took part in the Great October Socialist Revolution! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Honour and glory to the heroes who in battle upheld the gains of the October Revolution!

Honour and glory to the Soviet people, builders of communism, who raised high over the world the torch of freedom lit by the October Revolution! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH
AT A COMMEMORATIVE PLENARY MEETING
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE ALL-UNION LENIN YOUNG
COMMUNIST LEAGUE

October, 25, 1968

Dear comrades of the Komsomol!

Esteemed veterans of the Party and the Komsomol!

Esteemed foreign guests!

Dear friends!

The Lenin Komsomol has reached the age of 50. This is a great occasion for the Soviet people. All of us, people of different generations, feel young today because our youth began in the ranks of the Komsomol. Half a century is a long span. But our Komsomol does not grow old.

On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, on behalf of the Communists of the Soviet Union, allow me to extend heartfelt congratulations to the All-Union Lenin Young Communist League and all Soviet young people on the occasion of this great and joyful anniversary. (*Applause.*)

Born of the revolutionary storm and tempered in the crucible of class battles, the Komsomol is the child of the Bolshevik Party and the militant youth of the Land of Soviets. The great Lenin stood at its cradle. The Party has always lovingly reared, educated and tempered the Komsomol, which is its reliable militant reserve.

Since 1924 the Komsomol bears the name of Lenin. In accepting this beloved name, the members of the Komsomol vowed to live, work and fight in the Leninist way and faithfully to fulfil the behests of the great teacher and leader. Today we have full grounds for saying that the Komsomol is true to this indestructible pledge. All the glorious deeds and all the achievements of the Komsomol, of our young people, have been inspired by Lenin's teaching.

Our Party and the whole Soviet people have highly assessed the fine battle and labour feats of the Komsomol. There are five Orders on its banner. It is with great joy that I wish to inform you that the outstanding services of Soviet young people have received further recognition: on the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Party the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has decorated the Lenin Komsomol with the Order of the October Revolution on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Cheers. Cries of "Thank you, Party!" All rise. Prolonged ovation.*)

This decoration is a token of the nation's recognition of the selfless patriotic deeds of our young people, who are true to Lenin's behests and devote all their teeming energy, intelligence and talent to the great cause of the revolution, to the defence of the motherland, to the building of communism. This event stirs all of us who began our public activity as members of the Komsomol. I congratulate members of the Komsomol warmly, from the bottom of my heart, on the receipt of this honourable and merited decoration. (*Stormy applause.*)

On the occasion of the Komsomol's anniversary, some of its organisations have also been decorated. To all of them we extend warm congratulations and wishes for new achievements in labour and creative successes for the good of our great motherland. (*Applause.*)

Together with the present many-million-strong contingent of Komsomol members, the glorious 50th anniversary is being marked by all generations of the Lenin Young Communist League.

In this hour of commemoration our first word is about those whose youth was spent in struggle for the victory of the world's first proletarian revolution, about those who began their road in life in the ranks of Russia's Young Communist League during the period of bitter fighting against the enemies of the young Soviet Republic. Along with the Komsomol membership card and the revolutionary mandate the young fighters were handed rifles. Young men and women of the young Soviet Republic fought a life-and-death battle against Kolchak and Denikin, Yudenich and Wrangel, against interventionists from fourteen countries.

The sons of the Lenin Komsomol matured in the struggle against enemies under the banner of the Communist Party.

They became steeled, dedicated fighters for the happiness of the people, for socialism.

We address a word of congratulation on this day of commemoration to the Komsomol members of the 1930s, to those who were in the front ranks of the builders of socialism, to those who helped to fashion the country's industry.

In those years the revolutionary mandate of the young proletarian, peasant and graduate of a workers' faculty was a Komsomol assignment to a new building project. In those years the front was delineated by the targets of the first five-year plans. It was a labour front. The militant watchwords were: Dnieper Hydropower Station, Turkestan-Siberian Railway, Magnitogorsk and Komsomolsk-on-Amur. The Komsomol took charge of the most important projects and was to be found where the work was hardest.

We have not forgotten nor shall we ever forget how young men and women dug foundation ditches with picks and shovels in bitter frost, and evened concrete with their feet.

Remember, friends, how in the countryside the first Komsomol members ploughed up not only the old boundaries but also old habits, the entire age-old way of village life. It sometimes happened that there were only two or three Komsomol members in a village, but they courageously flung a challenge to the class enemy. Undaunted by kulak bullets, the Komsomol members enlisted the rural youth into the drive for collectivisation.

It was a stormy time, so much so that, as they say, it took people's breath away. The Komsomol itself learned and within the bounds of its strength and knowledge taught others. Komsomol members set up illiteracy-abolition circles, opened for millions of illiterate people the door to the riches of knowledge and carried the light of the new life. They made an immense contribution to the genuine cultural revolution that was accomplished in our country.

The youth of the 1930s has entered the chronicle of the Komsomol as storming the stratosphere, fighting in the ranks of international brigades and developing the taiga backwoods. In those years, side by side with their senior comrades, they created the foundation of socialism. This foundation has been cemented by unparalleled labour heroism and revolutionary enthusiasm.

Today, on the occasion of the Komsomol's 50th anniversary we extend congratulations also to the Komsomol mem-

bers who fought heroically in the Great Patriotic War, to those who courageously rose to socialism's defence in response to the first call of the motherland, to the call of the Party.

Like their fathers and mothers during the Civil War, young men and women went to the front by entire Komsomol organisations. The deeds of the young heroes at the different fronts, behind the enemy's lines and at factories and collective farms shall always remain in our hearts and in the memory of coming generations.

The young generation that has grown up under Soviet power has proved that it solicitously carries the flame of revolutionary traditions through the years and decades.

As in the days of Nikolai Ostrovsky, Komsomol steel has been tempered in the fire of battle and in hard, dedicated work. In the stern hour of trial, young men and girls in their 'teens, who had hitherto known neither hunger nor need, displayed endurance, staunchness and unshakable faith in victory.

Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Oleg Koshevoi, Liza Chaikina, Alexander Matrosov, Nikolai Gastello, Marite Melnikaitė. . . . The very mention of these names brings to life a vivid and moving picture of mass heroism, self-sacrifice, spiritual purity and nobility such as the history of previous epochs has never known.

Such were the Komsomol members of the 1940s who were educated by the Party in the spirit of utter devotion to the ideals of Leninism and the socialist motherland.

Yes, comrades. Nobody will ever defeat a country where every new generation preserves and multiplies the militant traditions of preceding generations. (*Applause.*)

Before the sound of gunfire had subsided the Komsomol began, in response to the Party's call, the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy. Spirited young people went to work at the Zaporozhstal project, in the Donbas and in Stalingrad to return to life everything that had been built by their older brothers and by their fathers and barbarously destroyed by the enemy.

Within an unprecedentedly short time we healed the grievous wounds inflicted by the war. Fields of green wheat and factory buildings appeared where the land was scorched by the enemy, and towns and villages rose from ruins. This was a great labour exploit.

The Komsomol members of our day are 23 million young fighters for communism, young men and women of more than 100 nations and nationalities. This is a generation which has grown up after the Patriotic War.

Although this is the youngest generation, it has already accomplished many glorious deeds. Evidence of this are the priority Komsomol building projects and the labour achievements of young workers and collective farmers.

We cannot picture the history of the Komsomol without the epic of Bratsk, Rudny, Norilsk, Sumgait, Rustavi and many other projects. Virgin land was developed by 350,000 young people on assignments from the Komsomol. Thousands of volunteers are helping to build the mammoth Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station and are working with dedication at the key projects of the five-year plan. The Komsomol members of today, like their older brothers before them, have their own milestones and their own names which are an example for the youth of the country. We have every reason for saying that the Komsomol replacement continues the cause of preceding generations of young builders of communism. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, today, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Lenin Young Communist League, we look back to the bright image of those young men and women, of those selfless heroes, fighters of the many-million-strong army of the Komsomol, who gave their lives for our common cause.

The girl in the leather jacket who was cut down by a whiteguard bullet, the lad in a soldier's tunic closing the firing port of a fascist pillbox with his heart—today they are with us. We remember and speak of them not as fallen but as living. They were young when death wrested them away from the fighting ranks. But being eternally young, they are with us. I propose a minute's silence in memory of the young fighters and builders of the new society who gave their most precious possession, their lives, for the triumph of Lenin's immortal ideals. (*All rise.*)

Comrades, the tasks of the Komsomol in the building of socialism and in the communist education of the rising generation were outlined by Lenin at the 3rd Congress of the Komsomol in 1920. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin formulated the content and methods of the work of the Youth League, concretely showed what the Komsomol had to do as the

assistant of the Communist Party and defined the role and place of young people in social life and in the building of communist society.

In the hour of trial, when the young Land of Soviets was held in the vise of intervention, famine, mutinies and economic dislocation, it needed Lenin's gift of brilliant prevision to look into the future and show young people the road to the communist morrow.

Nearly half a century has passed since Lenin delivered that speech. But every new generation unflinchingly turns to it in search for an answer to the problems posed by the new conditions of a changing situation.

Lenin's historic speech was and remains an important theoretical document of our Party, a document defining its tasks in the education of young people. In line with Lenin's behests our Party and its Central Committee have displayed a paternal concern for young people at all stages of the revolutionary struggle and communist construction.

All of our Party's counsels to the Komsomol and all its calls to it, to the young generation, were permeated with the Leninist desire to see young people take an active part in communist construction and display their initiative and ardour in all the affairs of the nation.

For the Komsomol the Party has always been an older friend, a good adviser and mentor, and has always taken close to heart the thoughts, needs and aspirations of the rising generation.

It is natural for young people to look to the future because the future belongs to them. They follow the Communist Party because the Party leads the working people to the future, to a great aim, which has always attracted and inspired foremost young people, to communism. (*Applause.*)

We are living at a remarkable time, when the building of communist society, the creation of the material and technical basis of communism has been started along a wide front in the country. This has become possible because having built socialism, the Soviet people headed by the Party have created new social relations, powerful productive forces and an advanced science and culture.

Look at the level achieved by our country today: steel output is reaching 107 million tons, oil output is this year to step past the 300 million ton mark, the output of coal

will be nearly 600 million tons and the output of electric power comes to 640,000 million kwh.

But the Party always looks ahead. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU and our Party's Programme have set us tasks of a new scale and content. We have to strengthen and develop our social and state organisation, improve socialist democracy, secure a more fuller unravelling of the advantages and creative possibilities inherent in the socialist system and further improve the people's standard of living.

We have to build more factories, mills, mines, power stations, new towns and settlements, irrigation systems and electric power transmission lines, millions of new apartments, and thousands of schools and kindergartens. We know how fabulously rich our country is in minerals. But, I would say, it is only now, when the excavator and the bulldozer, and not the pick and the shovel, have become the symbol of new projects, when diamond-tipped drills drive five or six kilometres into the ground, that we can really utilise our natural resources.

The scope of our work, the daring of our plans and the grandiose scale of what we are doing and have to accomplish may be judged from, say, the following examples. A new oil pipeline stretches for nearly 9,000 kilometres from Tataria to Brest in the west and to Irkutsk in the east. On the agenda now is the building of a gas pipeline from Siberia, where vast reserves of gas have hitherto been inaccessible to man, to the European part of the country. Gas will flow across forests, rivers and mountains to towns and settlements, to factories and homes. Or take the Sayano-Shushenskoye Hydropower Station, the building of which was started this year. It will be ten times the size of the Dnieper Hydropower Station. Such are the scales of our day.

In all these great projects our glorious young workers, the heart and soul of the Komsomol, are, as before, on the very front line of communist construction. They are honourably continuing the revolutionary traditions of the older generations of the heroic working class of the Soviet Union (*applause*) and capably mastering the superb skills of veterans of production. The capable hands of young men and women workers are increasing the motherland's wealth, creating the foundation for improving the life of the people

and translating into life the forward-looking ideas of our scientists and designers.

To the Komsomol members at factories and mills the Party says: Be the initiators of the new and advanced, bring fresh ideas, resourcefulness and inventiveness into technological processes and production and be intolerant of stereotypes.

Today we are building more housing than any other country in the world. During the current five-year period more than 60 million people will be given better housing and moved to new homes. Actually, it is a process of renewing the housing accommodation throughout our country. Consider, dear comrades, the social significance of this process. The ramshackle houses inherited from tsarist times and the barrack-type buildings of former years are living their last days. Millions of families are moving into bright modern houses and receiving apartments with electricity, gas and hot water. This means that the life of people is undergoing a fundamental change, that the conditions are improving for recreation, cultured leisure, study and the upbringing of children.

Of course, comrades, in housing and everyday life we still have difficulties. Not everybody yet lives as he should like. We still have workers' hostels. For some time we shall have to reconcile ourselves to this. These difficulties, as you know, are steadily diminishing in proportion to the growing scale of construction. Here much depends on our builders.

As you see, the trade of builder will continue to stand in high esteem. The Party is certain that new contingents of young people will join the ranks of builders. We should like to wish the Komsomol building projects to grow at the most rapid rate and to keep pace with the modern requirements of scientific and technological progress, and that builders belonging to the Komsomol should set the example everywhere. (*Applause.*) To build fast and well and utilise machinery and material resources with the greatest effect are the demand of the day and what the Komsomol should drive for at building projects.

May our young people continue to aspire to the high honour of being the first builders and assemblymen and the first residents of towns that have not yet been marked on the map. Our plans and projects cannot fail to stir young hearts who

cherish the romance of hard work and the joy of discovery.
(*Applause.*)

In speaking of romance, comrades, we must mention those vistas that the swift advance of modern science and technology, the achievements of physics and chemistry and the discoveries in biology are opening for keen young minds.

Gigantic resources of energy, unprecedented even in our nuclear age, will be obtained by people when they have learnt to control the synthesis of the atomic nucleus. Further successes in space exploration will make it possible not only to get a direct knowledge of the Moon and neighbouring planets but find the keys to other riddles of the Universe whose solution will vastly influence the entire progress of science and technology. Knowledge of the laws of genetics will make it possible to control heredity, influence the formation of living organisms, solve many problems of the fight against disease and substantially enlarge mankind's food resources.

You may be proud of the fact that in our science there are many Komsomol members or people who have gone through the Komsomol school. Together with the veterans, young scientists are actively helping to resolve the major problems of the scientific and technological revolution and injecting the spirit of innovation and bold quest into scientific work. (*Applause.*)

We must act on the principle that our economic plans cannot be successfully fulfilled without the utilisation of the latest discoveries of science and technology in our national economy.

That is why the Party calls on the Komsomol to promote on a larger scale the movement of young people aimed at mastering modern science and technology and to concern itself more actively with questions of the scientific organisation of labour and production management.

What immense scope for initiative and admirable innovation in labour is opening for young people in the countryside!

Addressing young people in 1935, Maxim Gorky said:

"We have to cultivate all our land as an orchard, drain swamps, bring water to the arid deserts, canalise and deepen rivers, build millions of kilometers of roads and clear our enormous forests. In our country there must be no room for locusts which devour grain, for fever-carrying mosqui-

toes. . . . This is, of course, still not all. There is still much diverse fascinating work to be done in the building of the first genuinely cultured, socialist state. This work awaits you and demands profound scientific knowledge."¹

A great deal has been done, of course, since these words were spoken. Colossal work has been accomplished in irrigating deserts, building canals and roads and draining swamps. Soviet scientists, agronomists and civil airmen have destroyed the locust, which is a terrible scourge. They have gained the upper hand also over a villain like the malarial mosquito. But what attractive work still lies ahead!

Indeed, comrades, in agriculture, as in industry, we have reached new frontiers. Today we are in a position to allocate more investments for agriculture and provide it with more machines, fertilisers and electric power. We want to raise agriculture to the productivity, labour efficiency and technical equipment level of our industry.

The Party has set the truly great task of delivering agriculture from the whims of nature, from constant dependence on the climate. A long-term plan of land improvement is being put into effect in our country. Large irrigation systems are under construction at legendary Kakhovka and in the North Caucasus, in Uzbekistan and in the Trans-Volga area. Building has started on the third section of the Karakum Canal.

All of us highly value the initiative of the Komsomol in calling on young people to devote themselves to work in the countryside after finishing school, to acquire the profession of agronomist, ameliorator, zootechnician, engineer, or farm-machine operator, and work at the stock-breeding farms or in the fields, in rural schools, hospitals or clubs.

The militant task before the rural youth is to make the fullest use of every hectare of land, to grow two ears of wheat where only one used to grow and secure a general upsurge of efficiency in grain farming and livestock-breeding. The Komsomol plays a large role also in improving everyday life in the village, in helping the school, in club activities and in sports and other interesting and useful activity attracting young people.

In our country all work is socially important. It merges

¹ A. M. Gorky, *Young People and Children*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1938, p. 175.

into the common effort of the people building communist society. I should like to say a word of appreciation about the Komsomol members who have devoted themselves to work in the sphere of services and everyday life. At first glance their work seems simple and routine. But perhaps no other work exercises such an influence on the day-to-day life of people, and, if you like, on how they feel, on their mood and even on their capacity for work. The Party devotes much attention to promoting trade, public catering and cultural and everyday services in town and countryside. The Komsomol, too, must actively help in this important work.

In a speech to young people Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin said that in any work, in every sphere of human activity there are indifferent and proficient craftsmen. Everything depends on a person's attitude to his work, on whether he puts his heart into his work or regards it as an onerous duty and works on the principle of "from here to there".

Our common task is that the young men and women of the Soviet Union should grow up as proficient craftsmen, as people dedicated to their work, as people for whom work is a need and a joy. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet system gives young people wide possibilities for public activity and for participation in affairs of state. One cannot imagine the work of our Soviets, trade unions and state institutions without the active participation of Komsomol members. Some 350,000 young people are deputies to local Soviets and to the Supreme Soviets of the republics. In the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the highest legislative body in the country, there are 182 young people.

Very considerable work is being accomplished by student Komsomol organisations. The Komsomol helps to give students a Marxist-Leninist outlook and initiates student participation in social labour and public activity.

Similarly considerable work lies on the shoulders of the Komsomol in schools, particularly in the leadership of the Young Pioneer organisation. We are well aware that this is not easy work. It requires warmth, industry and, as any other work with children, patience, perseverance and the ability to draw children into useful activity. Children remember their leaders all their lives. The Komsomol meritoriously fulfils this important and honourable assignment from the Party. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, you all know what splendid possibilities have been created in our country for cultural growth and creative activity. In no other country are there so many theatres, palaces of culture, cinemas, clubs, libraries and museums. Everything created in this sphere by the Soviet people is accessible to the youth. And this to say nothing of the fact that we have youth theatres and theatres for children, Young Pioneer palaces and houses, art studios for juveniles, publishing houses for young people and children, and so forth. This concern of the Party and the Soviet Government for the cultural development of the rising generation is yielding fruit. Look, for instance, at the scale that has been achieved by amateur art activity in our country and at how the proficiency of its participants is growing. Or take our people's theatres, creative associations at factory and rural clubs, art studios and quiz clubs. Their activities not only bring aesthetic pleasure to millions of people throughout the country but bring out, foster and nurture young talents that can enrich our art. There are cases, of course, of young authors and performers showing an erroneous taste. But it is precisely the job of the creative unions and the Komsomol to note this opportunely and see to it that the aesthetic training of young people is conducted on a high ideological and artistic level, that it develops healthy tastes, is joyful and optimistic and inspires the work and life of young people. (*Applause.*)

We should like to see our young people not only erudite and spiritually beautiful but also healthy, tempered and physically strong. These days we are following the Olympic Games in Mexico and rooting for our team. Not everything has turned out as our athletes had hoped. The competition has been stiff, indeed, and we welcome the victors who are returning home with Olympic medals. Efforts must be continued to raise the international class of our sports. But the main thing is the mass character of the sports movement, the development of physical culture which embraces all young people, the steeling of the willpower of the youth and the physical training of young men and women for labour and defence. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the Communist Party and the whole people of the Soviet Union regard the building of communism in our country and the strengthening of the might and defence capability of our motherland, the mainstay of socialism,

peace and the freedom of all peoples, as the major component of their **internationalist duty**.

We have never divorced our tasks and affairs from the common cause of liberating the working people of all countries, from the cause of socialism and world peace. It may be said that internationalism is in the blood of all of us. (*Applause.*) It has been nurtured by several generations of Soviet people and each epoch has subjected it to a new test and set it new tasks.

The Soviet people are currently rendering massive, all-sided assistance to the patriots of Vietnam in their heroic struggle against imperialist aggression. The active support of the just liberation struggle of the Arab countries, the diverse forms of assistance to the peoples of the young states that have shaken off colonial oppression and taken the road of anti-imperialist struggle, the road of progressive development, and the broad, all-embracing international links of the Soviet people, including the Komsomol, are manifestations of the Soviet people's internationalism under present-day conditions. Of extreme importance in this respect are the Soviet people's friendship and solidarity with the peoples of fraternal socialist countries, the steady expansion and deepening of all forms of contacts, links and fruitful co-operation with them, and a profound sense of joint responsibility for our common great cause, the cause of socialism and communism. (*Applause.*)

The Komsomol is doing much to educate the young people of our country in the spirit of the Leninist Party's internationalist traditions. In a million ways our Komsomol youth reaffirms its solidarity with its class brothers, with the working people of all countries. Honour and glory to the Soviet youth, which bears aloft the banner of class solidarity, the banner of proletarian, socialist internationalism! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, life continually reaffirms the correctness of Lenin's words that a revolution is worth something only if it is capable of defending itself. The defence of our socialist achievements, the safeguarding of the peaceful labour of Soviet people has always been regarded by our Party as its sacred duty to the people of the Soviet Union and the working people of all countries. In this respect, too, the Komsomol has been and remains the Party's true and active assistant. (*Applause.*) The military-patriotic education of

young people has always been one of the most striking pages of the Komsomol's record. From the very first years of its existence the Komsomol has been acting as the patron of the Navy and since 1931 of the Air Force, too. It may be stated with confidence that among the thousands upon thousands of heroes who won glory for our country in the battles against the nazi invaders during the Great Patriotic War there are many who learned to handle a machine gun, glider-plane, parachute, airplane or motor launch in the circles, clubs and schools organised with the assistance of the Komsomol. (*Applause.*)

To this day military-patriotic training remains one of the major tasks in the moulding of the rising generation. As many other matters inherited from past decades, this task has its own specifics today. Present-day military equipment is no longer the canvas Farmans of the 1920s nor even the "hawks" and "ducks" of the Patriotic War. Today the defenders of the Soviet motherland must be able to handle intercontinental missiles, supersonic aircraft, nuclear-powered submarines and many other sophisticated weapons. Today there is a need not simply for courageous, well-trained, physically strong lads with a sure eye and a firm hand, but for engineers and mathematicians conversant with the mysteries of electronics and cybernetics. Thus, the tasks in this field, too, have become more complicated, more responsible and of a higher level. But the Komsomol's drive and enthusiasm, the mettle of youth, courage and valour are needed today as during the Civil War and the years of the first five-year plans and during the flaming years of the Great Patriotic War. In this sphere, too, the field before the Komsomol is indeed of tremendous state, nationwide importance.

One of the principal sources of the Komsomol's strength and of the power of its influence over young people is that it helps the Party to bring to the broad mass of young citizens of our country the great truth of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. The Komsomol helps the Party to give young men and women a scientific understanding of history, the experience of the struggle of preceding generations and an understanding of the purport and tasks of our present work and of our struggle with class enemies; it helps young people to see the clear and distinct prospects of our further advance towards communism.

I should like to re-emphasise that when the Party speaks of the political education of young people, of the mastering of Marxist-Leninist theory, it has in mind not the mechanical conning of various tenets or books, but the mastering of the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. This means that our young citizens must not only have a good knowledge of the basic propositions of the Marxist-Leninist theory but learn to find in that theory, in the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, in the Party documents the foundation, the key, the most correct method of solving the problems which our present life puts on the agenda. Consequently, it is a matter of shaping a really deep-rooted Marxist conviction and a precise class approach to all the phenomena of social life, of learning to apply the great wealth of the theory of Marxism-Leninism creatively. (*Applause.*)

We are living in an epoch witnessing an acute class struggle on the world scene. The imperialist states have started a fierce ideological war against the socialist countries in an effort to activate subversion in the socialist camp, drive a wedge between individual socialist countries and undermine the unity of the international communist movement.

In this struggle our class adversaries are doing their utmost to influence the minds of young people in the socialist countries. They wear the mask of "friends of young people" in their striving to draw into their net politically unstable and inexperienced young people, dull their class, revolutionary vigilance with spurious bourgeois-liberal arguments, stir up nationalistic sentiments and find renegades who look for an easy life.

The Central Committee of our Party has drawn the attention of Communists and all Soviet people to the insidious tactics used by imperialism against socialist countries. It was specially underscored that the answer to the subversive activity of imperialist propaganda must be an uncompromising struggle against enemy ideology no matter what form it assumes. The Central Committee of the CPSU has called for the utmost strengthening of the communist conviction, patriotism and internationalism of Soviet people, of their ideological staunchness and ability to counter all forms of bourgeois influence. (*Applause.*)

The course of world developments over the past months

has quite convincingly shown how well-founded and opportune it had been to set these tasks.

Dear young friends, our Party is quite certain that in the ideological struggle that has started between the two worlds, as in all other matters, the members of the Komsomol will always be faithful assistants of the Communists. (*Applause.*) In this struggle our people must be ideologically staunch and firm in their convictions. Our ideological weapon, which is invincible because it is the weapon of truth, must be always sharp and ready.

The imperialists will never succeed in shattering our moral and political unity. Bourgeois ideologists will never succeed in getting our people to accept the morals of their society where private ownership is the principal criterion of all values and where brutal laws and spiritual and moral barrenness reign. Imperialism has nothing to offer in rivalry to the great strength of the lofty ideas and grandiose aims that inspire Soviet people and our youth to perform great things in labour and in struggle. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our strength lies in the fact that the future belongs to socialism and communism. Our strength lies in the fact that we serve lofty humane aims, in the fact that everything we do is devoted to the service of the people, to the struggle for their happiness. Our strength lies in the fact that we are working to translate the brightest ideals of mankind into reality. For the Komsomol no task is more important and more honourable than to bring up the rising generation of its country as real Communists, as worthy continuers of the cause of the great Lenin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Permit me to express the confidence that our Komsomol will continue fulfilling these responsible tasks as proficiently and with the same zeal and energy as it has done throughout its history—from the flaming years of the Civil War to our days, which are illumined by the light of the great plan of communist construction. (*Stormy applause.*)

Dear friends, our country, our great people are building communism. You, the present Komsomol of the Soviet Union, face the prospect of entering the bright edifice of communism and establishing between people new relations which the finest minds of mankind had dreamed of for thousands of years and for whose sake many generations of

revolutionaries had sacrificed their lives. But to fulfil this mission worthily it is necessary to prepare well for it and learn communism.

What does this mean under present-day conditions?

To learn communism means always to strive to be an active participant in the building of communism and that your labour—the source of satisfaction and of the joy of life for yourself—should fuse with the labour of your comrades for the common good. This means constantly to pursue the aim of acquiring greater skill in one's profession and assimilating the latest scientific and technical knowledge. This means constantly to look for new and more effective ways in production.

To learn communism means tirelessly to study the theory of Marxism-Leninism, to acquire a clear understanding of the great historic cause for which our Party and our people are working and become ideologically convinced that this cause is right. This means constantly to sharpen one's class consciousness, to train oneself on the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Party and the working class in a spirit of an uncompromising attitude towards class enemies and their ideology. This means learning to recognise the class enemy no matter what mask he wears.

To learn communism means to take an active part in public affairs, to become used to managing public affairs and always and in everything to uphold the interests of our society, of our people, of our state. (*Applause.*)

To learn communism means to consolidate the norms of communist morality by word and deed, by personal example. This means constantly to raise one's cultural level, to widen one's outlook and steadily enrich one's mind with more knowledge from the treasure-store of human culture.

To learn communism means to train oneself in a spirit of devoted Soviet patriotism. This means to do one's utmost to help promote our great motherland's might and prosperity. This means to safeguard the moral and political unity of our society as the apple of one's eye, foster friendship among the peoples of our country and to be intolerant of all manifestations of nationalism. This means to be always ready to give all one's strength and, if necessary, one's life in defence of one's socialist motherland, for the happiness of one's people, for the cause of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

To learn communism means to train oneself in the spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism, in the spirit of fraternal friendship with the peoples of socialist countries and a militant alliance with all fighters for the peace and freedom of nations, in the spirit of class solidarity with the working people of the whole world. (*Applause.*)

These are the tasks facing the present generation of Soviet young people, the many-million-strong army of young fighters for communism.

To carry out all these tasks honourably and to be equal to the demands of the times, our young people must be not only conscientious, educated and cultured but they must strengthen the unity of their ranks, their organisation. This is natural. No army, however well it is armed, will win if it is not welded together by unity of will, organisation and discipline. Such unity of will and such cohesion of our young people are ensured by the All-Union Lenin Young Communist League, the true helper of the Party of Lenin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

What you have aptly named the All-Union Komsomol Rally has taken place throughout our country in honour of the Komsomol's 50th anniversary. At factories, collective and state farms, educational institutions and military units young men and women summed up the results of the jubilee emulation movement, reported on their achievements, spoke of how the Komsomol was preparing to commemorate the gala centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and expressed their gratitude to the Party for its concern for young people.

This is just. Young people and the Komsomol have what to be grateful for to the Party. But today, on the day of your jubilee, it would be appropriate for us, people of the older generation, to pay tribute to the Komsomol on behalf of the over 13 million Communists of our country for the love which young people show for the Soviet motherland and the Leninist Party, for the tremendous contribution which the Komsomol is making towards the building of communism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Komsomol is an admirable political school. It has given much to all of us. The school of the Komsomol has produced many active fighters for the cause of communism, many nationally famous workers in industry and agriculture, many prominent Party leaders and statesmen, many

outstanding scientists, designers and soldiers, and leading figures in literature and art. Today, as our Komsomol marks its 50th anniversary, we all say to it with emotion in our hearts: Thank you, glorious banner of our militant youth. Thank you, League of Young Leninists with your eternally teeming revolutionary enthusiasm, spirit of innovation and selfless energy. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Cries of "Glory to the Party!"*) Continue to be such as you have been these 50 years. Lead the young people of the Land of Soviets in heroic endeavour under the banner of the Party of Lenin for the sake of communism, for the sake of the happy future of all mankind. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

**ON PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING
THE DECISIONS OF THE 23rd CONGRESS
AND THE PLENARY MEETINGS
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION
ON PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE**

*Report Made at the Plenary Meeting
of the CC CPSU
October 30, 1968*

Comrades,

The Soviet people, implementing the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress, have achieved great success in economic and cultural construction. Over the period from 1966 to 1968 the industrial production of the USSR will have increased by nearly 30 per cent. More than one thousand big industrial enterprises and projects will have been put into operation. The heavy industry has been further developed. The food and light industries have considerably increased their gross output. A number of urgent technical problems have been solved. Agriculture has made new steps forward in its development.

Over these years important socio-economic measures have also been carried out, including measures such as raising the minimum wage, regulating wages for workers in a number of branches and professions, increasing pensions, and others. As a result, the real incomes of the population in per capita terms will have risen over the 1966-68 period by more than 20 per cent, or 6.4 per cent on the annual average.

Public education and culture are developing successfully. Thirty-seven higher educational establishments have been opened in our country, the number of students at higher educational establishments has grown by 600,000, and the number of pupils at secondary special educational establishments by over 600,000. There has been further development of vocational education and also of general secondary education. Big new successes have been achieved by Soviet scientists and by our science as a whole.

A genuine countrywide movement has now unfolded embracing all the people. We are approaching one of the most significant dates in the history of mankind, the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the great thinker and revolutionary, the leader and teacher of the Soviet people and the working people of the whole world. The workers in industry and agriculture, transport and building, people of all callings and ages, are preparing their labour gifts for that day. Socialist competition on the occasion of Lenin's centenary to fulfil the five-year plan by November 7, 1970 has spread throughout the entire country, involving the entire Soviet people. Permit me in the name of our plenary meeting to convey warm greetings to that splendid movement and to wish the toilers of town and countryside great successes in socialist competition.

The facts and figures of our growth, of the great labour upsurge in the country, provide a convincing expression of the high moral fibre of the Soviet people, their unshakable loyalty to the great cause of communism, their profound understanding of and support for the policy and practical activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

I. THE PARTY'S DECISIONS ON AGRICULTURE ARE SUCCESSFULLY BEING TRANSLATED INTO LIFE

Comrades! As you know, the problems of agriculture are highlighted in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. The Party proceeds from the fact that agriculture is an extensive, vitally important branch of the national economy. As Lenin taught, without a firm agricultural basis, "no economic construction whatever is possible".

Bearing in mind the enormous importance of this branch of the national economy, the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU is submitting to this plenary meeting the question of the progress made in implementing the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and of the March and May plenary meetings of the CC of the CPSU on agriculture. The Political Bureau also deems it necessary to examine certain problems concerning the further development of the country's agriculture.

Permit me first of all to dwell on how the Party's decisions and plans in the field of agriculture are being imple-

mented, on what most substantial changes have taken place in the development of this branch recently.

The decisions of the 23rd Congress and the plenary meetings of the CC of the CPSU on agricultural questions are known to have received warm approval and support from the entire Party and the people. The Party's policy in the countryside meets with deep understanding on the part of the rural toilers, and also of the working class, the Soviet intelligentsia, all the working people of our country. It has enabled the collective and state farms to give wider play to their possibilities as socialist enterprises, has freed the initiative of farms, land agencies, Soviet and Party organisations, and has helped strengthen the socialist principle of incentives for farms and rural workers in developing social production. The decisions of the 23rd Congress and the plenary meetings of the CC of the CPSU have ensured more favourable conditions for carrying out the tasks of communist construction.

Two years and a half have elapsed since the Party's 23rd Congress, and more than three years and a half since the March Plenary Meeting of the CC. That is not a long time, but the results achieved warrant the conclusion that the measures worked out by the Party in the field of agriculture have played a positive role in raising this branch of the economy and further consolidating the economic and political might of our socialist state, in still further strengthening the alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry. In the intense efforts to advance agriculture, the enhanced leading role of the Communist Party in the life of our socialist society has been still more strikingly revealed.

In giving practical effect to the decisions of the 23rd Congress and the plenary meetings of the CC of the CPSU, the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers of the USSR took concrete measures for strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture and enhancing the role of economic incentives in raising collective- and state-farm production.

In three years (1965-67) the state invested in agriculture for the building of farm structures and the acquisition of equipment over 5,000 million rubles more than in the preceding three-year period. The supply of tractors for agriculture rose last year to 287,000 (compared with 223,000 in

1964), of which ploughing tractors rose from 65,000 to 107,000; the number of grain-harvesting combines rose from 79,000 to 96,000; lorries increased from 85,000 to 134,000; the supply of mineral fertilisers increased from 22 to 34 million tons. The power available per worker in agriculture rose over the three years by 22 per cent.

The collective and state farms have more machines for such labour-consuming processes as the harvesting of cotton, sugar beet and potatoes, as well as for mechanising the livestock farms. At harvesting time, the collective and state farms are given a greater measure of assistance in motor transport and machine operators. Government allocations for land improvement have increased.

Important social measures have been carried out in the countryside. As you know, a monthly guaranteed wage has been introduced in the collective farms, and pension provisions for collective farmers and state-farm workers have been improved.

All these and many other measures tended to increase agricultural production, advanced its most important branches—field crop and animal husbandry—and strengthened the collective and state farms economically. The annual gross production of agriculture in the 1965-67 period averaged 75,000 million rubles, which was 10,000 million rubles, or 15 per cent, more than the annual average for the preceding three-year period. During 1962 to 1964 the increase was only three per cent. Per capita production of agricultural produce rose by 11 per cent over the past three years. That is a good showing.

All the Union republics achieved an increase in gross output, as can be seen from the following figures given by the Central Statistical Board of the USSR. (See the table at top of page 106.)

At the Party Congress, as at the CC plenary meetings, attention was invariably given to the fact that the central problem in agriculture is to raise harvest yields. In recent years the standard of cultivation has been raised, proper crop rotation has been introduced, and field work is carried out in better time. Spring crops are now as a rule sown on autumn ploughed areas, and in the eastern regions on fallow soil. High-yielding varieties are being more widely introduced, and better weed- and pest-control methods are being used. All this made for an increase in yields and gross

	Average annual gross agricultural output, 1965-67 as a percentage of 1962-64	Average annual gross agricultural output, 1962-64 as a percentage of 1959-61
USSR	115	103
RSFSR	113	104
Ukrainian SSR	116	101
Byelorussian SSR	131	99
Uzbek SSR	118	107
Kazakh SSR	108	109
Georgian SSR	119	104
Azerbaijan SSR	120	96
Lithuanian SSR	129	101
Moldavian SSR	122	117
Latvian SSR	126	89
Kirghiz SSR	119	119
Tajik SSR	121	114
Armenian SSR	118	98
Turkmen SSR	130	106
Estonian SSR	118	97

harvests for most agricultural crops. Here are some relevant figures:

	Annual average 1965-67		Annual average 1962-64	
	yield (centners per hectare)	gross harvest (mln. tons)	yield (centners per hectare)	gross harvest (mln. tons)
Grain	11.8	147	10.2	133
including wheat	11.5	79	9.7	65
Sugar beet	204	78	157	58
Raw cotton	24	5.9	20.2	4.9
Sunflower seed	12.4	6.1	11.2	5
Potatoes	108	91	91	78
Vegetables	130	18.7	114	16.9

The growth achieved in field-crop produce made it possible to increase state purchases. Over the last four years (1965-68) in comparison with the preceding four years purchases of wheat increased on an annual average by 8.8 million tons, and of groats by 676,000 tons. As for other crops, their harvest and purchase in the current year are not yet over and therefore I shall quote figures for three years (1965-67). The average annual purchase of potatoes increased over that period by 2 millions tons, of vegetables by 1.7 million tons, of fruit by 1.4 million tons, of raw cotton by nearly one million tons, of sunflower seed by more than one million tons, and of sugar beet by 19 million tons.

As you know, the 23rd Congress and the May Plenary Meeting of the CC of the Party posed great tasks for extensive land improvement, which is a very important factor in raising yields and increasing the gross harvest of agricultural crops. During 1966 and 1967 more than two million hectares of newly irrigated or drained lands were brought under cultivation. Work was carried out on large areas to bring the soil into good condition and to fight erosion by water and winds.

In the south of the Russian Federation and in the Ukraine, the construction of big irrigation works has begun. They include the Kakhovka irrigation system and the Krasnodar storage lake, on the basis of which the irrigation mainly of grain crops will be organised over large areas.

Considerable work has been done in the construction of big engineering rice systems. After the March Plenary Meeting, more than 160,000 hectares of ricefields were put into service. The average rice yield in our country last year reached the figure of 32 centners per hectare. Although, of course, that is still a low yield for rice. Rice production in our country in that period nearly doubled and reached 895,000 tons. This year the rice-growing area was over 300,000 hectares, and gross production will top the million ton figure. This is the result of great work done by our reclamation specialists, collective farmers and state-farm workers. We must not fail to mention that great help was given by soldiers of the Soviet Army. Every year, engineer battalions take an active part in the construction of rice systems.

We have the possibility in the remaining years of the five-year period to extend the rice-growing area still more

and to solve in the main the problem that has been posed of satisfying the country's rice requirements by our own production.

Large-scale irrigation works are being carried out in the country's cotton-growing regions. Large expanses are being reclaimed in the Hungry Steppe and in the Kara-Kum Canal zone. Installations are being erected to bring water to the Karshi Steppe. Existing irrigation systems are being reconstructed.

Land improvement work is going on also in the extensive non-chernozem zone. In the northwest and central regions of the Russian Federation, in the Baltic Republics, Byelorussia and Ukraine Polesiye, water-logged areas are being drained, acid soils are being limed, lands are being cleared of shrubs and stones. In these districts, particularly in the Baltic region, wider use is being made of sub-drainage, as being the most progressive method for draining the soil. A great role in these works is played by the reclamation servicing stations and various other specialised organisations.

The production basis of water management construction is being strengthened, new designing institutes are being set up and the training of personnel is being extended. Hydrotechnicians and reclamation specialists are now being trained in 30 higher educational establishments and 90 specialised secondary schools. Young people are showing a keen preference for educational establishments where personnel is trained for such attractive careers. The intake in these specialities has increased over three years in the higher educational establishments by 50 per cent and in the specialised secondary schools by 100 per cent. Qualified workers are being trained in 240 industrial trade schools.

Land reclamation has become a very important element in the work of developing our country's agriculture.

Another branch of agriculture that has become more stable in its development is livestock farming. The past three years have seen a steady increase in the production of livestock produce. In comparison with the three-year period preceding the March Plenary Meeting, the average annual production of meat (slaughter weight) increased by 1,400,000 tons, that of milk by 13,400,000 tons, of eggs by 3,200 million pieces, and of wool by 12,000 tons. Purchase supplies of these products also increased: livestock and

poultry by 19 per cent, milk by 36 per cent, eggs by 37 per cent, wool by 4.6 per cent.

Stock-farming has become more productive. The milk yield per cow on collective and state farms rose last year by 26 per cent in comparison with 1964, the hen's egg production also by 26 per cent, and the wool clip per sheep by 20 per cent.

There was a simultaneous increase in the number of livestock and poultry. The cattle population rose by 10 million head, including that of cows by 2.8 million. The number of sheep and goats increased by 13,300,000, that of poultry by 72 million. Unfortunately there was a drop in the number of pigs. Yet pig-breeding, being the most fast-growing of animal husbandry, has always played and will continue to play a great part in providing our country with meat and fats. We must pay more attention to pig-breeding.

Poultry farming on an industrial basis is a branch of growing importance. Our country now has 356 poultry factories, including 111 built in the last three years. Together with the state poultry farms they now account for 41 per cent of the country's entire egg supply. Poultry farming on an industrial basis is progressive and it must be widely developed.

The preliminary results of the work done by the collective and state farms this year provide grounds for affirming that the workers of agriculture have achieved new successes. The gross grain harvest will be over 165 million tons and state purchases over 68 million tons (4,200 million poods). As you know, a stable plan of corn purchases for the current five-year period was set at 3,400 million poods a year.

A great contribution has been made this year by the collective and state farms of the Russian Federation, which sold the state more than 46 million tons (over 2,800 million poods) of grain. This is the first time such a quantity of grain has been procured in the republic. I wish especially to stress the big successes of the grain-growers of Orenburg Region, who this year delivered to the state 360 million poods of grain. Permit me to congratulate the working people of that region on the high award they have received. Other big successes of the grain-growers to be noted are those of Krasnodar and Krasnoyarsk territories, of the Bashkir and Tatar Autonomous Republics, of Kuibyshev, Kurgan, Chelya-

binsk, Saratov, Volgograd, Novosibirsk, Penza, Kursk and Tyumen regions, and of a number of other autonomous republics, territories and regions.

More than 11 million tons of grain have been stored in the state granaries by the Kazakhstan grain-growers. A great contribution was made to this by Ural, Kustanai, North Kazakhstan, Aktyubinsk, Jambul and Chimkent regions.

A good harvest has been obtained in cotton, sugar beet, sunflower seed, potatoes and other crops. The annual plan for state purchases of meat, milk, eggs and wool has already been fulfilled. Purchases of these products are higher than last year.

As a result of the growth of agricultural production, the country's marketable resources have increased and definite reserves have been created. All this has given us a normal foodstuffs budget and enabled us to satisfy more fully the requirements of the population. According to figures supplied by the Central Statistical Board of the USSR and the Ministry of Trade of the USSR, consumption of meat per head of the population last year was 21 per cent higher than in 1964, that of milk and dairy products 15 per cent higher, and that of eggs 22 per cent. At the same time, bread consumption in our country decreased by 6 per cent, although the assortment of bread and loaves is widening everywhere. This is a positive fact. It testifies that the Soviet people's food is becoming more varied and of higher quality.

Over these years the collective farms have grown economically stronger. In 1967 their incomes were 24 per cent higher than in 1964. There has been an appreciable rise in the wages of the collective farmers. Things have improved in the state farms too. In 1966 and 1967 the state farms in the country as a whole operated without loss, whereas in the recent past their losses were not inconsiderable.

The March Plenary Meeting of the CC of the CPSU recognised the necessity for the state farms to go over to a full profit and loss basis. Over 800 state farms have now gone over to new conditions of planning and economic incentives. The results of their work confirm that this measure is a progressive one. Now that a certain experience has been acquired, it is necessary to ensure in the coming years the full transition of all state farms to profit and loss basis.

Such, comrades, are the main results of development in agriculture over the period which followed the 23rd Congress and the March Plenary Meeting of the CC of the CPSU. The successes achieved both in arable farming and in animal husbandry were a result of the great political and organisational work carried out by the whole Party, by the administrative and land agencies, a result of the selfless labour of the collective farmers, state-farm workers, the vast army of machine operators and specialists, the scientists and also the industrial workers. One cannot, at a plenary meeting of the CC, pass over in silence the great assistance to the village in bringing in the harvest and in construction given by our young people, especially the students of higher and secondary educational establishments, general educational and vocational schools. This has become a good tradition with us, and it is an excellent school for cultivating work habits and a knowledge of life.

The improvements in our agriculture are obvious to all. Nevertheless it would not be right to take a one-sided, uncritical approach in assessing the situation in agriculture, to note only the successes and not to see the shortcomings and the untapped resources. This could hold up progress and cause great harm. Yet there are no few shortcomings and unsolved problems in our practical work aimed at boosting agricultural production.

If we analyse the way the targets for agriculture in the current five-year-plan period are being carried out, we must note that, as far as the volume of output for a number of products and the productivity of labour are concerned, we have not yet attained the level provided for in the Directives of the 23rd Party Congress for the five-year-plan period.

For this reason, in the remaining years of the five-year period we must ensure a steep rise in the growth rates of gross agricultural production. On this, comrades, depends to a considerable extent the growth of our country's national income, and also implementation of the measures for raising the people's living standard.

Some regions, territories, and republics still have low growth rates in the output of agricultural products. Facts show that by no means all collective and state farms are skilful in management. Special mention must be made of the poor work done by a number of collective and state farms to raise yields of grain and other crops. There are

still no few farms with low yields of grain crops, even in regions, territories and republics where climatic conditions are most favourable, for instance Voronezh, Orel, Ryazan, and Perm regions, the Mordovian Autonomous SSR, and a number of others. There are such farms also in the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other republics. The land agencies do not give sufficient help to these collective and state farms in implementing measures to raise yields.

As is said, we have achieved a definite improvement in introducing high-yield varieties of grain, industrial and other crops. Nevertheless, for this year's crop, according to the Central Statistical Board of the USSR, more than 12 million hectares of grain were sown with uncertified and unzoned seed. This is the case in Altai Territory, some regions of Kazakhstan, in Rostov, Omsk, Novosibirsk and a number of other regions. If we add that standard seed is used in many farms, we can have some idea of how much we lose through neglect of this most important factor in raising yields.

Many collective and state farms underestimate the enormous importance of local fertilisers. This applies in particular to farms in the Udmurt Autonomous SSR, Pskov, Kaluga, Kirov and a number of other regions. In recent years there has been no increase in the use of organic fertilisers in many farms in these regions. Attention must be paid to this serious shortcoming and it must be corrected.

A good deal of produce is still being lost in our country because poor action is taken against weeds, pests and diseases of plants and animals.

You will remember that at the March Plenary Meeting of the CC a number of regions and republics were criticised for lagging seriously behind in buckwheat and millet production. Many have drawn the right conclusions from the criticism and achieved an increase in the gross harvest of groats crops. Buckwheat production, for instance, increased during these years by 130 per cent in the Tatar Autonomous SSR, and by 80 per cent in the Bashkir Autonomous SSR. The gross yield of buckwheat in the country as a whole increased by almost 50 per cent. However, the problem of groats crops is still not fully solved. These crops are still receiving poor attention in the Kazakh and the Byelorussian SSR, Volgograd, Odessa and some other regions. They are not fulfilling the groats purchasing plans. The Byelorussian

SSR, for instance, instead of 50,000 tons of buckwheat according to the plan, delivers no more than 18,000 tons a year.

From year to year the supply of collective and state farms with agricultural machines is increasing. This plays a great role in our general measures for raising yields of agricultural crops. There are numerous examples of machinery being put to good use, in particular in the Ukrainian SSR, Krasnodar and Krasnoyarsk territories, Orenburg and other regions. At the same time it must be noted that poor use is still being made of tractors, combines and other machines in a number of collective and state farms. The daily output per tractor and combine is rising slowly in our country, and in places it is even dropping. There are many causes of this, but, apparently, it is not a question of going into all the "details" at the plenary meeting of the CC, although these play a considerable role. The agricultural agencies must devote daily attention to this matter and must be made more strictly to answer for poor use of machines. The chief thing is to give more attention to personnel, to the training and proper use of machine operators. This has always had a favourable effect on the work of machines, on their productive utilisation.

One cannot overlook the fact that the number of tractors, combines and other machines written off in collective and state farms has considerably increased in recent years. Where formerly there was a very strict clamp down on the business of writing off machines, which was incorrect, too much leeway on this question will do no good either. Equipment may only be written off when its original value is fully depreciated. This matter will hardly be improved by directives alone. Here, too, the key factor is that of personnel. Skilled, experienced machine-operating staffs can help solve the problem. Perhaps some extra inducements should be introduced for tractor drivers and combine operators who take good care of machines and make highly efficient use of them for the whole depreciation period. If such an arrangement is made, the state will probably only stand to win. In general, the Ministry of Agriculture, *Soyuzselkhoztekhnika*, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance and other bodies should study this question jointly with the republics and submit their proposals.

Despite certain improvements in stock-farming, of which I have already spoken, there are serious shortcomings in the development of this branch. They are, first of all, low productivity of animals in many collective and state farms. A large number of mixed-breed animals and poultry are kept in the farms, poor use is made of the possibilities for developing cattle- and sheep-breeding for meat, especially in the steppe regions, although there has already been talk of this at our plenary meetings. In the non-chernozem zone of the Russian Federation, in districts of the Baltic Republics and Byelorussia, unwarranted reduction of the sheep population is still taking place. Poultry production is developing slowly. Livestock production costs are still too high. This branch is still giving little return in many farms. On the other hand there are no few examples in each republic and region of animal farms yielding fairly high incomes.

All this indicates that we still do not pay sufficient attention to questions of animal husbandry, especially the economic aspect of its development. Serious additional measures must be taken to eliminate completely the shortcomings that still exist in animal husbandry. The Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR jointly with the republics, and also scientists, economists and practical experts in animal husbandry should work out concrete proposals in that direction.

We note with satisfaction that the incomes of the collective farms have increased considerably in recent years. But attention should be paid to the proper distribution of these incomes. Some collective farms do not give sufficient care to the growth of social production and reduce their contributions to the indivisible funds. Large sums are spent on maintaining administrative and managerial staffs, and some of the personnel are overpaid. One can hardly be expected to tolerate such things, to be indifferent to whether the incomes go to expanding production or only for purposes of consumption.

There are no few other shortcomings in the work of collective and state farms. It is difficult, and apparently unnecessary, at the plenary meeting of the CC to list all these shortcomings. As a rule, many of them are due to poor work and state discipline in the farms. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties and the Councils of

Ministers of the republics, the territory and regional Party committees, the administrative and land agencies must carefully probe the matter to find out what is preventing some collective and state farms from running their business properly and to help them in speedily eliminating existing shortcomings.

In the first place, of course, this is the duty of the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR, *Soyuzselkhoztekhnika*, and their local agencies. Not infrequently they fail to play an organising role and to display persistence in making fuller use of the reserves and potentialities of production in the collective and state farms, and they are slow in settling many important questions concerning the development of arable and stock farming. The responsibility of these agencies for the state of affairs in agriculture must be considerably increased. The leading Party and administrative bodies should be more demanding towards the land agencies.

Comrades! Growth rates in agricultural production are largely determined by the extent of capital investments and the degree to which the farms are provided with materials and equipment. As has already been pointed out, capital investments in agriculture have been increased in recent years. However, we are not carrying out the full volume of investments envisaged by the March Plenary Meeting and the Directives of the 23rd Congress.

In order to ensure the rates of development in agriculture outlined for the five-year period, the state centralised capital investments in production development and for the acquisition of equipment during 1966 to 1970 were fixed at 41,000 million rubles. For the first three years capital investments were set at 21,200 million rubles. Actually they will amount to 17,300 million rubles, or almost 4,000 million less. Investments have dropped also in the mineral fertiliser and agricultural machine industries. As a result, agriculture during 1966-68 received fewer tractors, lorries and agricultural machines and less mineral fertilisers than it should have received.

It must be said frankly that here, in addition to other causes, there were shortcomings in planning and poor work on the part of some industrial ministries fulfilling the targets set by the 23rd Congress and the plenary meetings of the CC of the CPSU in respect of supplying agriculture with

materials and equipment. Not infrequently the planning agencies, encountering difficulties in procuring investments, seek a way of overcoming them at the expense of funds assigned to agriculture. There have also been cases when the material and technical resources earmarked for agriculture are converted to other uses.

In the course of fulfilling the plan in the remaining years of the five-year plan, we must find resources for meeting the targets set by the 23rd Congress and the plenary meetings of the CC of the CPSU. Considerable work in this respect will have to be done by the State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and the ministries and departments called upon to provide agriculture with material and technical resources.

At the plenary meeting of the CC we cannot but mention also instances of a wrong attitude on the part of those in charge of certain local Party and administrative bodies in regard to the utilisation of funds earmarked for agriculture. When drafting plans the comrades rightly ask for increased assignments for agriculture, and afterwards, instead of seeing that the funds assigned are correctly utilised precisely in agriculture, some withdraw them from that branch.

In Azerbaijan, for instance, out of the sums assigned for agriculture in 1967, 3,100,000 rubles were diverted for the construction of an underground railway and dwelling houses in Baku. In Moldavia, too, an attempt was made to divert 2,900,000 rubles out of the funds allocated to agriculture for building a railway, giving as a reason, by the way, that the railway would run through a rural area. A very dubious argument! There have been instances of funds being diverted from agriculture to other uses also in the Ukrainian and the Latvian SSR and in the Russian Federation. This practice must be abandoned and a more rigid control of it must be enforced.

The third year of the five-year plan, comrades, is drawing to an end, and we must devote maximum energy to ensuring high growth rates in agricultural production in the remaining two years. That is now the most important task of all those who are working in agriculture and those working in industry, fulfilling orders for the countryside.

**II. UTMOST STRENGTHENING OF THE MATERIAL BASE
AND THE SPEEDING UP OF SCIENTIFIC
AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS
ARE THE BASIS FOR A FURTHER ADVANCE
IN AGRICULTURE**

Comrades! In considering questions concerning the state of our agriculture, we cannot but take a look ahead into the future. It has often been noted that the population in our country is steadily growing, that the demand for grain and other products is increasing, and that the development of industry is making increasingly greater demands for agricultural raw materials. Taking a long-range view, it is perfectly clear that we must, positively must, increase the rate of growth of agricultural production.

A further steep rise in yields and gross harvests of all agricultural crops is a necessary condition for the rapid economic development of all the republics, territories and regions, and of the country as a whole, as well as for improving the welfare of the people, which is our main object and constant aim.

In speaking of the need for higher growth rates in agricultural production, we must again repeat that we shall have to carry out this task under difficult conditions of soil and climate, and this demands the constant and closest attention of the Party to this most important field of our economy. It demands also absolutely concrete practical measures. If we do not take this into account, if we relax our attention and assistance to the countryside, we may complicate the solution of general economic problems.

The question of still further speeding up the advance of agriculture in the USSR is not simply an economic question, it is also a great political task of the whole Party and the whole state. We must take new big steps in this field and in a very short space of time greatly surpass the present level of agriculture in our country.

I must repeat that our principal task is still to increase grain production in every possible way. Already in the very near future the average annual production of grain must amount to approximately 190-200 million tons. To achieve this level, it is indispensable to raise grain yields considerably and as quickly as possible.

To put it more concretely, calculations show that, to ensure such a volume of grain production, the yield for the

country as a whole must be raised to about 1.6-1.7 tons per hectare, or by 0.5-0.6 ton as compared with the average grain yield obtained over the past five years. This is a very great task, and, as you realise, comrades, not an easy one.

We must take new steps also in the sphere of production of technical, oil-bearing and other crops. According to calculations, in the years immediately ahead the gross harvest of raw cotton must be raised to about 7 million tons, that of sunflower seed also to 7 million tons, of sugar beet to 90 million tons and of potatoes to 115 million tons. There will have to be also a rise in the production of vegetables, fruit, grapes, gourd crops, tea and other products.

The growth of yields and increase in gross harvests will depend to a decisive degree on the application of the necessary quantity of mineral and organic fertilisers and the better supply of farms with machines.

Our requirements in livestock produce are rising considerably. Already in the near future, the country's meat production must be brought up to 14-15 million tons, that of milk to 90-95 million tons, of eggs to 45,000-50,000 million, and of wool to 480,000-500,000 tons a year. This growth in production must be obtained mainly through raising the productivity of animals and poultry and by further increasing their numbers. For this we must have feedstuffs in plenty. In addition to the collective and state farms being able to set aside more fodder grain, it will be of primary importance to further raise the yields of fodder crops and to put the meadows and pastures in good shape, a subject on which we had serious talks at previous plenary meetings of the CC.

A new branch, created recently—the microbiological industry—must be greatly developed. It is called upon to ensure that the requirements in protein-rich feeds, antibiotics and other products of microbiological synthesis for animal husbandry are fully met. The production of compound feeds must be developed to the utmost in our country.

As you see, comrades, we are faced with an enormous job in raising all branches of agriculture to a level corresponding to the growing requirements. A high level of production can be achieved in a short space of time only by establishing collective- and state-farm production and the branches servicing it on a more powerful material and technical base. This means equipping agriculture more fully with up-to-

date machines, satisfying its requirements in mineral fertilisers and other chemicals, and carrying out large-scale land reclamation works. Without this a steady growth in the productivity of labour in agriculture is unthinkable, and productivity of labour, as you know, is the main source from which our wealth is accumulated and the living standard of the people improved.

What, practically, shall we have to do in that direction?

First of all, we must not relax, but on the contrary intensify measures for the **chemisation of agriculture**. Experience in our country and abroad irrefutably shows that not less than half of the increase in the crop yield is obtained usually by the use of fertilisers. Consequently, chemisation is the most reliable basis for raising crop yields.

I would remind you that the March Plenary Meeting of the CC and the 23rd Congress of the CPSU set the task of rapidly increasing production of mineral fertilisers, and plant protection and other chemicals. It must be said that in spite of an increase in production of fertilisers and plant protection chemicals, this task is not yet being carried out satisfactorily. In recent years the rate of growth of new capacities for producing fertilisers has decreased.

The situation in the mineral fertiliser industry was considered by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR. As you know, a decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR was adopted on measures for developing that industry. It envisages an increase in fertiliser producing capacities from 47 million tons to 95 million tons over the 1969-72 period. We must increase the capacities of the chemical industry at high rates also in the coming years.

A particularly big job of work will have to be done in the next two years. In 1969 we must put into operation fertiliser producing capacities for 13 million tons, and in 1970 for 12.5 million tons. Consequently, capacities must increase over the two years by 25.5 million tons, whereas in three years of the five-year-plan period capacities for only 11-12 million tons are expected to be put into operation.

The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is called upon to carry out serious work to improve the situation also as regards the quality of mineral fertilisers. Many kinds of

mineral fertilisers produced by our industry need to be considerably improved as regards nutrient value and physical properties.

A pressing problem is that of providing agriculture with highly efficient chemical materials for plant protection. The capacities producing them must be increased by the end of 1972 by nearly 50 per cent.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have given great assistance to the ministries of the building industry during the current year in implementing the plans adopted. Funds as well as large quantities of metal, pipes, cement, motor transport and building machines and equipment have been allocated for setting up production centres and for building dwelling houses for their builders. Measures have been taken to reinforce the building organisations with skilled workers.

The task of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the Ministry of Chemical and Oil Machine Building and the ministries of the building industry is now to supply the construction sites in time with the technical documentation and equipment, to concentrate on them the necessary material resources and to improve considerably the organisation of construction and assembly work. There must be a radical change in the attitude to the building of enterprises for the production of mineral fertilisers and plant protection chemicals.

The Party organisations must exercise assiduous control over the construction and timely commissioning of new capacities for the production of chemicals and place greater responsibility on the men in charge of enterprises and construction sites for fulfilment of the decision taken by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

At the March and May plenary meetings of the Central Committee it was already noted that large tracts of land needed lime and gypsum treatment. A certain amount of work has been done in this respect. Production of liming materials has increased from 10 million tons in 1965 to 16 million tons last year. Over the last three years liming was carried out over 11 million hectares, being 150 per cent more than in the previous three-year period. A number of farms, for instance, in Moscow, Leningrad, and Vladimir regions and the Estonian SSR, have accumulated positive

experience in liming soils. But in many regions and republics the situation in this respect is not yet what it should be. Extraction and production of liming materials are frequently carried out by primitive methods. Consequently, their cost is very high and their quality low.

In order fully to satisfy the requirements of the collective and state farms, no less than 30 million tons of liming materials per year are needed. The same importance must be attached to their production as to that of mineral fertilisers, and the appropriate funds must be earmarked for that purpose in the economic development plans. The Ministry of Building, Road and Communal Machinery and the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Building must provide the appropriate production capacities and arrange the production of highly efficient machines for feeding the liming materials into the soil.

With every passing year the amount and spheres of application of chemical products will expand. It has already repeatedly been pointed out that as a result of unsatisfactory packaging, bad storage and unskilled application, large amounts of fertilisers are wasted. We have set the task of sharply increasing the output of all chemical products, but if at the same time we do not improve the business of their transportation, storage and application, wastage will increase still further. Therefore the manufacture of packages, building of warehouses and organisation of agrochemical services must be on a level with production and ensure proper storage and rational utilisation of all kinds of chemical fertilisers and plant protection chemicals.

There must be a firm technical line in developing the production of mineral fertilisers and plant protection chemicals. We must not run to extremes in the production of one or another kind of fertilisers. The industry must know exactly what quantities of nitrogenous, potassium, phosphate and compound fertilisers and plant protection chemicals it has to produce, and what standards of quality they must fulfil. We must determine precisely the agricultural zones in which the various fertilisers are to be used in order to locate the factories correctly. All these questions must be profoundly and thoroughly studied and elaborated. The State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the USSR Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the USSR Academy of Sciences and

other departments concerned should work out and submit to the Political Bureau and the Government a general plan for the long-range chemisation of agriculture.

Comrades! It is now generally recognised that we proceeded correctly in raising at the May Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee such an important question as that of **land reclamation**. We have been able in the interim to accumulate some experience in obtaining high yields of grain and other agricultural crops on irrigated lands. This is borne out by figures on the cultivation of cotton, rice and wheat in the arid areas of the Volga basin, the Ukraine and North Caucasus.

The implementation of the land-reclamation plans outlined by the May Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee must constantly focus the attention of agricultural, administrative and Party bodies. Our efforts must be directed in the first place to eliminating the bottle-necks now holding up progress in land-improvement work. The points in question are, first of all, the insufficient capacity of the production base for water economy construction and of the designing organisations, the shortage of digging and building machines, pipes and building materials and the understaffed condition of the water economy organisations as regards engineers, technicians and workers.

Success in implementing the broad plan of land reclamation will depend to a considerable extent on a statesmanly attitude to this matter on the part of all the ministries and departments concerned in fulfilling the plans for creating production bases and providing reclamation works with equipment, materials and spares. This has to be said because some ministries and departments apparently consider the tasks of water economy construction set them of secondary importance. The USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, for instance, this year fulfilled only 80 per cent of the nine-months' plan for the construction and assembly work on water economy projects, the Ministry of Heavy Industry Construction only 72 per cent, and the Ministry of Rural Construction only 76 per cent. Fulfilment of orders placed by reclamation workers should be a matter of honour for every collective.

As was already said at the May Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and shown in practice these years, the

question of proper utilisation of state capital investments assigned for land reclamation deserves the most serious attention. On this depends to a great extent the rate at which new irrigated and drained areas will be put into service. If we concentrate financial and material resources on the most important projects, this will make for a quicker return. Briefly, there must be no spreading out or dissipation of resources and forces over numerous projects, no dragging out of construction for years. It must be admitted that we still suffer from this shortcoming.

Worthy of every support is the initiative of collective and state farms who carry out reclamation works out of their own funds. From 1966 to 1967 in our country as a whole irrigation installations were erected over an area of 157,000 hectares at the expense of collective and state farms. A good deal in the building of reservoirs and irrigating fields was done by farms in Kanev district of Krasnodar region, Izobilny area of Stavropol region, Krasnogvardeisk area of the Crimean region, Maryinsk area of Donets region, and others. Assistance must be given to the collective and state farms in drafting projects and providing reclamation works with the necessary materials and machines. Obviously provision for this should be made in the state plans.

The problem of land reclamation is a many-sided and extensive one. For the interests of development in agriculture and other branches of our economy to be taken fully into account and the land, water and power resources to be made full use of, it is necessary for the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Melioration and Water Conservancy, jointly with the leading bodies in the Union Republics, scientists and specialists, to work out a long-term plan for 10-15 years and submit it for consideration to the Central Committee so that it may be reported on at the Party congress. This plan must establish priorities for reclamation works in the different zones, and make provision for the re-routing of river water flows and the development of waterpower engineering. A profound elaboration of these and other questions and the working out of a long-range plan will provide a firm scientific foundation for a matter of such immense state importance as land improvement in our country.

At the 23rd Party Congress emphasis was laid on the necessity for organising persistent fight against erosion of the soil by wind and water. This is a very important question. Recently work has begun in many of the country's eastern districts to protect the soil against wind erosion. A special agrotechnical system has been worked out for crop cultivation in those districts. In the opinion of the scientists the total area over which it is advisable to carry out such a system for protecting the soil in North Kazakhstan and Siberia is 35-40 million hectares. As you see, an area of almost one-fifth of our country's ploughland is involved. Water erosion control is also necessary over large areas.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR last year passed their decision "On Urgent Measures on Wind and Water Erosion Control". Party and administrative bodies must exercise assiduous control over and organise in practice the work to implement this decision. The fight against wind and water erosion must be given state-wide scope, for question at issue is the fate of lands in big agricultural areas where large amounts of grain and other products of arable and stock farming are produced.

The soil must be protected not only against erosion, but also against improper, wasteful use. Attention must be called to this because cases of wastage and direct squandering of land still occur. A number of ministries and departments continue to use valuable agricultural land, even arable and irrigated lands, for industrial and other purposes without any extreme necessity. The collective farms and state farms themselves do not always take good care of the land.

This matter must be put strictly in order once and for all. An important role in this is to be played by the law on land, the draft of which is at present being discussed by the public and will be submitted for consideration to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Comrades! The present and the future of agriculture are inseparably bound up with the state of its **technical equipment**. We must speed up to the maximum the transition from partial to all-round integrated mechanisation of all branches of agriculture as the basis for raising the productivity of labour and the effectiveness of social production.

To complete the integrated mechanisation of the basic

branches of agricultural production we must considerably increase the fleet of tractors, combines, lorries, excavators and other agricultural and reclamation machines. There must be a big rise in the use of electric power in agriculture.

At the present time a number of measures are being taken to increase production of agricultural machines. A tractor plant is now under construction in the town of Pavlodar, and plants are being built in Kovel and Uman for producing machines and equipment for livestock farms. The Altai, Kharkov, Volgograd and Minsk tractor plants, the Rostselmash, Taganrog and Krasnoyarsk harvester combine plants and other agricultural machine factories are being reconstructed.

These measures, however, are far from sufficient for implementing overall mechanisation of agriculture. The State Planning Committee is now working out the target figures for the next five-year plan. The new five-year plan must envisage measures for further developing tractor and agricultural engineering with an eye to satisfying agriculture's growing requirements in machines, equipment and spares.

Complex mechanisation of all agricultural branches presupposes raising the technical level of machines. Unfortunately the technical and economic performance of many of the machines produced does not meet modern requirements in agricultural production. Our country has 224 million hectares of arable land, and it is not a matter of indifference to us what kind of machines cultivate that area. In the first place, we are not satisfied with the power capacity of the tractors.

The basic ploughing tractor in collective and state farms now has a power capacity of 75 h.p. Staff members of the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR and *Soyuzselkhoztekhnik*a have calculated what could be obtained by replacing such tractors in the zones where they are used by, say, 150 h.p. ones. Here are the figures: if the power of existing tractors is doubled, the total number of tractors on farms in these zones can be cut by approximately one-third; about 2.5 million tons of metal can be saved on production of those tractors and the machines used with them; investments in the purchase of machines could be reduced by 400 million rubles, and the number of machine operators by 40 per cent. As you see, the benefit thus derived by the

state, and the collective and state farms would be considerable.

The Kharkov Works is now preparing to produce a 150 h.p. tractor. The staff must be given assistance in mastering production of this new type of tractor and making it available to the collective and state farms as quickly as possible. In the years immediately ahead, the Leningrad Kirov Works' output of the powerful K-700 wheeled tractor, which has earned a good reputation, especially in steppe regions, is also to be expanded.

At the same time we must place on the order of the day the question of designing and producing a powerful caterpillar tractor for agricultural purposes with a power capacity of 200-250 h.p. or perhaps even more. The Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building must step up work on the construction of machines and equipment to match these powerful tractors.

Tests of the new grain harvesting combines Sibiryak, Niva and Kolos are now being completed. They are much more efficient than those now produced. Measures must be taken to have these combines delivered to the collective and state farms as quickly as possible.

For cotton-growing collective and state farms a more productive, four-row cotton harvester has been produced. The output of these machines must be considerably increased, as two-thirds of the cotton is still being gathered by hand. The machine builders are obliged also to satisfy the demands for mountain farming.

We must devote great attention to mechanising work in animal husbandry. The level of mechanisation of labour-consuming processes in this branch is known to be very low, and manual work still predominates on most farms. Even many newly built farms do not possess the necessary equipment.

The lag in mechanisation in animal husbandry is due to the serious shortcomings in the organisation of industrial production of the relevant machines and equipment. The volume of this production falls far short of the growing requirements of the collective and state farms.

Not long ago, the Industry, Transport and Communications Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR considered the question of mechanisation in livestock farms. It has carried out big and very necessary work. Its suggestions

must be taken into account in the national economy plan.

At the height of the harvesting, a large number of lorries have to be mobilised and withdrawn from the national economy to help the farms. Every year for three or four months some 600,000 lorries from outside work in agriculture. As the output of agricultural produce continues to grow, transport will become a still greater problem. We must see this and take the necessary measures in time. This problem must be solved by increasing the production of special vehicles for the countryside, having good all-terrain qualities and adapted to haul various loads.

At the same time, better use must be made of wheeled tractors for transport purposes in the collective and state farms, particularly inside the farms. At present our country has about one million wheeled tractors. They are used mainly for work in the fields, and often they cannot be used for transportation because of the shortage of trailers. Experience shows that to use tractors to full capacity the farm must have about two trailers to each tractor. At present we do not have even one trailer per wheeled tractor. If the output of trailers is rapidly increased, the strain on freight transport in agriculture can be considerably relaxed.

Taking into account the great significance this matter has for the state, we consider it necessary to build works to produce annually at least 300,000 tractor trailers adapted for carrying agricultural loads. This problem must be solved as quickly as possible.

In the next few years scientists, designers and workers in the industrial ministries will have to create many new agricultural and land reclamation machines and organise their production. In this connection we must say at the plenary meeting that an entirely abnormal practice has taken deep root with us by which the working up, development and introduction of new machines are dragged out for a long time. Scientists and designers have created in recent years more than 230 types of new farm machines which have passed state tests and are to be put into production. However, half of them are not yet in production.

Our discipline in this respect is lax. When the economic development plan is drawn up, the ministries, as a rule, accept the assignments for introducing the new machines without demur; they get the necessary resources for the

purpose and then often do not carry out the assignments. The State Planning Committee reports that in 1967 the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Building did not start serial production of six out of eight models of tractors which were to be put into production. This ministry does not exercise sufficient control over the work of the design bureaux and some of its other organisations and enterprises, and as a result agriculture does not receive new machines of which it is in extreme need. Last year plan targets in the production of new irrigation equipment were not fulfilled by the Ministry of Construction, Road and Communal Machinery. A similar state of affairs in respect of the introduction of new equipment and mastering of technological processes exists also in the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. An end must be put to this. On technical progress depends the enhanced effectiveness of social production in all branches of the national economy. The ministries and the ministers personally must be held responsible for the introduction of new equipment.

The creation of new machines must go in step with the growing requirements of agricultural production. It is very important to strengthen the design bureaux, to give them assistance. In tractor, agricultural and reclamation machine building it is apparently advisable to have general designers for groups of basic machines who will be answerable to the state for developing up-to-date machines for agriculture. Higher encouragements should be introduced for designers and staffs for the creation of new, up-to-date agricultural machines in a short time. It is necessary to work out the relevant regulations in this respect, as is the case in other branches of industry.

We must study and solve the problem of strengthening direct economic links between the designers' organisations and the ministries which order tractors, agricultural and reclamation machines on a straight contract basis. The customers could place the orders and finance the designing of the machines which they, above all, need.

Deserving of much more attention also is the elaboration of long-range problems in the technical equipment of agriculture and the automation of a number of work processes. Already today we must think of the machines of tomorrow, of mechanisation in the future based on fundamentally new processes, new kinds of power and materials.

Comrades! We are setting great targets for increasing the output of agricultural produce, and this means that major problems will have to be solved for considerably improving the work of the industry which handles and processes that produce.

As you know, we constantly come up against shortages of meat processing capacities in some places, and of milk processing in others. There is a shortage everywhere of refrigerators. Many enterprises of the processing industry use obsolete equipment and do little to introduce new technology. Our country is building new elevators, warehouses and storage depots, yet the problem of agricultural produce storage still remains quite acute.

We cannot tolerate a state of affairs when year in year out the plans for building enterprises of the processing industry are not fulfilled. In the current year, for instance, the construction and assembly plan for nine months has been fulfilled to the extent of only 84 per cent on sites of the USSR Ministry of the Light Industry, 78 per cent on sites of the USSR Ministry of the Food Industry, and 77 per cent on sites of the USSR Ministry of the Meat-Packing and Dairy Industry. The Union ministries and departments and the local bodies should take measures for full utilisation of the funds assigned and the timely introduction of new capacities for processing and storing products.

In drawing up national economic development plans we must pay far more attention to developing the industry which handles and processes agricultural products and raw material, to strengthening its material base. Of great importance is the correct distribution of processing enterprises and storage capacities. Apparently we must take the firm line of having them built closer to production. The utmost support should be given to the initiative of collective and state farms in building enterprises for processing vegetables, fruit and other agricultural raw material and also specialised storage depots. They must be given all possible assistance by state bodies.

It has repeatedly been suggested that the purchasing organisations and the processing enterprises should take delivery of agricultural produce on the spot at collective and state farms. It will apparently be difficult to do so all at once, but measures should already now be outlined for passing over to a system of receiving and delivering pro-

duce by specialised transport belonging to the purchasing organisations and enterprises of the processing industry.

Permit me to dwell briefly on the questions of rural development. Year after year sees the growth of production, housing, cultural and communal construction in collective and state farms. A construction base is being created in the countryside. It must be said, however, that we do not pay due attention to questions of rural construction. The capital investments assigned for this purpose are not made full use of. During nine months of this year, for example, out of the sums allocated for construction and assembly work in the countryside, 159 million rubles were not utilised. As you know, ministries for rural construction have been operating for some years in the Union Republics, but many of them so far have not given a proper account of themselves.

We must radically alter our attitude to rural construction. Besides adopting measures for unconditional fulfilment of capital construction plans in the countryside and utilisation of the funds allocated for the purpose, we must direct serious and special attention to strengthening the building and designing organisations, and developing production of local building materials.

Attaching great importance to improving construction in the countryside, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR recently passed a decision defining the main lines along which the villages were to be gradually transformed into well-appointed settlements with good dwellings and cultural and other amenities. The fulfilment of this task will require considerable time and effort. Questions of rural development must always focus the attention of Party and administrative bodies.

A great contribution to the development of collective- and state-farm production is being made by Soviet science. The Party and the people highly assess the work of scientists in the field of agriculture. At the same time one cannot fail to note that the level and scope of scientific research in agriculture still do not correspond to the growing demands of our development.

We must see to it always that the necessary facilities are provided for fruitful work by scientists. Important decisions have recently been taken in this direction by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR. I have in mind the decisions on measures for further

improving and developing scientific research work in agriculture and also for improving seed-growing. Comrades report that these decisions have been well received by the staffs of institutes and experimental stations, collective and state farms. Their implementation will without doubt tend to raise the effectiveness of research and step up scientific and technological progress in agriculture.

The workers of agriculture are particularly anxious to see our scientists develop high-yield varieties of agricultural crops and new highly productive breeds of animals and poultry. We hope the scientists will work with still greater efforts on problems in raising agriculture's technical level and improving economic work in collective and state farms. Another field that deserves serious attention is that of working out effective means, particularly biological means, for combating plant pests and diseases. Research workers in other fields of science are called upon to give great assistance to agriculture, for in modern conditions, as we know, the successful development of agricultural production is unthinkable without effective use being made of the achievements in mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology and other sciences.

We attach great importance to the further development in breadth and depth of scientific and technological cooperation with the socialist countries. In Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and other countries, as also in our country, there is much that is of interest in the field of agricultural research, in the development of new highly productive techniques, new kinds of fertilisers, good agricultural crop varieties and animal breeds. Extensive work is being done to raise the efficiency of agricultural production. A wide exchange of experience, pooling of efforts and mutual use of scientific achievements and progressive practice give all the socialist countries the possibility to step up scientific and technological progress in agriculture and to achieve a considerable rise in labour productivity.

And so, comrades, to sum up all that has been said about the present situation in our agriculture and about the demands made on that branch by the tasks of communist construction, our Party's line and all its practical activities in this field, as has already been emphasised, must be directed towards further technical re-equipment of agriculture in the shortest possible time. Our plans in respect of

chemisation, land reclamation and overall mechanisation constitute a set of measures that will permit agricultural production to be raised to a level corresponding to the scope of communist construction in our country.

The technical re-equipment of agricultural production naturally will require big capital investments by the state and by the collective farms. We must always take this into account and seek ways of allotting funds out of our national income which will meet the growing requirements of the countryside and ensure the harmonious development of all branches of the national economy. This is the line we must firmly pursue also in working out the national economic development plan for the forthcoming five-year period.

III. SOME QUESTIONS OF ECONOMICS IN AGRICULTURE

Comrades! Permit me to dwell on some questions of economics in agriculture. The experience of recent years has shown that the principle of purchase of agricultural products based on stable plans and material incentives towards selling grain over and above the plan has been entirely justified. Stable plans combined with purchases over and above the plan makes for fuller satisfaction of the country's requirements of foodstuffs and raw materials and ensures the necessary economic conditions for a steady rise in collective- and state-farm production.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU considers that this principle should be maintained in the future.

For the collective and state farms to be better able to see the prospects of economic development, to plan their production well and to work out a set of agronomic, organisational, technical and other measures, it is advisable to determine in good time the stable plans of purchases of grain and other produce over the forthcoming five-year period.

The Political Bureau submits to the plenary meeting for consideration the proposal to maintain for the coming five-year-plan period (1971-75) the stable plan of state purchases of grain at approximately the same volume as was set for the present five-year period with corrections, whenever necessary, for republics, territories and regions.

It is advisable to set the plan for rice purchases separately.

Since we shall be putting new irrigated lands into service every year for rice-growing, this plan must apparently be an annually rising one.

Should the plenary meeting of the Central Committee consider all these suggestions acceptable, the Council of Ministers of the USSR can be asked to draft and submit the plans for purchases of agricultural produce for the whole country and for the Union Republics in accordance with the accepted principles.

In the republics, territories, regions and districts it will take probably about a year to work out the purchase plans and give them to the farms. Thus, at the beginning of 1970 each farm will have an approved stable plan of agricultural produce purchases for the 1971-75 period.

The planning and agricultural agencies and collective and state farms, when working out plans for the future five-year-plan period, must take the growth reserves of production more fully into account and study the questions of farm specialisation. Specialisation without a doubt is the true way of enhancing the effectiveness of agricultural production, and it must be carried out more actively. Of course, there can be no stereotype in this matter; local conditions and the positive experience gained in a number of regions of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and other republics must be taken into account. The Union and republican ministries for agriculture and the research institutes must give greater attention to the study and generalisation of experience in specialisation.

Apart from the stable plan, the state will continue to purchase considerable amounts of grain and other produce over and above the plan. As you know, extra pay amounting to 50 per cent of the basic purchase price of wheat and some other grain crops has been fixed in order to encourage collective and state farms to increase the production of grain and its sale to the state over and above the plan. This arrangement provides an incentive for farms, promotes growth of production, is simple and comprehensible for the collective farmers and state-farm workers.

Many comrades suggest that the established system of encouraging grain purchases over and above the plan should be extended to some other agricultural products. This suggestion is worth considering. Such a powerful economic lever for increasing production and purchases of agricultural produce

should be widely utilised. If this proposal is approved, the agencies concerned should be instructed to work out such a system taking into account present practices.

Suggestions are coming in from the local areas that part of the funds received by the state farms in the form of increments on the basic price for above-plan produce should be used for additional encouragement for state-farm workers, specialists and farm managers. In our view these suggestions deserve consideration and should be supported. Such a system will promote still greater labour activity on the part of state-farm workers. As for the collective farms, according to the Rules, they settle such questions in accordance with the view of general meetings of collective farmers.

Some remarks on the prices of agricultural produce. The purchase prices fixed after the March Plenary Meeting cover costs for most collective and state farms and enable them to have accumulations for expanded reproduction. The Political Bureau is of the opinion that for the immediate period ahead the existing purchase prices should be on the whole maintained. But some corrections should apparently be introduced. In the first place, prices for vegetables, cotton and poultry meat should be readjusted. There should be a greater incentive for collective and state farms to sell high-quality agricultural produce. The zonal price differentiation should be improved in respect of individual products.

The question of expenses incurred by farms in connection with acquiring tractors, mineral fertilisers and other materials and equipment should be considered. These expenses are much higher for farms situated at a distance from the supplying plant or the station depots. Apparently, collective and state farms should be placed in equal conditions as regards expenses incurred in acquiring materials and equipment.

There must be a further improvement also in the system of taxation of collective farms. There are suggestions that it would be more correct to have a differentiated scale of taxation depending on the farm's profitability level.

The State Planning Committee of the USSR and the agricultural and finance bodies must study all these questions together with the scientists and submit their proposals.

At the March Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and later at the 23rd Party Congress, we found that there was no justification for the desire to transform many collective farms into state farms. It was established that the task

was not to replace one form of socialist economy in the countryside by another, but to consolidate and develop in every way both the collective-farm and state-farm forms of organisation of social production. Nevertheless, requests for the transformation of a large number of collective farms into state farms still continue to come in.

Over the period from 1957 to 1967 the number of state farms in our country more than doubled—from 5,900 to 12,800. Permanently allotted to them were 292 million hectares of agricultural land. In the state farms is concentrated 43 per cent of our country's cultivated area. State-farm production, as you see, is an enormous factor in our economy.

And yet the ministries for agriculture of the USSR and the Union republics, and the local authorities do not pay due attention to the state farms. Many of these farms are working unsatisfactorily and make a poor showing economically and financially.

All this obliges us to pay the most serious attention to the work of the state farms in order to make them all highly productive and highly profitable enterprises. This applies first of all to the leading agencies in the RSFSR and the Kazakh SSR, where two-thirds of the country's state farms are concentrated.

The large scale of reclamation work makes great demands on the water economy bodies. We did right to create the Ministry of Melioration and Water Conservancy of the USSR. In a short space of time the Ministry and its local bodies have carried out a good deal of work in setting up water economy and building organisations and strengthening their staffs. However, not everything in the Ministry's work is organised as smoothly as it should be. Responsibility for the quality of water economy works and proper exploitation of reclamation systems is low. There is still no clear-cut delimitation of functions between water economy and agricultural bodies.

Further improvement is also necessary in the work of *Soyuzselkhoztekhnika*. From the localities come warnings of serious shortcomings in production and technical servicing of collective and state farms. Suggestions are made that *Soyuzselkhoztekhnika* should be charged with organising centralised deliveries of machines, spares, building and other materials direct to the farms with its own transport and should take on itself the task of making up full sets of

equipment and installing it so that collective and state farms should receive equipment, so to say, in working order.

The question is also rightly raised of improving the organisation of purchases of agricultural produce, particularly vegetables and fruit.

Questions arise in connection with the wide dispersal of the production of machines and equipment for the farms over various ministries and departments. For instance, the production of equipment for animal husbandry is handled by more than 150 enterprises, of which only 30 come under the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Building, while the others are under 13 other ministries or departments.

Such dispersion seriously delays technical progress in the mechanisation of animal husbandry and fodder production, since many of the enterprises involved haven't the necessary qualified staffs of specialists in this field and actually do not work to improve the equipment which they produce. Orders for small quantities of machines work out expensive for the enterprises concerned and this leads to an increase in the cost of machines. The same situation has arisen in the production of reclamation equipment, which is scattered over 11 ministries and departments.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Government, taking into account the exchange of opinion at the present plenary meeting, must consider all these questions and take the necessary measures.

As you see, comrades, we are faced with no few tasks in the field of agriculture. It is not only a question of the further development of an important branch of the national economy. In the final analysis it is a matter of solving important problems concerned with the socio-economic and cultural development of Soviet society. The raising of productive forces in the countryside will make for still greater improvement in the material welfare of all working people and will open new and wide opportunities for cultural growth in the countryside. At the same time, the realisation of the measures outlined will lead to a change in the very character of the rural population's labour, to its increasing transformation into a variety of industrial labour. In following this course, we shall gradually accomplish one of the cardinal tasks of communist construction—the task of obliterating the essential distinctions between town and country.

Our industry is called upon to play a great role in implementing the proposed measures for the material and technical re-equipment of agriculture. But it must be borne in mind that further development in industry itself will depend a great deal on progress in agriculture, on the extent to which the towns are supplied with raw materials and food-stuffs, and the ability of the countryside to provide the factories with new working-class reinforcements.

As you see, comrades, all the measures outlined are inspired by a single desire—to raise the standard of living of the Soviet people still higher, and to strengthen still more the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the might of our socialist Motherland.

The great tasks in agriculture naturally cannot be accomplished by the workers in that branch alone. Broad chemisation, land reclamation and overall mechanisation can be carried out only by the joint efforts of the rural toilers and the working class, of the scientists and the agricultural specialists, of the engineers and technicians in industry—in a word, all the Soviet people.

In mobilising the working people to fight for a new advance in agriculture, the chief role belongs to the Party organisations. Naturally mention must be made first of the rural district Party committees, the primary Party organisations and the Communists working in collective and state farms. More than once the Party has set them big tasks and they, in the face of numerous difficulties, ably accomplished those tasks. The army of Communists in the countryside now numbers more than 5 million persons. The activities of rural Party organisations must be aimed at raising bumper crops, achieving a high productivity of animal husbandry, stepping up scientific and technological progress and attaining high labour productivity.

The forward line in the drive to carry out the decisions of our plenary meeting must be occupied also by the Party organisations in industry. I have in mind in the first place the Party organisations at enterprises of the agricultural machinery, tractor, automobile and chemical industries, those in the building organisations, in the scientific research and all other institutions connected in one way or another with agriculture. Need it be said how much depends on their fruitful work!

The proper selection, training and education of personnel

has always been and remains a decisive condition of all our successes. Our cadres are doing a big job. Life demands of them profound knowledge, particularly in the fields of economics, science and technology. Therefore a most important task of Party organisations is systematic work to train and retrain key personnel and specialists at schools, courses and seminars and by the use of other forms for improving their knowledge and experience. Care should be taken in good time that the higher educational establishments, technical colleges, and vocational schools train specialists with higher and secondary qualifications as well as in the mass professions for agriculture in fully sufficient numbers. There should be a long-term concrete plan for the training and retraining of these staffs.

Leading workers and collective farmers should be more widely promoted to key positions in Party, state and economic bodies. Women should be promoted more energetically. There are still very few of them in the countryside among farm managers, team-leaders, and managers of animal farms and sections. Women should also be more actively trained as rural mechanisation specialists. In general, greater care must be shown in providing better and more favourable conditions for the work and living conditions of women in the countryside.

One of the most important questions of Party-political work in the countryside is work with youth. The decisions of our plenary meeting and our agricultural plans open up for youth, in the town as well as in the countryside, new horizons, a wide field of activity. You realise, comrades, how many agricultural specialists, engineers and technicians, machine operators, agrochemists, reclamation workers, builders and other skilled personnel are required to carry out the programme for the further development of agriculture set forth in this report.

The Party counts on our young people making their fit contribution to the development of agriculture. Having mastered the fundamentals of science, the young people, with their exuberant energy and love of knowledge, their responsiveness to all that is new, are the future of our countryside. For their education, for work with them, neither time nor energy must be spared.

We must give yet greater scope to political work by Party organisations among the masses. Appealing to the people,

soliciting their support is the tried and tested method of our Party, the true way to attain the set goal. Political work must be closely related to life. It must really fire people with enthusiasm, inspire them to fine feats of labour. We must raise still higher the role of socialist emulation, give it our constant attention, find new and interesting forms of emulation and give wider publicity to foremost people in production. An important role in this should be played not only by Party, but also by trade union organisations and our press.

To work among the masses is to show concern for people, for the amenities of their daily-life circle, and for raising the level of rural life as a whole. Not a little has been done in this direction recently. But for a number of reasons, among them insufficient attention, many problems concerned with the cultural and welfare services of the rural population still remain unsolved. To develop to the utmost and satisfy more fully the spiritual and everyday requirements of the working people in the countryside—such is the lofty duty of all Party organisations, state bodies, trade unions, YCL organisations and the whole Soviet public.

In the work of the collective and state farms, in all aspects of rural life there are no questions which do not come within the scope of our tasks. We must raise still higher the level of work by our Party organisations, from the Central Committee down to the regional, town and district Party committees, and the primary Party organisations. Our agricultural development plans are realistic not only because they are based on material possibilities, on the level of economic, scientific and technological progress attained in our country. They depend to an enormous extent on the well-arranged organisational and political work of the Party and all its detachments among the masses, among the people.

Comrades! The questions of further progress in agriculture before this plenary meeting of the Central Committee are of tremendous importance for the state. The meeting's decisions will be the programme for our practical work.

Relying on the support of the Soviet people, the Party will devote all its efforts to ensure that our agriculture will take new steps forward and fully satisfy the continually growing requirements of our people and our state.
(*Applause.*)

SPEECH AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

November 12, 1968

Dear delegates to the Congress!

Dear comrades!

It is with profound satisfaction that our delegation, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, on behalf of the thirteen and a half million Soviet Communists, conveys to the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, to all Polish Communists, ardent fraternal greetings! (*Applause.*) We wish your Congress successful and fruitful work.

We, your friends and comrades, cordially rejoice that the Polish United Workers' Party has come to its fifth congress with good results on all sectors of socialist construction. The outstanding successes achieved by people's Poland are the result of the great and persistent work of the Polish working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, a result of the enormous political and organisational work done by the Polish United Workers' Party and its Central Committee headed by that fine son of the Polish working class and prominent figure in the international communist movement, Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka. (*Applause.*)

The experience of the Polish United Workers' Party, its activity both at home and in the international arena, is a substantial contribution to the international experience of the Communists. The report of the Central Committee of the PUWP and the documents of the Congress are of great interest to us all.

Many socialist countries are now dealing with similar problems of their further development. The creative utilisation of each other's experience, cooperation, mutual support,

combined efforts on decisive sectors, help the fraternal Parties and countries to move more rapidly forward to our great goal.

We are living, comrades, at a difficult, stormy and interesting time. The world revolutionary process is developing irresistibly, and at its centre is the struggle of the two basic social systems of our age—socialism and capitalism.

In this worldwide struggle we have already achieved very much. The world socialist system has arisen, established itself, and defended its right to live. The economy of the socialist countries is developing, their defences are being strengthened, social relations are being perfected and the working people's living conditions are improving. Simultaneously the cooperation between the socialist countries is deepening, our alliance with the revolutionary forces throughout the world is growing stronger. The balance of world forces continues to change in favour of socialism and its allies.

The might of the socialist camp is now such that the imperialists fear a military rout in the event of a showdown with the main forces of socialism. Of course, as long as imperialism exists, one cannot under any circumstances discount the danger of war with which imperialist policy is fraught. However, it is a fact that in the new conditions the imperialists more and more often resort to other, more crafty tactics. They seek weak links in the socialist front, follow a course of ideological subversion in the countries of socialism, endeavour to influence the economic development of these countries, try to sow discord, to drive wedges between them, to encourage and inflate nationalistic feelings and tendencies, and seek to isolate one or another socialist state so as to seize them later by the throat one by one. In other words, the imperialists try to wreck the stability of socialism precisely as a world system.

The experience of the socialist countries' struggle and development in these new conditions over recent years, including the activation not long ago of forces hostile to socialism in Czechoslovakia, brings home to the Communists in the socialist countries with renewed force how important it is not for a single minute to forget certain very important time-tested truths.

If we do not want to slow down our progress on the road of socialist and communist construction, if we do not want

to weaken our general positions in the struggle against imperialism, it is essential for us always and everywhere, in deciding any questions of our internal or external policy, to preserve inviolate our loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to display a clear-cut class and Party approach to all social phenomena, and to give imperialism a resolute rebuff on the ideological front, making no concessions whatever to bourgeois ideology.

It is precisely on a high-principled Marxist-Leninist basis that tremendous successes have been achieved in the social, political, economic and cultural development of the socialist countries—successes of such depth, scale and rate of progress as history has never known before.

In their efforts to discredit socialism, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie trade on the difficulties and mistakes in the development of one socialist country or another. What can be said on this score? Yes, there have been difficulties in the development of the socialist countries, there are now and probably will be such difficulties in the future, every stage has its difficulties.

Some of them are of an objective character conditioned by historical, natural and other factors. Others are of a subjective nature, arising from the fact that not the very best solution has been found for this or that development problem, i.e., that there have been some miscalculations, mistakes, that we have not yet learnt to make full use of the possibilities inherent in the socialist system.

The question is how to react to difficulties and mistakes.

Public figures of the petty-bourgeois trend, on encountering difficulties, fall into hysterics and begin to doubt all and everything. Revisionists are ready, because of the difficulties that have arisen, to cross out all that has been achieved, to renounce all that has been won, to surrender all their principled positions.

True Communists, on the contrary, confidently lay a road ahead, seek the best solutions for problems which have arisen, relying on socialist achievements. They honestly admit the mistakes they have made on this or that question, and analyse and correct them in order to strengthen still more the positions of socialism, in order not to yield, not to surrender to the enemies of socialism a single grain of what has been won, of what has already been achieved by the efforts and struggle of the masses. (*Prolonged applause.*) In a word, we can say

with certainty: if a party adheres firmly to communist positions, if it is true to Marxism-Leninism, all difficulties will be overcome.

Experience most convincingly shows of what extraordinary, we may say decisive, significance it is for success in building socialism to ensure and continuously strengthen the leading role of the Communist Party as the most progressive, leading, organising and guiding force in all social development under socialism.

A party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, expressing the will of the working class and all the working people, is a decisive force in the struggle for socialism and communism. (*Prolonged applause.*) It is at the same time the surest guarantee that in the development of socialist society the interests of all the working classes and social strata composing it will be most fully taken into account and harmoniously combined.

It is no accident that the enemies of socialism always single out precisely the Communist Party as the first target of their attacks. It is no accident that revisionists of all shades—vehicles of bourgeois influence in the working-class movement—invariably endeavour to soften up and weaken the Party, to undermine its organisational base, the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, and advocate a relaxation of Party discipline. It is no accident that they give currency to a “theory” according to which the Party should “separate itself” from the leadership of social development in the field of economics, state life, culture, and so on. Such a situation would naturally be very convenient for those who dream of turning back development in all these fields, back towards capitalism.

Growing significance in present-day conditions attaches to such an important aspect of the Party’s activities as its ideological work in forming the outlook of the man of socialist and communist society and exposing bourgeois ideology.

From all this, the Communists of the Soviet Union—and we are sure, the Communists of the other fraternal countries—draw for themselves the clear conclusion that we must strengthen with all our might the unity and cohesion of the Party, enhance by all possible means its leading role in social development, and perfect the forms of its activities.

Experience of the struggle and a realistic assessment of

the situation that has arisen in the world also clearly show that it is a vital necessity for the Communists in the socialist countries to hold high the banner of socialist internationalism, to steadily consolidate the cohesion and solidarity of the countries of socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*) This is a major condition for successfully building socialism and communism in each of our countries and for success in the struggle of the world socialist system against imperialism.

The defence interests of each socialist country, the interests of its economic, scientific and cultural development demand the broadest cooperation between the fraternal countries, the utmost development of all-round contacts between them, of genuine internationalism.

Imperialism's main stake in its fight against us is on splitting the socialist countries and weakening our unity. The solidarity of our countries is a blow at those hopes of the enemy. And this solidarity is winning splendid victories. An example is Vietnam, whose many years of heroic struggle against the armed forces of the biggest imperialist power would have been impossible without active and effective assistance from the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries. The big victory which the Vietnamese people recently won in compelling the ruling circles of the USA to stop the bombing and other military actions against the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is, at the same time, as our Vietnamese friends themselves note, a great victory for the socialist camp and all peace-loving forces throughout the world. The strength of our solidarity is borne out also by the example of the German Democratic Republic. It is clear to everyone that successful construction of socialism under the difficult conditions in which that country finds itself is inseparable from active support and solidarity on the part of the other socialist countries, from broad economic cooperation, from our military alliance. Socialist solidarity is of tremendous significance for building socialism in other countries too.

The socialist countries stand for strict respect of the sovereignty of all countries. We are strongly opposed to interference in the affairs of any states, to violation of their sovereignty.

In this connection special significance for us Communists attaches to maintenance and defence of the sovereignty of states which have taken the road of building socialism. The

forces of imperialism and reaction are out to rob the people now of one, now of another socialist country of the sovereign right which it has won to ensure their country's prosperity, the good and happiness of the broad working masses, by building up a society free from all oppression and exploitation. And when encroachments upon that right meet with a unanimous rebuff on the part of the countries of the socialist camp, bourgeois propagandists raise a hue and cry about "defence of sovereignty" and "non-interference". It is clear that this is pure deception and demagogy on their part. In actual fact these bawlers are concerned not for the preservation of socialist sovereignty, but its destruction.

It is well known that the Soviet Union has done quite a lot to really strengthen the sovereignty and independence of the socialist countries. The CPSU has always been in favour of every socialist country determining the concrete forms of its development along the road to socialism, taking into account the specific character of its national conditions. But we know, comrades, that there are also general laws of socialist construction, deviations from which could lead to deviations from socialism as such. And when internal and external forces hostile to socialism try to turn the development of any socialist country backwards to a capitalist restoration, when a threat arises to the cause of socialism in that country, a threat to the security of the socialist community as a whole, that is no longer a problem only of the people of the country in question, but a general problem, the concern of all the socialist countries. (*Applause.*)

Obviously, such an action as military aid to a fraternal country in warding off a menace to the socialist system is an extraordinary, an enforced measure, that can be evoked only by direct actions on the part of the enemies of socialism within a country and outside it, actions which create a threat to the common interests of the socialist camp.

Experience shows that the victory of the socialist system in one country or another can in the present conditions be considered as final and a capitalist restoration precluded only if the Communist Party, being the leading force in society, firmly pursues the Marxist-Leninist policy in developing all spheres of social life; only if the Party untiringly strengthens the country's defences and safeguards its revolutionary gains, if it maintains vigilance and teaches the people vigilance towards the class enemy, irreconcilability towards bourgeois

ideology; only if it observes as sacred the principle of socialist internationalism, and strengthens unity and fraternal solidarity with the other socialist countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It can be said with certainty that the policy pursued by the Polish United Workers' Party is a good instance of high-principled, Marxist-Leninist policy, of loyalty to the principles of socialist internationalism. (*Applause.*)

Comrades! World imperialism is continuing its aggressive policy, undertaking no few steps making for a deterioration of the international atmosphere.

The imperialists are creating centres of tension in various regions of the world, stepping up the arms race, striving to turn the world back to the "cold war" times. Revanchist feeling, which threatens world peace and the European peoples' security, is being openly worked up in the FRG.

To this reactionary, aggressive political line the countries of the socialist community oppose their own policy, which is flexible and realistic but uncompromising towards aggressors and revanchists. This policy is pervaded with the spirit of resolute class support of the revolutionary forces, the forces of socialism and progress throughout the world. (*Applause.*) At the same time, this policy upholds the principles of peaceful coexistence, stands for renunciation of attempts to settle questions concerning the relations between the two confronting social systems by military means, consistently adheres to the line of relaxing international tensions.

In our struggle for peace and security of the peoples, for mutually profitable cooperation between states with different social systems, we are achieving no small success, particularly when the socialist countries act in concert, in a united front.

But the situation demands of all of us redoubled vigilance in respect of our class adversary in the international arena. Of great significance, therefore, is the work now being carried out by the Warsaw Treaty states to strengthen and perfect the military mechanism of our alliance of fraternal countries in reply to NATO's military preparations.

Let those who are inclined to forget the lessons of history and would like to undertake a new recarving of the map of Europe know that the frontiers of Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and any other country which is a member of the Warsaw Treaty are unalterable and inviolable. (*Stormy,*

prolonged applause.) These frontiers are defended by all the armed strength of the socialist community. We advise all those who are disposed to encroach on foreign frontiers to take good note of this.

Comrades, the tasks of further developing the economy of the socialist community of nations in the context of the present scientific and technological revolution demand that we tackle in real earnest the expansion and improvement of the economic links between our countries. This was well expressed by Comrade Gomulka in his report. These pressing problems are soon to be considered at the meeting of the Party and Government leaders of the socialist countries, members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Broader international socialist division of labour, and cooperation and specialisation in production will allow much more effective use to be made of the advantages of socialism, will make for a still more rapid economic development of each of our countries and for further progress in economic competition with capitalism.

Comrades! The ideas of communism have become the leading ideas of our century. Never, perhaps, has bourgeois propaganda been so active in taking up questions of communism as in our day. It is perfectly clear that the bourgeoisie fears a further growth of the communist movement, which has already achieved worldwide development, carried off big victories and, having consolidated socialism in countries on three continents, has demonstrated its ability to realise its goals and ideals.

The big class battles in the capitalist countries show that there too the working class and its revolutionary vanguard are intensifying their assault on capitalism and mustering an army of socialist revolution.

Operating in difficult conditions, not infrequently illegally, exposed to persecution and terror, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries are fighting selflessly for the cause of the working class, of all working people. Many of them have become a significant political force. They are energetically strengthening their contacts with the masses, introducing them to the ideas of scientific socialism, the ideas of revolution.

The allies of the working class in the struggle against imperialism are swelling their ranks throughout the world. This is bringing closer the hour of social and national eman-

cipation for the oppressed peoples. At the same time, the various other strata of the population participating in the revolutionary movement alongside the working class bring into this movement their own views and ideas, which differ from proletarian ideology and which at times feed Right-wing opportunism and "Left" adventurism among one or another contingent of the communist movement.

It would be wrong to underestimate the danger and harm of such trends. We know that revisionists of both the Right and "Left", for all their outward differences, are at one on the main thing: both of them distort the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and play down the role of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Party, in the socialist revolution and in socialist construction. Both of them deviate from the principles of proletarian internationalism, thereby weakening the struggle against imperialism and retarding the development of the revolutionary process. A characteristic of both these tendencies is national limitation in assessing many major issues of the revolutionary struggle, sometimes taking the form of real chauvinism. The limits to which revisionists operating under cover of "Left" phraseology can go in this respect is shown by the policy of the Mao Tse-tung group.

Naturally, all these distortions are profoundly alien to genuine Communists, who are loyal to Marxism-Leninism. Internationalism has always been an important source of strength for the communist movement. The interests of the working class and its struggle against capitalism, Lenin taught, require complete solidarity and the closest unity of workers of all nations and a rebuff to nationalistic policy. These interests insistently demand cohesion of Communists in defence of our militant ideological weapon, the revolutionary teaching of Marx and Lenin. (*Applause.*)

The Communist Parties, operating in varying conditions, may display different approaches to one or another problem. We would be acting wrongly if we did not see the divergences which exist between their views on separate questions. Some of these divergences, in our opinion, are of a purely temporary nature, and will disappear as the course of events clarifies the questions at issue. Others, apparently, may prove to be more lasting, but they should not, in our view, hinder joint struggle against the common adversary for our great common goals.

The chief thing is that even though there are disagreements on one or another question, the Communist and Workers' Parties seek ways and means for developing international contacts, strive to strengthen the unity of their ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. We, for our part, have always considered a comradely exchange of opinions to be useful and are ready for frank discussions on questions arising between the fraternal Parties. We are sure that it is precisely by strengthening our contacts and cooperation that the problems which arise will be resolved in the interests of unity of the international communist movement. And this is natural, for we have a common ideological basis—Marxism-Leninism, a common enemy—imperialism, and a common goal—the victory of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is in this light that we consider also preparations for the new international Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Our Party, highly assessing the role of international meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties, comes out, together with the other fraternal Parties, for the convocation of a new meeting in the not distant future. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will do everything in its power for the successful preparation and holding of that meeting.

The situation demands that the fraternal Parties should rally for a more powerful attack against imperialism. For Communists today there is a new, stronger, challenging ring to our movement's immortal slogan: Workers of all countries, unite! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades!

We hear with great interest how the Polish Communists pose at their Congress problems concerning the development of socialist society. We know only too well from our own experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union how important it is to see these problems in all their complexity, in all their multiformity.

As a result of years of heroic work on the part of the Soviet people, rallied around the party of Lenin, a modern economic system has been created in our country. In the volume of output it has long occupied second place in the world, and in a number of important indices, first place. The results of the first three years of the five-year plan show that our current economic targets, both in industry and in agriculture, are being successfully achieved. The planned

growth rates of industrial production are being surpassed. Important measures have been taken to raise the standard of living. The workers, peasants and intellectuals in our country are working with great enthusiasm. The moral and political unity of Soviet society and its cohesion around the Party are being steadily strengthened.

We are happy at the successes achieved, but we understand that in a living and developing socialist society there cannot be a situation in which all problems have been solved, and there is no need to seek improvement. The construction of socialism and communism has its own dialectics: the very course of development brings to the fore more and more new tasks; the higher the level attained, the greater are the demands made on the Party, the state, and all the working people for ensuring efficient, organised work by the complex mechanism of the country's economic and social life.

That is why our Party attaches great importance to the elaboration of a scientifically grounded policy in all fields of life. We devote great attention to improving methods of economic administration, planning and management, to the task of applying the achievements of science and technology on the broadest scale in all branches of the economy. The source of strength and further growth of the Soviet economy is now to be seen not only in the increasing number of works and development of new lands, but to an ever greater extent in the growing efficiency of social production, the steady growth in labour productivity, increased fertility of the soil and improvement in the quality of production.

A scientific and technological revolution of unprecedented rapidity and scope is developing in the world today. And who, if not we Communists, who have made the greatest social revolution, should be in the front ranks of the revolutionary transformations in science and technology? The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of the opinion that one of our most important tasks today is to accelerate scientific and technological progress, to equip the working people with up-to-date scientific and technological knowledge, to apply as quickly as possible the results of scientific discoveries. This will enable fuller use to be made of our socialist society's enormous creative potential, and will hasten considerably the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

Our society itself has undergone great changes. Its social composition and the relations between the classes are no longer the same. Changed, too, is the moral character of the people of whom it is composed. Our society's potentialities are developing at a rapid rate, but so are its requirements.

The political life of society should keep in step with these processes. We attach decisive importance to further enhancing the Party's leading role. Improvement of Party leadership is essential for the successful fulfilment of the grand tasks which the Soviet people, the builder of communism, has set itself.

Enhancement of the Party's leading role does not by any means lead to its superseding, say, the Soviets or the economic agencies, or the trade unions and other mass organisations of the working people. On the contrary, one of the tasks of societal leadership by the Party consists precisely in achieving utmost activation of all links in social life, improving their work, enhancing their responsibility.

Our Party is consistently pursuing the course of further developing socialist democracy. We Communists are advocates of genuine democracy, and without it progress is unthinkable for us. We understand by democracy the involvement of the broadest working masses in social and political life, the provision of conditions in which they do indeed participate in running society and the state. Such democracy we develop and will develop to the utmost. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, we are inspired by the awareness that the Soviet people's successes in building communism, like the successes of all peoples who have adopted the road of socialism, multiply the strength of those who are fighting for freedom, peace and social progress throughout the world.

We see the grandeur and scale of the tasks confronting us and constantly seek the most reliable ways to accomplish them. It is with this in mind that the Soviet people are approaching the centenary of the birth of the founder of our Party and the Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. (*Applause.*)

Dear Polish comrades!

Our Parties and peoples have traversed together a great and glorious path. In complete mutual agreement, in close unity, the peoples of Poland and of the Soviet Union are building the new society. We have extensive and effective cooperation in all fields of life.

Our Party highly estimates the contribution made by the Polish Communists to strengthening friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. (*Applause.*) What we have achieved in this domain is the result of the sincere trust between our Parties and peoples, the result of the practical application of the principles of socialist internationalism, it is internationalism in action!

In close alliance with the parties and peoples of the other fraternal countries, the Communists and all the working people of Poland and the Soviet Union are advancing along the glorious path of struggle to embody the great ideals of communism. These days at your Congress, on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the Polish United Workers' Party and the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Poland, the Communists of the Soviet Union wish you from the bottom of their hearts, comrades, new successes, new great victories in building socialist Poland! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Polish United Workers' Party, the Polish working people's vanguard leading the country along the road of socialism! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live and flourish the indestructible friendship between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. A long ovation by the whole hall.*)

**OPENING SPEECH
AT THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

June 5, 1969

Dear comrades,

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU and all Soviet Communists, to extend heartfelt greetings to the delegations of the fraternal Parties who have come to take part in the International Meeting. Through you we warmly greet millions of like-minded men and fellow-fighters in all countries, on all continents who, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, champion the interests of the working class and all working people, and carry on the struggle against imperialism, for socialism, for peace, democracy and national independence.

Representatives of 75 Parties are taking part in our Meeting.

It is no exaggeration to say that the attention of the whole world is now centred on this hall. Our numerous friends are closely following our work. Theirs is an understandable interest. It is determined above all by the role of the communist movement as the most influential international force of our day. It is determined by the pressing nature of the problems which we are going to discuss and on which we are to work out a common stand.

The progress of the Meeting will also be closely watched by our class enemies—the imperialists of all countries and their menials. That is not surprising. They fear our unity, and will, of course, try to do everything they can to minimise the importance of the Meeting, to throw a false light on its progress and results. We can be quite sure that the greater the will for unity of action, for cohesion displayed

by our Meeting, the stronger the blow that it will inflict on the imperialist calculations.

The main question on the agenda is of vital importance to all the peoples. It can be settled fully and successfully only through a united effort by the Communists, the working class, and the broadest masses of working people in every corner of the world. The very fact that this Meeting has been called is evidence that Communists understand their high responsibility for the future of the world and social progress, and that they are resolved to do their duty to the international working class and to the peoples.

Communists have always been and are in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism, for victory of the cause of socialism, democracy and social progress. Their unity, the pooling of their efforts have been and remain an important condition of success in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, and an important requisite for fresh victories of socialism.

As we begin discussion of the tasks before us we realise that there is much important work to be done. For this, good conditions have now been created, as the Meeting was preceded by long and thorough preparation. In a comradely, democratic atmosphere, the representatives of many fraternal Parties had a detailed discussion of a wide range of political and organisational questions, and worked out the draft documents. The great positive significance of the preparatory work lies in the fact that it has enabled each Party to obtain a better knowledge of the problems which are being tackled by the various contingents of the communist movement, and to co-ordinate their stand on the basic urgent questions of the anti-imperialist struggle. The fruitfulness of international co-operation between the Communist and Workers' Parties has been demonstrated in practice once again.

We highly appreciate the contribution of all the fraternal Parties who took part in the preparatory work at its various stages. We are sure that the spirit of comradeship and internationalism, the will for unity of the communist movement, which was strongly manifested in the course of the preparatory work, will also determine the whole atmosphere at this Meeting.

Our Party and the whole Soviet people highly value the confidence you have shown in deciding to hold the inter-

national forum of Communists in Moscow, our capital. We wish to assure you, comrades, that in fulfilling our Central Committee's instructions, the CPSU delegation will, for its part, do everything it can to make the work of this Meeting successful and fruitful.

We hope, too, that the delegations of the fraternal Parties will be able to use their stay in the USSR to acquaint themselves with the life and work of the Soviet people, and to meet our country's working people.

The Central Committee of the CPSU expresses confidence that the Meeting will be an important stage in mobilising all revolutionary, liberation and progressive forces of our day for the struggle against imperialism, and will make a big contribution to the unity of the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.

**FOR GREATER UNITY OF COMMUNISTS,
FOR A FRESH UPSURGE
OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE**

*Speech at the International Meeting
of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow
June 7, 1969*

Dear comrades,

The principal item on the agenda of our Meeting is the question of the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and of unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of all anti-imperialist forces. From our point of view, the essence of the problems covered by this agenda is clearly formulated in the draft of the Main Document. The CC CPSU considers that the draft, as well as the other documents which we shall have to examine, conforms to the present-day tasks of the communist movement.

We are convinced, comrades, that our Meeting, at which most of the Communist Parties of the world are represented, will play a major role in stimulating the actions of the fighters against imperialism. It will contribute towards uniting the entire world front of the forces championing peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

At the same time, we are confident that the work of this Meeting and the joint struggle for the aims which it will chart will help to surmount the difficulties that have emerged in the communist movement and strengthen its unity on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

All this will still further enhance the prestige and influence Communists enjoy among the broad masses of working people and all progressive forces in the world.

I
THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
AND THE TASKS OF THE
ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

Comrades, a little under nine years have passed since representatives of the Communist Parties of all continents last gathered in order jointly to map out the further course of their revolutionary struggle. This has been an extremely important and eventful period. To us Communists it has brought many successes and opened up further possibilities for achieving the great aims of our movement. At the same time, this period has brought serious problems and complications.

We have very closely followed the speeches made here in which the comrades touched on a number of major issues of the anti-imperialist struggle. We have been instructed by the Central Committee of the CPSU to expound here, in the light of the basic task to which the Meeting is devoted, our Party's viewpoint on some problems of international development over the past few years.

All of us are unanimous that **as a social system imperialism has been and remains the chief obstacle to mankind's historically inevitable advance to the triumph of freedom, peace and democracy.**

The peoples are presenting a grim bill to imperialism. Through its fault the vital problems that face mankind in acute form remain unresolved though they could be successfully settled already today. Imperialism has been and remains the chief adversary not only of the communist movement but of all fighters for the rights of the working people, for the deliverance of the peoples from social and national oppression.

The social substance of imperialism and its place in history are clear to us Communists. However, to chart a concrete programme of anti-imperialist struggle it is not enough to have a correct understanding of the essence and nature of imperialism. It is also necessary to make a close analysis of the new phenomena and deep-going processes taking place in the capitalist world. The Leninist theory of imperialism provides the key to an understanding of the specific features distinguishing imperialism at its present stage of development.

What may be said of the features of imperialism over the past decade? Wherein lie its strength and weakness in our day and, the main thing, what makes it a menace to the peoples?

The growth of socialism's might, the abolition of colonial regimes, and pressure by the working-class movement increasingly influence the inner processes and policies of imperialism. Many important features of modern imperialism can be explained by the fact that it is compelled to adapt itself to new conditions, to the conditions of struggle between the two systems.

First and foremost, we cannot afford to ignore the fact that the imperialism of our day still has a powerful and highly developed production mechanism. We cannot afford to ignore the fact that modern imperialism makes use also of the possibilities placed before it by the increasing fusion of the monopolies with the state apparatus. The programming and forecasting of production, state financing of technological progress and scientific research and steps aimed at achieving a certain restriction of market anarchy in the interests of the biggest monopolies are becoming more and more widespread. In some countries this is leading to a certain enhancement of the effectiveness of social production.

The economic, scientific and technological achievements of the socialist countries and the class struggle are compelling capitalism to make some concessions to the working people in the social sphere. It thus seeks to camouflage the rising level of exploitation of the working people. Monopoly capitalism thereby tries to avert social and economic upheavals fraught with the greatest danger to the bourgeois system.

To meet the challenge of socialism and strengthen their positions, the imperialists are combining their efforts on an international scale and having recourse to various forms of economic integration. International monopoly associations are being set up with the support and participation of bourgeois governments. Imperialist military and political alliances are becoming more active.

It goes without saying that today, despite all this, the ineradicable inter-imperialist contradictions remain a vital law governing capitalist society. These contradictions are made all the more acute by the circumstance that the reciprocal penetration of capital of these countries is intensifying

and the interdependence of their national economies is increasing. The growth of contradictions between the imperialist powers finds expression particularly in the weakening of aggressive military blocs, chiefly NATO.

As a whole, however, under conditions of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, a certain shift of the centre of gravity of imperialism's strategy is taking place in the world arena. The policies of imperialism are being increasingly determined by the class objectives of its general struggle against world socialism, the national liberation revolutions and the working-class movement.

There is no doubt at all that imperialism will continue to look for new possibilities for prolonging its existence. We cannot ignore all this in our policy.

However, in speaking of these aspects of modern imperialism without underrating the strength and potentialities of our adversary, we consider that neither must they be overrated. The deep-rooted, truly ineradicable inner contradictions undermining capitalism, chiefly the contradiction between labour and capital, are becoming more and more acute precisely in our day. Under the onslaught of the forces of socialism and democracy its positions in the world continue to grow weaker. Today, more fully than ever before, it is exposing itself as a system of social and national inequality, oppression and violence.

Massively socialising production and centralising its management, state-monopoly capitalism is carrying to extremes the basic contradiction of the bourgeois system, the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private mode of appropriation. The unnatural character of the situation in which production complexes, some of which serve more than one country, remain the private property of a handful of millionaires and billionaires is becoming increasingly evident to the peoples. The need for replacing capitalist by socialist relations of production is becoming ever more pressing.

The further imperialism goes in its attempts to adapt itself to the situation, the deeper become its inner social and economic antagonisms. The development of capitalist economy is marked by periodic recessions. The unevenness and one-sidedness of the development of individual countries are becoming more pronounced. All this cannot fail to engender serious difficulties within these countries and boost the growth

of contradictions between them. This is shown by the constant budget deficits, the extremely acute outbursts of currency and financial crises, and the rising cost of living and inflation which in the 1960s have become a chronic disease in many capitalist countries. This disease is now frequently called "creeping crisis".

Imperialism's inability to deliver mankind from poverty and need, abolish unemployment and ensure the working people and small proprietors a life free of fear of the morrow is particularly striking against the background of the unparalleled potentialities being opened by the present development of science and technology. To a steadily growing number of people it is becoming clear that capitalism neither can nor will ever admit the working people to real participation in the running of production and public affairs. It is growing more and more obvious that imperialism is leading towards an unprecedented decline of society's cultural and moral values.

The monopolies use the increased possibilities of production, science and technology for their own selfish ends—to intensify the exploitation of the people, strengthen the apparatus of violence over them and reinforce the machinery of military aggression and adventures. The social gulf between the handful of top monopolies and the huge masses of the working class and all other working people continues to grow wider. In other words, the imperialist system is a permanent and ineradicable threat to the conditions of life and the very existence of the broadest masses in the capitalist countries, where acute class conflicts break out with increasing frequency.

The trend, intrinsic to imperialism, to abolish democratic freedoms and towards the fascisation of social and political life likewise harbours a tremendous threat to the peoples. Lenin emphasised that reaction all along the line is inherent in imperialism. In the 1960s a great deal of new convincing evidence of this has come to the fore.

The influence of the so-called military-industrial complex, i.e., the alliance of the largest monopolies with the military in the state apparatus, is growing rapidly in the most developed capitalist states. This sinister alliance is increasingly pressuring the policy of many imperialist countries, making it still more reactionary and aggressive.

Where the exploiters find themselves unable to ensure the

“order” required by them within the framework of bourgeois democracy, power is placed in the hands of openly terrorist regimes of the fascist type. There are many examples of this in our day. These regimes enjoy the financial and political support of the ruling circles of imperialist powers and of the top monopolies.

Today imperialism is the greatest threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples of the former colonies as well. Even today, after the collapse of the foundations of imperialism’s colonial system, the pillaging of the natural resources and the exploitation of the labour of the population of the weaker and less developed countries remains an inalienable feature of imperialism, although the imperialists are now compelled to act more craftily and disguise their pillage. The resistance of the peoples of the newly independent countries to the policy of neo-colonialism creates a new and important front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

One of imperialism’s gravest threats to the peoples of the whole world is that of another world war.

Militarism has always been part and parcel of imperialism. But today it has acquired truly unparalleled proportions. It is the fault of imperialism that the labour of many millions of people, the brilliant achievements of the human intellect, of the talent of scientists, researchers and engineers, are used not for the benefit of mankind, for promoting progress and the remaking of life on earth, but for barbarous, reactionary purposes, for the needs of war, the greatest of calamities for the peoples. These, comrades, are not empty words but real facts. Suffice it to say that during the past five years US military expenditures amounted to nearly 350,000 million dollars, or 20 per cent more than the total during the Second World War. Yet today the imperialist governments are drawing up new plans for building up armaments over decades to come. Implementation of these plans will be a further heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people and increase the threat of another world war.

In the 1960s alone the USA and other imperialist states have launched armed attacks on Vietnam, Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Arab countries—this list can be continued.

Combined with the stockpiling by the principal imperialist powers of weapons of mass annihilation, the policy of

military gambles makes the imperialism of our day a constant menace to world peace, a threat to the lives of many millions of people, to the existence of whole nations. For that reason the struggle against imperialism is at the same time a struggle to deliver mankind from the threat of a world thermonuclear war. One of the cardinal tasks of the international communist movement is to head the struggle of the peoples for a lasting peace, and today, far from deminishing, the importance of this task constantly grows.

We hold that it would be a gross error to underrate the threat of war created by imperialism, above all US imperialism, the main force of world reaction. Millions of people must be made to understand the implications for mankind of the imperialist policy of unleashing wars, the existence of aggressive blocs, the policy aimed at revising existing state frontiers and subversive activities against the socialist countries and the progressive regimes in the young national states. Our task is to see to it that the peoples not only appreciate the enormous danger of this policy of the imperialists but also that they multiply their efforts in the struggle to frustrate those aggressive designs.

An extremely important form of the struggle against the threat of imperialism starting another world war is to organise a collective rebuff to the actions of the aggressors whenever they launch military adventures in any part of the world. The most striking example of this is the rebuff which US aggression has received in Vietnam. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the interventionists has merged with the determined and effective military and economic assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries, and with the broad popular movement of solidarity with the victims of aggression which has started in almost all countries of the world, including the USA. The result of all this is that the aggressors are failing to achieve their aims and the war started by them is turning into a demonstration of their bankruptcy.

This, comrades, vividly shows that failure awaits the aggressive actions of imperialism if the Communists of different countries act in the same direction and mobilise the popular masses for an active struggle.

Today imperialism is opposed by mighty forces, which are conducting uninterrupted offensives against it. Allow me to deal with some problems of the struggle of the main

revolutionary contingents of modern times against imperialism.

Comrades, all of us base ourselves on the fact that the world socialist system is the leading revolutionary force and the mainstay of the anti-imperialist movement. The sharper the confrontation between the new and the old world, the greater becomes the importance of utilising all the potentialities of the new social system, strengthening the might of the socialist countries and broadly and all-sidedly coordinating their efforts.

The 1960s will occupy a special place in the history of world socialism. It was in this decade that many fraternal countries completed the foundations of socialism and went over to the building of developed socialist society. As it matures the socialist system more and more fully reveals the advantages of its economic, social and political organisation and its inherent genuine democracy. All this is a tangible and weighty contribution to our common cause, the cause of consolidating the anti-imperialist front.

It is from this same angle that we examine a problem of paramount importance, that of strengthening the unity of the socialist states. One cannot fail to see that despite certain difficulties a healthy process of the consolidation of the socialist countries is under way, a process which finds concrete embodiment in the promotion of their all-round co-operation.

Co-operation of this kind is a key factor in the development of each socialist country. At the same time, and this must be specially underscored, it is a powerful weapon in the anti-imperialist struggle and gives redoubled strength to all the fighters for peace and socialism.

In many ways the situation on the front of the anti-imperialist struggle is now determined by the course of the economic competition between socialism and capitalism. It may be said with gratification that in this sphere the socialist countries have scored many achievements. If we take, for instance, the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we shall find that during the past ten years their national income has increased 93 per cent, while in the developed capitalist states the national income rose 63 per cent in the same period. Occupying 18 per cent of the world's territory and having only 10 per cent of the world's population, the CMEA countries now

account for approximately one-third of the world's industrial product. On this foundation the people's standard of living is rising and increasing possibilities are opening for further successful economic, scientific and cultural development.

Parallel with this, economic co-operation between socialist countries is deepening and improving. In this sphere, as in the economic development of separate countries, the main accent today is on the qualitative aspect, on promoting the effectiveness of social production and economic relations. This task is served by the economic reforms being carried out in the European socialist countries. The same aim is pursued by the comprehensive long-term programme of further socialist integration, whose main lines were defined at a special CMEA session held recently in Moscow.

Much has to be done to achieve these purposes. But we are on the right path and we are confident that by progressing along this path the community of fraternal countries will hasten the victory over capitalism in the economic sphere. The implementation of this task conforms not only to the interests of the socialist countries themselves but also to those of the world revolutionary struggle as a whole.

Co-operation among socialist countries in foreign policy is an important factor of the anti-imperialist struggle. As practice has shown, this co-operation increases the influence exerted by socialism on the course of world development and enhances socialism's role in the struggle against imperialism.

Special mention must be made of the work carried out in this respect within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, that reliable instrument of the defence of socialism and peace. Over a number of years the Political Consultative Committee of that organisation has scrutinised key problems of international life, problems directly linked up with the strengthening of peace and the promotion of peaceful co-operation between peoples, with the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism. On a number of issues this joint work has helped our countries to secure considerable successes, which have strengthened the international positions of socialism and the cause of peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

The struggle of socialist countries against imperialism is not only economic, ideological and political. Imperialism,

which has been and remains aggressive by nature, constantly enlarges its military machine and, as the events in Vietnam have shown, is prepared to put it to use. Strength, and not a little strength at that, is needed to defend socialist gains. That is why, like other fraternal Parties, the CPSU ceaselessly concerns itself with ensuring the steady growth of the socialist states' defence might and with promoting close co-operation among them in the sphere of defence. This year important decisions have been taken to improve the control of the Warsaw Treaty armed forces. Co-ordination between the armed forces of the allied countries is being systematically perfected and their combat skill is growing. The armies of the Warsaw Treaty and other socialist countries are being equipped with the most up-to-date armaments.

In this way, comrades, by collective effort the mighty weapon of the defence of the socialist states is forged in persevering struggle against the world of imperialism. It is, at the same time, a weapon of freedom for those who are waging an armed struggle against imperialism. Our strength is the bulwark of peace for everyone combating the threat of another world war. By defending socialism and peace we defend the future of mankind.

Active relations between ruling Communist Parties are the nucleus, the cornerstone for promoting many-sided co-operation among socialist states. In recent years the contacts between the leaderships of our Parties have acquired a more operative, comradesly and businesslike character. Practically all problems of any essential significance which are of common interest are discussed collectively. Naturally, this helps to work out the most effective solutions, averts possible mistakes and deepens understanding between us.

The Communist Parties of socialist countries are carrying out responsible tasks. Bearing aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Communists and the peoples of the fraternal countries are multiplying their achievements in economic, scientific and cultural development, in evolving new forms of genuine rule by the people. The importance of this work, which creates the prototype of the future life of all mankind, is truly hard to overestimate.

We support and shall continue to support our friends of the socialist countries who are contending with difficult conditions—the Vietnamese comrades, who have for several

years been directing the historic battle against the US aggressors; the Communists of Cuba, who are courageously building socialism in a situation marked by unceasing subversive activities, economic blockade and political pressure by US imperialism; the Workers' Party of Korea, which has to repulse inremitting provocations by the US imperialists and their Seoul puppets. We invariably support and closely co-operate with the German Democratic Republic, which directly confronts German revanchism.

Allow me wholeheartedly to wish further successes to the Communists of all fraternal socialist countries who by their efforts strengthen the common front of our struggle against imperialism.

Comrades, the achievements of world socialism are indisputable. At the same time, it is common knowledge that in the development of the world socialist system there are difficulties as well. Permit me to dwell on this question in somewhat greater detail.

Lenin emphasised that the road to socialism "will never be straight, it will be incredibly involved".¹ The CPSU, which had to be the first to blaze the road to socialism, knows from its own experience that this is not an easy road. After all, this road involves a fundamental break with many age-old traditions affecting the interests of all classes and social groups, the creation of an absolutely new type of social relations and the bringing up of people with a new psychology, a new world outlook. It involves, especially where relations between states are concerned, the surmounting of age-old national strife and distrust.

Life itself and the practice of socialist transformations have shown that the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the socialisation of the means of production only create the objective prerequisites, the objective possibilities for resolving all these problems. The way these possibilities are realised in practice depends chiefly on the ruling Communist Parties, on their ability to resolve in a Marxist, in a Leninist way the complex problems posed by life. This ability does not come at once. It comes as a result of generalising the practical experience of the people, as a result of thought and an analysis of the traversed road and of possible prospects.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 130.

But it is not only a matter of the objective complexity of the very process of building socialism and new relations between socialist countries. Many of the difficulties which these countries encounter in the course of their development are closely linked with imperialism's constant striving to pressure the socialist world, to exert economic, political and ideological pressure on it. The attempts of the imperialists to undermine the positions of socialism from within and inject elements of discord and alienation into relations between socialist countries do not cease for a single day. Wherever vigilance is blunted, where Communists underestimate the need for a class approach to social phenomena, the intrigues of the imperialists lead to definite results—to the activation of Right-opportunist and even openly anti-socialist elements and to the intensification of nationalistic sentiments.

However, none of the difficulties arising during the building of socialism in one country or another have been able to or can cancel the general principles underlying socialist development. The practice of the socialist countries has reaffirmed the significance of the ideas of Marx and Lenin that the development of socialist society proceeds on the basis of general laws, that in one form or another the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., state leadership of the building of socialism by the working class, is inevitable during the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The whole experience of the political struggle proves again and again that the victory of the trend towards consolidating fraternal relations between socialist states and the progress of the socialist system itself are indissolubly linked with the strengthening of the leading role of the Communist Parties in the building of socialism and communism. Our Party highly values the determined struggle which the Communists of fraternal countries wage against any attempts to weaken the leading role of the Communist Parties, replace socialist democracy with political liberalism of the bourgeois type and erode the positions of socialism. To be as firm as Lenin in defending and upholding the principles of socialism is a lesson life itself teaches us.

We fully subscribe to the provision formulated in the draft of the Main Document that the main direction in cementing the socialist system is steadfastly to implement the principles of socialist internationalism, correctly combine

the national and international tasks of socialist countries and promote fraternal mutual assistance and support between them on the basis of consistent observance of the equality of all socialist countries, of their sovereignty and independence and of non-interference in their internal affairs.

World socialism absorbs all the wealth and diversity of the revolutionary traditions and experience deriving from the creative activity of the working people of different countries. In this connection we should like to say that our Party constantly studies that experience and utilises everything of value that may be applied in the conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union, everything that really helps to strengthen the socialist system and embodies the general laws of socialist construction, which have been tested by international experience.

Nobody can deny that the ruling Communist Parties have accomplished and are engaged in extensive work of historic significance. Naturally, it cannot be said that ways of resolving all problems have been found and that we know all and are able to do all. Life does not stand still. In place of resolved problems others arise, which are linked with the need for a further improvement of socialist social relations. Like other Communist Parties of socialist countries, the CPSU seeks to resolve these problems creatively, in good time and consistently in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking into account the concrete conditions of its own country and the international situation.

By working for a further strengthening of fraternal relations between sovereign and equal socialist states and mobilising the working people for fresh achievements in the building of socialism and communism, the Communist Parties directing the building of the new society fulfil their duty to their own peoples and their internationalist duty to the working class of the whole world.

Comrades, one of the decisive sectors of the anti-imperialist struggle lies, naturally, in the capitalist countries themselves. The blows which the revolutionary forces are dealing imperialism in its very citadels are highly important for the whole of world development. The 1960s have introduced many new elements on this front of struggle as well.

The sharpening of the class struggle in the capitalist world is an inexorable fact. Suffice it to say that from 1960 to 1968 a total of over 300 million persons took part in strike strug-

gles, as compared with 150 million over the preceding 14 years. This fact alone gives the lie to the assertions about a weakening of the working class's fighting spirit.

It is important, comrades, to emphasise yet another specific feature of this period. Not long ago there were countries in the capitalist world which the bourgeoisie regarded as havens of what they called "social peace"; there are no longer any such countries today. Everywhere the working people are fighting for their vital interests—from the United States, where there were almost 5,000 strikes last year, to Japan, where the working people's "spring offensive" that same year involved 14 million persons; from France, where almost 10 million were on strike in May and June 1968, and Italy, where 18 million took part in the general strike in February 1969, to Uruguay and Chile, where massive strikes and demonstrations by working people flare up again and again.

Of very great importance is the fact that the strikers have ever more frequently succeeded in imposing their demands on the capitalists. This lends the working people confidence in their strength, and stimulates the further development and extension of the front of struggle. The working class sees for itself that though the bourgeoisie goes on mounting counter-attacks, its strength is far from what it used to be.

Under the changing world balance of forces and the sharpening of the class struggle in the bourgeois countries, capitalism has to resort to new means and methods of struggle which in many ways appear even to clash with the conventional "classic" features of the capitalist system. In an effort to reinforce their social hinterland areas, the capitalists combine methods of suppression with partial satisfaction of the working people's demands—a method which Lenin said was one of "concessions of the unessential while retaining the essential"¹—sowing the illusion that the working class can achieve its aspirations through agreements with the employers, without a revolutionary transformation of society, within the framework of the capitalist system.

Quite a few people in many capitalist countries fall captive to these illusions. It is, after all, a fact, for instance, that at election time a sizable section of the workers cast their votes for capitalist candidates and their placemen. But

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 64.

for all the machinations of the capitalists, the social struggles in the 1960s showed signs of shifts in favour of the revolutionary forces whose importance it is hard to exaggerate.

In this situation Communists face new problems and tasks whose successful solution will largely predetermine the further development of the struggle for the working-class cause.

First of all, as many fraternal Parties have correctly noted, the communist movement must draw conclusions from the incontestable fact that in the capitalist world there is a sharp increase of massive popular pressure for social change. And it is characteristic that the class struggle is intertwining ever closer with action by working people against the imperialists' military gambles, against the resurgence of fascism, for the safeguarding and extension of democratic freedoms, and for national independence.

The antagonism between imperialism, which intensifies social oppression and rejects democracy, and the masses, who are fighting for their vital rights and striving for freedom and democracy, is growing sharper. In some countries popular discontent is so great that sometimes as little as a spark is enough to set off a powerful social explosion. Such explosions are becoming ever more frequent, also in the United States, where the most acute social contradictions, the struggle against the war in Vietnam and the fight for Negro civil rights, are tangled in a tight knot. It is a long time since imperialism has been confronted with such violent forms of social protest and with general democratic action of the present scale and pitch. Ever more frequently broad masses of peasants, intellectuals, white-collar workers, students and urban middle strata actively join with the working class in this struggle.

In these conditions, it is inevitable that elements of surprise and spontaneity should arise in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle in the advanced capitalist countries. Experience shows that in such a situation special importance attaches to the problem of relations between the working class and its allies. This is a question both of jointly taking various concrete political actions and of planning long-term co-operation on a mutually acceptable basis.

As the draft Main Document correctly says, the prerequisites are emerging for uniting all democratic trends in a

political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role of the monopolies in the economy of countries, putting an end to big capital rule and carrying out fundamental transformations which would ensure favourable conditions for the struggle for socialism.

The working class is the leading force of the alliance. It is the only class capable of leading this alliance to victory, and of raising the struggle to a new level, securing the complete abolition of the power of capital and the triumph of socialism. No other class, no other social stratum of society is as organised and strong. The numerical strength of the working class is enormous. Its revolutionary experience is exceptionally rich. Its ideological, cultural and spiritual level has been rising from year to year. The political and moral prestige enjoyed by it in society has grown immeasurably.

While intensifying their work in the midst of the working class, including the rather sizable section of it which is not unionised, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries devote much attention to their activity in the most diverse mass organisations to which workers belong—co-operatives, sports clubs, and democratic circles of religious bodies taking part in the struggle for peace—in short, wherever there are large numbers of working people.

Work in the midst of the peasant masses of the capitalist states continues to be of great importance. The working peasants remain the chief allies of the working class, despite the fact that their number has declined considerably in the advanced capitalist countries. The concentration of agricultural production in the hands of big entrepreneurs entails ever spreading ruin of the small and middle farmers and an aggravation of social contradictions in the countryside. In many capitalist countries the 1960s were marked by large-scale peasant strikes, with the peasants fighting for their rights more and more frequently calling for unity of action with the working class.

Many aspects of work with the intelligentsia, especially with that section of it which together with the working class is engaged in industry and is being subjected to growing exploitation, should be seen in their new context. The professions requiring mental work are becoming more widespread. The engineering and technical intelligentsia in the capitalist countries is now being drawn not only from the

bourgeoisie but also from the middle sections and in part from among the working people as well. To a considerable extent all this is changing the intelligentsia's attitude to the capitalist system and bringing its interests closer to those of the working class.

The Communist Parties must take these changes into account. Experience has shown that more extensive work with the intelligentsia makes it more active in the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is natural that the fraternal Parties now devote considerable attention to work among the young people. It is a fact that the rising generation in the capitalist countries, including the students, is in revolutionary ferment. Young people are actively coming out in opposition to imperialist wars, to the militarisation of bourgeois society, and to the attempts of the bourgeoisie to curtail the working people's democratic rights.

It is true that frequently youth actions reveal a lack of political experience and are not linked with the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle. That is why these actions often lack organisation and assume politically immature forms. Extremist elements, essentially hostile to communism, and sometimes direct imperialist agents try to exploit this. There is no doubt, however, that once the young fighters against imperialism have mastered the theory of scientific socialism and have acquired experience of class battles, they will do great things.

Consequently, there is every indication that the possibilities of the anti-imperialist struggle are extending. The experience of a number of fraternal Parties, which have made skilful use of these new possibilities, testifies that prospects for the activity of the Communists in capitalist countries are broad. If we take the latest developments, for example, this is borne out by one-fifth of all the votes polled in the first round of the French presidential election by Comrade Jacques Duclos, prominent French Communist Party figure and veteran of the international communist movement.

The increasing possibilities of combating imperialism accordingly increase the role of the Communist Parties and of their work among the masses. On the activity of Communists will largely depend world development in the closing third of the twentieth century. One cannot fail to see that not only the material but also the socio-political conditions

are maturing for a revolutionary replacement of capitalism with the new social system, for socialist revolutions.

By closing the fighting ranks of staunch revolutionaries carrying Marxist-Leninist ideology into the midst of the working-class masses and rallying the allies of the working class round it, Communists fulfil their historic mission in the struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism.

Comrades, the fighters for national liberation and social emancipation in the countries of Asia and Africa constitute one of the important and active contingents of the worldwide anti-imperialist front.

The 1960s have brought considerable changes into the alignment of forces in that part of the world. In this period, 44 former colonies won independence. But more than 35 million people remain in colonial slavery. The peoples of the last colonies are waging a heroic and, as a rule, armed struggle for their liberation. Soviet Communists fully support this just struggle.

The socialist orientation of a number of young states of Africa and Asia is an important achievement of the revolutionary forces and a heavy defeat for imperialism. These countries have scored their first successes in carrying through deep-going social and economic reforms, thereby providing fresh practical confirmation of the Leninist conclusion that in our epoch the peoples who win liberation from colonial oppression can advance along the path of social progress by-passing capitalism. One of the most important conditions which make such development possible is co-operation between the progressive young states and the socialist countries.

The states which have embarked on non-capitalist development are making a tangible contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle. It is true that these states are still few and that there are many difficulties in their development. Apart from the serious internal problems which remain, it should be borne in mind that it is above all against the progressive states of Africa and Asia that the subversive policy of imperialism on these continents is directed. But whatever the difficulties, they cannot minimise the importance of the cardinal fact that a start has been made in a fundamentally new direction for the development of the newly independent countries. And their example will carry the greater conviction the more headway the revolutionary-democratic countries make in their economic and cultural

development, the fuller the advantages of non-capitalist development are revealed.

Communists regard assistance to and support of these young countries as one of the most important tasks of their foreign policy. What the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries have been doing in this direction is generally known. Considerable possibilities in this respect are also open to the fraternal Parties in the developed capitalist countries.

In a number of countries of the former colonial world, as a result of inadequate organisation or of passive attitudes by the progressive forces, power was seized, after the proclamation of political independence, by reactionary elements closely linked up with imperialism. Some of these countries are ruled by military dictatorships, and a reign of terror has been instituted against all progressive forces. The imperialist states use the territories of many of these countries for their aggressive purposes, notably for military bases. The conditions of struggle for Communists and their allies in these countries are in many respects similar to the conditions of the colonial period.

However, it can probably be said that a considerable part of the states liberated from colonial dependence have not yet clearly defined their further path. An intense struggle for the future rages in these countries between the progressive forces and internal reaction supported by imperialism. The process of internal social division is deepening there. The working people are ever more actively demanding far-reaching reforms capable of providing answers to burning fundamental problems. On the other hand, the top crust of the national bourgeoisie, guided by its class interests, resists social progress and the pursuit of any consistent anti-imperialist line. An increasingly acute class struggle is unfolding on this basis.

The tasks now facing the newly independent countries are complex and diverse. It is a question of consolidating the independence they have won, securing the establishment of an independent national economy and overcoming the legacy of backwardness. All this can be achieved only through progressive social development and consistent struggle against imperialism, through an alliance with the socialist countries and the international working-class movement.

Imperialism is actively working to slow down the advance towards independence and social progress, to keep its for-

mer colonies within the framework of the capitalist system, and to retain them as objects of exploitation, even if in modified form. With their stake on nationalism and separatism, the imperialist forces are trying to weaken the developing countries from within, to range them against each other and to hamper their contacts with the socialist world.

All this is a most grave threat to the future of the young independent countries. Their peoples are gradually coming to realise that neo-colonialism is no lesser a danger than colonialism. This means that ahead lie most acute battles between the fighters for real freedom and those who would like to fetter the young national states with the chains of a new bondage. In this struggle, the formation of a sound alliance of all progressive, all anti-imperialist forces acquires crucial importance.

The central question of the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa today is that of the attitude of the peasantry, which make up a majority of the population.

The peasants in that part of the world are a mighty revolutionary force, but in most cases they are an elemental force, with all the ensuing vacillations and ideological and political contradictions. Nor could it have been otherwise for the time being, because the great majority of the peasantry still lives in conditions of monstrous poverty, denial of rights and surviving feudal and sometimes even pre-feudal relations.

The experience of the revolutionary movement in various parts of the world has shown that the surest way of effectively involving the peasants in the struggle against imperialism, for true social progress, is to establish a strong alliance between them and the working class. That is also the task in the zone of national liberation.

However, history has shaped the situation in such a way that in most states of Asia and Africa there is still no large-scale industry, and a working class is yet to emerge. But wherever industrial development is under way, the working-class movement has won substantial positions. The agricultural proletariat of these countries is also active in the struggle. There is no doubt that in the young national states ahead lies the broadest development of the working-class struggle against imperialism and its allies. It is the working-class movement that will ultimately play the decisive part in this area of the world too.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry will make it possible to carry the national liberation revolutions to the end, totally eliminate the legacy of colonialism, and make the movement to socialism more confident and purposeful.

A great responsibility devolves on us Communists in this sphere. Tremendous attention to the proletariat's peasant ally, and additional elaboration of some aspects of strategy and tactics in application to the specific conditions in the former colonial countries is demanded of the communist movement.

In present-day conditions, the problem of relations between the working class and the peasantry in the former colonial countries is largely of an international nature. It is a question of consolidating the alliance of the whole international working class with the peasantry, with all the working people of the young liberated countries. This includes the strengthening of the revolutionary alliance between the national liberation movement, the young national states and the countries of the socialist community, and the promotion of the closest ties between the fighters for national liberation and the Communist Parties acting as the vanguard of the international working class.

In this context we attach great importance to contacts and ties between the Communist Parties and the revolutionary-democratic parties in the developing countries. These parties and organisations are our fellow-fighters in the struggle against imperialism, for social progress. At present, the CPSU has contacts and ties with 18 national-democratic parties, while Soviet mass organisations have connections with democratic organisations in all countries of that part of the world. We believe everything has to be done to promote closer relations between the Communist Parties and the revolutionary-democratic parties.

* * *

Thus, comrades, a realistic assessment of the present state of affairs in the world, a comparison between the development of imperialism, on the one hand, and all the forces opposing it, on the other, warrant only one conclusion: the main lines of world development continue to be determined by the activity of the forces of revolution and socialism, of the peace forces and the national liberation movement.

Communists, of course, cannot be complacent and smug. We are well aware that ahead of us lies an intense struggle in the most diverse sectors. And the role of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is to make sure not to lose touch with the actual conditions of this struggle, correctly define its principal stages and motive forces and rouse the masses to the battle against imperialism.

For the Communist and Workers' Parties the struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for our ultimate goals, for the winning of political power by the working class in alliance with all the other contingents of the working people, for socialism. We believe that cohesion of the Communists of the world, the strengthening of the alliance of all the anti-imperialist forces, is the key to success.

II

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND OF UNITED ACTION IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards with the utmost attention and respect the great work being carried on by our foreign comrades.

The historical experience of many countries, the experience of the class struggle has given convincing evidence of how necessary the activity of the Communist Parties is for mankind and how fruitful this activity is for social development. Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Parties show the peoples the road to the communist future. They rally the peoples to the struggle and steadfastly march in the van of the mass movements for the great goals of social progress. Communists are always in the front rank of the fighters for the vital rights of the working people, for peace. They carry high the invincible banner of the socialist revolution.

Soviet Communists, whose path to the socialist revolution was complex and difficult, are well aware of the tension, the determination and flexibility, steadfastness of spirit and readiness at any moment to sacrifice everything for the Party's cause that are constantly demanded of the revolutionary fighters confronting the class enemy. These qualities of Communists are of especial importance in our time, a time of intense and bitter class battles.

The successes which the Communist Parties have achieved are incontestable. But our Meeting is right to concentrate its attention on unresolved tasks, on the new possibilities in the anti-imperialist struggle, on the difficulties that arise in its path. Such difficulties do exist, and some of them spring from the state of affairs in our movement itself, which is going through a difficult period of its development. Unity has been seriously disrupted in some of its links. Some fraternal Parties have suffered setbacks and even defeats.

There are various reasons for these difficulties.

One of them is connected with present-day conditions. The tremendous social break-up of the pillars of the old world taking place under the onslaught of socialism and all the revolutionary forces is meeting with growing resistance from the bourgeoisie. To safeguard its positions it strives to use all the economic and political possibilities of state-monopoly capitalism. In the capitalist countries, anti-communism has been elevated to the status of state policy. To erode the communist and the whole revolutionary movement from within is now one of the most important directions of the class strategy of imperialism.

Another reason for the difficulties that have arisen is that fresh millions of people belonging to various social strata are being drawn into vigorous political action. Many of them enter politics with a great store of revolutionary energy, but with rather hazy ideas about how to solve the problems agitating them. Hence the vacillations, the swings from stormy political explosions to political passivity, from reformist illusions to anarchic impatience. All this tends to complicate the activity of the Communist Parties, multiplies their tasks and makes much greater demands on their practical work. In this situation, Communists must display Marxist-Leninist firmness and loyalty to principle and a creative approach to the problems of social development if they are to keep control of developments, and tackle their problems in the light not only of short-term requirements but also of the long-term interests of the revolutionary movement. Otherwise, grave errors in policy are inevitable.

We cannot afford to ignore the divergences existing in the communist movement today and pretend they do not exist. These differences have been largely caused by the penetration into the communist movement of revisionist influences both of a Right and of a "Left" nature. And these influ-

ences are making themselves felt not only in the sphere of "pure" theory. Revisionism in theory paves the way to opportunist practices, which inflict direct harm on the anti-imperialist struggle. Revisionism is a departure from proletarian class positions, a substitution for Marxism-Leninism of all sorts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts, old and modernistic.

We share the stand of the fraternal Parties which in their decisions draw attention to the need for resolutely combating this danger. The Communist Parties justly believe that the interests of their own cohesion, the interests of the whole anti-imperialist movement insistently demand an intensification of the struggle against revisionism and both Right and "Left" opportunism. A principled stand on this issue has always been a most important condition for strengthening a Party's political positions and has always mobilised and enhanced the activity of Communists in the class struggle.

Right-wing opportunism means a slide-down to liquidationist positions and to conciliation with Social-Democracy in policy and ideology. In socialist countries, Right-wing opportunism goes to the length of repudiating the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, and this can lead to surrender of the positions won by socialism and to capitulation to the anti-socialist forces.

"Left"-wing opportunists, behind a barrage of ultra-revolutionary verbiage, push the masses into adventurist action, and the Party onto a sectarian path, which paralyses its ability to rally the fighters against imperialism.

For all their distinctions, deviations from Marxism-Leninism to the right or to the "left" ultimately result in similarly harmful consequences: they weaken the fighting ability of the Communist Parties and undermine the revolutionary positions of the working class and the unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

A frequent feature of both "Left" and Right-wing opportunism is concessions to nationalism, and sometimes even an outright switch to nationalistic positions. Lenin showed up this connection a long time ago. He wrote: "The ideological and political affinity, connection, and even identity between opportunism and social-nationalism are beyond doubt."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 154.

Of course, the struggle against opportunism and nationalism in one country or another is, above all, a sphere within the competence of the fraternal Party concerned. No Party can advance successfully unless it consistently and resolutely upholds the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles. But it is also true that when this struggle is abandoned in some sector of our movement, it affects the movement as a whole.

The stand taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of China offers a striking example of the harm that can be done to the common cause of the Communists by departure from Marxism-Leninism and a break with internationalism.

Frankly speaking, only recently we had no intention at all of touching on this question at the Meeting. However, the events of the recent period, particularly the nature of the decisions taken by the Ninth Congress of the CPC, have forced us to deal with it. There has arisen a new situation which is having a grave negative influence on the whole world situation and the conditions of the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces.

Peking's present political platform, as you are well aware, was not shaped either today or yesterday. Almost 10 years ago Mao Tse-tung and his supporters mounted an attack on the principles of scientific communism. In its numerous statements on questions of theory the CPC leadership has step by step revised the principled line of the communist movement. In opposition to this it has laid down a special line of its own on all the fundamental questions of our day.

At the same time, Peking started a political offensive against the communist movement. This offensive steadily gathered momentum, assuming ever sharper and more open forms. From polemics with the Communist Parties the CPC leaders went on to splitting, subversive activity, to active attempts to set the revolutionary forces of our day against each other. From cutting off their ties with the socialist countries to hostile acts against them. From criticism of peaceful coexistence to the staging of armed conflicts, to a policy undermining the cause of peace.

The Ninth Congress of the CPC marked a new stage in the evolution of the ideological and political propositions of Maoism. In the new Constitution of the CPC, Mao Tse-tung's thought has been proclaimed the Marxism-Leninism of the modern epoch. Chinese propaganda openly proclaims

the task of "hoisting the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over the globe".

It is a big and serious task to make an all-round Marxist-Leninist analysis of the class content of the events in China over the last few years, and of the roots of the present line of the CPC leaders, which is jeopardising the socialist gains of the Chinese people. The CPSU, like the other fraternal Parties, is giving it due attention. But in the light of the tasks facing the Meeting there is a need to dwell here, primarily, on the international aspects of the Chinese leadership's policy. It is doubly important to speak about this because a section of progressive world opinion still believes that the present Chinese leadership has revolutionary aspirations, believes its assertions that it is fighting imperialism.

It seems to us that the Ninth Congress of the CPC helps to understand whom the Chinese leadership is really fighting, and for what purpose. The Congress indicated the necessity of "a merciless struggle" principally against so-called "modern revisionism". Yet, as we know, under this category Peking classifies not revisionists, but the overwhelming majority of the socialist countries and Communist Parties.

You will recall that the Chinese leadership accused the Communist Parties of France, India, the United States, Italy, Latin America and other countries of refusal "to conduct revolution", of being renegades, and of other deadly sins. "Traitors", "social-strikebreakers", "social-imperialists"—those are the labels attached to many of the Parties represented here. Everybody here knows what insults were showered on all the participants in the present Meeting by the CPC leadership in reply to the invitation to take part in it.

The Peking leaders impute "revisionism" to all Parties that do not share their views and aims. They resort to all possible means against these Parties—from slanderous charges of "collusion with imperialism" to organising subversive splinter groups. Such groups now exist in nearly 30 countries. The Peking leadership is trying to give them the nature of an organised movement.

The damage done by Peking's splitting activities should not be underestimated. Recent class battles clearly show what great harm Peking's activity, which prods people on

to an adventurist path, is doing to the organised struggle of the working class, of all working people.

The present Peking leadership's fight against the Marxist-Leninist Parties for hegemony in the communist movement is linked closely with its Great-Power aspirations, with its claims to territory of other countries. The idea that China has a messianic role to play is drummed into the heads of the Chinese workers and peasants. A wholesale indoctrination in the spirit of chauvinism and malicious anti-Sovietism is under way. Children are taught geography by textbooks and maps that show territories of other countries as belonging to the Chinese state. The Chinese people are being oriented to "starve and prepare for war". Nor is any doubt left about what sort of war is meant. Only two days ago the Peking *Kuangmin Jihpao* issued the call "to prepare both for a conventional and a big nuclear war against Soviet revisionism". Of course, noisy statements are a far cry from actual possibilities. The Soviet Union has enough strength to stand up for itself, and the Soviet people have strong nerves—they will not be frightened by shrieks. But the trend of official Chinese propaganda speaks for itself.

In the light of all this, the policy of militarising China takes on a specific meaning. We cannot help comparing the feverish military preparations with the fanning of chauvinistic feelings hostile to the socialist countries, with the Chinese leaders' general approach to the problems of war and peace in the modern epoch.

Possibly, many of the comrades here remember Mao Tse-tung's speech in this hall during the 1957 Meeting. With appalling airiness and cynicism he spoke of the possible destruction of half of mankind in the event of an atomic war. The facts show that Maoism calls not for struggle against war but, on the contrary, for war, which it regards as a positive historical phenomenon.

The combination of the Chinese leaders' political adventurism with the sustained atmosphere of war hysteria injects new elements into the international situation which we have no right to ignore.

Peking's practical activity on the international scene convinces us increasingly that China's foreign policy has, in effect, departed from proletarian internationalism and shed all socialist class content. That is the only possible explanation for the persistent efforts to identify the Soviet

Union with US imperialism. What is more, these days the spearhead of Peking's foreign policy is aimed chiefly against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For a start, the Chinese leaders reduced to a minimum China's economic contacts with most of the socialist states and rejected political co-operation with them, ending up with armed provocations on the Soviet frontier. More, provocative calls resound from Peking, exhorting the Soviet people to "accomplish a revolution", to change the social system in our country.

The facts show that the Chinese leadership only speaks of struggle against imperialism while in fact helping the latter, directly or indirectly, in deeds. It helps the imperialists by seeking to split the united front of the socialist states. It helps them by its incitement and its obstructions to relaxation of international tension at times of acute international crisis. It helps them by striving to hamper the emergence of a broad anti-imperialist front, by seeking to split the international mass organisations of youth, women and scientists, the peace movement, the trade union movement, and so on.

Naturally, the imperialists make the most of the present orientation of Peking's foreign policy as a trump in their struggle against world socialism and the liberation movement.

To sum up: attack on the Soviet Union all along the line; specious propaganda; slander of the Soviet people, our socialist state, our Communist Party; fanning hatred against the USSR among the people of China and now also resort to arms; intimidation and blackmail in relation to other socialist states and the developing countries; flirting with the big capitalist powers, including the Federal Republic of Germany—such are the guidelines of China's present foreign policy!

As you know, comrades, in March the Soviet Government, striving to end the clashes organised by the Chinese side on the Soviet-Chinese border, called on the Government of China to refrain from border actions that might create complications, and resolve differences, whenever these occur, by negotiation in a tranquil atmosphere. We proposed that the Soviet-Chinese consultations on border issues, which were begun in 1964, should be resumed in the immediate future. At the same time, we warned that any attempt to

talk in the language of guns to the Soviet Union would be firmly repulsed.

Recently, the Chinese Government made a reply statement. If one may judge from words, the Chinese side does not reject the idea of negotiations. There are also expressions of consent to avoid conflicts on the border and not to open fire. At present, we are preparing a reply to this Chinese statement. This reply, like the Soviet Government's statement of March 29, will naturally be in complete accord with our principled stand: to settle differences through negotiation and promote equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation.

It should be pointed out, however, that the statement of the CPR Government can in no way be described as constructive either in content or spirit. The wordy document is full of historical falsifications, distortions of the facts of modern times and of rude, hostile attacks against the Soviet Union. It renews groundless territorial claims on the Soviet Union, which we categorically reject.

The future will show whether the Chinese leaders are really eager to negotiate, whether they desire agreement, and what course events will take. However, we cannot afford to overlook the fact that the provocations by Chinese military personnel on the Soviet border have not stopped. At the same time, an unprecedentedly broad and intensive anti-Soviet campaign is being conducted all over China on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the CPC. The idea is being forcibly drummed into the heads of the Chinese people that the Soviet Union wants to attack China.

It is needless to refute these fabrications. Not only Communists, but all decent people on earth know perfectly well that our people are preoccupied with peaceful creative labour, building communist society, and that they have never attacked nor intend to attack anyone.

Our policy with regard to China is consistent and based on principle. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government chart their policy on the long-term perspective. We are conscious of the fact that the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples coincide. We have always persevered and will continue to persevere in our efforts to keep alive the friendly feelings which exist among the Soviet people for the fraternal Chinese people, and we are certain that the Chinese people, too, have the

same feelings towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

At the same time we do not consider it possible to remain silent about the anti-Leninist, anti-popular essence of the political and ideological principles of the present leaders of China. We shall carry on a resolute struggle against Peking's splitting policy and against its Great-Power foreign-policy line. It stands to reason that we will do everything to safeguard the interests of the Soviet people, who are building communism, against all encroachments.

We do not identify the declarations and actions of the present Chinese leadership with the aspirations, wishes and true interests of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. We are deeply convinced that China's genuine national renaissance, and its socialist development, will be best served not by struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the whole communist movement, but by alliance and fraternal co-operation with them.

Comrades, the situation created by the policy of the Chinese leadership introduces a new element into the problem of anti-imperialist unity. We Communists must take a responsible and clear stand. The policy of subverting the communist ranks, of dividing the anti-imperialist forces, can and must be opposed by our firm will for unity, by our deeds and joint actions promoting unity.

In their fight for unity the Communists have a tested weapon. One that has brought victory in glorious battles for the cause of the working class, for socialism. That weapon is proletarian internationalism.

The imperialists are well aware of the power of international proletarian solidarity. That is why they bank on nationalism in fighting the socialist forces, the revolutionary movement. They expect thereby to divide and split up the communist movement, to set the revolutionary contingents one against the other.

Bourgeois propaganda goes out of its way to malign the principle of proletarian internationalism and to oppose it artificially to the principles of the independence, sovereignty and equality of the national contingents of the working-class and communist movement. That is the purpose for which imperialist propagandists have fabricated and put into circulation the notorious theory of "limited sovereignty".

As for us Soviet Communists, we hold that the present world situation again forcefully bears out the validity and viability of Lenin's concept of proletarian internationalism.

In our time, a time of a global confrontation of two worlds—those of capitalism and socialism—Lenin's fundamental propositions regarding an internationalist, class approach to national problems also remain in full force.

As valid as ever, for example, is Lenin's definition that to be an internationalist is to do "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries"¹.

The proletarian Party derives its strength from its ability to use to the full the internal opportunities for struggle in the interest of its people, for its country's progress, and at the same time, in the interest of the common internationalist cause of revolution and socialism. On the other hand, attempts to "strengthen" the Party's positions by weakening, or even breaking off, its internationalist ties, by rejecting united action with other contingents of the communist movement, lead to loss of ideological independence from the bourgeoisie and inevitably injure the political prestige of the Party concerned.

It goes without saying, comrades, that all this does not refute or belittle the principles of the independence, sovereignty and equality of either the socialist countries or of individual national contingents of the world working-class and communist movement. Respect for, and strict observance of, these principles is for Communists a law precisely because they are internationalists.

Genuine internationalism also implies support of the existing socialist society by all fraternal Parties. We highly appreciate the stand of our friends who are irreconcilable to any and all slander of socialism. For Communists that is not only a natural expression of their internationalist sentiments, but also an approach to internationalism as a realistic policy serving the common cause of revolution. For example, all of us agree that new opportunities have arisen in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism resulting from the radical changes in the international arena in favour of socialism, to the detriment of imperialism. But this also means that any weakening of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292.

socialist positions in the world is bound to reflect negatively on the positions of all Communist Parties.

For our Meeting, strengthening the unity of the communist movement is an important task. There are adequate objective preconditions for this. But we cannot confine ourselves to merely declaring once again that the interests of the various national contingents of our movement coincide. Unity means action, not words. It is not automatically attainable, and must be fought for.

When still preparing for this Meeting, all of us agreed that in order to strengthen the unity of the communist movement we must search for ways to overcome the existing divergences. These are of different kinds. And, naturally, different ways must be used to overcome them. In some cases doubts and questions may be removed through bilateral meetings and comradely discussion. In other cases they may be ironed out in the practical experience of the joint struggle for common aims in the international arena. But there are also differences that concern fundamental problems and the very essence of the communist movement. And it will probably take a long time and uncompromising struggle to overcome them.

In reference to our line in surmounting differences, we should like to dwell on three points.

The first is the significance of joint action against imperialism for solidifying the communist movement. In the present conditions, with Communists bearing a direct responsibility for the destiny of their peoples, for the future of mankind, we cannot afford to put the matter thus: let's first resolve all the differences in our movement, and then come to terms about joint action. The realities require a different approach: differences over specific issues must not interfere with joint communist actions in our common struggle against imperialism; let us jointly tackle the practical tasks related to united action and then, in the course of our joint struggle, we shall see more clearly which views are in accord with the common interests of the communist movement and which go against these interests and interfere with, even injure, the common cause. In other words, that which brings the Communists of all countries together should be put at the top of the list in our practical activity.

Secondly, we should like to emphasise the need for expanding in every way the ties and contacts among frater-

nal Parties. They are essential both as a mechanism for agreeing our actions on the international scene and as a means of comparing views on current problems and of settling differences. In the present conditions, bilateral and multilateral meetings are doubly useful. The experience of the Vienna Conference of European Communist Parties, that of the Karlovy Vary Conference, the conferences of the fraternal Latin American Parties and meetings held by Communists of the Arab countries bear out the importance of regional meetings to discuss a specific range of questions and promote international communist co-operation. The practice of co-operation in the new conditions has also brought into being such a collective form as world conferences.

Last but not least, the third important way of overcoming differences and fighting for the unity of our movement is to generalise the theoretical work of the Parties, to advance Marxist-Leninist theory on that basis and to safeguard its principles and fundamental ideas. Lenin stressed the need for *theoretically* assessing the new forms of struggle prompted by practice.¹ The practice of recent years has convincingly demonstrated the benefits for the whole communist movement of creatively elaborating such problems as the convergence in our epoch of the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolutionary struggle, of correctly combining peaceful and non-peaceful forms of revolution, and of the possibility of non-capitalist development for the former colonial countries.

The creative approach to theory imparts strength and confidence to the builders of socialism and communism, to all Communists, wherever they may be.

As we see it, it would be useful to improve the methods of joint theoretical work by the Communist Parties, to devise concrete measures for improving mutual information, for studying each other's experience and organising systematic exchanges of opinion. We are in favour of regular international theoretical conferences.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and joint struggle for common aims—that is what cements our movement, securing a high degree of unity. Our calls for a united anti-imperialist front will be a waste of breath unless we ourselves each day display our indomitable will to cement the communist

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 212.

ranks. That is why we consider Section Four of the draft Main Document of our Meeting, the section specifically devoted to these problems, of fundamental importance.

Building up a worldwide anti-imperialist front, the task of tasks in our time, cannot be successful without struggle for the unity of the world communist movement.

Comrades, there is still another question, and one of extreme importance, that has a most direct bearing on the agenda of our Meeting. I think that all the comrades here will agree that the battle against imperialism cannot be won and the unity of our movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces cannot be strengthened without the most active offensive against bourgeois ideology.

Imperialism cannot expect to succeed if it openly speaks of its true aims. It is compelled to create a system of ideological myths to disguise its true intentions and lull the vigilance of the peoples. For this purpose it has built up a mammoth propaganda machine equipped with all modern means of ideological indoctrination. Indeed, comrades, every hour, by day and by night, the working people of almost the entire world are to one or another extent subjected to the influence of bourgeois propaganda, of bourgeois ideology. The hired ideologists of the imperialists have created a special pseudo-culture designed to befuddle the masses, to blunt their social consciousness. And combating its corrupting influence on the working people is an important area of communist work.

Comrades, we have a powerful weapon against bourgeois ideology. That weapon is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We know how powerful it is. We are witness to the fact that our ideas are spreading more and more among the masses. Marxism-Leninism is on the offensive today, and we must develop that offensive to the utmost. It is more important than ever to recall Lenin's warning that any relaxation by Communists in ideological work, any standing aloof from it, redoubles the influence of bourgeois ideology.

It is important that Communists in all countries should fight the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology on the working people. In this connection we should like to stress in particular the advantages of coordinated efforts by fraternal Parties, of mutual support in concrete actions designed to expose the ideological fabrications of the enemies of communism.

Communists must be in the van of the fight against imperialism in all sectors, including the ideological sector. We are convinced that by concerted efforts imperialism can be decisively defeated in all areas and a worldwide victory achieved for the cause of the working class and all other working people.

Comrades, the draft Document of our Meeting contains the following call: **“Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!”** In our view, it aptly expresses the requirement of our times.

At our Meeting we shall collectively define the main lines and concrete tasks in the struggle against imperialism in present-day conditions. By advancing them on behalf of our Parties, which in some countries are followed by entire nations and by the biggest trade unions and other democratic organisations, we shall take a very important step towards uniting all anti-imperialist forces. A democratic discussion of these lines and tasks with other participants in the anti-imperialist movement will enable us to work out concrete programmes of struggle at national and international levels.

We are deeply convinced that all this will help merge in a single stream a wide range of social movements, political trends and organisations, and give the struggle a maximum of purpose. In the course of joint actions the anti-imperialist front will move more and more from the realm of slogans and conferences into the area of daily political practice.

In this connection we should like to go back to the question of unity of the working-class movement and, in particular, to the problem of the relationship between Communists and Social-Democrats.

It cannot be said that the consistent communist policy of promoting the unity of the working-class movement has been fruitless. The differentiation in the Social-Democratic movement is now more pronounced, and a certain section of it, including a few leading personalities, is departing from anti-communist positions. The ties between trade unions of different orientation in separate countries and on an international scale have been activated. Instances when agreement and united action have been achieved by trade union centres of

different orientation are now more numerous. Recent events in many capitalist countries have shown how deeply the masses desire unity in their practical struggle against the monopolies and their governments. However, this sound trend is running into stubborn resistance from many Social-Democratic leaders.

The leadership of a considerable number of Social-Democratic parties, especially those prominent in the Socialist International, still consider fighting communism, fighting the socialist countries, their main task. We are aware that for some of them anti-communism is a way of disguising the failure of their own reformist policy, and for others a total renunciation of socialist aims and surrender to state-monopoly capitalism.

Social-Democratic leaders have often held, and now hold, government office in some countries, but it is farthest from their minds to work for the transfer of power into the hands of the working class, and the socialist cause makes no progress there at all. It is not surprising that Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders try to discredit the real socialism built, or being built, by the peoples of a large group of countries under the leadership of Communists.

Anti-communism makes Right-wing Social-Democracy a captive of the imperialist bourgeoisie also in matters of international policy. In the past 20 years, Social-Democratic leaders in a number of countries laid the main accent in foreign affairs on strengthening "Atlantic solidarity", that is, strengthening the politico-military alliance of the West-European countries with the United States in the context of the North Atlantic Treaty.

That is why we avail ourselves of this forum to again remind the Social-Democratic leaders at this grave hour for the world that they and their anti-communism are responsible for the fact that the possibilities of the present-day working class in the fight against imperialism are not fully used!

Our stand in relation to Social-Democracy could not be clearer. We are combating and shall continue to combat our ideological and political opponents in its ranks from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, we agree to co-operation, to joint action, with those genuinely prepared to fight imperialism, for peace, for the interests of the working people. There are vital issues in

regard to which the need for unity of action by working-class Parties, including those responsible for the policy of their countries, is now particularly timely. Above all, this concerns questions related to averting a world war, building up a system of European security and combating the threat of fascism.

Such are some of the considerations of the CPSU delegation concerning the problems of consolidating the communist movement and building up a broad anti-imperialist front of the peoples.

III THE CPSU IS TRUE TO ITS INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

Comrades, for more than half a century the Soviet Union has been opposing imperialism on all sectors—political, economic, ideological and military.

Immediately after the Civil War ended Lenin stressed: "We are exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy."¹ Our Party holds that this proposition preserves its significance to this day. The defence capability of the Soviet Union and, to no small extent, of the entire socialist community, and the possibility of countering the imperialist policy of aggression and war depend on our economic achievements. Our possibilities of supporting the revolutionary and liberation movement throughout the world likewise depend on these achievements. The force of the example of the new social system, which is becoming the best agitator for socialism both among the working people in the capitalist countries and the peoples who have shaken off the yoke of colonialism, also depends on them.

Reviewing the traversed path, we Soviet Communists can say that economic development is a complex front of struggle demanding a great and, moreover, sustained effort. For our country it was a particularly hard path owing to the economic backwardness inherited from the past and the enormous destruction caused by imperialist-imposed wars. All of you know how we surmounted these difficulties, what

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437.

we achieved in economic development in the Soviet years and what the impact of this was on the international situation and the world revolutionary movement.

Today I should like to cite only a few figures characterising the results of our work in the 1960s. During these eight years industrial output in the USSR has more than doubled. Agricultural production increased by almost one-third. The real incomes of the working people rose 43 per cent.

In the economic sphere the distance separating us from the United States, the most powerful and richest country in the capitalist world, has also shortened appreciably. In 1960, our industrial output was 55 per cent of the American, while in 1968 it reached about 70 per cent.

These figures naturally do not give a full picture of the work which the Soviet people have accomplished. A few words must be said not only about the quantitative but also the qualitative aspect.

In recent years, especially since the beginning of the current five-year plan which was drawn up in accordance with the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, this aspect has become, we might say, the object of special concern by our Party. While being fully aware of the importance of preserving high rates of general economic growth, we embarked on a course of building up the most advanced national economy in the world both for economic efficiency and for its scientific and technological level. The past years have been quite fruitful in this respect, too.

The pattern of industry is being seriously changed through the accelerated development of sectors which determine technological progress—chemical, radio-electronics, instrument-making, precision and heavy engineering and other industries.

Prerequisites for major advances in agriculture, where we had quite a few difficulties, have also been created in recent years. Never before has the state allocated such large capital investments for the comprehensive mechanisation, electrification and chemisation of agriculture, and for land improvement.

A reorganisation of the management of our economy has been undertaken in recent years on the initiative of the Party; we have launched in earnest on the improvement of planning and management methods. This extensive work has

not been completed yet, but we can already see how favourably it has affected the national economy.

I should like to stress, comrades, that our country's unquestioned achievements in recent years have not made us lose sight of the shortcomings which exist in our work and of the serious problems confronting us.

Such problems are constantly raised by life. This is not surprising if we bear in mind the scale of the Soviet economy, its rapid growth rates and the diversity of the requirements and needs of such a large country as ours. Moreover, the very dialectics of development is such that the higher the level a society attains, the more complex and the bigger the tasks it sets itself.

And we are now, in the current period, making a searching study of these tasks. A new five-year plan is being drawn up which is to become another major step in the building of communism, in implementing the CPSU Programme. Naturally, in that plan we seek to incorporate the main trends of the country's economic development, the principal long-term tasks.

The task of accelerating scientific and technological progress must be first of all singled out among them.

The draft Main Document of the Meeting stresses that broad development of the scientific and technological revolution has become one of the principal sectors of the historic competition between capitalism and socialism. Our Party fully subscribes to such an understanding of the problem.

Utilising the advantages of the socialist system, the Soviet Union has made great headway in the development of modern science and technology. We were the first to place nuclear energy at the service of peace and the first to reach into outer space; we have registered many other notable accomplishments which have advanced the Soviet Union to the forefront of scientific and technological progress.

But, speaking of these successes, we do not want to underrate the forces of those with whom we have to compete in the scientific and technological sphere. Here the struggle will be a long and difficult one. And we are fully resolved to wage it in earnest so as to demonstrate the superiority of socialism in this sphere as well. This meets not only the interests of communist construction in our country but also those of world socialism and the entire revolutionary and liberation movement.

To achieve, as we should like, a further considerable advance in science and technology is a very difficult task involving great effort and large capital investments. It demands the training of vast personnel—even though already today our country has one-fourth of all the scientists in the world. Furthermore, it is necessary to raise the educational level and the professional skills of millions upon millions of people who will have to operate the new technology. An imperative demand of our time is to integrate science and production. We have to set up many new scientific centres and educational establishments, further and very substantially extend the scope of research, create and widely introduce control systems based on the latest scientific achievements and the employment of electronic computers. All these tasks, apparently, will be given a prominent place in our new five-year plan.

The paramount task of socialist society—that of raising the standard of living of the working people—always remains in the foreground of our Party's activities. In this sphere our country has likewise attained tangible results. Representatives of fraternal Parties, who have been to the Soviet Union more than once, can judge of this not only from dry statistics but also from personal impressions.

If account is taken of what we started from and what difficulties we had to surmount, the achieved living standard of the working people should be assessed as a great victory. But our people's requirements are growing steadily, making ever higher demands on our industry and agriculture. I shall cite only one example. Every day about 8,000 families move into new flats or their housing conditions are improved—every day, comrades—but the housing problem remains quite acute. What is the reason? The point is that according to present-day standards it is usually a question not simply of living quarters but of a separate flat for each family with all amenities, moreover, while preserving the lowest rent in the world.

Another task which we regard as important is to bring the working people of the countryside nearer to urban dwellers in terms of well-being, cultural and other services, way of life and all amenities. For our country, where many million people live in villages, this task is as difficult as it is important.

We expect that the new five-year plan will be an important step towards solving these problems.

All of us would like these problems to be solved more swiftly. But the international situation prevents us from using all of the country's resources for economic development, improving the working people's living standard and promoting culture. Large resources have to be appropriated for defence. And I can assure you that we maintain it at the highest level. Our Armed Forces reliably protect the borders of our homeland, and together with the allied armies stand guard over the gains of the fraternal socialist countries, over the peace and security of the nations.

We set ourselves big tasks in the social and political sphere.

In the forefront here is further development of socialist democracy and consolidation of the Soviet state. The experience of our country and other socialist countries has taught us to consider these tasks in their intrinsic unity. Without a well-coordinated state machine, functioning smoothly in all its units, it is impossible to run the intricate and sensitive organism of a modern economy and other aspects of social life, to say nothing of the country's defence.

A socialist state draws its strength from its inseparable bond with the people and the participation of the broadest masses in the administration of the country and of public affairs. This is exactly what socialist democracy is called upon to ensure. Its improvement and extension constitute the main trend in the political development of Soviet society on the road to communism.

It is naturally a matter of developing socialist democracy, with a clear-cut class content designed to serve the cause of socialism. " 'Pure democracy', " Lenin stressed, " is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers. History knows of bourgeois democracy which takes the place of feudalism, and of proletarian democracy which takes the place of bourgeois democracy."¹ This conclusion is fully corroborated by life, by the experience of history.

The development of socialist democracy implies extensive day-to-day practical work in many directions. It includes stimulating and improving the work of all organisations

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 242.

which unite the masses, primarily, of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, trade unions and the Komsomol. It also presupposes improving the fundamental legislative principles of our democracy. Further, we attach great significance to developing democratic principles directly where the main mass of the population is concentrated—at factories, offices and collective farms. A case in point is the Collective-Farm Rules, the draft of which has been submitted for a nationwide discussion.

The improvement of socialist democracy is closely linked with enhancing the political consciousness of the masses, keeping them informed of the policy of the Party and the Government, and making them deeply interested in these affairs and feel that they are the true masters of the country. In this sphere we are resolutely combating the influence of bourgeois ideology and propaganda and the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people.

We regard as an important task the further strengthening of the union of all nations and nationalities of our multinational country. All of you, comrades, know that in this sphere of socialist transformations, too, we have accomplished notable results which have been of fundamental significance to the revolutionary movement and in awakening the oppressed nations. The present stage of the building of communism demands that the attained successes should be not only consolidated but also developed. It is a matter of drawing still closer together all the nations and nationalities, further improving the work of educating the Soviet people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and of intolerance for the ideology of nationalism and racialism.

The scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction enhance the role of the politically conscious, organising vanguard in the life of society. This vanguard is the Communist Party, which founds all its activity on Marxism-Leninism, is intimately linked with the people and imparts an organised and planned nature to all the work of building communism.

Exercising its leading role, the Party does everything to enable the working people actively to influence the shaping and implementing of state policy and give them every opportunity to display initiative, a pioneering spirit. The Party resolutely fights bureaucratic tendencies against which

the administrative apparatus is not fully guaranteed under socialism either.

Enhancement of the Party's leading role increases its responsibility for everything done in the country, for the present and the future of the Soviet state. And this means that the Party itself must develop, raise the combat ability of its ranks and reinforce its ideological and organisational unity.

In the little more than eight years which have passed since the last Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the membership of the CPSU has increased by more than 4,500,000. It now has in its ranks almost 14 million members. More than half of the Party members are workers and peasants. We attach great significance to workers holding a leading place in the Party. This corresponds to the class nature of our Party, to the role and place of the working class in the life of our society. A big part in the life of the Party is played by the collective-farm peasantry. The Party unites millions of trained specialists, scientists, workers in culture and other intellectuals who are contributing greatly to social, scientific, technological and cultural progress.

The growth of our Party's ranks attests to the high prestige it enjoys among all sections of the people in our country. The Communist Party and its home and foreign policy have the wholehearted, unanimous support of the entire Soviet people.

We associate the improvement of the Party's work with the consistent development of democracy within the Party, with the undeviating application of the principle of democratic centralism. All of you know how much has been and is being done along these lines in recent years, and what place these questions held in the decisions of the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd congresses of the CPSU.

Comrades, the way things shape out in our country, the successes in communist construction, largely determine the scale and depth of the influence exerted by the Soviet Union's foreign policy on the international situation. The main aims and trends of this policy were clearly defined in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

In foreign affairs the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concentrates on making the socialist world stronger today than yesterday, and stronger tomorrow than today. This is concretely embodied in the efforts made by our state,

jointly with other socialist countries, to further co-operation in the political, defence and economic spheres.

The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, holds active positions in the wide and seething front of the national liberation movement, and renders firm political support and moral and material help to the peoples fighting for liberation.

The Soviet Union will continue to give effective military and economic assistance and moral and political support to the Vietnamese people in order to repulse imperialist aggression. In our view, the programme for a political settlement of the Vietnam question set out in the "10 Points" of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is perfectly justified and fair, and we declare our support of it.

Young Asian and African states invariably find support in the Soviet Union. Our country co-operates with many of them in the economic, scientific, technological and cultural spheres and in the training of national personnel.

The Soviet Union has rendered and will continue to render all-round assistance to the Arab states subjected to aggression. We firmly demand full implementation of the provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which opens the way for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The imperialists are seeking to sow discord among states which have won national independence. Soviet foreign policy opposes imperialist intrigues and facilitates a peaceful settlement of the differences between these states. A case in point is the Tashkent meeting of the leaders of India and Pakistan, when even belligerent countries were able to reach agreement on ending hostilities.

We are extending our ties with the states of Latin America, where resistance to imperialist diktat and to foreign monopoly oppression is stiffening.

The relations of the Soviet Union with countries of the capitalist world are based on the principle of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social system, a principle substantiated by Lenin. This principle implies that outstanding issues between countries must be settled not by force, not by war, but in a peaceful way. This principle has won wide international recognition.

Peaceful coexistence does not extend to the struggle of ideologies—this must be stressed most categorically. At the

same time, it does not boil down merely to an absence of war between socialist and capitalist states. Observance of the peaceful coexistence principle opens up broader possibilities for expanding relations between them. This includes settlement, at the negotiating table, of international problems, co-ordination of measures for reducing the war danger and easing international tensions, and also mutually advantageous economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural ties.

Recent experience, specifically the development of relations between the Soviet Union and France, Finland, Italy, Japan and a number of other countries, shows that such possibilities lie in the very nature of the policy of peaceful coexistence. We make no exception in this respect for any capitalist state, including the USA. For us peaceful coexistence is not a temporary tactical method, but an important principle underlying the consistently peace-loving foreign policy of socialism. Such a policy creates the most favourable conditions for building the new society in socialist countries, and for spreading the revolutionary and liberation movement.

We are well aware that the extreme aggressive circles often influence the shaping of the foreign policy of the big capitalist states. To curb the activity of these circles it is necessary to be firm, to expose their intrigues and provocations and be constantly ready to administer a determined rebuff to aggressive encroachments. This is the foreign policy that the CPSU and the Soviet Union pursue.

In the capitalist camp we distinguish a more moderate wing as well. Its representatives, while remaining our class, ideological adversaries, assess the present balance of power more soberly and are inclined to search for mutually acceptable solutions to outstanding international issues. In its foreign policy, our state takes into account such tendencies.

Barring the road to the threat of war and without relaxing our vigilant watch of the intrigues of the aggressive and revanchist circles, we shall continue to do everything in our power to stamp out the hotbeds of war on our planet.

The burning problems of the current international situation do not conceal from our view longer-term tasks, namely, the creation of a system of collective security in areas of concentrated danger of another world war, of armed

conflicts. Such a system is the best replacement for the existing military-political groups.

At their conference in Karlovy Vary the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, both those in power and Parties in the capitalist countries of the continent, drew up a common programme of measures aimed at safeguarding security in Europe. Member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty have advanced a concrete programme of achieving the security of the European peoples, stability of frontiers and peaceful co-operation of European states. The CPSU and the Soviet Union will do everything to implement this programme.

We are of the opinion that the course of events is also putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia.

The draft Document we are discussing emphasises the urgency of putting into force the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the need for prohibiting these weapons and using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes. Increasing the effectiveness of the ban on chemical and bacteriological weapons is also our common aim. The Meeting's participants know very well how much perseverance and initiative Soviet foreign policy is displaying in all these directions.

Today, as before, the Soviet Union is prepared to reach understanding on general and complete disarmament, on measures for limiting and restraining the arms race, above all the race for nuclear and missile weapons. To force a curtailment of the arms race on the imperialists means to shake the positions of the instigators of another war, to switch colossal resources to constructive purposes, and to strengthen world peace.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will continue to increase their contribution towards accomplishing the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle, and steadfastly uphold the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

* * *

Comrades, our movement has a great and illustrious history. The great thinkers and revolutionaries Karl Marx and Frederick Engels stood at its cradle. Their fervent call "Workers of all countries, unite!" resounded throughout the

world. It epitomised the idea of unity and fraternity of all working people, of community of their interests, and became the battle standard of our movement.

Last year all of us observed the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism. We did not merely pay a tribute of deserved respect to the man whose ideas and deeds are immortal, but also reviewed our forces, analysed the results and charted the prospects of our activity.

We are now on the eve of another memorable anniversary—the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Lenin's inestimable service consists in that he furnished answers to the most acute questions raised by life and indicated the most efficacious forms of struggle against imperialism, against social and national oppression, for the victory of the socialist revolution and the triumph of communism.

To apply a consistent class line, firmly adhere to principles, be flexible in tactics, consider the concrete conditions from every angle, to undertake bold and at the same time well-conceived actions, to be able to utilise all the diverse means of fighting imperialism—this is what Lenin taught us, and what we learn from Lenin.

His contribution to revolutionary theory was a major stage in the development of Marxist thought. Leninism is the Marxism of our epoch. The centenary of Lenin's birth is a great date for all the Communists of the world. The CPSU feels that the forthcoming Lenin anniversary must be utilised for further stimulating ideological work in the communist movement.

We, comrades, have every reason for looking with confidence to the future. The communist movement, loyal to the immortal teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, now possesses tremendous possibilities for winning, in alliance with all the anti-imperialist forces, fresh victories in the historic struggle for the social and national liberation of the peoples, for peace, for the radiant communist morrow of all mankind. (*Prolonged applause.*)

**SPEECH AT A RECEPTION FOR PARTICIPANTS
IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

June 17, 1969

Dear comrades,

Our dear foreign friends and brothers,

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has successfully completed its work.

Now that our extensive and fruitful work has ended and we have changed the work table, the table of creative discussion, for this festive table, allow me here, at this reception, to extend cordial greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Communists of our country to the representatives of the fraternal Parties as the welcome guests of our Party and the whole Soviet people. (*Applause.*)

For us Soviet Communists it is a great honour that such a representative meeting of the Communist Parties of the world has been held in our country's capital, Moscow.

We are sure that this Meeting will enter the history of the world communist movement as a major event in our joint struggle against imperialism and in rallying all Communists and uniting their efforts for the attainment of our great common aims.

There are sufficiently weighty grounds for this assessment.

As has been repeatedly noted, the very preparations for our Meeting were conspicuously comprehensive and democratic, and they took place in a constructive and comradely spirit. They have thus set a fine example of fruitful collective effort by the Communists of many Parties.

The profound, principled, businesslike, free and open

discussion at the Meeting enabled all of us to compare the views and assessments of individual Parties and examine pressing problems of our movement in detail and without any inhibitions. It may be said definitely that as a result a further substantial contribution has been made towards the development of our revolutionary theory. The speeches of the leaders of many fraternal Parties mirrored the experience of concretely applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching in the specific situation and conditions of the struggle in different parts of the world. On the whole, the discussion of the basic question on our Meeting's agenda will unquestionably enrich the entire communist movement and each of its Parties, that have attended the Meeting, and it will help us to use the valuable experience of the fraternal Parties.

The documents adopted at the Meeting give all of us a new weapon in our common struggle. They will help the Communists and the working people of all countries to see more clearly the ways of the further struggle against imperialist aggression and oppression. They will resound throughout the world as our joint fraternal appeal to all honest, progressive forces championing the cause of freedom, peace and happiness of the peoples.

Naturally, the adopted documents are only a foundation for further massive work by the Parties represented here. But one can say confidently that this is a good and reliable foundation. (*Applause.*) It reflects an important stage in the strengthening of the fraternal unity of the Communists against the forces of imperialism, reaction and war. It will inspire optimism and faith in further victories of our cause and in the further cohesion of our movement.

Ahead of us are arduous battles with a strong, experienced and resourceful class adversary. This induces all of us to strive for unity of action even when there are some divergences in our views on certain issues. The all-sided exchange of experience of struggle, which has taken place at our Meeting, and the working out of a coordinated stand on the most important pressing problems of the communist movement are the best guarantee that having united our ranks and agreed and coordinated our actions we shall win these battles.

At the Meeting the delegations of the fraternal Parties repeatedly spoke of the contribution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state to the common

struggle against imperialism, to the triumph of our just cause. The high assessment of our policy by our comrades in struggle and the Meeting's document dedicated to the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder and leader of our Party and the Soviet state, inspire us, Soviet Communists, and our entire Soviet people.

Permit me, dear comrades, to assure you that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is unshakably true to the teaching of Marx and Lenin and to the principles of proletarian internationalism, shall not stint its strength to facilitate the realisation of the new prospects that are opening for our movement and for all the anti-imperialist forces as a result of our Meeting.

Dear friends,

Time passed unnoticeably during the proceedings, during the discussion. It seems that only yesterday we were warmly welcoming you to Moscow. As always happens in such cases, we shall feel a little sad at parting with you.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, permit me to ask you to convey to your Parties, and to the workers, peasants and intellectuals of your countries the most cordial greetings from the Soviet Communists, from the whole 240-million-strong Soviet people. (*Applause.*)

I propose your health, dear comrades and friends-in-arms!

I toast the success of our sacred struggle against oppression, exploitation and poverty, for the liberation of the peoples, for mankind's bright future!

Long live the unity of the Communists of all countries!

Long live communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

FRESH UPSURGE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

*Article in World Marxist Review
No. 8, 1969*

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969, was one of the most important political events of the 1960s. It was a forceful demonstration of the growing role and responsibility of Communists in the modern world. It will go down in history as a major landmark in activating the struggle of all anti-imperialist forces and uniting the Communist and Workers' Parties on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Meeting adopted documents of historic importance, reaffirming our movement's devotion to the ultimate communist goals. It made a searching analysis of the international situation and the socio-political changes in the alignment of class forces over the past few years. It collectively worked out a political platform for the present-day struggle against imperialism, for the continued development of the revolutionary movement.

The Meeting's documents combine a scientific Marxist-Leninist approach with practical militancy, a common strategy of the communist movement with the tactics of the fraternal Parties' struggle in the specific conditions of their respective countries. Revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice are thus here organically blended, mutually enriching each other. This makes for a more purposeful struggle against imperialism, a struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

To assess this new communist Meeting properly, we must look back several years. The fight against imperialism's increasing aggressiveness insistently demanded closer unity of the world communist movement, of all the anti-imperialist forces. There was also the need for a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the many phenomena produced by the rapidly developing political and economic processes and by the scientific and technological revolution. Besides, after 1960 the leaders of the Communist Party of China launched an open ideological and political struggle against the majority of the Communist Parties. They did not scruple to use every available means to implant their concepts in an attempt to split the Communist Parties, discredit their policy and undermine the unity of the anti-imperialist front. "Left" adventurism and Right opportunism became more active in the world working-class movement. Division in the communist movement and deviations from Marxism-Leninism only gladdened the imperialists, who stepped up their pressure in an attempt to exploit the situation to weaken socialism and the working-class and liberation movements.

It became imperative to raise a barrier to centrifugal tendencies in the communist movement and strengthen the unity of the fraternal Parties. Accordingly, the Marxist-Leninist Parties launched a drive for unity of the communist movement along all lines of the broadest front. The idea of a new international meeting of fraternal Parties was put forward.

The road to the Meeting was a difficult one. The preparations for it passed through a number of stages, requiring extensive and intensive work and the surmounting of considerable difficulties. However, the Marxist-Leninist Parties worked towards the Meeting consistently and purposefully. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union acted in close and constant contact with the fraternal Parties at all the stages of the Meeting's preparation. We gratefully acknowledge their high evaluation of the CPSU's political, theoretical and organisational work during the preparation for and holding of the Meeting.

Preliminary meetings, exchanges of views, participation of Party Central Committees in the discussion of the draft documents, and the work of the Preparatory Committee and

the Working Group, made it possible concretely and in a businesslike manner to examine our common tasks, bring our positions closer on many outstanding issues, and unite the Parties around the main theoretical and practical problems to be discussed at the Meeting.

The principal result of this truly colossal preparatory work was, of course, the holding of the Meeting. However, the preparatory work was in itself politically important. Collective discussion of pressing theoretical and practical problems of our movement steadily won an increasing support for united action against imperialism on a Marxist-Leninist basis. The Consultative Meeting in Budapest was attended by representatives of 67 Parties, and 75 fraternal Parties were represented at the Moscow Meeting.

The Meeting's success was, unquestionably, predetermined by the profoundly democratic and candid atmosphere that marked its proceedings. Cooperation on an equal footing, wide publicity, which made it possible to keep the world public constantly informed and, lastly, the decision to send the materials of the Meeting to Parties not attending it, show that the Leninist code of democratic and principled discussion is deeply rooted in our movement. It is also added proof of our movement's strength and viability.

We can safely say that this form of work, world communist meetings, has become an important means of collective discussion of pressing tasks and collective elaboration of an integral programme of common action. For us, these meetings are valuable as a Marxist-Leninist school of political experience and revolutionary action; as a forum for a broad exchange of opinions and views and a means for charting a policy that takes fuller account of the interests of the working masses and enables us more actively to fight for these interests.

The Meeting noted that **there has been a further sharpening of the struggle between the forces of socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and reaction. In this struggle the progressive forces are on the offensive.** Ours is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. In what ways does this main trend of modern times manifest itself?

In the economic sphere socialism continues to grow in strength and scope: the socialist countries' share of world industrial and agricultural output is steadily increasing;

socialist social production is becoming more effective with every year; its organisation and management are being improved; the achievements of scientific and technological progress are being more fully applied to promote socialist economic development and raise the living standards.

In the political sphere the world socialist system has won greater international prestige and, together with the international working-class and liberation movements, it is exerting a stronger influence on world political processes. The position of the forces of progress and democracy ranged against imperialism is growing stronger.

In the sphere of ideology and culture the ideas of socialism, progress and peace are gaining ground and winning over large segments of society. Socialism and Marxism-Leninism continue to triumph in the battle for men's minds and hearts.

The Meeting's attention was focused on the key problem of our epoch, namely, the struggle against imperialism, which has been and remains the main enemy of peace, of the peoples' freedom and independence, and of social progress. This problem was considered as part of the vital question of united action by Communist and Workers' Parties, by all anti-imperialist forces.

Sharpening of the contradictions inherent in the processes taking place within imperialism is one of its distinguishing features: uneven economic and political development has become more pronounced; the scientific and technological revolution is further aggravating the contradiction between the social nature of production and the capitalist form of appropriation; the activities of the giant international super-monopolies have sharpened the conflict of economic interests among the monopolies of different countries and the competitive struggle for world markets and spheres of influence.

However, the Meeting stressed that imperialism was not to be underrated. Although it had not grown stronger, it was still a serious and dangerous foe to the revolutionary movement. Aggressive strategy, the build-up of tension, local wars, attempts to undermine the community of socialist nations from within and split the communist and entire revolutionary movement—such is the policy of modern imperialism. Its desperate attempts to hold back social development succeed in some countries. More and more frequently

the imperialist forces act in a united front against revolutionary contingents, working out a common strategy and taking joint action. A long, difficult and persevering struggle against imperialism lies ahead.

The Meeting pinpointed the principal directions of the struggle to unite the main streams of the modern revolutionary process—the world socialist system, the working class in the citadels of capitalism, and the national liberation movement—and outlined a programme of action for them. Its theoretical and practical conclusions thus go beyond the framework of the communist movement—they provide a revolutionary perspective for the forces of the anti-imperialist front.

In the 1960s, despite certain difficulties and setbacks for some contingents, the three streams of the revolutionary process have been gathering momentum and making a growing contribution to the struggle against imperialism.

Experience provides convincing proof that in this common struggle success is achieved only when all the revolutionary streams coordinate their actions and merge to form a united anti-imperialist front. Conversely, the revolutionary struggle of the peoples encounters difficulties when this unity is impaired, leading to disunity of action between the main forces of the world revolutionary process. The Meeting attached paramount importance to unity, and called for unremitting efforts to strengthen the alliance of the world socialist system and the working-class and national liberation movements.

The world socialist system continues to play the decisive role in the struggle against imperialism, giving the revolutionary contingents and the democratic movements their most effective support. The successes of the world's revolutionary forces depend largely on the achievements of the socialist countries, on the ability of their ruling Parties to utilise the potentialities of the new social system, and on the unity of the socialist camp. Hence, efforts to strengthen the world socialist system are, at the same time, efforts to advance the world revolutionary process, and make the anti-imperialist struggle more effective.

The Meeting reaffirmed that in consolidating the unity of the socialist system the main emphasis should be made on undeviatingly implementing the principles of socialist internationalism, correctly combining the national and interna-

tional tasks of the socialist states and promoting fraternal mutual assistance and support.

The Meeting's documents disclose the profound meaning of proletarian, socialist internationalism in our epoch, of the relationship between the international and national tasks of each contingent of our movement. It was correctly stated at the Meeting that proletarian internationalism is the essential revolutionary component of the class struggle.

Many Parties approved the internationalist action taken by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in connection with the events in Czechoslovakia, but some expressed disagreement. The delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia disclosed the danger inherent in the new subversive methods employed by imperialism and showed the vital need for resolute action against anti-socialist, Right opportunist forces within the country and the Party. The Meeting stressed the need for the consistent defence of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The rise and development of the world socialist system is part and parcel of the worldwide class struggle. The socialist system is the principal obstacle to imperialism. Socialism's enemies persist in their attempts to undermine the foundations of socialist state power, disrupt the socialist re-making of society and restore their own rule. That is why the Meeting emphatically declared defence of socialism an internationalist duty of all Communists.

The danger of the divisive activities of the present leadership of the Communist Party of China for the world communist movement, and the harm they are doing to the anti-imperialist struggle, were clearly brought out at the Meeting. Many examples were cited of the Mao Tse-tung group's subversive activities against individual fraternal Parties and the communist movement as a whole. Almost all the delegations, which stated their attitude to the policies of the CPC leadership, strongly condemned attempts to substitute Maoism for Marxism-Leninism. It can definitely be said that this ideology and this policy were trenchantly condemned at the Meeting.

The policy of the CPSU with regard to China is clear and definite. Our position was stated in the speech of the CPSU delegation at the Meeting, in Soviet Government statements, and in the decisions of the June Plenum of the CC CPSU and at the recent session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Our position is firm and resolute as regards the defence of the interests of the Soviet people and the security of our socialist country. At the same time it is composed and restrained. We will not allow the Soviet Union to be provoked into ill-considered action. Our principled and constructive policy takes into account the long-term interests both of the Soviet and the Chinese peoples. In unanimously endorsing the CPSU delegation's stand at the Meeting, the CC Plenum pointed out: "The CPSU will conduct an irreconcilable struggle against the anti-Leninist ideological propositions of the present leaders of China, against their divisive activities and Great-Power chauvinist foreign policy. It will do all in its power to defend against all encroachments the interests of the Soviet people, who are building communism. At the same time, the CPSU is guided by the fact that the Soviet and Chinese peoples have identical basic interests. The CPSU will continue its efforts to preserve and maintain the friendly feelings that exist among the Soviet people for the Chinese people. There is no doubt that among the Chinese people similar feelings exist for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

The Meeting documents underline the vanguard role of the communist movement in the modern world and set forth its programme of action, strategy and tactics and also the ways and means of further energising the revolutionary struggle.

The Meeting's conclusions are based on a profound generalisation of the experience of all the Parties functioning under the most diverse conditions: Parties in power and those fighting for power, Parties functioning legally or illegally and utilising various means and methods of struggle, veteran Parties and those that joined our movement in recent years.

In their speeches at the Meeting, the heads of delegations raised a wide range of major issues and general questions of a theoretical, programmatic nature affecting the communist movement as a whole. Controversial and contentious questions were not bypassed. On the contrary, they were discussed and, in our opinion, the answers to them were in most cases correct.

The ideas embodied in the Meeting's documents are a treasure-store for the entire communist movement. In the conclusions drawn by the Meeting each Party can see a

particle of its own experience and its own contribution, and for every Party these conclusions can serve as a guide to action under specific national conditions. At the same time, these conclusions are based on the general objective laws of our movement and on general theoretical questions of a programmatic nature, thereby forming a platform for the movement as a whole.

The Meeting reasserted—and formulated in its documents—the main points on which we are united: identity of class interests and the understanding that the joint struggle against imperialism, against its aggressive policy and anti-communist ideology must be intensified; the desire to achieve unity of world socialism, of the entire communist movement and enhance the responsibility of each fraternal Party; the struggle for creative development of Marxism-Leninism and its defence against Right and “Left” opportunist distortions; faith in the justice and inevitable triumph of our common cause.

True, not all the difficulties and differences existing in the communist movement were removed in the course of the preparations for and during the Meeting itself. It will be recalled that not all Parties were represented. Some Parties, while supporting united action, agreed only with the section of the Document outlining a programme of joint struggle against imperialism. Other Parties signed the Document with reservations on some of the formulations.

The crucial consideration, however, is that we achieved unity of positions and views among nearly all delegations on a wide range of pressing issues. The Communist and Workers' Parties thus demonstrated anew their full sense of responsibility at the present important stage in history, and their resolve faithfully to apply the approach of Marx, Engels and Lenin to problems of the development of our movement from positions of revolutionary theory and irreconcilable struggle against all distortions of that theory. The Meeting confirmed that **what unites Communists is much stronger than what disunites them.**

2

Marxists do not believe in magic and do not expect their decisions to work automatically. They hold that the accepted programme can be fulfilled if the experience and ideas of

the communist movement, as generalised in the documents of the Meeting, are adopted by all the Parties, win the minds and hearts of the working masses, become their fighting weapon and illumine the path for their revolutionary practical work. The main thing today, therefore, is to translate into practice the ideas proclaimed by the Meeting.

The first steps taken by the fraternal Parties convincingly show that, with their customary efficiency and energy, Communists have started to propagate and implement these ideas. The Central Committees of many Parties have held plenary meetings and there have been functionary and general membership meetings. The documents of the Meeting are being widely popularised through oral and printed propaganda. At the CC CPSU plenum, convened immediately after the Meeting, there was a comprehensive discussion of the conclusions our Party should draw from the results of the Meeting and its documents for its future practical and theoretical work. Similar meetings were held by all Party organisations. The Central Committee is now working out concrete political, economic and ideological measures based on the results of the Meeting.

The job now facing Communists is to bring home the ideas of the Meeting to millions, and work towards further elaboration and practical implementation of its main conclusions and aims.

What do they concentrate on today? Along what lines will they work to carry out the tasks set in the documents of the Meeting?

The first objective, we believe, is to work for a fresh upsurge of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement.

The Meeting's document—*Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces*—contains important conclusions relating to the tactics and strategy of the communist movement, and indicates the new reserves and possibilities of the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism.

The fraternal Parties have received a clear-cut programme of work among the working class, which is the main motive and mobilising force of the revolutionary struggle, and among peasants and progressive intellectuals. The great revolutionary potentialities of the youth have been fully revealed. The Meeting gave the fraternal Parties of Asian,

African and Latin American countries a platform for broadening the national liberation movement in the world revolutionary process.

Important, too, is the Meeting's special stress on the indivisibility of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, and the struggle for the ultimate goals of the working class, the struggle against capitalism as a social system, for the triumph of socialism and communism.

These are Marxist, Leninist concepts. They help Communists in the struggle against imperialism, for Marxist-Leninist unity, against Right and "Left" opportunism. The Document also contains many propositions addressed to all the anti-imperialist forces, thereby providing a platform of broad unity between Communists and other anti-imperialist forces.

The second objective is that every Party should make full use of all its inner potentialities to fight for the interests of its people and, simultaneously, to fight for the common international cause.

Communists have always been in the van of the fighters for the vital interests of the working people, heading the popular movements for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism. And now that the Meeting has highlighted the situation in which different contingents of the communist movement are working and revealed new possibilities for their struggle, success depends on the fraternal Parties' ability to pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy, on the flexibility and manoeuvrability of their tactics, on their ability to broaden their ties with the masses and draw all strata of society into the anti-imperialist struggle.

Naturally, in this work every Party proceeds from its own experience and takes into account the specific national features of its people's life and struggle. However, in accomplishing concrete tasks in their own countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties are fighting also for their general class interests on a world scale. Joint struggle against imperialism helps to reveal more clearly what policies and views are in the common interests of the communist movement, and which of them run counter to these interests and hinder or even harm the common cause.

The nature and substance of communism are such that the communist movement is able to arrive at a correct solution of problems confronting each national contingent and

the movement as a whole without infringing on their independence. Proletarian internationalism and correctly understood national features and interests are inseparable from a Party's responsibility and rights.

The third objective is to heighten the theoretical activity of the Communist Parties and of the communist movement as a whole.

The great Lenin taught Communists that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, that a Marxist must be the master of events and not vice versa. "The absence of theory," he wrote, "deprives a revolutionary trend of the right to existence and inevitably condemns it, sooner or later, to political bankruptcy."¹

We rely on the comprehensively developed Marxist-Leninist teaching, which has been tested in the practice of revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism. But life is in constant flux. It poses new problems, confronts the revolutionary forces with more complex tasks, and requires theoretical interpretation of the changes taking place in the world. Finding answers to these new problems and providing a scientifically grounded perspective for our further advance call for the constant development of Marxism-Leninism.

That is why we stand for the fullest generalisation of the theoretical work of the fraternal Parties. And in this respect, we believe, there is no overestimating the value of theoretical conferences and constructive discussions. If such discussions are properly organised, if they are oriented on concrete aims and tasks, and if the most qualified Marxists-Leninists take part in them, they will unquestionably advance Marxist theoretical thinking, and we need not be apprehensive about holding them.

Naturally, they should be conducted in a Party spirit, with creative debate allowing everyone to state or uphold his views. The journal *World Marxist Review* could, in our opinion, be more active in sponsoring such Marxist theoretical discussions and conferences.

Marxism-Leninism has been and remains the ideological platform of the Communist Parties. We shall be guided by one of the Meeting's documents—the *Address on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*. In it, the Communists proclaim anew their fidelity to Leninism and stress

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 188.

its international significance. The *Address* is a blow at Right and "Left" revisionism.

Lastly, the Meeting's action platform cannot be implemented without stepping up the struggle against imperialist ideology and opportunism in the working-class movement.

Lenin enjoined us to overcome all resistance from the capitalists—not only military and political, but also ideological, which is the most powerful and far-reaching. Communists of all countries know they must conduct a determined offensive against bourgeois ideology and expose the man-hating substance of imperialism.

The enemy gives us no respite—he does not wait for us to resolve our differences and unite our efforts in the struggle against him. On the contrary, the rulers of the imperialist powers seek to use every difference in the communist movement to further their own ends. They have set themselves the adventurist aim of carrying the war of ideas into the socialist countries and the communist movement. They are disseminating the spurious theory of a "humane socialism"—a cover-slogan for attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist system from within—the theory of "convergence" of capitalism and socialism, of "degeneration" of the Communist Parties, and so on. In the capitalist countries anti-communism has been given the status of state policy. Hence, the most active fight against anti-communism is one of the conditions for the successful development of the world revolutionary process.

Marxists-Leninists have always consistently fought deviations from our revolutionary teaching, namely, Right and "Left" opportunism, bourgeois distortions of our Marxist-Leninist theory under the guise of "rejuvenating" it, and hidebound dogmatism. They have never retreated one iota from their scientific principles, nor will they ever do so.

The history of the communist movement teaches that the struggle against opportunism is especially sharp during revolutionary upsurges. Furthermore, it shows that whenever and wherever contingents of the revolutionary movement failed to smash opportunism, they inevitably suffered defeat. These are lessons of history we cannot afford to forget.

For all their distinctions, these deviations from Marxism-Leninism, whether Right or "Left", make the Communist Parties less fighting fit and undermine the revolutionary

positions of the working class and the unity of the anti-imperialist forces. Revisionism is doubly dangerous because, in some cases, it coalesces with bourgeois nationalism.

Of course, the struggle against opportunism is primarily a matter for the Party concerned. But it is also true that it affects the interests of the entire communist movement, for if the struggle is neglected, it is bound adversely to affect our movement as a whole and will undermine its class positions.

In upholding the purity of Marxism-Leninism we aim at genuine unity and at strengthening the international communist movement. At the same time, we feel that there should be a differentiated approach in the ideological struggle. It is one thing when this struggle is directed against the class enemy, against imperialism, and another when it is a struggle of ideas within the communist movement, a struggle with those who, though sometimes expressing erroneous views, remain our allies. In the latter case it is not only a struggle against erroneous and harmful views, but above all a struggle to win back to correct positions our comrades in the movement, even if they temporarily labour under delusions. Here comradesly, friendly polemics, even restraint, can prove useful. Thus, the question of the forms and methods of ideological struggle now acquires fundamental importance.

A creative approach to problems posed by life is the guarantee of further triumphs of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism. We can proudly say **that at no time in human history has a political movement and ideological trend played such a tremendous transformative role as the international communist and working-class movement.** In the face of incredible difficulties it led the peoples of many countries on to the high road of socialist development and moulded a new world outlook and a code of morals and habits that have been adopted by tens and hundreds of millions of people. Today the entire diversity and wealth of modern society's progress and its political and cultural life are inconceivable without the growing influence of the communist movement. The future of mankind in this last third of the twentieth century depends largely on the strength and might of our movement, on united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

We take pride in the high appraisal which the activities of our Party, and its internationalist position received at the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. For Soviet Communists this is a fresh source of revolutionary optimism and energy and stimulus for creative endeavour.

Throughout its history the CPSU has founded its policy on the Leninist concept of proletarian internationalism. We have always been guided by the well-known Leninist definition that to be an internationalist is to do "the utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*"¹ **The CPSU has always striven to make full use of all inner potentialities to strengthen and promote socialism and communism to the utmost in the Soviet Union and, at the same time, to support and develop the revolutionary struggle throughout the world.** Such is our idea of internationalist duty to the world communist and working-class movement.

How do we spell this out in concrete terms?

First of all, we believe that we shall be exerting our main influence on the world revolutionary process by continuing to set an example of economic achievement.

The USSR has entered a qualitatively new stage of its development: the full-scale construction of communist society has been started and is being successfully continued, and great and complex tasks in the economy and social relations are being accomplished.

Rapid intensification of the economy is a characteristic feature. It has been prepared by the whole development of our productive forces, and by the requirements of the worldwide scientific and technological revolution. The accent is on greater efficiency of social production and higher productivity of labour, rapid introduction and optimal use of new plant, and maximum involvement in production of available reserves. This, in turn, calls for constant improvement of socialist economic management and planning, and fuller use of the vast advantages inherent in the socialist system.

The economic reform in the USSR is now in its third year. One of its main objectives is to shape an economic mecha-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292.

nism assuring maximum growth of labour productivity, plus unhindered and accelerated scientific and technological progress extending to every pore of the economy, from top to bottom. The reform is still to be completed but the results already to hand are highly encouraging. Our economy is becoming more dynamic, more efficient, and with a faster rate of scientific and technological progress. The powerful economic potential built up over the years is yielding in increasing return in the shape of real consumer benefits.

We see all this as the way to enhance our influence on the world revolutionary process, the force of our example on peoples fighting imperialist oppression.

The advantages of socialism and the effectiveness of its international example are to be seen not only in the fact that this system enables full use to be made of scientific and technological achievements for the common good and for the systematic and uninterrupted improvement of the people's living conditions. Our system also creates the best prerequisites for man's harmonious development, for the flowering of all human endowments, spiritual resources and talents. That is the lofty and truly humane goal of our society, and, seen against the background of the spreading spiritual and ideological debasement to which man is condemned by modern capitalist society, it has a very special appeal.

We have been steadily improving the whole complexus of socialist social relations, striving further to consolidate our Soviet state, and develop and extend socialist democracy to the utmost.

There is much history to show that wherever the role and power of the socialist state are weakened, anarchy supervenes and socialist gains are jeopardised. Our adversaries have tried to make use of the CPSU's policy of strengthening the Soviet state for propaganda purposes, by contrasting it with the policy of further developing and perfecting socialist democracy. However, we have repeatedly declared—and say this again—that we regard democracy in terms of class. This means that the main point is: democracy for whom? Socialist democracy is—not nominally but actually—a democracy for millions upon millions of workers and peasants, for the people's intelligentsia, whose vital interests it reflects. We take the content and meaning of socialist democracy to be the massive involvement of men and women in government, economic construction and the

administration of all public affairs. That is the direction in which we have been steadily improving the legislative foundations of our state and of our democracy. To take an example. We are now working to write into the Constitution the changes that have taken place in Soviet society over the last few decades. The people have been invited to discuss the draft Rules of the Agricultural Artel which reflect the level achieved in collective-farm development. A decision has recently been taken to improve the information available to the public on domestic and foreign affairs.

Our way to communism, like that of all pioneers, is a hard and tortuous one. To keep on the right track a good compass is needed, and for us this has always been and will always be Marxism-Leninism, by which the CPSU is guided in working out its plans in building communism. These are mapped out in the decisions of the Party's Congresses, from the 20th to the 23rd, and in the Programme of the CPSU. Our Party abstracts the experience gained in socialist and communist construction into theoretical propositions, and makes a study of the new phenomena and tendencies in the development of Soviet society. Now that the scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction objectively require enhancing the Party's leading role, we have also been giving thought to ways of developing the Party itself, strengthening its ideological and organisational unity, and backing up with theory the whole of our Party and ideological work in society.

Among the traits that distinguish the politically alert Soviet citizen, the one that stands out in the present conditions is his sense of pride in the Communist Party and the country, dedication to their prosperity, and a profound understanding of the international significance of communist construction in the USSR. The Party considers it its primary task to continue the education of our people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, in the spirit of friendship, brotherhood and international solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, and with all the peoples fighting for social emancipation and national liberation, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Assistance to peoples who are victims of aggression and are fighting imperialism, for their national, political and economic liberation and for social progress is an integral element of our internationalist duty to the communist and

working-class movement. The scale and effectiveness of this assistance depends directly on our success in developing Soviet society. In Soviet Russia's early years, her influence on the course of world development was determined chiefly by the force of revolutionary example. With the growth of the Soviet Union's economic and political might, not only did our example become more attractive, but our political, economic and military assistance to peoples fighting imperialism increased.

That is not to say, of course, that we engage in the "export of revolution". We are fully aware that revolutions are not imported, but spring from the internal development of each country and the determined struggle of the masses for their social emancipation. But we are also fully aware of the importance of giving fighting peoples timely and varied assistance and support.

The whole world knows what great political, economic and military assistance the Soviet Union is giving to the people of Vietnam in their just fight against US imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union's economic ties with the young states of Asia and Africa and with the countries of Latin America have been growing stronger. We strive to assist the economic development of liberated countries, help them establish a national industry, train their own personnel, etc. This kind of assistance to the young states lessens their dependence on the imperialist monopolies and helps strengthen the common anti-imperialist front.

Our Party believes that peace offers the best conditions for the revolutionary and liberation movement. **That is why we also regard our peaceable foreign policy, our struggle for world peace as a component—and very important—part of our internationalist duty to the worldwide communist and working-class movement, to the peoples of the whole world.**

We shall continue to extend our foreign policy activity, which is of considerable importance for our common revolutionary cause. We shall go on helping to strengthen the might and unity of the socialist community, support the liberation struggle of the peoples, frustrate the aggressive plans of imperialism and fight to maintain peace and establish the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

The Soviet people are engaged in peaceful labour and do

not want war. Nor does the vast majority of mankind want war. That is why Soviet foreign policy, with the struggle for peace as its cornerstone, meets the vital interests of all peoples and has their growing support. Together with the other Parties, we have now started active preparations for the convocation of an anti-imperialist congress of the peoples of the world, and a congress of nations in defence of European security.

Soviet Communists have always been and will remain true to their internationalist duty. We solemnly reaffirmed this at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. By our constructive labours in building a communist society, by strengthening the country's defence capability, by our assistance to fighting peoples, by our peace-loving foreign policy, we have been doing and will continue to do everything in our power to advance the cause of peace and social progress, the cause of socialism and communism.

The first meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held a little over ten years ago. We have now redefined our platform for united action. From one meeting to another, from one strategic stage to another, the Communists' revolutionary and creative activity has gained in scope; we have acquired more experience and greater ability to go to the heart of social processes and exert an influence on them.

At the last Meeting we stated that the present stage in the fight against imperialism offers growing possibilities for fresh advances by the revolutionary and progressive forces. Imperialism is no longer capable of regaining the historical initiative and reversing the course of social development. Mankind's highroad is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, and all the other revolutionary forces.

We are aware that the world revolutionary process is not a walkover, with victories all the way. Unfortunately, now and again we have to taste the bitter of defeat and setbacks. The impact and the significance of the Meeting lie in its warning against an oversimplified approach to the tasks before the communist movement at its new stage. The impact and the significance of our Meeting lie in its Marxist-Leninist assessment of today's vital problems and its realistic approach to solving them. It has confirmed that despite the difficulties the communist movement is in the van of

the anti-imperialist struggle, that it is the mightiest political force of our day, capable of finding creative solutions to complex political and theoretical problems.

The political atmosphere of the world is filled with the ideas of the Meeting. Our activities, practical and theoretical, are marked by endeavour to realise them. In the spirit of the Meeting's decisions, we are going forward to mark the birth centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the immortal genius of our revolutionary epoch, staunch fighter against imperialism and reaction, great champion of proletarian internationalism.

In the struggle against imperialism, for the revolutionary rejuvenation of the world, Communists will carry even higher the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

FRIENDS, ALLIES, BROTHERS

An Article from the book
Fraternal Friendship and All-Round Cooperation
Moscow, 1969

This book, a book about the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, is issued on a memorable occasion when the People's Republic of Bulgaria is celebrating the 25th anniversary of the victory of the September armed uprising of 1944. This date, together with you, is being commemorated by the Soviet people, the peoples of other fraternal countries, by all who are working for the triumph of socialism and communism.

The uprising of September 9, carried out under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party at a time when the Soviet Army had launched broad offensive operations, overthrew the fascist-monarchist regime, opened the way to the building of socialism on Bulgarian soil and was a landmark in the development of the world revolutionary process.

Deep-going changes in all spheres of life have occurred in Bulgaria during the past years. It can be said without exaggeration that after the victory of people's power, Bulgaria made a gigantic leap in her social, economic and cultural development and became an active factor of world progress. These achievements attest to the correctness of the chosen path and are a result of the heroic, inspired labour of the Bulgarian people and their vanguard, the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The successes of socialist Bulgaria are also convincing proof of the advantages afforded by all-round, equal and mutually beneficial cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries, based on the tried and tested principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The relations of solidarity, sincere friendship and brotherhood which have arisen between the Soviet Union and People's Bulgaria are a striking example of the new type of ties between states, an example of effective socialist internationalism. They encompass practically all sides of life in our countries: Party and economic management activities, the economy, science, questions of culture and foreign policy and the organisation of defence.

The friendly ties between Russia and Bulgaria have a long history. As true internationalists, we Communists cherish and develop the good traditions in the relations between peoples. We cherish the historical interpenetrative influence of Russian and Bulgarian cultures, the link between the revolutionary-democratic movement in Russia and the national liberation movement in Bulgaria. Fraternal friendship between our countries has been sealed for ever by our joint struggle for freedom and against the foreign invaders.

After September 9, 1944, Soviet-Bulgarian ties acquired a new basis and a new quality. The first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance based, in the words of Georgi Dimitrov, on the principle of loyalty for loyalty, friendship for friendship, was concluded in 1948 and became an important stage in the road towards a deepening of the political, economic and cultural ties between our two countries.

The new Soviet-Bulgarian treaty signed in 1967 solemnly proclaims: "The eternal unbreakable friendship, fraternal assistance and all-round close cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, founded on the immutable principles of socialist internationalism, meet the basic interests of the peoples of both countries and the entire socialist community of nations." And this is no mere declaration. It is a statement of an indefeasible historical fact, establishing the community of our interests, of our aims, of our destinies.

It is this community that underlies the close political alliance between our states, their fruitful cooperation in the international arena, in the struggle against aggressive imperialist policy and for peace and the security of the nations.

Imperialism, as you know, has not abandoned hope to regain the positions it lost in the world arena. In recent years imperialist circles have been making repeated efforts in this direction—from downright armed aggression to attempts to

split the family of socialist states, to stimulate centrifugal tendencies in it, to reanimate anti-socialist forces and weaken the leading role of the Communist Parties. That is why the CPSU and the Bulgarian Communist Party, together with the other fraternal Parties, are giving primary attention to the job of reinforcing the unity of the socialist states, of strengthening and defending socialism.

The Soviet Union, together with the People's Republic of Bulgaria and other fraternal countries, are firm in their resolve to nip in the bud any attempt on the part of imperialism to encroach on the gains of our peoples. The fraternal Parties are tirelessly working to strengthen the defences of the socialist countries, to improve the combat cooperation between our armies within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. Let no one entertain any doubts that the community of socialist states possesses the wherewithal to safeguard its security, to ensure peaceful conditions for the further advance of our peoples along the road of socialism and communism.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with other socialist countries, are consistently working for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and for the settlement of all international issues in a peaceful way, for ending the arms race and above all the particularly dangerous and costly race in nuclear and missile weapons.

It should be noted in this context that the peaceful foreign policy of socialist Bulgaria has become an important factor in the joint struggle waged by the socialist countries for creating a reliable collective security system in Europe, for converting the Balkans and the entire Mediterranean region into a zone free of nuclear-missile weapons. The efforts of People's Bulgaria towards a settlement of the lofty problems of strengthening peace have earned her international recognition.

Soviet-Bulgarian friendship is exemplified in the joint labour efforts of our peoples, in the constant improvement and extension of economic cooperation between our countries.

Today, when many fraternal countries have started to build developed socialist society, the task of improving in every way the efficiency of national economic ties and the rational use of all possibilities for an international socialist division of labour acquire particular significance. The great-

est possible use of the socio-political and economic advantages of the new system and the speeding up of victory in the economic competition with capitalism are becoming the central task. To achieve these aims is the objective of the economic reforms in the European socialist countries and also the jointly elaborated long-term programme of economic integration of the fraternal countries adopted by the 23rd session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Much has been done here and much is still to be accomplished. And the more coordinated the economic policy of the fraternal countries, the more coordinated the work of their planning and economic agencies, the swifter and more successfully we will accomplish the outlined programme.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the new Bulgaria, we Soviet Communists speak with special warmth about the strong ties of internationalism which for a long time now have been binding our Parties—the CPSU and the BCP. The Bulgarian Communist Party, together with the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, is consistently pursuing an internationalist policy, is working for the unity of the communist movement and all the revolutionary forces of our time. By its steadfast struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against reactionary bourgeois ideology, against Right-wing opportunism and “Left” adventurism, by its tireless efforts to strengthen the community of socialist states, the Bulgarian Communist Party has deservedly won high prestige.

We Communists cannot remain indifferent when attempts are made, under the flag of “modernising” Marxism-Leninism, to play down the importance of the general principles and laws of socialism’s development, to counterpose the national and international interests of the people. It goes without saying that resistance to such attempts in no way implies that the specific national conditions and distinctions are ignored. Marxists-Leninists are fully alive to the harm which such a dogmatic, stereotyped approach to problems of socialist construction represents. But they also see the other danger—the danger of a nationalist or any other revision of the fundamental tenets of revolutionary theory, which have been endorsed by the experience of world socialism. It is our deep conviction that only proletarian, socialist internationalism provides a basis for successfully solving the intricate task of properly combining national and international

interests and for successfully developing every fraternal country and the socialist system as a whole.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union pays high tribute to the determined efforts of the Bulgarian Communists towards unity of the international communist movement on a principled basis, against all attempts to weaken the international unity of the socialist community and undermine the vivifying foundation of the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the socialist countries.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties reaffirmed the conclusion that the world socialist system is the leading force and bulwark of the entire anti-imperialist movement. Practical experience shows that the consolidation of the world socialist system is proceeding, and will proceed, both by way of a deepening of the all-round fraternal relations between the socialist countries and by the effective development of the national economy and improvement of the socio-political organisation of society in every country. In present-day conditions the force of the socialist example, of which Lenin wrote, depends on the successful solution of this dual task.

The 25th anniversary of the new Bulgaria is being commemorated at a time when preparations for the birth centenary of Lenin are being made all over the world. And we can say with good reason that the successes of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria are a striking illustration of the greatness and creative force of Leninism, which found its loyal and principled followers in the Bulgarian Communists, who have rallied round themselves all the working people.

The Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people wish their Bulgarian friends and brothers further great successes in the building of socialism.

SPEECH AT THE THIRD USSR CONGRESS OF COLLECTIVE FARMERS

November 25, 1969

Dear comrades,

Allow me heartily to congratulate you on the opening of the Third USSR Congress of Collective Farmers, and wish it success. (*Prolonged applause.*) A congress of the collective-farm peasantry of the Soviet Union is an important political event in the life of our country, of the entire Soviet people; it undoubtedly will play a big part in further developing the collective-farm system and successfully accomplishing the tasks of communist construction.

The composition of the Congress delegates mirrors the living history of collectivisation, the birth and triumph of socialism in the countryside.

We see here veterans of the collective-farm movement, those who spared no effort to cope with tremendous difficulties and rally the peasants to build the new life. Their courage, their loyalty to the precepts of Lenin, to which they adhered through all the years of struggle and trials, are highly appreciated by the Party and the Soviet people. (*Applause.*)

Present in this hall are also representatives of the middle generation of the collective-farm peasantry. Together with the veterans, they bore the full brunt of the grim years of the Great Patriotic War and restoration of the war-wrecked economy.

Our most heartfelt words we address to the women collective farmers whose labour exploit, especially during the war against fascism, was a tremendous contribution to the common victory over the enemy. (*Applause.*)

Among the Congress delegates are representatives of the young guard of the collective-farm peasantry. We associate with it the future of our socialist countryside. We are deeply convinced that the collective-farm youth, in carrying on the work of the older generation and adding to their experience, will be able correctly to apply their knowledge, their constructive élan in the great cause of building communism. (*Applause.*)

The composition of the Congress delegates reflects one of the greatest achievements of the Leninist Party—the fraternal and unbreakable friendship of the peoples of our multinational land. All the nationalities of our country are represented at this Congress. (*Applause.*)

We cordially welcome our dear guests, representatives of the peasantry of socialist states and other countries—our class brothers and brothers in struggle. (*Applause.*)

The Third USSR Congress of Collective Farmers is in the centre of attention of the Soviet and world public. It is significant that **all Soviet people**—collective farmers, workers, engineers and technicians, scientists and culture workers—took part in the discussion which developed over the draft Rules and other questions of collective-farm life.

We note with satisfaction that at meetings, at regional and territorial conferences and republican congresses, the collective farmers voiced unanimous approval of the Party's policy framed by the 23rd Congress and plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU. They regard it as the main condition for an upsurge of the country's agriculture.

The Third USSR Congress of Collective Farmers has met at a memorable time, when our entire country and all progressive mankind are preparing to celebrate the birth centenary of the great leader and teacher Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

No one understood so deeply the interests and aspirations of the working peasantry as Lenin did; he saw in the peasantry a dependable ally of the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism.

The peasantry of the Land of Soviets, devoted to Lenin's ideas, demonstrated to the world that it is a militant and steadfast ally of the working class. Shoulder to shoulder with the workers, the Soviet peasantry transformed the

country, consolidated and defended socialism and now is building a communist society. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I

Comrades, several decades separate us from the unforgettable years when for the first time in man's history we in our country started to build a new, socialist system in the countryside. But no matter how much time and how many events have passed, and how many generations have succeeded one another, there will never be erased from the peoples' mind the memory of the deeds of those energetic pioneers who worked to remodel village life, those first members of the communes, rural Communists, YCL members, schoolteachers, rural correspondents and village librarians, those 25,000 factory workers who went to the countryside in response to the Party's call, the workers of political departments at machine and tractor stations and state farms.

Those were the heroes of a great battle. That was a time of sharp class struggle by the proletariat of town and country against socialism's numerous enemies.

In the process of collectivisation the Party had to break down the furious resistance of the kulaks and other class enemies and to wage a hard fight against the Trotskyites and Right-wing opportunists.

Now all this is history, and socialism has moved far ahead. We now have with us millions of people who are building socialism in different continents, and we are grateful to them for their support and friendship, for the interest they are showing in our work and our experience.

We speak of this open-heartedly, with full sincerity. Soviet men and women in the course of their socialist history have come to know the true meaning of single combat against international capital, have learned the price of friendship, of that common touch which makes the hardest road seem easier and shorter.

At all stages of the struggle for the socialist remaking of the countryside the Communist Party has been guided by Lenin's cooperative plan.

Our Party realised only too well the difficulties that stood in the way of collectivisation, above all those represented by the country's technical and economic backwardness and the

private-owner mentality of the peasant. It also took into account the difficult situation in which our country, at that time the only country of proletarian dictatorship in the world, was placed. The capitalist encirclement and the constant threat of a military attack called for socialist transformations being carried out in the shortest possible span of time.

The Party's choice of the path of collectivisation was no accidental one, no random one. It was based on scientific ground and was ripe historically. It could not be ignored or evaded.

The years of collectivisation became for the workers and peasants a genuine school of political training and class wisdom. It was brought home to the peasantry that it could achieve its age-old dream of a free and happy life only in union with the working class, in rallying round the Leninist Party. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

In the process of collective-farm development we did not avoid some mistakes. But these were the mistakes of quest, errors due to lack of experience. The Party itself fearlessly uncovered these errors, openly told the people about them and rectified them. Unfortunately, there are still people about who love to exaggerate on the cost of this big revolutionary job.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people are at one in their assessment of the collective-farm system. (*Applause.*) The collective-farm system is our great historic gain. (*Stormy applause.*)

The working class played an outstanding role in the victory of the collective-farm system. It provided the peasantry with tractors, combines, lorries and other equipment; it gave active support to the organisation and consolidation of the collective farms. Its best representatives, sent to the countryside by the Party, helped the peasants to organise the first collective farms. Many of them made collective-farm organisation the business of their lives.

A big contribution to the socialist remaking of the countryside was made by the state-farm workers. They showed an example of large-scale farming. Today the state farms play a substantial role in providing the country with agricultural produce.

The activities of our Soviet intelligentsia have earned the gratitude of the whole country. Thousands of specialists—

teachers, doctors, agronomists, land-management experts and mechanics—went into the villages to work and took an active part in establishing socialist relations there. Intellectuals in the field of creative work helped the Party and the people in the great socialist remaking of the village. Suffice it to mention *Virgin Soil Upturned* by Mikhail Sholokhov, *Slabs* by Fyodor Panferov, *Start* by Vladimir Stavsky, and many other works.

Quite a few good books about the socialist village and its heroes have been written in recent years, too. We hope that our writers and art workers will create new vivid, full-scale works dealing profoundly with the processes that are under way in the contemporary socialist village.

Revolutionary cooperation between the working class, the peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia ensured the triumph of socialism, the radical transformation of the material and technical basis of agriculture and the entire life of the peasants.

With the collective-farm system the peasant received a new life, a life free from exploitation, poverty, and constant fear of the future, fear for himself, for his family, for his farm. People of the old generation remember how in the past the peasant was oppressed, illiterate, disenfranchised and defenceless, left alone to face the elemental forces of nature and all kinds of hardships.

The collective farm relieved the peasant of this heavy burden of the past and gave him a secure place in life, made him master of his own destiny. **And this, comrades, is a great thing!** (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Great Patriotic War was a severe trial for the young collective-farm system. During the war the collective-farm peasantry demonstrated its supreme devotion to the Motherland, to the collective-farm system, and the collective farms were a mighty force of Soviet society.

Bourgeois politicians and pseudo-theoreticians never tire of slandering the collective-farm system and praising private enterprise in every way. But for all their artifices, the bourgeois propagandists are unable to conceal the monstrous expropriation, pauperisation and ruin to which millions of peasant households and farms in the capitalist countries are subjected.

The postwar development of capitalist agriculture conclusively confirms the words of the great Lenin to the effect

that "capitalism raises the level of agricultural technique and advances it, but it cannot do so except by ruining, depressing and crushing the mass of small producers".¹

Here are a few of the relevant facts. In the United States, for example, 2,600,000 farms, or 46 per cent of the country's total, were ruined in the last 18 years. In the Federal Republic of Germany during approximately the same period the number of farms dropped by nearly 600,000 or 26 per cent. In Italy an average of 67,000 farms were ruined annually between 1961 and 1967. As a rule, the ruined farmers become farm labourers or swell the ranks of the unemployed.

Is it this lot that bourgeois propagandists wish our peasantry? For the Soviet peasantry the question about the ways of developing the countryside was solved long ago, solved finally and irrevocably. (*Applause.*) Our peasantry seeks no other way and does not need it. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The tremendous historical role of the collective-farm system in the destinies of the Soviet peasantry and of our entire country cannot be overestimated.

Politically, the collective-farm system strengthened the Soviet state and its main basis, the union of the workers and the peasants, and ensured real conditions for the participation of the peasants in the management, of social production and in decisions on general affairs of state.

Economically, the collective-farm system placed at the service of socialism and communism the advantages of large-scale production and made it possible to develop agriculture on a modern industrial basis.

Socially, the collective-farm system not only delivered the working peasant from exploitation and poverty, but also made it possible to establish in the countryside a new system of social relations which lead to the complete obliteration of class distinctions in Soviet society.

The ideas of the great Lenin on cooperation, the policy of the Party in solving the peasant question have fully withstood the test of time. The experience of the USSR and other socialist countries demonstrates with utmost clarity that the building of socialism in the countryside is the peasantry's only way to happiness, is the basis for the well-being of all the working people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 446.

II

Comrades,

We turn today to the history of collective-farm organisation not only to pay due tribute to the heroic past. It is also useful to recall it for the benefit of the future. Our Soviet people are building the material and technical basis of communist society.

The all-round development of our country's agriculture is of tremendous significance in achieving this great task.

We have the necessary objective conditions for the successful advance of agriculture—vast tracts of land, big socialist agricultural enterprises as represented by the collective farms and state farms, a powerful industry, advanced science, competent and tried and tested cadres, and, lastly, the millions of splendid workers of agriculture.

You know that the 23rd CPSU Congress, the March, May and October plenary meetings of the Central Committee defined the main lines of our policy and concrete tasks in agriculture at the present stage. Our aim is to have the policy of the Party correctly combine the interests of the state, of our entire society, with the interests of the collective farms and the collective farmers.

What are the main lines of this policy? Put in a nutshell, they are above all the further strengthening and improvement of the machine and technical basis, large-scale land melioration and chemisation of agriculture. The new system of planning state purchases of agricultural produce and the economic stimulation of agricultural production are an important feature of this policy.

The task is consistently to apply the programme for the development of agriculture drawn up by the Party. We must judge the results of our work by practical deeds. We must be strict and objective in assessing our own activities, we must not overpraise or magnify our achievements, but neither must we keep silent about them. The main thing is to see our shortcomings, not to neglect them and to rectify them in good time, to make adjustments in our plans, in our work. Life does not stand still, it constantly brings up new problems.

Comrades, in carrying out the decisions of the 23rd Congress and the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, the collective-farm peasantry, state-farm workers,

agricultural specialists and Party, administrative and land bodies have made considerable efforts during these years to increase agricultural production. It should be noted that all the Union Republics, regions and territories have achieved positive results in the development of crop and animal husbandry.

Permit me, comrade delegates, to give you some figures concerning fulfilment of the decisions on agriculture adopted by the Congress and plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

The average annual overall output of agriculture between 1965 and 1968 increased by 18 per cent as compared with the preceding four years; that of grain by 15 per cent; meat 20 per cent; milk 24 per cent; raw cotton 22 per cent; sugar beet 47 per cent, and sunflower seed by 25 per cent. I have named only the staples.

The advance in agriculture is to a considerable extent due to the rise in labour productivity. State purchases of farm produce also increased. The growth rates of production and purchases during that period were higher than in the preceding years.

All this tended to raise the level of food consumption by the population. Specifically, per capita meat consumption will increase by 8 kg in 1969 as compared with 1964, milk by 50 kg and eggs by 36.

This year, as you know, has been a difficult one for agriculture. Many districts were badly hit by the elemental forces of nature. But this year, too, production and state purchases of agricultural staples will be roughly on a level with the average annual volume over the last four years.

Capital investments in agriculture were substantially increased, although for various reasons some of our plans fell short of accomplishment in this respect. During the period 1965 to 1968 capital investments by the state and the collective farms were 19,000 million rubles more than in the preceding four years.

Important changes have taken place in recent years in the economics of the collective farms, in the life of the collective farmers; today the collective farms are big agricultural enterprises equipped with modern machinery and possessing skilled personnel. Today a collective farm has on the average more than 50 tractors, dozens of lorries, combines, electric motors and a good deal of other equipment. In 1935, when

the Second USSR Congress of Collective Farmers was held, the fixed assets of the collective farms were estimated at about 5,000 million rubles, while last year they already exceeded 40,000 million rubles (in comparable prices), being an eightfold increase.

The introduction of stable plans and better adjusted purchasing prices on collective-farm produce acted as a powerful stimulus to the development of production and the strengthening of the collective farms. In recent years the incomes of the collective farms and remuneration of their members increased by 50 per cent. The village became more active in organising public services and amenities. In the last four years expenditure by the collective farms alone for these purposes almost doubled.

Economic progress and better social conditions in the village are attended by an advance in culture. The Soviet peasant is an educated man. More than one-third of the collective farmers have a higher or secondary education. This, comrades, is one of our greatest victories. It gives me pleasure to inform you that, according to registration data, almost half of the delegates to the present Congress of Collective Farmers have a higher or secondary education. (*Applause.*) Many farmers working in the fields and the farms' livestock sections are simultaneously studying in higher educational establishments, technical or secondary schools. Rural working people now subscribe to over 100 million copies of newspapers and magazines. This too is a great victory.

The wide introduction of science and technology in agriculture is changing the pattern of the farmers' work and helping to improve their skills. Today the collective farms have over two million machine operators and about 330,000 specialists with a higher or secondary education.

Machine operators, livestock workers and other collective farmers are as a rule people who know their business, who are assimilating technology and science and, together with the specialists, are introducing modern production efficiency in the countryside.

Thus, the material, technical and socio-economic prerequisites have been created for the further advance of agricultural production and the fuller satisfaction of people's needs.

But you understand, comrades, that such big problems as overall mechanisation, the extended use of chemicals, large-

scale land melioration and other such problems cannot be solved in three or four years. This will require both time and definite material resources, as well as preparation of the necessary production facilities and the training of skilled personnel.

III

Comrades,

In recent years, as I have already said, we have increased investments in agriculture in order to strengthen its economic basis and speed up its rate of growth. The Party and the Government will continue firmly along the line of providing liberally the collective farms and state farms with agricultural machinery, mineral fertilisers and transport facilities, will increase investments for land melioration and stimulate the production and purchases of agricultural produce.

The building of a new big lorry plant and a number of agricultural machinery factories, for example, will be started in the near future. Industry is starting to manufacture more powerful tractors and combines and is expanding production of tractor and lorry trailers.

Owing to the need for considerably expanding the manufacture of machines for land reclamation and for equipping the livestock sections of the farms we have to specialise a number of enterprises on the manufacture of this equipment and to concentrate the management of them.

The greatest possible development of agriculture and the strengthening of its material and technical basis will be one of the main objectives of the country's new five-year plan of economic development which is now being drafted.

Today, more than ever, we need precision and the smooth working of all links of production and management of agriculture, constant efforts to raise labour productivity and reduce production costs, good organisation, discipline and high sense of moral responsibility of all workers for the job entrusted to them.

We need concrete deeds in plan fulfilment in every republic, territory and region, in every collective farm and state farm, in all central agencies and ministries. This is a primary condition for the further advance of agriculture.

In all our work of advancing agriculture we must bear in mind the country's annual population increase and the

steadily growing needs of our people. I say nothing about the need to have state reserves. We cannot get along without them. This too comes within the compass of our economic plans.

In the business of developing agriculture's productive forces a great deal, naturally, depends on you, comrades—on the collective farmers, the collective-farm *aktiv*, agricultural specialists, executives of collective farms, on all workers in agriculture.

Out of the wide range of questions concerning agriculture I want particularly to draw your attention to those which are of major importance in advancing this vital sector of the economy.

First of all, the question of the **land**, of its effective use and higher fertility. You, tillers of the fields, understand the significance of the land in man's life as no one does. The land is the source of our strength and our wealth.

The collective farms have huge tracts of ploughland, meadows, pastures and forests. The land is in your hands, comrades, and the entire collective-farm peasantry must take the greatest care of it, must raise the fertility of every single hectare. This applies in equal measure to state-farm workers who also have millions of hectares at their disposal.

Party and Government documents and the Law on the Land passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR repeatedly mention the need for a countrywide effort to raise the efficiency of farming, to organise systematic work in protecting the soil from erosion, and achieving, on this basis, high and stable crops.

Today it is necessary to remind people about this once again because protection of the land and its improved fertility are an indispensable condition for further progress in agriculture. This is a state problem of major importance.

The collective farms and state farms must carry on day-to-day work to improve the land, otherwise it will yield less produce and feed us worse.

We all take pride in the fact that the expanses of our Motherland are boundless. But from this some people draw wrong conclusion, thinking that our land resources are unlimited. This is not so by any means. At present we have 0.94 hectare of ploughland per capita in our country. With the growth of the population and the expansion of construction per capita area of ploughland is annually diminishing.

We must treat the land with great care, and be strict and thrifty in our approach to the allocation of land for the building of industrial enterprises, with which, of course, we cannot dispense. At the same time we must see to it that the area of productive land steadily increases and does not shrink.

Protection of the soil is the job of our whole society. Any damage to the land must be regarded as an anti-social act. He who maltreats the land or treats it improvidently and does not improve its fertility strikes at the roots of the people's material well-being. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, our Party, as you know, has drawn up a programme for large-scale land reclamation and chemisation of agriculture. This is a reliable, true way for raising the productivity of crop husbandry.

Deliveries of mineral fertilisers to collective farms and state farms increased by 12.7 million tons in the first four years of the current five-year plan. Next year the increase in the deliveries of mineral fertilisers will be still greater—more than 8 million tons. The state and the collective farms invested over 8,000 million rubles in land reclamation in the last three years. Extensive work was accomplished in irrigating and draining considerable areas. Big production facilities are being built for water-economy developments.

As you know, we have launched big water-economy projects of countrywide importance such as the Kakhovka, Krasnodar, Karshin and the Big Stavropol canals, and a number of others.

The Political Bureau recently took up questions of irrigating the lands in the Volga Area. This major region of grain production often suffers from bad droughts. In such years the collective farms and state farms sustain heavy losses. The state, in turn, is not only the loser of substantial quantities of produce but is compelled to supply the farms in these districts with seed, feedstuffs and food and render them financial assistance.

The only way to put an end to this age-old scourge is to **irrigate these lands**. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers have passed a decision which initiates extensive irrigation works in the Volga Area. (*Applause.*)

As we have often pointed out before, there are big

prospects for increasing agricultural output on the basis of land improvement in the non-chernozem districts.

We will continue to pay greater attention to land improvement and chemisation of agriculture and strictly implement the programme we have adopted.

Comrades, although this is no new presentation of the question, we have to repeat that grain production is the foundation of agriculture. Its condition and the scale of grain production decisively influence all other sectors and especially such an important one as animal husbandry.

We must continue to keep grain farming in the centre of our attention and do everything necessary to increase the yields and the gross harvests and purchases of grain from year to year.

Important tasks face us in the business of developing animal husbandry. The work of the food and light industries has a close bearing on this sector. The most important thing is to satisfy the daily needs of the working people.

Changes for the better have taken place in recent years in animal husbandry, of which I have already spoken. In animal production we have not been marking time. But this sector so far does not fully satisfy the needs of the population and these needs will continue to grow as the standard of living improves. At the same time there are quite a few unsolved problems in animal husbandry: the level of mechanisation of the livestock units is low, the industry which produces machinery and equipment for animal husbandry is insufficiently developed, and not enough attention is paid to building up feed resources in many farms. We must take all this into account and apply the necessary measures.

The Central Committee of the Party considers that not all collective farms and state farms utilise the available potentialities for increasing animal production, improving its quality and reducing costs. This shortcoming must be rectified.

I would like specifically to draw attention to some questions of our work in animal husbandry.

To this day many farms deliver to meat-packing plants stock which is insufficiently fattened and is of very low weight. A simple calculation by our specialists shows that if the delivery weight of cattle were raised to an average of 350-400 kg for the country we could, given the present livestock population, increase meat purchases in the country

by about 2 million tons. Advanced farms are already delivering stock of even bigger weight.

You all understand that to raise the productivity of livestock it is necessary first of all greatly to improve feed production.

As a result of the measures drafted by the March Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, collective farms and state farms were already able to increase the use of grain for feedstuffs by 35 per cent. This has played a big part in increasing the productivity of livestock and poultry.

But, comrades, at this same March Plenary Meeting attention was also drawn to increasing the production of crops for stockfeed. However, no serious improvement in this respect has been made. The stocking of hay for the socially-owned livestock increased only 9 per cent, while silage even decreased. These figures speak of serious omissions in the work of providing feed for livestock on the part of the collective farms and state farms.

We must carefully examine the situation as regards the livestock population as a whole. In some farms little attention is given to increasing the livestock population and it is allowed to decrease. This is an unsound, wrong tendency. In present-day conditions we need to increase in every way both the productivity and the population of livestock and poultry.

Neither can we regard as normal a situation when some of the farms, specialising in one type of animal product, are curtailing production of other types, although they have every means for developing two and even three sectors. Such farms quite often become consumers instead of producers and buy animal products outside.

Our future line, of course, is specialisation of the farms, the utmost development of production on an industrial basis. But in questions of specialisation we must not run to extremes or skip stages.

We expect the collective farms and state farms to take more effective measures, with the assistance of the state, to eliminate the shortcomings in animal husbandry and increase the output of produce.

Taking advantage of the presence here of Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Republics, of regional and territorial Party committees, secretaries of district Party committees and primary Party organ-

isations of collective farms, chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of Republics, Ministers of Agriculture, chairmen of regional and territorial executive committees, I would like to say that they too must draw serious conclusions and take the necessary measures for increasing the livestock population and raising its productivity.

We also propose in the near future to examine a number of questions bearing on the advance of this sector, among them, first of all, such matters as expanding the manufacture of machinery and equipment, placing the production of animal products on an industrial basis and further developing the compound feedingstuffs industry.

Evidently it is also necessary to consider the economic aspect of questions bearing on the problem of increasing the livestock population and animal production, with due regard, of course, for the interests of the collective farms, state farms and the state.

A primary condition for speeding up development in agriculture is scientific and technological progress in this sector. Technical re-equipment of agriculture is not only the concern of the people working in agriculture. The role of science and industry in the development of the productive forces of the collective and state farms has risen immeasurably. The industries manufacturing tractors, agricultural and land-improvement machinery, the chemical, building and processing industries largely determine the level and efficiency of production in crop and animal farming. That is why the demands made on the industries working for the needs of agriculture must be substantially raised.

Agricultural science too is faced with big tasks. The collective and state farms need high-yield varieties and good breeds of livestock, effective means of combating plant and animal diseases, progressive technologies of production and improved methods of its organisation. Greater attention should be paid to the economics of collective- and state-farm production.

Soviet scientists, including those working in the field of crop and animal husbandry, have outstanding achievements to their credit. And we are confident that our scientists will work with still greater energy in accomplishing the tasks of advancing agriculture.

Scientific and technological progress in agriculture should not be reduced merely to an increase in the supply of new

machines, chemical fertilisers and other means of production. An integral, active part of this process is the ability efficiently to utilise the land and fertilisers, every machine and every ruble invested in production so that they yield the biggest return. And here everything depends above all on you, comrades, on the labour activity and organisation of all who work in agriculture.

An analysis of the activity of collective farms and state farms shows that in many districts already at the present level of provision of the farms with materials and equipment the yields of grain, cotton, sugar beet, potatoes, vegetables, feed and other crops can and must be considerably higher than the ones we get now.

Not all the farms by far employ modern technology of production, or make effective use of machines, fertilisers, and the achievements of science and advanced practice. The work of the collective farmers and state-farm employees is not everywhere organised properly.

The training of personnel in the mass vocations capable of competently performing all jobs connected with the operation of new equipment, the wide use of chemicals and the development of land reclamation demands serious attention. Important work in training personnel for agriculture has been accomplished in recent years. But in a number of farms there is a shortage and a considerable part of the machinery is operated only in one shift. You ask for the delivery of equipment to be increased and this request is quite legitimate. But for this new equipment it is necessary to train new skilled personnel.

Every collective farm and state farm must train machine operators and other specialists in good time and in a planned way, must have a definite reserve of this personnel and take care to create the necessary working and living conditions for them.

We must aim for a situation in which equipment will not stand idle, waiting to be manned, and in which chemisation and land improvement will be handled by well-trained people.

The Komsomol can and must play an important part in accomplishing this task of general state importance. More than once the Komsomol pioneered good undertakings and warmly responded to the calls of the Party. It will render the collective and state farms inestimable help if it launches

a movement of young people for mastering agricultural technical trades.

We may rest assured that the Komsomol will tackle this job, and in the very near future thousands of Komsomol members and other young people will begin to drive tractors, combines and lorries, will become land improvement workers, electricians and operators of equipment at livestock units. By this, comrades of the Komsomol, you will be rendering great help to our Party and the people. (*Applause.*)

The USSR Ministry of Education, jointly with the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and other bodies should also give thought to how to help collective and state farms train machine operators and other specialists from among senior-form pupils of secondary schools.

In connection with scientific and technological progress in agriculture, the problem of cooperation between agricultural and industrial enterprises is now acquiring ever greater practical significance. This question, I would remind you, was dealt with in the Party Programme which states: "Agrarian-industrial associations will gradually emerge wherever economically expedient, in which, given appropriate specialisation and cooperation of agricultural and industrial enterprises, agriculture will combine organically with the industrial processing of its produce."

It should be said that a number of specialised state and collective farms in Krasnodar Territory, the Ukraine and Moldavia are beginning to operate on the principles of agrarian-industrial complexes.

Agrarian-industrial associations undoubtedly have a great future. This is not only a new organisational form, but also an important socio-economic phenomenon. We must tackle this job in a practical manner, and guard against mistakes and hasty decisions that have not been sufficiently considered.

Questions concerning the development of social, cultural and other services in the countryside have a direct bearing on the fulfilment of the programme mapped out for agriculture. We spoke about this at the 23rd Congress and at plenary meetings of the Party's Central Committee and quite a lot has been done in this respect in recent years. Many houses, schools, cultural centres, hospitals, trading and service establishments have been built in the countryside. The work of bringing gas to the villages and completing rural electrification has made considerable headway.

But rural development so far is not being conducted on the scale we should like it to be. The demands of rural dwellers in this respect are growing from year to year, and it is therefore our common duty to explore resources and provide rural construction projects more fully with everything necessary, to improve the supply of the village with cement, metal, timber, roofing, and glass, to make more equipment available for the production of bricks and other local building materials.

The collective farms themselves must also work more energetically in this direction. We should then be able considerably to speed up the organisation of cultural services in the village.

As you see, the country's collective and state farms are faced with big and very important tasks. There is no doubt that the collective farmers and all other workers in agriculture will do their best to achieve an increase in the production of agricultural produce. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, today over 5 million Communists, over 8 million Komsomol members and 15 million trade union members are living and working in the country. There is not a single collective farm or state farm today that does not have a Party organisation. The Communists are the recognised vanguard of the rural working people; they set an example in the work of advancing collective- and state-farm production.

This entire vast army of Communists, Komsomol and trade union members are united and headed by rural primary Party organisations and district Party committees. They energetically apply the Party line and are militant organisers of the masses.

The Central Committee hopes that Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations by their political and organisational work will ensure the successful fulfilment of the great programme for the development of our agriculture. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, I would like to dwell on two questions which were raised at many meetings of collective farmers.

You know that in recent years we have effected a number of important social measures such as the provision of pensions to collective farmers, guaranteed payment for work, and other measures. Now proposals are made to introduce a unified system of social insurance for collective farmers

from farm contributions. This proposal, in our opinion, merits the attention of the Congress. It concerns millions of collective farmers. (*Applause.*)

In the course of the discussion of the new draft Model Rules wishes were also expressed that collective-farm councils, elected from the bottom up, be formed for the purpose of further developing collective-farm democracy, for collectively discussing the more important questions of their activity, summing up experience in organising production and formulating recommendations for the fuller use of the farm's growth potential.

Collective-farm councils, elected from among the most experienced collective-farm chairmen, frontrankers in production and agricultural specialists, could play a big part in solving the problems facing the collective farms.

If the Congress finds it advisable for such councils to be set up, a USSR Council of Collective Farms could be elected right here. (*Applause.*)

Comrades,

The new Model Rules of the Collective Farm which you have before you are called upon to play a tremendous part in the further advance of agriculture and the development of the collective-farm system.

I will not go into the details of the new Rules. This will be done in his report by Comrade D. S. Polyansky, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

I merely want to emphasise that the adoption of the new Rules, drafted with the collective participation of our country's public at large, and above all the collective farmers themselves, will open up new possibilities for advancing agricultural production and stimulating the activity of the collective-farm masses.

The new Rules are a matter of great political significance. It is a question—and this can be said with full grounds—of a new stage in the development of the collective farms. The adoption of the Rules will also be an important landmark in the development of our entire socialist democracy, fresh evidence of its profoundly popular character and its indisputable advantages.

The old Model Rules of the Collective Farm were a source of inspiration and a guide for the activities of the collective farms during the years of socialism's establishment and

development in our country. The new Model Rules will become the law of life and work for the collective-farm peasantry during the period of construction of communist society in the USSR.

Dear comrades, our Party and people are dedicating all their energies to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, to the further development of social relations, to the communist education of people, in a word, to the tasks of building communist society. How swiftly and successfully we shall be able to cope with these tasks largely depends, among others, on the external conditions in which we have to live and work, on the international situation. Therefore it is natural that questions of international politics constantly command great attention.

In international affairs the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and our Soviet Government are steadfastly and unswervingly following the course which the great Lenin bequeathed to us. We are persistently working to implement the foreign-policy programme approved by the 23rd CPSU Congress.

Our foreign policy is always and invariably aimed at strengthening and developing fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation among the socialist countries, their militant alliance, their joint struggle for consolidating the positions of socialism and ensuring peaceful conditions for the development of our countries.

Our foreign policy is always and invariably a policy of solidarity and alliance with the revolutionary, anti-imperialist, liberation, progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

Our foreign policy is always and invariably a policy of struggle for a lasting peace, for peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation between all states, irrespective of their social systems. The Soviet Union's persistent efforts towards concluding a Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which was yesterday ratified by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, also promotes the aims of achieving a lasting peace and reducing the threat of a world nuclear-missile war. (*Applause.*)

It is because our foreign policy is a policy of peace that it is at the same time, always and invariably, a policy of determined struggle against aggression, a policy of exposing and frustrating the dangerous schemes and adventurism of

the imperialist war-makers, the stranglers of the peoples' freedom.

Working for peace and friendship among the peoples, we never forget the danger presented by the adventurist policy of the enemies of peace.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government of our country are doing everything to make our defences always powerful and reliable, so that the glorious Armed Forces of the Soviet Union should have everything necessary for reliably safeguarding the security of our country, so that, jointly with our brothers and allies, other socialist states, we should always reliably defend the interests of the great socialist community of nations. (*Stormy applause.*)

Such in brief outline is the meaning and purpose of the course we are following in international affairs. This course of our Party and the Soviet Government enjoys the whole-hearted warm support of the entire Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our policy is supported and shared by our allies, the fraternal socialist countries. It is actively supported and approved by our like-minded comrades and associates in the revolutionary struggle—the Communists of foreign countries.

This has most convincingly been demonstrated by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow this summer; its participants spoke warmly and cordially about the tremendous role played by the peoples of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party in the worldwide revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples. (*Applause.*)

All upright men and women in the world, all to whom the cause of peace and mankind's progress is dear, approve the policy of the USSR as a primary factor in the maintenance of world peace.

Our country's international position is strong and reliable, comrades. (*Stormy applause.*) We have registered quite a few successes in foreign policy. The positions of the forces of socialism, freedom and peace are steadily growing stronger the world over. The Party and the Government are doing everything to enable the Soviet people to work in peace and confidence, performing their historic mission of builders of communism. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the Communist Party and the Soviet people

are proud of the magnificent deeds of the working men and women in the countryside. The collective-farm peasantry, state-farm workers and agricultural specialists have always displayed lofty patriotism, political maturity, selflessness and unexampled industry.

We have many new and big tasks ahead of us. We are building communist society and are moving unswervingly towards the set goal. The Communist Party is well aware that the working people of the countryside, together with the working class and the intelligentsia will give all their energies, experience and knowledge and their revolutionary enthusiasm to accomplishing the grandiose tasks of communist construction. (*Stormy applause.*)

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, once again to express firm confidence that the work and decisions of the Third USSR Congress of Collective Farmers will contribute to the further strengthening of the collective-farm system and the advance of our entire socialist economy. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I wish your Congress great success in its work! I wish you great personal happiness, dear comrades! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

LENIN'S CAUSE LIVES ON AND TRIUMPHS

*Report at a Joint Celebration Meeting
of the CC CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR
on April 21, 1970,
to Mark the Centenary of the Birth
of VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN*

Dear comrades,
Esteemed foreign guests,

It is one hundred years since the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that man of genius, brilliant thinker and revolutionary, the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the creator of the world's first socialist state, the leader of the working people of Russia and the international working class. (*Applause.*) Lenin's life, the whole of his life, his struggle, and his activity were dedicated to a single cause—the cause of liberating labour from the oppression of capital. The name of Lenin, who inspired and organised the Great October Socialist Revolution, is linked with a radical turn in mankind's history, the turn from capitalism to socialism.

The scope of Lenin's thoughts and deeds was so vast, his understanding and expression of the pressing needs of his epoch were so profound that even today Lenin's ideas are a powerful weapon in the hands of the fighters for the happiness of peoples. There is no place on earth where Lenin's name does not ring as a fiery call to struggle against oppression, deprivation and exploitation, as a symbol of fighting unity, as an earnest of victory in the historic battle for the triumph of communist ideals. (*Applause.*)

The centenary of Lenin's birth is being marked with affection and respect by the peoples of the Soviet Union, the fraternal countries of socialism, the communist and working-class movement and all progressive mankind.

On this great day the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme

Soviet and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics address heartfelt greetings on the occasion of the great Lenin jubilee to

all our compatriots, Soviet people,

all our brothers in the socialist countries, our friends and men who are of one mind with us in all countries of the world,

those who are building the new, free society, and those who are fighting for liberation from social and national oppression,

all those who cherish the cause of peace and progress.
(*Applause.*)

Today, we address the warmest words of gratitude to the veterans of our Party, to those who are justly called the Lenin guard. Your experience, dear comrades, your energy and your whole life dedicated to the revolution, serve and will continue to serve as an example for the coming generations of builders of communism. (*Applause.*)

We greet in this hall our comrades-in-arms who have come from the socialist countries and the young progressive states, representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, Left Socialist Parties, and national-democratic parties and movements from every continent. Your presence here, friends, is in itself an indication of how the world has changed, and how it is being renovated under the influence of the revolutionary forces armed with Marxism-Leninism. We wish you fresh great successes in your fine endeavour, in the struggle to translate into life the invincible teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin! (*Prolonged applause.*)

I

V. I. LENIN—THINKER AND REVOLUTIONARY

Comrades, let us turn in our mind's eye to the nineteenth century. That was a time when capitalism ruled supreme. The rulers of the capitalist world garnered fabulous profits from exploitation of the masses, colonial plunder and wars of aggrandisement. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie vied with each other in prophesying the advent of the "golden age" of capitalism.

But beneath the surface of bourgeois prosperity powerful social forces were already burgeoning to overthrow the exploiting system. In 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,

in their immortal *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, proved that the revolutionary substitution of socialism for capitalism was inevitable, and gave the working-class movement its fighting slogan—"Workers of all countries, unite!" (*Applause.*) In 1871, the first proletarian revolution flashed across the horizons of our planet: the Paris Commune raised aloft its red banner. The Communards suffered defeat, but the cause for which they had fought could not be defeated. The ranks of the proletariat multiplied, its organisation and consciousness were enhanced, and class hatred for the oppressors became more acute. Marxist ideas spread ever wider within the working-class movement.

At the turn of the century, capitalist society entered its last, imperialist stage of development. The epoch of revolutionary storms and social upheavals was at hand.

The prerequisites for revolution were coming to a head most swiftly in Russia. Oppression by the landowners and the bourgeoisie of Russia and of other countries, the deprived condition of dozens of oppressed nationalities, arbitrary rule by bureaucratic officials and police strong-arm methods, and the chronic abomination of the autocracy, as Lenin put it—all this caused growing indignation among the masses, and made Russia the ganglion of socio-political contradictions and conflicts of the coming epoch of imperialism. It was the proletariat of Russia that was destined to undertake the fulfilment of the most revolutionary of all the tasks of the international working-class movement of the time—to blaze mankind's path to socialism.

There was need for a man capable of continuing the cause of Marx and Engels, of obtaining a profound insight into the substance of the imminent revolutionary change, and of giving a lead to the social forces destined to carry out this change. This man was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov-Lenin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

What Lenin confronted as he was faced with a choice of a way in life was the tragedy of lone revolutionaries, who had stormed the autocracy from generation to generation, and had gone down in the unequal battle. But for Lenin that choice depended on the way that was to take the whole of Russia out of the dead end into which the protracted domination of darkest reaction had led her. Lenin found the answer to this question in the works of Marx.

On the basis of Marxist theory, Lenin demonstrated that

Russia was developing according to the same laws as any other capitalist country. Lenin gave the scientific backing for this conclusion in a number of fundamental studies, including such of his works as *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* and *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

Indeed, Russia was moving along the capitalist way, and the working class was becoming the chief revolutionary force. That is why Lenin fought the Narodniks, who were proponents of an "original", i.e., petty-bourgeois, socialism. But even as he dealt his blows against Narodism Lenin was aware of another danger: the attempts to use Marxism to embellish capitalism in Russia. This meant another battle, this time against the "legal Marxists", who sought to turn Marx into a common liberal, and against the "Economists", who sought to make the young working-class movement politically blind.

That was the start of the formation of Leninism in the struggle to safeguard the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. That was the beginning of the preparation of revolution in Russia, an endeavour to which Lenin gave 30 years of his life.

Lenin undeviatingly responded to Marx's call not only to **explain** but also to **change** the world. Solving theoretical problems in close connection with practice, with the class struggle, was a quality of Lenin's genius which met the fundamental need of the revolutionary movement in the 20th century, when the proletarian revolution came on the order of the day.

Revolutionary thinking on a high plane and unsurpassed skill in organising the class struggle of the proletariat were both part of Lenin's make-up. As no other man he was aware that victory of the revolution and construction of a new society demanded a militant working-class party equipped with the theory of Marxism. In his well-known work, *What Is to Be Done?*, he wrote: "Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia!"¹

He made it his life's work to create and temper such a party, the Bolshevik Party. What was required was a party capable of leading the masses and taking them into battle against tsarism, a party prepared not only to win Russia

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 467.

from the landowners and the bourgeoisie, but also to rule Russia, and ensure the triumph of the proletarian dictatorship. It was to establish such a party that Lenin waged a relentless struggle against the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites and opportunists of every stripe. The new type of party is, comrades, the supreme embodiment of the indissoluble unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. It is the greatest legacy that Lenin has bequeathed to the world revolutionary movement, to the builders of socialism and communism. (*Applause.*)

When Lenin started on his activity as revolutionary, there were only a few dozen Marxists in Russia. When Lenin's party came to power, it had 350,000 men in its ranks followed by millions. It was a victory for Lenin and the Leninists, a victory which enabled Russia—and the whole world with her—to take a step into a new historical epoch. (*Applause.*)

The battles of three Russian revolutions produced and put to the test new theoretical conclusions and generalisations, and new strategic and tactical propositions which made up the basis of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution.

The 1905-07 revolution was the first test. The works which Lenin wrote in that period constitute eight great volumes. Among them are such fundamental works as *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* and *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907*, his speeches at the Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses of the RSDLP, together with hundreds of articles ranging over every aspect of the revolutionary struggle, without exception.

Summing up the experience of the masses in struggle, to counter the dogmatic schemes of the Mensheviks, Lenin pointed to the real possibility, in the conditions of imperialism, of the bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution. Lenin's teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, on the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, on the attitude to other classes and parties, and on the tactics of the proletarian party in periods of revolutionary upswing and downswing—all of this even today constitutes the Bolshevik "model tactics for all" who have still to overthrow the exploiting system.

Lenin's theoretical thinking is so penetrating and profound and carries such general significance for the world revolu-

tionary movement because his ideas were shaped on the sound basis of dialectical and historical materialism, and have themselves always contributed to the creative development of the latter. Lenin regarded the party, class approach to social phenomena as an organic principle of Marxist ideology. He taught Communists to look beyond every political trend, programme and declaration, beyond every social and moral doctrine to the interests of definite classes, and to determine their attitude to them from the proletarian standpoint.

Lenin held the connection of theory and practice, philosophy and politics to be a law governing the activity of the whole party. That is why after the defeat in the 1905 revolution, when the sway of reaction in the country, and the confusion and vacillation in the Party posed a threat to the theoretical foundation of the proletarian movement, Lenin turned the whole power of his genius to the defence and further development of the philosophical legacy of Marx and Engels.

Lenin saw the scientific discoveries of his day as the start of a deep-going revolution in natural science, which has assumed such a tempestuous pace in our day. The ideas and conclusions formulated in his book, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, have been brilliantly confirmed by the subsequent development of science. To his dying day Lenin gave unflagging attention to providing the theoretical grounds for the Party's activity, ceaselessly enriching and developing Marxist philosophy.

With splendid mastery of the whole arsenal of Marxist theory, a brilliant strategist and tactician, a man totally free of the slightest semblance of dogmatism, Lenin was prepared to meet any turn in historical events. He clearly saw that the imperialist world war had started a general crisis of the capitalist system pregnant with a revolutionary explosion of tremendous force. From then on Lenin devoted the whole of his activity to show that the revolution was near, and to prepare it.

From the beginning of the war, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, issued a challenge to the forces of chauvinism and opportunism. Just think, comrades, of the strength of purpose, of the courage, the faith in the justice of one's cause, in the certain victory of the revolutionary cause that were required to proclaim, in the atmosphere of supreme chau-

vinist intoxication, a slogan urging the defeat of "one's own" government, and to issue a call to transform the imperialist war into a civil war! That is what Lenin and the Bolsheviks did. They declared an implacable struggle against the leaders of the Second International, who had betrayed the working-class cause. They began to rally the healthy, internationalist forces in the world working-class movement, the forces which were destined to become the basis of the new, Communist International.

It is to the period of the imperialist war more than to any other period of Lenin's life that these words of his best apply:

"There it is, my fate. One fighting campaign after another—against political stupidities, philistinism, opportunism and so forth.

"It has been going on since 1893. And so has the hatred of the philistines on account of it. But still, I would not exchange this fate for 'peace' with the philistines."¹ (*Applause.*)

An impassioned fighter of the revolution, Lenin was also its most profound thinker. During the war, he carried on a vast amount of scientific work in analysing the essence of monopoly capitalism, which had started the worldwide slaughter. The result of Lenin's economic research over many years was the creation of a coherent theory of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism. Marx's economic teaching was raised to a new stage.

The theorists of opportunism probed the new phenomena of the imperialist epoch to find justification for their assertions that capitalism had become "organised" and "regulated", and justification for abandoning the revolution. Lenin started a relentless struggle against these apologists of imperialism. He proved that it was precisely the new features of capitalism that opened up fresh possibilities and fresh prospects for the proletariat's victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie, and demanded an intensification of this struggle; he proved that imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution. One of the discoveries of Lenin's genius in this context is the conclusion that the socialist revolution can win initially in a few countries or even in one country.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 259.

All this has become a part of the treasure house of Leninism, and is being used as a victorious weapon by our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The February Revolution of 1917 confronted the Bolshevik Party and the proletariat of Russia with a host of totally new problems. Today it is clear to everyone that the bourgeois-democratic revolution was bound to grow into a socialist revolution. However, we should bear in mind the highly confused and contradictory situation at that time, and the great diversity of views then concerning the further way the revolution was to take, in order to appreciate afresh Lenin's wisdom, perspicacity and strength of purpose, and to sense the real proportions of his achievement. His *April Theses*, which marked out a clear prospect for transition to the socialist revolution, was not only an event which marked a fundamental turning point in the political history of our country but also another step forward in the development of the Marxist theory of revolution as a whole.

Upon his return to Russia, Lenin threw himself into the practical effort of preparing the socialist revolution. He was the acknowledged proletarian leader, and the focus of all the multifarious Party activity, which abounded in unforeseen events and dangers. In his works the principles of strategy and tactics which he formulated and which helped the Bolshevik Party to display such unsurpassed skill in leading the masses from February to October, are elaborated into generalisations on a much broader plane. Lenin made it clear that in Russia the economic and political prerequisites for socialist revolution had matured, and prepared the Party for the most diverse forms of political and armed struggle to overthrow capitalism. In such of his works as *Marxism and Insurrection*, and *Advice of an Onlooker*, among others, he sets out a coherent theory of armed uprising as an art.

At the same time Lenin saw in the development of the revolution in Russia and pointed it out to the Party an extremely rare possibility offered by history, which, he said, was extremely valuable, the possibility of the peaceful transition of power into the hands of the working class. Events took a turn that sent the Russian revolution along a different, non-peaceful way. But the very fact that he posed the question of a possibility, in principle, of the revolution developing along one of two ways is in itself an achieve-

ment of Lenin's thinking which is meaningful to this very day.

On the very eve of the October Revolution, during his last period underground, Lenin concentrated on working out such problems crucial for the victory of socialism as the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist democracy, and the two phases of communist society. That was the origin of *The State and Revolution*, one of Lenin's outstanding works.

Relying on the creative initiative of the revolutionary masses, Lenin worked out the theory of the Soviet state as a form of the proletarian dictatorship. The basic principles of Soviet power, which Lenin worked out, retain their significance for every working people's state supplanting the bourgeois state. This has now been proved by the experience of socialist revolutions in other countries.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, won under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin, was an event of world historical importance. It marked the start of the revolutionary transformation of the world. At the same time, it was the culminating point of the whole of Lenin's preceding theoretical and practical activity. Some days, and even hours, in the lives of men are equivalent to decades. Such was the period of the October Revolution for Lenin. All his knowledge, all his vast political experience, all his willpower and energy were concentrated on preparing the uprising.

In that period, Lenin repeatedly recalled the famous slogan of the revolutionaries of the past: "Boldness, boldness and yet more boldness!" (*Applause.*) A consistent opponent of any adventurism, a flexible and circumspect politician, Lenin was a model of revolutionary boldness, resoluteness, and purposefulness, and taught the Party to act likewise. When it became clear that the situation had matured and that the uprising was inevitable and necessary—everything had to be thrown onto the scales of history. The Party did so at the call of Lenin and the Central Committee, which he led—and won. The Great October Revolution is a real triumph of the Leninist strategy and tactics of the class struggle, of the Leninist theory of revolution. (*Applause.*)

The Winter Palace was taken by storm. The last bourgeois government of Russia had fallen. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin became the head of the world's first workers' and

peasants' government. A tireless fighter for the triumph of socialist ideas, Lenin became the architect and the builder of the majestic edifice of socialism. (*Applause.*)

Lenin directed the defence of the Soviet Republic and the formation of the Red Army. He found the solution of the most complex questions of development of the socialist economy and laid the foundations of the political economy of socialism. His ideas became the basis of the first Constitution of the RSFSR and of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He had in his field of vision every sphere—culture and education, science and technology, the destiny of classes and the destiny of nations. In a little over six years after the victory of October, the leader of our revolution performed a gigantic amount of work, whose content and results will long continue to exert an influence on the course of world history.

But whatever the questions Lenin dealt with, whatever the problems he tackled, his attention was always focused on the Party, on the tempering and strengthening of its ranks. He regarded factionalism and group action in the Party as the greatest evil, which had to be fought resolutely and relentlessly. Lenin's brilliant speeches at the Party Congresses after the October Revolution, permeated with the breath of the revolution, to this day continue to be models of the principled political analysis, and the implacable attitude to ideological and political vacillation. The unity of the Party, for which Lenin worked with such fervour, was, is and will continue to be one of the most important sources of all our victories. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Lenin gave much energy to developing the world communist movement, to preparing the political army of the world socialist revolution. The Communist International was set up on his initiative. This marked a turning point in the history of world communism. Lenin has left us an integrated concept of the world revolutionary process in the new epoch of which the pivot is the struggle between the two social systems. He developed the Marxist propositions on proletarian socialist internationalism. Lenin's speeches at the Congresses of the Comintern, and his classical work, "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, to this day continue to be an encyclopaedia of the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement.

Marxism-Leninism is a coherent international teaching,

it is a theory which belongs to all Communists and all revolutionaries, and serves them as a guide to action.

Historical experience has left nothing of the attempts by bourgeois and revisionist ideologists to set Lenin against Marx, to contrast Leninism and Marxism, depicting Leninism as a specifically Russian, national phenomenon. Indeed, Lenin had been born in Russia and had fought for a socialist Russia. But he had never regarded the revolution in Russia otherwise than as a component part and factor of the world revolution. (*Applause.*) Lenin's teaching incorporated everything that had been produced by mankind's best minds, generalising and fusing into a single whole the worldwide experience of the working people's class struggle.

Lenin watched with great attention the development of the economic and political struggle of the working class of Europe and America, painstakingly comparing and evaluating the various forms of this struggle. He took a keen interest in the problems of the national liberation movement. He made a deep study of the various aspects of the life and struggle of all working people, drawing on the practice of the class struggle in the various countries for lessons to apply to the revolutionary theory and tactics of the world liberation movement.

It was natural, therefore, that representatives of the revolutionary workers of the whole world should turn to Lenin, the great theorist and leader possessing a vast wealth of knowledge and experience.

In our own day, all those who are fighting for the victory of socialism and communism turn to Lenin and his teaching. (*Applause.*) "Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions," as the Centenary Theses of the CPSU Central Committee say, "the epoch of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national liberation movements, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of communist society." (*Applause.*)

Leninism is the most advanced and influential ideology of the modern world, the invincible ideology of those who have the future with them. (*Applause.*) The works of no other man have been so widely read as are those of V. I. Lenin. They have been published in 117 languages of the world. Lenin's books have been printed in hundreds of millions of copies. They are being read by men in all

countries and on all continents, helping them to live and struggle.

Explaining the reasons for the successes of scientific communism, Lenin wrote: Marxist teaching is all-powerful because it is true. These words fully apply to the teaching of Lenin himself. The truth of Lenin's teaching has been confirmed by life itself, by the whole experience of political development in the 20th century. (*Applause.*)

Progressive mankind pays the tribute of profound respect to Lenin, the brilliant theorist and the great architect of socialism. At the same time, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin is a man whom we all cherish and whom many generations after ours will continue to cherish for his supreme qualities as fighter and revolutionary, a man of spotless purity, and of exceptional personal charm. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Lenin had great affection for men, he fought for their happiness, and for the sake of this took an implacable attitude to oppressors and exploiters, to their hired servitors, whatever their make-up, to renegades and traitors to the revolutionary cause.

A principled approach, straightforwardness and truthfulness in everything were the distinctive features of Lenin's style of work. He was an irreconcilable opponent of loud talk, "revolutionary idle chatter", and communistic self-conceit. Whatever the situation, whatever the circumstances, Lenin retained his clear and realistic approach to facts and events, an ability to discover and expose any mistakes in good time, and determination to secure their correction.

Maxim Gorky wrote that "one half of Lenin's great soul lived in the future". That is, indeed, very true. Lenin had the rare gift of seeing in the present the future destiny of mankind. Never out of touch with life, with practice, with the real conditions and possibilities of the given historical period, Lenin projected his thought far ahead, into the future. He shed the light of scientific foresight to illumine the way lying ahead of the working class for many decades.

Lenin resolutely fought against any playing down of revolutionary theory, any emasculation of its creative character, or its reduction to a set of ready-made recipes. The whole of Lenin's life was ceaseless creative effort, creative effort in theory, in politics, in organising the class struggle, and in building up the Party and the state. This quality of always taking the creative approach he also

fostered in the great Party which continues honourably to carry Lenin's banner, the banner of communism. (*Applause.*)

Lenin was unequalled in his ability to create an atmosphere of real collectivity in any work. While maintaining his standpoint with fervour, conviction and insistence, he valued the opinion of his comrades and was sensitive to what they said. He educated and united around himself a whole host of outstanding revolutionaries, political leaders and statesmen who came from the ranks of the people. Under Lenin's guidance, the Party's Congresses and the sittings of the Central Committee, its Politburo and the Council of People's Commissars were models of collective elaboration of policy, expressive of the interests of the working class and of all working people.

It sometimes seems inconceivable, surpassing the bounds of human possibility, that one man, even a genius, was able to perform the titanic work done by Lenin. He was a great and tireless worker, a man with a staggering capacity for work. To become a Communist, Lenin said, one has to assimilate the knowledge accumulated by mankind. That is the rule Lenin followed all his life. Wherever he was, be it the village of Shushenskoye in Siberia or the British Museum, a tsarist prison cell, Munich or Poronino, the libraries of Paris or Geneva, he continued to study works in philosophy and natural science, economics and sociology, history, military questions and international relations. All this wealth of human knowledge Lenin turned to the benefit of the revolutionary cause. Dozens of books and pamphlets, thousands of articles, reports and speeches, letters and notes—such is Lenin's boundless literary legacy which contains his political and revolutionary experience, his thoughts and observations.

Lenin lived for men and in their midst. He was closely connected with the revolutionary working-class movement in Petrograd, Moscow, and other proletarian centres of Russia. Wherever destiny took Lenin, wherever he found himself, and whatever he did, he was in touch with the people through a thousand links. Lenin felt an organic need to meet and talk with workers and peasants, soldiers, scientists and workers in culture. This was the politician's need to compare his own conclusions with the experience of the masses, to test the broad generalisations against what

appeared to be the particular cases and the personal destinies of those who carried out the revolution and built socialism. At the end of December 1921, while sketching out the draft theses on the role and tasks of the trade unions, Lenin wrote: the thing is to live in the midst of the masses, to know their moods, to know everything, to understand them, and to know how to approach them. These words best reflect Lenin's style, which has become a model for the Party he founded, for the Communists of the whole world. (*Applause.*)

Modesty and simplicity, genuine humanity, respect for and trust in men, and a personal concern for their destiny were combined in Lenin with a principled firmness, and exactingness towards himself and others; wisdom and foresight with a tireless, persevering efficiency and indomitable will; the erudition and keen mind of the great scientist with a sincere love of life, of its true values and joys.

Such was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, thinker, revolutionary, man. His teaching will always be a call and a guide to action, and his life's work an inspiring example for Communists and for millions of other men. (*Prolonged applause.*)

II

LENINISM—

BANNER OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades, the proletarian anthem, *The Internationale*, contains these remarkable words: "No more tradition's chains shall bind us, arise, ye slaves, no more in thrall! The earth shall rise on new foundations, we have been naught, we shall be all." (*Applause.*) The working class of our country became the first contingent of the international army of labour to raze the old, capitalist world, and to create a new, socialist world. (*Applause.*)

1. Victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union— a Triumph of Leninism

Lenin held the creative activity of the victorious proletariat to be its main task. But to make a start on construction there was a need to beat back the joint attack of the armed foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution. The

workers and peasants of Soviet Russia rallied round Lenin's Party, while relying on the powerful international support of the working people of other countries, and succeeded in winning their victory. Imperialism suffered a major military-political and moral defeat.

The young Soviet state born of the revolution—the state of the proletarian dictatorship—withstood the onslaught. Millions of men, inspired by Lenin's idea of restructuring society on socialist lines, started to build the new life.

Lenin warned that the road to socialism “will never be straight; it will be incredibly involved”.¹ But even in the most difficult conditions, Lenin did not lose faith in the titanic possibilities of the working people, the revolutionary working class and the Communist Party.

It called for all-penetrating depth of thought, breadth of outlook and boldness of idea to preserve clarity of orientation in a Russia disrupted and ploughed up by war and revolution, in the labyrinthine entanglement of socio-economic tendencies, political forces, and contradictory views and moods, and to find and present in a theoretically faultless form the main, principal lines of advance towards socialism. And that is just what Lenin did.

The New Economic Policy, industrialisation, collectivisation, the cultural revolution. . . . These are all household words behind which lie a whole period in the history of our country, the destiny of classes and the biographies of men. These concepts are now in the textbooks. They have become the ABC of scientific communism. Lenin's profound ideas about the ways of creating a new society still serve as a reliable guide for the builders of the new world.

Lenin's plan for socialist construction is a model of the scientific, complex and realistic approach to the solution of a task of world historic importance. This plan ranged over all the tiers of the social edifice—the development of the productive forces, the transformation of social relations, and the recasting of man's spiritual world. Needless to say, it was based on the vast creative potential of the Party, the millions of builders of socialism, on the fact that in practice, in vibrant activity fresh possibilities were bound to open up, and new methods and means found for advancing towards the set goals. Lenin believed that the insuperable

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 130.

strength of the new social system lay in the unity of Marxist science, which determines the Party's programme propositions, and the initiative and historical creative endeavour of the masses.

Not everyone understood and accepted Lenin's idea that it was possible to build socialism in an economically backward, predominantly peasant country in a capitalist encirclement. The Right and the "Left" oppositionists strove to impose either capitulationist or adventurist ideas, and to get the country off the Leninist path. The political struggle, which became especially acute after Lenin's death, was protracted and intense. But Lenin's ideas triumphed. (*Applause.*)

The cause of socialist construction generated such a tide of revolutionary enthusiasm and inspired, dedicated labour that it literally swept away all the obstacles on the road to socialism. What was once a plan became reality. That was a world historic victory of the Soviet people, a triumph of Leninism. (*Applause.*)

In the 1930s, socialism was firmly established in every sphere of life in our country. The world saw a socialist industrial and collective-farm power moving forward in a determined, powerful drive. Conditions were being created for the next great stride along the way mapped out by Lenin.

This was prevented by the war. The country was subjected to a piratical attack by the fascist invaders. A mortal danger confronted our country. It was then that the Soviet people's courage, steadfastness and indomitable will to victory, and their cohesion round the Leninist Party were displayed with unprecedented force. (*Prolonged applause.*) In the course of the stern ordeal, the Soviet social and state system demonstrated its unbreakable strength. Those harsh years reaffirmed the profound truth of Lenin's words when he said that a people defending its own power, and standing up for its just cause and its future can never be vanquished. At the cost of millions of lives of its sons and daughters the Soviet people safeguarded the gains of socialism. (*Applause.*)

We shall soon be marking the 25th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany. On the eve of this notable date we pay fresh tribute to the great feat of the Soviet people and its Armed Forces. (*Applause.*) From generation to generation—forever—our people will honour the memory

of those who gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of the Soviet people, for the sake of their native land. (*Applause.*)

Guided by Lenin's precepts we shall continue to strengthen our country's defences and equip our Army with the most up-to-date weapons. Our Army was, is and will continue to be an army of peace, and a reliable bulwark of the security of all peoples. (*Applause.*)

Everyone is aware of the heavy losses and destruction which the war brought us. Many towns and villages, factories and power stations, schools and hospitals had to be built anew. Thwarting the enemies' treacherous plans to weaken our state for a long time and healing the wounds of war in the shortest possible time, the Soviet people took a great stride forward. The material and spiritual gains achieved in the postwar years are staggering. Socialism has once again demonstrated its strength and viability. (*Applause.*)

Our Party and the Soviet people have accumulated a vast store of experience in the class struggle and social transformation. The innovatory character of these transformations demanded of the Party political and theoretical maturity, efficient organisation and steadfastness, consistency, and a thorough verification of the ways and means of building the new society. And, to use Lenin's words, this "experience . . . cannot be taken away, no matter how difficult the vicissitudes the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution may pass through. It has gone down in history as socialism's gain, and on it the future world revolution will erect its socialist edifice."¹ (*Prolonged applause.*)

The novelty, singularity, and the unprecedented scale of social change and economic construction, the lack of experience, and the frenzied resistance of the bourgeoisie—all made the struggle for socialism especially difficult, but immeasurably noble and heroic. "Let . . . the bourgeoisie . . . heap imprecations, abuse and derision upon our heads for our reverses and mistakes in the work of building up *our* Soviet system," wrote Lenin. "We do not forget for a moment that we have committed and are committing numerous mistakes and are suffering numerous reverses. How can reverses and mistakes be avoided in a matter so new in the history of the world as the building of an unprecedented

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 413.

type of state edifice! We shall work steadfastly to set our reverses and mistakes right and to improve our practical application of Soviet principles, which is still very, very far from being perfect. But we have a right to be and are proud that to us has fallen the good fortune to *begin* the building of a Soviet state, and thereby to *usher in* a new era in world history. . . ."¹ (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

As we look back on the road we have covered, we can say: indeed, our people and our Party have many things to take pride in. Many difficulties and adversities have fallen to the lot of the Soviet people. On their shoulders they have borne a tremendous historical responsibility. But courageously and steadfastly they have overcome all the trials, fulfilling their noble mission with dignity. Everywhere and always, in times of stern trial and fierce battle, in times of joyous victories and grievous setbacks, our people have remained loyal to the Leninist banner, loyal to their Party and to the cause of the revolution. (*Stormy applause.*) On this momentous day, comrades, we can say that we have some achievements to report in honouring Lenin's memory. For the first time in the history of world civilisation, socialism has scored a full and final victory, a developed socialist society has been built and the conditions have been created for the successful construction of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Soviet society today is powerful socialist industry and developed agriculture. Comparison is the best way to realise the scale of the modern economy. In five days our industry turns out more goods than the whole of industry in tsarist Russia produced in a year. The Soviet Union's national wealth has grown to great proportions—it is 15 times as much as before the revolution. Its value can no longer be expressed in ten figures: it now amounts to more than a million million rubles. Behind these figures lie the heroic labour of Soviet people, the construction of thousands of enterprises, and the development of new natural resources and economic areas.

Soviet society today is friendship and co-operation between all classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities, all generations; it is socialist democracy, which actually assures the working people of a part in the administration

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 54-55.

of all the affairs of state and society; it is advanced socialist science and culture, which belong to the mass of the people.

Soviet society today is the real embodiment of the ideas of proletarian, socialist humanism. It has placed the production of material values and the achievements of spiritual culture, the whole system of social relations, at the service of the man of labour. The Soviet people have already come to accept as a fact that the growth of production and the development of culture in our country lead to better conditions of life for the working people, for the whole people. This appears to be quite natural, it is not given too much thought, it is sometimes even forgotten. But, after all, it is, essentially, one of the basic distinctions between our system and capitalism, under which production is expanded to enrich the property owner and not to improve the life of the working man.

One of the greatest achievements of socialism is that every Soviet man is assured of his future. He is aware that his work, his abilities and his energy will always find a fitting use and appreciation. He is sure that his children will be given a free education and the opportunity of developing their talents. He knows that society will never abandon him in misfortune, that in the event of illness he will be given free medical treatment, a pension in the event of permanent disability, and security in old age.

Everything we have, everything we live by and take pride in is the result of the struggle and working endeavour of our working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, of the whole Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The entire history of our society bears out the great truth of the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the working class being the leading revolutionary and creative force. The Soviet working class has brilliantly demonstrated its capacity to direct society, and build socialism and communism. (*Stormy applause.*) It is the working class, above all, that has laboured to create all the country's industrial and defence might, the technical basis for the transformation of agriculture and the other branches of the economy. It has produced from its ranks thousands of statesmen and public leaders, commanders of production, scientists and military leaders, writers and artists. The working class, the most numerous and the best organised class, continues to play the leading role in our society. (*Applause.*)

Its goal—communism—has become the goal of the whole people.

Its ideology—Marxism-Leninism—has become the dominant ideology.

Its Party—the Communist Party—has become the party of the whole people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The collective-farm peasantry is a reliable ally of the working class in struggle and in labour. Socialism has put an end once and for all to the poverty, deprivation and ignorance of the peasants, and has helped them to escape from the narrow world of individualism. Collective labour on socialised land has transformed the everyday life and spiritual atmosphere in the countryside. More than three million farm-machine operators, hundreds of thousands of agronomists, livestock experts, engineers, teachers and doctors work in the villages. Our collective-farm peasantry is a new socialist class and an active builder of communist society. (*Prolonged applause.*)

At every stage of the socialist revolution, in the course of socialist construction, and today, when the Soviet people are building communism, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry has always constituted the solid foundation of our system, and the pledge of fresh victories on the way to communism! (*Applause.*)

Lenin's prediction of a future alliance of the working class and the representatives of science and technology, which "no dark force can withstand", as Lenin put it, has come true. Today, we pay a great tribute of respect and gratitude to Soviet scientists, whose role is especially great in this age of the most profound social, scientific and technical change. In the ranks of our fine Soviet intelligentsia are millions of engineers, technicians, teachers, workers in public health, workers in the arts, and functionaries of the administrative apparatus. The great intellectual potential, which our country has built up, is a major source of the progress of Soviet society.

Men of different generations march shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of the builders of communism under a common Leninist banner. Among them are those who laid the first stones in the foundation of the socialist edifice, those who arms in hand fearlessly defended the gains of socialism, those who rebuilt our towns and villages from the ruins and

ashes, and those who are still young, and are just setting foot on life's highway.

The older generation of the fighters for socialism has brought up a generation fit to take over, passing on to the latter its experience and knowledge, handing on its victorious Leninist baton. The Party is quite sure that Soviet youth and its vanguard, the Leninist Komsomol, in whose ranks more than 100 million Soviet people have already had a political schooling, will bring glory to their country by fresh remarkable achievements. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people have traversed a great and glorious road. Lenin's revolutionary words first rang out on our soil. His revolutionary cause was started and is being continued with success on our soil. Lenin's ideals permeate all our achievements and plans. By building the socialist society, the Soviet people have erected a majestic monument to their teacher and leader. (*Applause.*)

2. Leninism and Questions of Communist Construction

Comrades, all our Party, all the Soviet people live for a single cause. It is the cause of building a communist society. The ways leading to this great goal are defined in the Programme of the CPSU, and in the decisions of Party Congresses and CC Plenums, which have met with the approval of the whole people. The greater the tasks the Soviet people set themselves, the more responsible the Party's work becomes, and the greater the need to look to Lenin for advice. Lenin's ideas, his great practical experience as fighter and creator, are of invaluable assistance to us in solving the most important problems in the Soviet country's present-day development.

Since Lenin's death, life has gone a long way forward, much has changed, producing a great number of new phenomena and problems which it was hard even to imagine in his lifetime. But today, too, the key to their understanding and solution is provided by the laws of socialist development discovered by Lenin. That is why Lenin continues to be a living participant in our endeavour, and our sage and reliable teacher. (*Stormy applause.*)

Just as every building is started from its foundations, so the creation of the material and technical basis occupies

first place in the gigantic and many-faceted effort of communist construction.

The more than half a century of experience in socialist economic endeavour provides convincing confirmation that the direction of the economy is perhaps the most challenging and the most creative task of all those which arise after a revolution. Here, as in other spheres of social life, let us add, there are virtually no cut-and-dried solutions which one could adopt and get rid of all cares. The economy is a complex and dynamic organism whose development in itself continuously produces new problems.

The justice of this truth is especially evident today, when the Soviet economy is entering a new important stage. Our socialist production has grown to vast proportions, the inter-connections in our national economy have become more complex, and the scientific and technical revolution is advancing at a headlong pace. In view of all this the Party's Central Committee and the Government have arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary to work out an economic policy, methods of conducting economic operations, and forms of organisation and administration that will meet the present stage of the country's development. As we look back we feel justified in saying that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the Central Committee plenary meetings, from those of March and September of 1965 to the December plenary meeting of last year, have enabled us to make a serious advance in this direction.

The 24th Congress of the Party is now at hand. Preparation of the plan for the next five years is nearing completion. In other words, we are to take new major decisions to determine the ways for developing the Soviet economy over a considerable period ahead.

We aim at a Leninist approach to this great undertaking, bringing out from the whole diversity, the whole range of economic tasks the main and principal link. It is to enhance the effectiveness of social production, and bring about a considerable increase in labour productivity in every sphere. Lenin pointed to the decisive importance of this aspect of our endeavour in the early years of the Soviet power. With our present level of socialist economic development, we have real possibilities of ensuring rapid economic growth, primarily by intensifying development in every branch.

The most important thing that this requires is accelera-

tion of scientific and technical progress. That is what Lenin taught us. In his entire work to direct economic construction, his idea was to rise to the highest levels in science and technology.

The whole world is aware of our country's outstanding successes on this path. But the development of science and technology does not stop. It calls for a further raising of the level and efficiency of scientific research and for rapid use to be made of scientific and technical achievements in the national economy.

The task of improving the organisation of labour and the style of work of all those taking part in social production has also become quite pressing. The main thing here is greater self-exactingness.

Exceptional importance now attaches to the correct organisation of planning. There is no denying, comrades, that many of the complexities we now have to face in the sphere of the economy have their roots in this or that defect in planning, in the imperfection of plans or in their inadequate implementation. That is why one of the most important tasks is continuously to perfect planning methods, and to enhance the scientific, technical and economic validity of current and long-term plans.

May I give a reminder of a call made by Lenin: "Do not be afraid of long-term plans."¹ He himself gave the classic example of such an approach to planning when working on the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia, in which all the calculations and technical grounds were geared to a single goal—the establishment of an advanced power and technical base for the country's economic revival and socialist transformation.

Especially great importance now attaches to improving long-term planning, within the framework of which the available resources and foreseeable requirements are taken into account. Our long-term plans, designed for the solution of fundamental economic and social tasks, must also include our targets and outline the best ways of attaining them, arriving at these by comparing different variants. That is the basis on which it is also possible correctly to determine the concrete tasks which are to be tackled the following year and over the five-year period ahead.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 511.

Another important task is planning the allocation of the productive forces in our country, something to which Lenin attached much importance. This involves the most rational, economically efficient development of every area in the light of its concrete conditions.

Long-term plans for the individual branches of our national economy, plans for the solution of major socio-economic problems, consolidated into a single whole, will constitute a general programme for the country's development over a long term. There is no doubt that this approach to planning will produce a considerable effect and will help to accelerate our advance to communism. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, Lenin saw the construction of a communist economy not only as the concern of economic leaders, and the organisers and commanders of production. He said that "creative activity at the grass roots is the basic factor of the new public life. . . . Living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves."¹ Accordingly, the Party's course is to ensure the further extension of the working people's participation in running industrial enterprises and state and collective farms, in working for greater efficiency of production, higher labour productivity, the maximum use of the available facilities and the raising of labour discipline.

The Lenin slogan of a regime of economies is not a stopgap but a constant demand on every member of our socialist society. Our country will become even stronger and richer, and our advance towards communism faster, if we learn to save every minute of our working time, every gramme of raw materials and fuel, every machine part, every hard-earned kopek.

In response to the Party's call, and with the active participation of the trade unions and other social organisations, a country-wide popular movement has now been started to improve the use of reserves in production and tighten the regime of economies in the country. The initiatives of workers, collective farmers, engineers, technicians and administrative personnel and the numerous proposals and concrete obligations being undertaken by the working people are striking evidence of the fact that the working people of town and country, the whole Soviet people are

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 288.

truly aware of being masters of their country, and that they show a personal concern for the interests of production and for the preservation and multiplication of the national wealth. (*Applause.*) This means, comrades, that we are on the right course. It means that the Soviet people are confidently advancing along the way indicated by Lenin! (*Applause.*)

It is well known that for our society the fulfilment of economic tasks is not an end in itself but a means. The main purpose and the main meaning of the policy which our Party has been consistently implementing is to create for the working man the most favourable conditions for work, study, leisure and the development and best application of his abilities.

In the last few years we have achieved a great deal in this sphere and have solved a number of major social problems. In that period special attention was devoted to raising the living standards of working people in the lower and middle income brackets in town and country. But we are aware that more big tasks lie ahead of us. Men's needs increase constantly as society and culture develop. Lenin was very well aware of this. He wrote: "...When we are showered with new demands from all sides, we say: that is as it should be, that is just what socialism means, when each wants to improve his condition and all want to enjoy the benefits of life."¹

The task today is not only further to raise remuneration for work but also to expand production of the goods needed by the population, to improve the quality of services, to continue extensive housing construction, and to take fresh measures to protect the health of the working people. Understandably, all these tasks cannot be solved at one go, by the adoption of a resolution, however good. This calls for insistent efforts by the whole Party, by the whole people.

The main thing, comrades, is how much we produce and how, and the attitude we take to work, the main source of our social wealth. There is no need, I think, to argue that one can consume and use only what has been produced, what has been created by man's hands and brain. It is up to the Soviet people themselves to raise their living standards.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 516.

Today we live as well as we worked yesterday, and tomorrow we shall live as well as we work today.

While devoting maximum attention to economic problems, the Party directs the people's energy to the solution of the whole complex of tasks in communist construction.

We are on the way to gradually overcoming the distinctions between classes and social groups, for which it is necessary, Lenin emphasised, "to abolish . . . the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers".¹ It goes without saying that these tasks will be fully solved only in a communist society. But much is already being done to advance in this direction.

The social policy of the Party and the Soviet state is, on the basis of modern science and technology, to more closely approximate the character of the labour of the peasant and that of the worker, to improve living conditions in the countryside and to raise the cultural level of village life. All this in practice results in a gradual eradication of the socio-economic and cultural-welfare distinctions between town and country, between the working class and the peasantry.

At the same time we are gradually overcoming the distinction between workers by hand and by brain. This requires many more steps forward in the development of the economy and culture, an improvement of working conditions and a change in the character of labour, and the further raising of the cultural and professional-technical level of the whole people.

Lenin said that anyone who undertakes the great endeavour of communist construction must understand this: "he can create it only on the basis of modern education, and if he does not acquire this education communism will remain merely a pious wish."² We have already done much in the sphere of public education. Almost 80 million, that is, a third of the population, is studying.

However, life does not stand still. We need to go forward, improving the whole system of education in every way. Within a few short years those who are now at school or college will move into production, into science and culture.

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, pp. 289-90.

The progress of our society in the future largely depends on how and what we teach them today. The ancients used to say that the pupil is not a vessel to be filled but a torch to be lit. The task is to teach the young people to think creatively, to prepare them for life, for practical effort.

Comrades, a great achievement of Lenin's is that he worked out the programme for a socialist solution of the national question. This programme has been implemented. The triumph of Lenin's policy on the national question, the Soviet Union's solution of the problem—one of the most acute and most difficult in social life—is an undertaking of tremendous importance, and a major stride forward in mankind's social development.

Communist construction in our multinational country implies the consistent pursuit of the line of bringing the nations together in every way, and strengthening their co-operation and mutual assistance. The way to this is by the further development of the economy and culture in all our Republics, an improvement of mutual exchanges of achievements in material and spiritual culture and, of course, persistent effort to overcome the survivals of nationalism and chauvinism.

Lenin demanded the continuous and tireless education of the working people in the spirit of internationalism, rejecting both Great-Power chauvinistic and narrowly nationalistic tendencies. He said that "one must *not* think only of one's own nation, but place *above it* the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality, . . . fight *against* small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest".¹ (*Applause.*) The multinational Soviet state founded by Lenin is this whole and this general. Lenin's precept was that we should protect the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the apple of our eye. (*Applause.*) This great precept of Lenin's is being faithfully fulfilled by the Party and the people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet socialist state of the whole people is our main instrument in building communism. That is why there is need to constantly strengthen this state and improve the whole system of social administration.

Lenin considered the possibility of involving the working

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 347.

people in the day-to-day administration of the state the greatest advantage of socialism. He set the task of teaching "the people the art of administration".¹ For that purpose we are working and shall continue to work to enhance the role of the Soviets, of social organisations and working people's collectives in the life and development of society, and to improve socialist legislation.

In developing the Soviet state system and socialist democracy, the Party and the Government have been persistently following the Leninist line in improving the state apparatus and making it more efficient. Every stage in the development of the productive forces and of culture, wrote Lenin, must be accompanied by an improvement of our Soviet system.

Lenin wrote that "there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy".² Nor can this be otherwise. The Party has been working steadily and purposefully to develop socialist democracy, which serves above all as a means of drawing millions of working people into the process of conscious historical creative effort and into running the affairs of society and the state.

Our democracy in action is the right of every citizen, every collective and every Republic to take part in deciding questions of social life, combating any departures from the rules and principles of socialist community living, criticising shortcomings and taking an active part in eliminating them. To enable Soviet citizens to enjoy their rights to the fullest, the Party has shown constant concern to improve the forms of popular representation and people's control over the activity of the organs of power and administration.

The broad rights extended by socialist democracy to the working people in various spheres of social life are organically combined with their civic duties. This combination, like the very content of their rights and duties, is determined by the interests of the whole people, the interests of building a communist society.

We regard the development of the Soviet state and socialist democracy above all as a powerful means of attaining our main aim—the building of communism. We shall never agree to the "development of democracy" which is

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 426.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 144.

being strongly urged upon us by bourgeois ideologists and their Right-wing opportunist assistants, who show such zeal in trying to recast socialism in their own, bourgeois mould. We have our own, truly democratic traditions, which have stood the test of time. (*Applause.*) We shall safeguard, preserve, develop and improve these traditions. (*Applause.*)

No matter how our "adversaries" may wring their hands over the "imperfection" of socialism, no matter what touching concern they may display for its "improvement" and "humanisation", we repeat with pride Lenin's words about proletarian, socialist democracy being a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy. (*Prolonged applause.*) Our state was, is and will continue to be a state of the working people, a state for the working people, a state which is governed by the working people. (*Applause.*)

Following Lenin's path, the Soviet people have created a new, socialist way of life, a new socialist civilisation.

The creative power of socialism, the mobilising power of Lenin's ideas was clearly manifested in the period of preparation for the Lenin centenary. The emulation movement for the fulfilment of the five-year plan ahead of schedule, launched to mark the Lenin anniversary, really has become a movement involving the whole people.

The labour enthusiasm of the people reached its peak in the All-Union Lenin Subbotnik of April 11, which was an unforgettable nationwide festival of inspired labour. Soviet people went to that *subbotnik* with their thoughts on Lenin, on the historical first *subbotnik* which Lenin saw as the Great Beginning of the new, communist attitude to work.

The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions have taken note of the excellent organisation and high level of activity displayed by all the working people during the All-Union Communist Subbotnik on April 11, and express their deep, heartfelt gratitude to all its participants for their patriotic, selfless and freely given labour effort for the benefit of our socialist country. (*Stormy applause.*)

It would be impossible to list the labour achievements of the thousands of collectives and of the millions of working people in town and countryside marking the great anniversary. The personnel of many factories and organisations that distinguished themselves in the emulation movement were

awarded Lenin centenary diplomas. In honour of the centenary of Lenin's birth workers, collective farmers, brain workers and servicemen were decorated with the jubilee medals "For Meritorious Work" and "For Military Valour". (*Applause.*) The Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government warmly congratulate the valiant working people and servicemen on the award of these high decorations and express the confidence that they will always be in the forefront of the builders of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Allow me, furthermore, to extend heartfelt congratulations to the Lenin Prize winners and all who have been decorated with our country's highest order, which bears the name of Lenin. (*Applause.*) Honour and glory to them and I wish them further outstanding achievements in promoting the economy, science, technology and culture of our great socialist Motherland. (*Prolonged applause.*)

3. Communist Party of the Soviet Union— Party of Lenin

Comrades, our great Party, under whose leadership the Soviet people have won historic victories, was created by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He taught the Party to serve the working people with unbounded devotion. He put in its hands a mighty weapon—the theory and policy of struggle against capitalism, of struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of society, for socialism and communism. "By educating the workers' party," he wrote, "...Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat, capable of assuming power and *leading the whole people* to socialism, of directing and organising the new system, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working and exploited people in organising their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."¹

When we re-register the Party membership, Party card No. 1 is always made out in the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. (*Stormy applause.*) This is not simply a symbol. The great energy of Lenin's mind and the beat of his fiery heart live on in the deeds of the Party. Lenin's ideas, his political steeling and his science of victory are the inexhaustible

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 404.

source from which we draw confidence in our strength and our courage, optimism and will for victory. (*Applause.*)

Born as the Party of the proletariat, the CPSU has, since the triumph of socialism and, as always, with the support of the working class, become the vanguard of the whole Soviet people. Today approximately one in every eleven citizens of the USSR of the age of 18 or over is a member of the Party. Of the 14 million members of the CPSU more than half are workers or collective farmers. In the Party there are almost 6 million engineers, technicians, agronomists, teachers, doctors and other specialists who are active in the building of communism.

We neither have nor can have another political force that can so fully and consistently take into account, combine and co-ordinate the interests and requirements of all classes and social groups, of all nations and nationalities and of all the generations of our society as the Communist Party is doing. The Party comes forward as the organising core of the entire social system, as the collective brain of the whole Soviet people.

The principal element of the Party's work is its political leadership of society. The tasks of communist construction demand the further improvement of the work of Party and Government organs, the concentration of their attention on pivotal political, economic and ideological problems.

The triumph of socialism, it goes without saying, does not imply the complete and final settlement of all social problems. Like any other developing organism, socialist society is confronted by various difficulties. However, all of them are surmountable. The only thing is not to close our eyes to them but to find effective means of overcoming them. The art of Party and state leadership lies precisely in taking timely note of nascent problems, realistically assessing them and charting the way for solving them. Profoundly and comprehensively studying the situation and the trends of development, courageously laying bare difficulties and contradictions and showing the way to surmount them, the Party blazes the trail of communist construction, setting the people tasks that have to be carried out and inspiring them to perform creative feats of labour. (*Applause.*)

The deeds of the Leninist Party match its words. The line towards the triumph of the socialist revolution, the line

towards socialism, the line towards the building of communism—these are the words of the Party, expressed in its three Programmes. The victory of the October Revolution, the triumph of socialism and the successful advance towards the communist morrow—such is the action of the Party, the action of the whole people.

The Party's strength lies in its fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Its strength lies in its monolithic unity, which was consolidated and unflinchingly upheld by Lenin. Its strength lies in its unbreakable bond with the working class, with the masses, whose collective leader and organiser it is. Its strength lies in its revolutionary spirit, in its ability critically to assess and profoundly understand the results of its work.

Intrinsic to our Party are a sense of lofty responsibility before the people and high principles. During Lenin's lifetime and after his death the Party courageously and openly criticised, as it continues to do to this day, errors and shortcomings. It sternly denounced the personality cult, which led to violations of the Leninist norms of Party and state life, of socialist legality and democracy. It emphatically rejected subjectivism, which expounds unfounded improvisation in place of a scientific approach to phenomena of social life. The Party tells the people the truth, no matter how stern it may be. ". . . Let us face the truth squarely. . .," Lenin taught the Communists. "In politics that is always the best and the only correct attitude."¹

Lenin attached immense significance to developing the political awareness of the masses, which, he wrote, remains "the basis and chief content of our work".² In line with Lenin's precepts the Party is making sure that all Communists consciously master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and that their ideological principles find expression in practical participation in the nationwide work of building communism. The Party educates every Communist and every Soviet citizen as an ardent patriot who devotes all his strength for the benefit of the Motherland and, at the same time, as a convinced internationalist.

The importance of educational work among the masses

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 275.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 178.

is particularly great today when a sharp ideological struggle rages between socialism and capitalism. "We must," Lenin wrote, "untiringly combat any and every bourgeois ideology, regardless of the fashionable and striking garb in which it may drape itself."¹ The bourgeois ideologists and, for that matter, their accomplices, the revisionists, stand in no need of borrowing the ability to change garbs and give them a spurious polish. And it is by no means the goodness of life that has taught them this. The material from which their garb is sewn is much too flimsy. The attempts to slander socialism, the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government and, at the same time, to rehabilitate capitalism and embellish the facade of its ramshackle edifice fail the test of time. (*Applause.*)

Nonetheless, the danger of bourgeois ideology and revisionism must on no account be underestimated. Experience shows that the poisoned seeds of ideological wavering, indifference to politics and lack of principles sprout on the soil of this sort of underestimation. Communists are obliged to follow Lenin's example of political and ideological staunchness, passion in struggle against any distortion of our revolutionary theory, intolerance of any manifestations of survivals of the old world in the minds of the citizens of our socialist society.

We live in an age witnessing exceedingly swift development. Rates of growth are mounting and the scale of communist construction is increasing. Science and Marxist-Leninist theory are playing an increasingly more important part. The international role and responsibility of the Soviet state are growing. All this is enhancing the importance of the Communist Party as the leading force of Soviet society. (*Applause.*)

Tested and confirmed by the experience of the CPSU, Lenin's teaching that the Party is the leader of the revolutionary masses and the leading force of the new society and Lenin's principles of Party construction are the property not only of the CPSU but also of the fraternal Communist Parties. Facts show that Communists triumph where the Party consistently implements its role as vanguard of the working class and other working people, where the Leninist norms of Party life are strictly observed and where the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 342.

Party safeguards and tirelessly strengthens its political, organisational and ideological unity. Conversely, any diminution of the Party's role and any departure from the Leninist principles of Party development lead to serious setbacks and may create a threat to the socialist gains of the people.

In order to ensure the success of the great work of building communism the Party must pursue a correct Marxist-Leninist policy, and the broad masses of working people, the whole Soviet people must understand and implement this policy. "...We can administer," Lenin said, "only when we express correctly what the people are conscious of. Unless we do this the Communist Party will not lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses..."¹ The programme of communist construction put forward by the Communist Party has become the vital cause of the whole Soviet people. The Party's unity with the people under the banner of Leninism is the best guarantee that this historic task will be carried out successfully. (*Applause.*)

Lenin used to say that the Communist Party is the brain, honour and conscience of our epoch. In commemorating the birthday of Lenin we solemnly declare that Soviet Communists will continue doing everything to make our Party, created and reared by Lenin, always worthy of this lofty appraisal of its founder, teacher and leader. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

On the Leninist banner of our Party are inscribed the words: "Everything in the name of man, for the sake of man!" The Soviet people will carry this banner along uncharted trails and make our country—the birthplace of socialism—the birthplace of communism, the most humane of social systems. (*Prolonged applause.*)

III LENINISM AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Comrades, the period of history that started after the October Revolution was characterised by Lenin as the transition from capitalism to socialism. Lenin was unshakably convinced that the worldwide triumph of socialism was

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 304.

inevitable, that it would come "sooner or later, twenty years earlier or twenty years later", but would definitely come, and that other countries would follow Russia in her advance along the road of building the new society.

The world revolution, Lenin wrote two years after the October Revolution, "judging by its beginning, will continue for many years and will demand much effort".¹ The development of this revolution, he stressed, would not follow the line of an even "maturing" of socialism in the main capitalist countries; its development would, on the whole, be more complicated in view of the contradictory relations within the capitalist world and of the exploitation of some capitalist countries by others, linked with the exploitation of the colonial world. Lenin came to the conclusion that the socialist revolution "will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism".²

It is enough to glance at the world we live in today to become convinced how accurate were Lenin's socio-political analysis and his forecasts based on this analysis, and how fully life has borne out their correctness in all essential features.

However contradictory the picture of the world is today, its main features, its cardinal, decisive trend of development are such as foreseen by Lenin. However much the components of the contemporary world differ from each other, each of them leads to and will ultimately arrive at communism! (*Applause.*)

1. World Socialist System— Vanguard of Mankind's Social Development

It is already a quarter of a century since socialism emerged from the boundaries of one country and became an international force. The socialist revolution was accomplished in a number of countries of Europe and Asia and then spread to the Western Hemisphere as well, triumphing in Cuba.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

The world socialist system—the greatest achievement of the working class after the October Revolution—is still very young. However, socialism has become firmly established in the world. It has strikingly shown—not only in the Soviet Union but also in other socialist countries—that it can give a correct answer to the cardinal problems facing mankind, an answer beyond the capability of the capitalist world with its long centuries of experience, an answer that really takes the vital interests of the masses into account.

Historically, as you all know, matters shaped up in such a way that the countries in which the socialist revolution triumphed were not those with the highest level of economic development. But thanks to the new system these countries have made great headway in economic development.

It would be hard to overestimate the impact that has been made on the masses in the rest of the world by the example of the successful development of the new society in a number of countries in different parts of the world, a society without exploitation, without oppression and oppressors, a society administered for the people by the people. This example inspires hundreds of millions of oppressed people and fills them with hope for a happy future.

The very fact of the existence of the socialist world is of immense assistance to the working people in the capitalist countries in their struggle for their rights.

The socialist states have introduced into international life new, unprecedented principles and norms stemming from the ideology of the Communists, from the great and lofty aims of their struggle. The founder of these principles was Lenin, who formulated the fundamentals of socialist foreign policy after the October Revolution.

Lenin always considered the national and international tasks of the socialist state in their indivisible unity. He called upon our Party and people to fight “for a socialist fatherland, for socialism as a fatherland, for the Soviet Republic as a *contingent* of the world army of socialism”.¹ The founder of the Soviet state held that in building the new life in its own country it was the duty of the Soviet state to support the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in other countries. He showed us the road to friend-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 163.

ship and alliance with the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies in order to fight international imperialism together with them. (*Applause.*)

Lenin oriented the Soviet state on a consistent policy of peace in defence of the victorious revolution and the common cause of the working people of all countries. It was no accident that the first act of Soviet power written personally by Lenin was the historic Decree on Peace. It was Lenin who advanced the proposition for "peaceful co-habitation" or, as we now call it, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which, thanks to the consistent policy of the socialist states, has today become one of the cardinal principles underlying international relations. Also on Lenin's initiative one of the very first foreign-policy acts of the Soviet state in the world was to submit a programme for general disarmament and mutually beneficial economic relations with capitalist states.

For more than half a century the Soviet Union's foreign policy has been based on Lenin's ideas and precepts. Written into the decisions of our Party and of the higher organs of the Soviet state they remain the immutable, principled foundation of all the Soviet Union's actions in the international arena. Today, on this great Lenin centenary, we solemnly repeat to the peoples of the whole world:

— True to the behests of the great Lenin, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall continue to do everything in its power to enable the peoples of the socialist countries to live in peace and peacefully carry out the great work of building the new society, and to steadfastly strengthen the position of world socialism and the close cooperation and militant unity of the socialist states. (*Stormy applause.*)

— The countries pursuing an anti-imperialist policy and the peoples fighting for freedom, against imperialist aggression, shall always have in the person of our country a reliable and true friend and ally. (*Applause.*)

— Realistically-minded circles in the bourgeois countries, circles that really recognise the principles of peaceful coexistence, may be confident that in the Soviet Union they will have a partner prepared to promote mutually beneficial co-operation.

— We shall continue our active efforts to halt the arms race, which is ruinous to the peoples, to secure disarma-

ment and get outstanding issues between states settled on a reasonable foundation, by negotiation.

Socialist in content, the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet state is consistently internationalist, genuinely democratic and profoundly peace-loving. It is one of the major sources of the strength and worldwide prestige of our socialist Motherland and world socialism. (*Applause.*) This is a powerful weapon and we shall make the utmost use of it in our struggle for peace and communism. (*Applause.*)

The principles of socialist foreign policy formulated by Lenin have now become the foundation of the foreign policy line of a whole group of countries belonging to the world socialist system.

The whole of mankind's greatest blessing is the fact that the united might of the socialist countries and their active policy in defence of peace fetter the aggressive ambitions of the imperialists and create a decisive obstacle to the unleashing of a world nuclear rocket war by the aggressors. This result of the policy pursued by the socialist countries benefits all mankind.

Where the imperialists nonetheless take the road of military adventures against a socialist country or have recourse to "quiet" counter-revolution they feel the strength and solidarity of the socialist states.

Comrades, look what is happening to the US aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the people of South Vietnam. No social system but socialism could have given the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people such a scale, such organisation, staunchness and tenacity. (*Applause.*) No political force but the Marxist-Leninist Party could have armed a fighting people with such a lucid understanding of the aims of the struggle and inspired them to the performance of a mass feat. As a result of the heroism of the Vietnamese patriots multiplied by the might of socialist solidarity and by broad assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the US adventure in Vietnam is suffering failure. (*Applause.*) The feat of Vietnam will go down in history. Honour and glory to the heroic Vietnamese people! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Similarly instructive is the failure of the anti-socialist conspiracy in Czechoslovakia. This was a long-premeditated, demagogu-screened attempt of the remnants of the former exploiting classes in alliance with the Right-wing opportunist

ists and with the support of world imperialism to destroy the foundations of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia, isolate her from the fraternal countries and thereby strike a heavy blow at the positions of socialism in Europe. But the staunchness of the Marxist-Leninist core of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and determined action by Czechs and Slovaks devoted to the cause of socialism and by allied countries loyal to the principles of socialist internationalism frustrated the dangerous plans of enemies aimed against the common interests of socialism and, in the long run, against peace in the European continent. (*Applause.*) This was further proof of the great significance of the internationalist solidarity of the socialist countries. Today our friends and our enemies have no doubt about the efficacy of its strength, and that is very good. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, each of the independent countries in the world socialist system has accomplished the transition from capitalism to socialism in its own way and resolves a number of tasks of socialist construction, common to all, by its own specific methods.

Lenin foresaw this diversity of "ways, methods and means of moving to the common goal". As early as 1916 he formulated his famous conclusion on this question: "All nations," he wrote, "will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life."¹

That is what has actually taken place. The uniqueness of the concrete historical situation, the diversity of local conditions and the different and sometimes more or less successful approaches to the solution of some problems of socialist construction have given rise to a number of features in the development of individual socialist countries. However, these are features within the framework of a single, common process developing under identical laws. Local conditions are taken into consideration in the building of socialism not for the sake of splintering the common revolutionary front but of attaining the common goal more surely and effectively and hastening the triumph of the new system and uniting

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.

the socialist forces of different countries. That is how this problem was understood by Lenin, who was a confirmed internationalist. That is how it is understood by the Communists of the socialist countries, who are continuing Lenin's work. (*Applause.*)

Historical experience has clearly borne out Lenin's proposition that the different features in the development of the socialist countries "...can apply only to what is of lesser importance".¹ The main thing is that the road to socialism and the system itself are characterised, as is emphasised by the fraternal Parties, by a number of fundamental laws that are inherent in the socialist society of any country.

Experience shows that **the road of different countries to socialism** is marked by such major common milestones as the socialist revolution in one form or another, including the smashing and replacement of the state machine of the exploiters; the establishment of one or another form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with other strata of the working people, and the abolition of the exploiting classes; the socialisation of the means of production and the consolidation of socialist relations of production and other social relations in town and countryside; the bringing of cultural values within the reach of the masses of working people, i.e., the cultural revolution in Lenin's meaning of the word.

On the other hand, when we speak of the main features of **socialism that has been built**, this question is likewise clear to Communists. It is clear to us today not only from the theoretical propositions of Marxist teaching but also from the experience of development gained by the socialist countries. What are these features? They are the power of the working people with the vanguard role exercised by the working class and the leadership of social development provided by the Marxist-Leninist Party; public ownership of the means of production and, on its basis, the planned development of the national economy on the highest technological level for the benefit of the whole people; the implementation of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"; the education of the whole people in the spirit of the ideology of scientific

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 108.

communism, in a spirit of friendship with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the working people of the whole world; and lastly, a foreign policy founded on the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

All these general, basic elements of socialism are of decisive significance.

The development and strengthening of the world socialist system are the most valuable contribution of the peoples of the socialist countries to the common revolutionary cause of Communists and the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses throughout the world. Imperialism is waging a dogged savage struggle in various forms against the world socialist system. It seeks to hinder its economic growth, restrict its influence over the peoples of the world, poison it ideologically and split and isolate it politically. For that reason the recent International Meeting of fraternal Parties put forward in its Main Document the exceedingly important proposition: "The defence of socialism is the internationalist duty of Communists." (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the task of **strengthening the unity and promoting all-round co-operation among the socialist countries** is becoming particularly pressing and important today.

The victory of socialism in a number of countries has made it possible to establish between them relations of a new type—fraternal relations based on the principles of socialist internationalism. Genuine equality and respect for each other's independence and sovereignty are combined in these relations with comradely mutual assistance, socialist solidarity and a joint struggle for common aims and ideals.

However, experience shows that these relations between socialist countries do not take shape automatically; to mould and develop them and surmount the difficulties and contradictions that sometimes arise, the socialist states and their ruling Parties have to pursue a principled, internationalist policy.

Regrettably, we sometimes get cases of co-operation between socialist countries being disrupted in a most serious manner. This is shown, for instance, by the present state of China's relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This situation is obviously the result of the nationalistic policy of the Chinese leadership and its rupture with the principles laid down by Lenin.

Today, as we mark the Lenin jubilee, I should like to

recall the attitude of Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionary and democrat, to Lenin and his teaching. This is what he said:

"In the course of the many centuries of world history there have been thousands of leaders and scholars with eloquent words on their lips that were never translated into reality. You, Lenin, are the exception. You not only spoke and taught, but translated your words into reality. You created a new country. You showed us the road of joint struggle. On your road you have encountered thousands of obstacles, which I am encountering on my road. I want to follow your road, and although my enemies are against this, my people will laud me for it." (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

These are fine words, comrades! It is precisely by jointly following the road charted by Lenin, by waging a joint struggle against the sinister forces of imperialist reaction, for the triumph of the sacred cause of socialism and communism that the correct prospect is opened for the future development of relations between China and the Soviet Union, and between China and other socialist countries.

Practice shows that nothing good comes of a departure from socialist internationalism, from its replacement by nationalism and chauvinism. Such a policy, naturally, does not conform either to the interests of the world socialist system as a whole, or to the interests of the revolutionary process throughout the world. But it is fully in line with interests of the imperialists, who are delighted by every sign of a weakening of the unity of the socialist countries and are prepared to help to shake this unity in every way they can.

The enemies of socialism are the only ones who benefit by the virulent anti-Soviet campaign that has been conducted in China during the past few years. Lately it has been carried on under the screen of an alleged threat from the Soviet Union. By their actions against the country of Lenin and against the world communist movement the initiators of this campaign expose themselves before the masses as apostates of the revolutionary cause of Lenin.

As regards the Soviet Union, we take a resolute stand for socialist internationalism and the restoration of good

relations between socialist countries wherever they have been broken. We shall not be found wanting. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government shall continue to work actively and consistently in this direction in a Leninist way. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Lenin tirelessly emphasised the vital importance of unity, the need for close and all-sided fraternal co-operation among peoples who have taken the road to socialism. We Soviet Communists are true to Lenin's behests. We are doing, as we always have done, everything in our power to promote political and economic co-operation among socialist states and their ideological unity. (*Applause.*)

On this point Lenin wrote: "We... who are faced by a huge front of imperialist powers, we, who are fighting imperialism, represent an alliance that requires close military unity, and any attempt to violate this unity we regard as absolutely impermissible, as a betrayal of the struggle against international imperialism."¹ To this day we regard these words as a sacred behest to all contingents of the socialist front fighting imperialism in the Leninist way. (*Applause.*) Remembering these words, we shall bend every effort to make the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the military alliance of the socialist countries, still more powerful and to strengthen the joint defence capability of the socialist states. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The historical role played today by the world socialist system, vanguard of mankind's social development, is great and lofty. It has entered our complex and turbulent epoch as the embodiment of the age-old dream of the working people and exploited masses of all countries, as a sentence passed on the forces of reaction, oppression and aggression, as the mighty bulwark of all fighters for freedom, independence and lasting peace, as a symbol of hope and an earnest of the future happiness of all peoples. For a Communist today, for every person who is true to the teaching and cause of the great Lenin, no duty is higher than that of contributing to the further development of the world socialist system, to the cause of strengthening its might, cohesion and unity. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 325.

2. Leninism—Victorious Banner of the Struggle for the Liberation of Peoples

When Lenin analysed the new phenomena in capitalist society he defined not only the main features of imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism, but also the direction of its development. Bourgeois society, he pointed out, was moving "from monopoly to statisation", that is to say, to state-monopoly capitalism. He precisely defined imperialism's historical place as the *last stage* of capitalism, as the "threshold of socialism".

Imperialism is moving exactly in the direction foreseen by Lenin. The general crisis of capitalism as a world system continues to deepen. Today, more than ever before, imperialism is a world of the omnipotence of colossal monopolies, which continue to grow in size. The main weapon for preserving the class rule of the bourgeoisie today has become the merging of the forces of the monopolies with the power of the state in a single mechanism of struggle against the world of socialism, against the working class and the general democratic movement of the masses. Lenin's characteristic of the political substance of imperialism, which he expressed in the laconic but meaningful formula of "reaction all along the line", has also been confirmed.

The peoples of the world are beginning to see more and more clearly that imperialism, which has already forced two world wars on mankind, is in our days inseparable from such crimes as wars of aggression, flagrant interference in the life of other countries and peoples, and the brutality of racists and colonialists. In different parts of the world it maintains outworn political regimes that are hated by the peoples. Imperialism gave birth to fascism, a monstrous embodiment of obscurantism and reaction. Militarism, which has penetrated all the pores of social life in the bourgeois countries, has attained unparalleled proportions.

The peoples of the world are seeing with increasing clarity that imperialism has created a vast production machine but that this machine serves only to increase the wealth and power of a tiny handful of capitalist magnates. In the sphere ruled by world capitalism tens and hundreds of millions are suffering from hunger and poverty. Imperialism uses the greatest achievements of technology to intensify the exploitation of millions of working people and to prepare

for piratical wars. Mankind pays for the existence of imperialism with hundreds of thousands of lives—the victims of these wars and the victims of ruthless exploitation.

Lastly, what prospects does this inhuman system hold out for the ordinary man? Only one thing: more blood and sweat, more prisoners in the jails, more maimed and killed, and a still greater menace to the very existence of entire nations. Modern capitalism is a society without ideals, a society without a future. Hence its moral disintegration, spiritual hollowness and stupefying philistinism that is encouraged by a philistine pseudo-culture specially created for this purpose. Hence the monstrous crime wave in the Western countries, the black torrents of drug addiction and pornography, and the sea of perverted feelings and mutilated souls.

Lenin's wrathful words unmasking imperialism resound with renewed force today. "On all sides, at every step," he wrote in 1913, "one comes across problems which man is quite capable of solving *immediately*, but capitalism is in the way. It has amassed enormous wealth—and has made men the *slaves* of this wealth. . . .

"Civilisation, freedom and wealth under capitalism call to mind the rich glutton who is rotting alive but will not let what is young live on."¹ The whole image of modern capitalist society, comrades, serves as the most convincing testimony of the consummate accuracy of this characteristic given by Lenin.

Naturally, all this does not mean that we can forget or belittle the menace harboured by imperialism. Imperialism will not collapse by itself, automatically. No, it is still strong. Active and determined action by all the revolutionary forces is needed to overthrow it.

Such forces exist. The front of their struggle is growing steadily broader.

In line with Lenin's behests, the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties put forward an extensive militant programme of struggle against imperialism under present-day conditions. The majority of the working people of the non-socialist world have joined in this struggle. In the front ranks is the revolutionary vanguard of the working

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 389.

class consisting of conscious fighters for socialism. But far from everybody has the same clear understanding of the general meaning and end purpose of the struggle. Millions are rising because they can no longer endure ruthless exploitation. Millions are joining the battle for elementary human rights, for the freedom and independence of their enslaved people. Others, and their numbers are steadily growing in all parts of the world, are demanding with anxiety and anger in their hearts an end to the bloodthirsty adventures of the imperialist aggressors, to their insane policy of building up armaments, the stockpiles of which are already today capable of bringing death to hundreds of millions of people. Imperialism is being dealt increasingly more telling blows in the principal centres of its rule and on its flanks by the peoples it is oppressing and exploiting.

During the past few years the struggle of the working masses in the capitalist countries has acquired such a scale and intensity that one can justifiably say that a new political situation is taking shape there. The huge wave of strikes and political battles of millions of working people in France in the summer of 1968, the unparalleled general strike of 20 million workers in Italy last November, and the annual militant marches of millions of Japanese workers are striking indications of the social storm brewing in the world of imperialism. But is that all? In Spain and Argentina, in Chile and Uruguay, in the USA, West Germany and Sweden, in fact, everywhere, the bourgeoisie feels the mounting blows of the working-class movement. Everywhere the trade unions are growing more active and increasing the scale of their activity. An extremely important element is that today this struggle is waged by no means solely under economic slogans. It is increasingly becoming a political struggle of the working class, a struggle for social rights and democratic freedoms, a struggle against the omnipotence of the monopolies.

These militant actions of tens of millions of proletarians are the best reply to the specious fabrications of the enemies of Leninism, who assert that the working class of the capitalist countries has "lost" its revolutionary spirit. No, the militant spirit of the international proletariat has not faded. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) And the bourgeoisie is feeling this in a most tangible manner.

The blows being struck at imperialism by the masses are growing increasingly more powerful. This is an indisputable fact. But Communists assess the situation soberly. They know that the bourgeoisie still succeeds in holding a considerable section of the masses, including a section of the working class, captive to reactionary or reformist ideology. However, the consciousness that the present practices can no longer be tolerated is growing not only among the advanced section of the proletariat but also among other strata of the people.

Lenin taught the Communists that at sharp turns in social development it is exceedingly important to find and correctly determine the proper path or "special turn of events" that can make the masses understand the main thing, which is that a determined revolutionary struggle has to be waged for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Of key importance today is Lenin's conclusion that in the epoch of imperialism the tasks of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism draw ever closer and merge into a common torrent. It is precisely in line with this that today the Communist Parties of the bourgeois countries are putting forward programmes of struggle for democracy on the basis of which the masses can be rallied round the working class and led to the next stage, namely, the struggle for socialism. This strategy fully conforms to the considerations put forward by Lenin. In *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*, written in 1917, he pointed out that the struggle for far-reaching democratic reforms could lead to the creation of a revolutionary-democratic state in which the foundations of the rule of the big capitalists would be radically undermined. This, he wrote, "will *still not* be socialism, but it will *no longer* be capitalism. It will be a tremendous *step towards* socialism".¹

But whatever stages of transition the revolutionary masses will have to go through and whatever intermediate programmes and slogans the Communists put forward to rally these masses they always remember that ahead of them is the last and decisive battle, the battle for the overthrow of capitalism, the battle for socialism. (*Applause.*) Communists are what they are because they subordinate

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 360.

their entire struggle to this main, end goal. For the sake of this goal they rally round the working class more and more contingents of fighters. For the sake of this goal they tirelessly work to unite the working class itself, against all splitters of every hue—from the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties to the exponents of “Left” adventurism.

It goes without saying that life may introduce its amendments into the plans of struggle drawn up beforehand, into the planned stages of its development. This is all the more true in our days when more and more strata of the population whose actions are sometimes spontaneous, are being drawn into the political struggle. Unexpected turns in the course of events are possible. For that reason Lenin’s appeal that they be prepared for any change in the situation, for the use of any forms of struggle—peaceful and non-peaceful, legal and illegal—is particularly topical for Communists today. Armed with the all-conquering teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Communists of the capitalist countries bear this in mind. True sons and reliable vanguard of their peoples, they are forming the masses into the army of the revolution. There is no doubt whatever that the coming years will witness further powerful blows by this army at imperialism, a fortress that is still dangerous but doomed by history. (*Applause.*)

A vast part of the world today consists of former colonies of the imperialist powers whose peoples won state independence during the past few decades as a result of a long and determined heroic struggle. New turbulent processes are taking place in these countries. And the great Leninist teaching gives the only true key to understanding these processes.

The speech made by Lenin at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 contained the following stirring words: “It is perfectly clear that in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution,” he said, “the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect.”¹

That is exactly what is happening today.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482.

The liquidation of the colonial empires was a most powerful blow at imperialism. However, the imperialists have not laid down their arms. Today they seek to facilitate the development of capitalist orders in the former colonial countries, feeling that by employing more "flexible" and cunning methods it will be easier to rob them in the present conditions. In this lies the purport of neo-colonialism. But it would be wrong to think that the policy of the present-day colonialists has become harmless, and that their hands are any cleaner than they were before. By no means. Where they feel it necessary the imperialists continue to shed the blood of freedom-loving peoples without the least compunction, flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of the young states, weaving webs of intrigue against progressive leaders, and organising conspiracies and coups in order to remove governments that do not suit them.

The number of examples of this policy is more than sufficient. The aggression in Southeast Asia, the intrigues in Cyprus, plotting in India and in African countries—everywhere one sees the bloody tracks of the imperialists and their hostile activity against the peoples.

This same line can be seen in the Middle East as well. The real goal of the Israeli aggression and of the policy pursued by the US imperialist circles backing it is to abolish the progressive regimes in the UAR, Syria and a number of other Arab countries and to ensure conditions for the unhindered exploitation of the oil and other wealth of the Arab East by foreign monopolies.

But powerful popular forces are now rising against the conspiracies of the imperialists. The Arab peoples are actively and staunchly defending their just cause. On their side are the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the communist and democratic movements of the whole world. (*Applause.*) One can confidently say that the cause of the imperialists is doomed and that the cause of the freedom of peoples is unconquerable! (*Applause.*)

Life is thus clearly showing that the further development of the liberated countries along the road of national independence inevitably leads to a clash with the policy of imperialism and can only progress in struggle against imperialist policy.

Today with the disintegration of the colonial empire of the capitalists in the main completed, the former

colonial world has entered a new stage: **the struggle no longer solely for national but also—and this is now the main thing—for social liberation is today becoming more and more sharply pronounced.** The young countries are looking for ways of development without the capitalists, without exploitation of man by man.

Lenin charted a clear-cut prospect of possible development of economically backward countries along a non-capitalist road, i.e., in the direction of socialism without passing through the stage of capitalism. This forecast has been borne out. During the past few years quite a large group of liberated countries have started serious and far-reaching reforms in all spheres of social life, proclaiming the building of socialism as their end goal. This is, of course, not easy for the young states, whose development had been held up for centuries by the colonialists. For this it is necessary to raise the productive forces to the level required by socialism, establish totally new relations of production, change the psychology of the people and set up a new administrative apparatus relying on the support of the masses. This road of development, as Lenin said, must include a whole series of "gradual preliminary stages", of "special transitional measures".

The implementation of all these tasks requires extensive and persevering work by the entire people, by the workers, peasants and intelligentsia led by the vanguard which clearly sees the socialist goals and the road to them. Of particular importance here is the unity of all progressive, democratic forces without exception. The peoples of the countries that have chosen the non-capitalist road of development have enthusiastically embarked on this great work for they know that it is being done for the benefit of all the working people, for the sake of the genuine independence and prosperity of the beloved Homeland. Their task is today made easier by the fact that they can rely on the support of sincere friends—the socialist countries and other progressive, anti-imperialist states, and also the international communist and working-class movement.

Lenin attached enormous importance to the formation of an alliance between the socialist world and the peoples of colonial countries who have awakened to active political struggle. This alliance has now become a reality.

As regards the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, they faithfully fulfil Lenin's behest that the utmost support should be rendered to the liberation movement of the peoples. (*Applause.*)

The genuinely friendly relations permeated with a spirit of mutual trust and respect that have taken shape between us and many countries of the former colonial world are concrete embodiment of this line of our policy. Allow me, comrades, from this rostrum to address the peoples and leaders of the liberated countries on behalf of the Soviet people and convey to them our warmest and most sincere wishes for success in their difficult but glorious struggle! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

An important feature of the present stage of world development is that today the international communist movement plays a vastly enhanced role in the life of the peoples and in the struggle to solve the basic problems worrying the whole of mankind.

We Communists are proud that the great Lenin stood at the cradle of our movement. In the course of the half-century that has elapsed it has become the most influential political force in the world. The successes of the communist movement are unquestionable. But we do not forget that the summits it has achieved today were reached by tremendous effort and unceasing struggle, and at the price of many, many sacrifices. No fighters for the happiness of the working people are more dedicated than the glorious cohort of Marxists-Leninists. (*Applause.*) From generation to generation their names will be handed down as an example of real heroism, as a symbol of unshakable belief that a bright future lies before mankind. Honour and glory to the heroes of the communist movement, the Prometheans of our epoch! (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, it is obvious to us that Communists can successfully carry out the tasks confronting them only if they come forward as a united and cemented international force. We always remember the behest of the great Lenin, who taught that a firm international alliance of revolutionaries-internationalists is the guarantee of the victory of the liberation movement of the working class. An important landmark in the struggle to strengthen this alliance was last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Many obstacles still stand in the way of the implementation of the internationalist line of uniting the fraternal Parties.

"Communists," Lenin wrote, "are in duty bound not to gloss over shortcomings in their movement, but to criticise them openly so as to remedy them the more speedily and radically."¹ True to this behest of the leader, we have to say today that certain weaknesses and difficulties have manifested themselves in the communist movement over the past few years, disrupting its unity in a number of links and preventing Communists from making full use of the possibilities of the revolutionary struggle. This concerns the policy of the "Left" opportunists, including the Trotskyites, who seek to replace the scientifically substantiated Marxist line of the revolutionary movement by adventurism. This also concerns manifestations of a Right deviation which tries to emasculate Lenin's teaching of its revolutionary substance. One of the features of the present stage of the revolutionary struggle is that in many cases both Right and "Left" opportunism intertwine with nationalistic trends.

In the present epoch, when the international class struggle has grown extremely acute, the danger of Right and "Left" deviations and of nationalism in the communist movement has grown more tangible than ever before. The struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism and nationalism cannot, therefore, be conducted as a campaign calculated for only some definite span of time. The denunciation of opportunism of all kinds was and remains an immutable law for all Marxist-Leninist Parties. (*Applause.*) Lenin emphasised that "the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism".²

Imperialist ideologists and politicians have started intensive subversive activities against the Communists. They are using every possible means and method to weaken the unity of the communist front and drive a wedge where the slightest cracks begin to show. All this requires an intensification of the active offensive struggle of Communists against bourgeois ideology and still more active co-operation among them on a world scale. All this demands the unity of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 185.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 302.

working-class and national liberation movements with the peoples of the socialist countries building the new society.

The entire experience accumulated by our movement shows that provided the Communists pursue a correct policy no objective circumstances or reasons will of themselves automatically lead to a disruption of our unity. In this sense a huge and truly historic responsibility devolves on all Marxists-Leninists.

The world revolutionary process is developing inexorably. The stronger and more influential the Marxist-Leninist Parties become, the greater will be the achievements of this process. The deeper the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism sink into the minds of the masses, the sooner will the revolution achieve new victories. (*Applause.*) Under the banner of Leninism we shall secure the complete triumph of our just cause. (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, today when the entire course of social development inexorably hastens the downfall of capitalism, Lenin's words that Marxism raises questions "not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievements"¹ resound with particular force. While being occupied with the present and working on contemporary day-to-day problems, we compare our actions with our ideals, with immediate and distant prospects of social development. We think of and build the future.

Our ideas of the future stem from the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our knowledge of these principles and unbounded faith in the revolutionary, creative possibilities of the working people fill us with optimism.

Naturally, nobody can foretell in detail the course of events at any moment of future development. But if we approach the problem not from the standpoint of details or fortuities, which are always possible, if, as Lenin put it, "the matter is taken on a broad scale, then particular and trifling details recede into the background and the chief motive forces of world history become apparent".² And since

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 381.

the main motive forces of world history are known and since the principal trends of historical development have been brought to light, it becomes obvious that the struggle between the two world systems will ultimately end with the triumph of communism on a global scale. (*Applause.*)

While showing the peoples of the world the majestic prospect of a communist future, the only real prospect that conforms to the basic interests of all peoples, Marxists-Leninists are not inclined to simplify the tasks involved. The road to communism is a road of long and persevering struggle. The peoples will have to surmount the fierce resistance of the old, outworn world.

But the matter does not end there. To build communism means to reconstruct the whole life of society on a foundation that differs fundamentally from capitalism. This means uprooting the habits and traditions formed in the course of the millennia of exploiting society—private-ownership psychology and morals, and distrust between peoples of different nations and races.

Our confidence that all these difficult tasks will be successfully carried out is not solely the result of a theoretical analysis. It is founded on the irrefutable facts of 20th-century history, in the course of which more than one-third of mankind has won liberation from the yoke of capitalism. It is founded on the experience of the truly grandiose changes that have taken place and continue to take place in the socialist countries. It is founded on our own experience—the experience of the country that was the first in the world to start the practical building of communism. In carrying out the programme charted by the Party, Soviet people are by their tireless work and heroic efforts blazing the path which will sooner or later be followed by the working people of all countries. (*Applause.*) Every success and every victory won by us bring nearer the hour when all mankind will break the social and moral chains of the past and enter a new world, the world of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But no matter to what summits mankind ascends it will always remember that the gigantic figure of Lenin, thinker and revolutionary, stood at the sources of communist civilisation. (*Prolonged applause.*) Nothing is more sacred to a Communist, to a Leninist, than to devote all his strength, intelligence and will to bring nearer the future for which Lenin fought.

Comrades, I should like to end my speech with the wise words of Lenin: "The whole point is not to rest content with the skill we have acquired by previous experience, but *under all circumstances to go on, under all circumstances to strive for something bigger*, under all circumstances to proceed from simpler to more difficult tasks. Otherwise," Lenin taught us, "no progress whatever is possible and in particular no progress is possible in socialist construction."¹ We Communists shall go farther. (*Applause.*) We shall strive for something bigger. (*Applause.*) And no matter how difficult the tasks that confront and will confront us may be, we shall carry them out. (*Applause.*) The world Lenin dreamed of shall be built! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Soviet people, builders of communism! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin! (*Stormy applause.*)

May the world revolutionary movement grow broader and advance from victory to victory! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the all-conquering strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism! (*Stormy applause.*)

Lenin lived, he lives, he will go on living! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 192.

SPEECH AT THE 16th CONGRESS OF THE KOMSOMOL

May 26, 1970

Dear comrade delegates,

Dear members of the Komsomol,

This Congress of the Lenin Young Communist League is a major occasion in the life of Soviet young people and in the socio-political life of the country as a whole.

The Central Committee of our Party has commissioned me to convey to the delegates and guests of the 16th Congress of the All-Union Lenin YCL and all young Leninists throughout the country cordial greetings from the Communists of the Soviet Union and wishes of success in your work. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Only a month ago we commemorated the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. For Soviet young men and women and for the progressive youth of the world Lenin is the unfading ideal of a man, fighter and political leader.

"History," Marx wrote, "calls those men the greatest who have ennobled themselves by working for the common good; experience acclaim[s] as happiest the man who has made the greatest number of people happy." This ideal was embraced by the young Vladimir Ulyanov. Lenin's impact on the destiny of mankind is immeasurable. The revolutionary reorganisation of the world, to which he dedicated his life, is similarly immeasurable. The age of the Great October Revolution is justifiably known to history as the age of Lenin.

Under the banner of Lenin our people have won truly magnificent victories. But Lenin taught us not to flatter our-

selves with successes but soberly to assess what has been achieved and concentrate on unresolved problems. Allow me to wish your Congress to pass in a spirit of high exactingness and meticulousity in the discussion of the questions uppermost in the minds of young people and to plan the work of the Komsomol for the immediate future in a Leninist, businesslike way.

Representatives of the glorious multinational army of young fighters for communism have gathered here. Today there are 27 million members in the ranks of the Lenin Komsomol. Twenty-seven million and not the several hundred thousand of half a century ago when Vladimir Ilyich Lenin delivered his historic speech at the 3rd Congress of the Komsomol.

Looking round this hall shining with young faces one cannot help thinking of what identifies you with the lads and young women who heard Lenin and made a great contribution towards the victory of socialism and the defence of its gains. Like them you are utterly devoted to the cause of communism, prepared for self-sacrifice for the common cause, implacable in your attitude to the imperialists and have the same sense of proletarian class solidarity with millions of working people throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

Indeed, you are like them in the main thing, in what comprises the essence of the Soviet character. While for what distinguishes you—education and culture—you owe to your fathers and grandfathers, who blazed the road to the future. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Young people value the achievement of their fathers, but today there is as much need as formerly for selflessness, enthusiasm, devotion to ideals and readiness to accomplish a feat. You are called upon to safeguard what has been achieved by your fathers and carry out the grandiose plans of communist construction. This is an honourable, responsible and inspiring task. Believe me, the time will come when your children and grandchildren will envy you, young people of the 1970s, and your deeds and achievements. (*Applause.*)

Time dictates its own laws to people. The young take over from the old. This comes about in the family. And it comes about in society, too. The replacement of generations embraces the joint work of people of different ages, work

that is performed hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder. For each generation the time comes when it moves into key positions in the life of society. Such a time is coming for you, too. Your senior comrades believe in you and expect further heroic deeds and further labour achievements from you. (*Applause.*)

We cannot advance successfully without the participation of young people in the country's socio-political life. The Soviet Komsomol is an immense force. In its ranks today are workers, students, collective farmers, scientists, cosmonauts and teachers.

As is emphasised in the greetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU to your Congress, published today, the Party highly values the splendid achievements of the Komsomol, of Soviet young people, their dedicated work for the good of our great motherland. (*Applause.*) The Party is vitally interested in the utmost development of the social and political activity of young people and continues, as it has always done, to entrust to the Komsomol tasks of a nationwide scale. The present-day Komsomol is capable of carrying out the most complex and most responsible assignments.

Comrades, you will, of course, discuss in what sectors of communist construction it would be most expedient to concentrate the efforts of the Komsomol today. I should like to state some considerations on this point.

As you all know, the Soviet economy is entering a new important phase. The technical basis of industry and agriculture is undergoing a radical change. This is introducing many new features into our approach to the fulfilment of national economic tasks and the charting and implementation of economic and technical policy. Practically all the problems of any importance to our social development are now linked with scientific and technological progress.

It may be said that during the years of the New Economic Policy and the first five-year plans we went through the primary school of socialist economic management. Today we are confronted with tasks of the higher school of the economy of socialism. These are the most intricate and most creative tasks on the road to communism. It falls to you, too, members of the Komsomol, to carry them out under the leadership of the Party. But in order to do this successfully, in order to keep abreast of the age and to keep pace

with the rate of scientific and technological progress, the main thing is to master knowledge. Lenin's injunction "first, to learn, secondly, to learn, and thirdly, to learn" remains an indispensable law of life. (*Applause.*)

The Party does everything to make the young builders of communism broadly educated and creatively thinking people. Young people must get it clearly into their heads that there is no limit to the development of science and technology. For that reason one must foster in oneself already at school an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and a keen receptivity for new scientific and technological discoveries.

Today, after the measures that have been taken by the Party and the Government, a larger number of young workers than before are going to the universities and institutes. Our institutions of higher learning now have a markedly larger contingent of young people from the collective and state farms. The Komsomol has assumed patronage over these young people and is helping them in their studies. This, comrades, is a good and needed venture.

The Komsomol's concern to promote creative work in science and technology by young workers also merits every possible support. Competitions in skill by professions have become a tradition. Young turners, tractor-drivers, builders, lathe-operators, milkmaids and cooks are competing in know-how. Hundreds of thousands of young men and women are members of student scientific societies or voluntary design bureaus. A great deal of vivid talent is brought to light at exhibitions of creative work in technology by young people.

Our agriculture is an important field of activity of young enthusiasts of scientific and technological progress. It goes without saying that the considerable tasks which the Party has set agriculture can only be carried out by technically knowledgeable, trained people who love the land and are devoted to work on the land. We note with satisfaction that the Komsomol has actively responded to the Party's call to help the rural youth master the technical trades needed so acutely in our countryside.

The diverse, versatile activity of young rationalisers, inventors and production innovators, who are the true proponents of technical progress, moulds the new type of toiler, the champion of everything that is advanced. The introduc-

tion of new progressive ideas always brings to light outstanding scientific and organisational talents and fosters a high sense of exactingness and civic duty. We need people with precisely these qualities.

The alliance between science, technology and production is the guarantee of our successes during the scientific and technological revolution. (*Applause.*) You, comrades, are the ones who will have to expand and strengthen that alliance. It is the job of the Komsomol to keep looking for new ways of drawing all young men and women into this extremely important work.

The Komsomol has always proved by deed its ability to concentrate the efforts of young people in the main directions. We highly value the Komsomol's patronage of the key projects of our industrial construction. Praise and honour go to the Komsomol for this. (*Prolonged applause.*)

However, it is necessary for young people to work with enthusiasm everywhere, in all the vital branches of our immense socialist economy. We usually say that the people building factories, producing coal and oil, building roads and manufacturing modern machinery and equipment are on the front line of communist construction. But no less vital to society is the labour of those who build houses, manufacture consumer goods or work in the services industry. As regards romance, it is to be found in every field of work that is important and needed by the people. It is always with those who are capable of looking at their work in a new way and suggesting a new and better solution. (*Applause.*)

In short, the Komsomol organisations must keep within their field of vision the entire spectrum of tasks that are set by life—vivid, impressive, and routine, such as may seem to be of minor importance at first sight.

I should like to draw your attention also to an important economic task like fostering greater thrift and making better use of production reserves.

Soviet people have created gigantic material values. You must learn to manage them as skilful and far-sighted masters. Under our present scale of production, even a fraction of one per cent of rejects and unjustified waste means immense losses. Lenin's slogan of thrift, particularly stressed in the Letter of the Party CC, the Government, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Komsomol

Central Committee, has had a warm, businesslike response in broad circles of young people and the support of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. But this is not a matter of one day's work. Very much remains for all of us to do in this field.

The creative energy and the healthy critical attitude of young people, which one must likewise be able to support, must be directed towards improving production, everyday life and the conditions for recreation, and towards intolerance of shortcomings, of all kinds of backwardness and manifestations of bureaucracy. (*Applause.*) It is important to value in young people their knack of carrying out assignments with enthusiasm and their ability to react keenly to shortcomings and surmount them. We must strive to create a spiritual climate in production and in life, in fact in every collective, which would elevate man, reveal his finest capabilities and foster intolerance of anti-social deeds.

Comrades, the communist education of young people has been and remains the cardinal content of the work of Komsomol organisations. Young men and women are members of the Komsomol during the years when their character is moulded, when their world outlook takes shape and their stand in life is delineated. If during these years you have not learned to work conscientiously, have not acquired a taste for knowledge and have not acquired the ability to distinguish truth from falsity, the real values of life from the imaginary, it will be hard to make up for lost ground.

We Communists rejoice in the enhanced level of the Marxist-Leninist erudition of young people, in their profound interest for independent study of the works of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The study of revolutionary theory requires immense, painstaking work, but it is gratifying work which enriches man, gives him an understanding of the great tasks of building communism and turns him into a conscious participant of the world revolutionary process. (*Prolonged applause.*) No effort should be stinted on this work. One must, as Engels said, "constantly keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied".

Moreover, in order to become conscious fighters for the cause of communism young men and women must, in addition to acquiring theoretical knowledge, master the vast practical experience accumulated by the preceding genera-

tions. The Komsomol is called upon to carry on, enrich and multiply the revolutionary, militant and labour traditions of socialist society. Far from resting content with the old experience, it must move forward under all circumstances. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our young people must be able to wage an offensive struggle against bourgeois ideology. Every member of the Komsomol is an active fighter of the ideological front, a fighter who is uncompromising to all forms of bourgeois influence. In the struggle between bourgeois and socialist ideas there is no room for neutrality or compromise. (*Applause.*) We hold sacred Lenin's behest that there can be no "concessions on matters of theory, programme or banner".¹ (*Prolonged applause.*)

Soviet young people are morally healthy, active and purposeful. They show energy and enthusiasm in the struggle for the cause of the Party, for the cause of communism. They are young people of a new mould, who have grown up under conditions when socialism had won world positions and is increasingly determining the course of world development. (*Applause.*) The Party has every reason to be proud of the Soviet youth, of the Lenin Komsomol. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, internationalism entered the flesh and blood of the Soviet youth together with the October Revolution. The heroic deeds of the young generations of the Land of Soviets embody not only infinite love of the motherland but also a lofty sense of responsibility for the cause of the international working class, for the ideals of freedom and social justice throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

Relations of genuine brotherhood link our young people with the young people of other socialist countries. Those who are today building and fighting as members of Communist Youth Leagues and who will tomorrow reinforce the ranks of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties will undertake the lofty mission of furthering the unity of the world socialist system and enhancing its role in world development, and there is no doubt that the future of world socialism is in reliable hands. (*Applause.*)

We are witnessing a swift upsurge of the youth movement in the capitalist countries. This is palpable evidence

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 331.

of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Young people refuse to reconcile themselves with the system of exploitation, with the sanguinary adventures of imperialism. Powerful actions by young workers, peasants and students, the massive character and offensive spirit of these actions have in recent years become a major factor of the political struggle in the capitalist countries.

Our Komsomol is doing much to promote friendly ties with the Communist Leagues and other democratic youth organisations in foreign countries. It takes an active part in all the important undertakings and affairs of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students.

The Party is confident that the Lenin Komsomol will go on strengthening the internationalist unity of all young fighters against imperialism, for peace, freedom and the socialist future of the peoples. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We are living in an age of a sharp struggle between two social systems on the world scene. Imperialism has not downed arms. The international situation binds us to strengthen the defensive might and combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces. This is our sacred duty.

The army, navy and air force today need people who are educated, ideologically staunch, physically tempered and capable of combining their fathers' traditions of unbounded courage with consummate knowledge of the most up-to-date military equipment. In the upbringing of such a replenishment for the Soviet Armed Forces an immense role is played by the Komsomol, by its glorious military contingent. (*Applause.*) This is one of the principal spheres of the patriotic work of our Komsomol.

Comrades, all the great labour and military deeds of our young people have been accomplished under the guidance of the Party, which possesses the time-tested Leninist arsenal of forms and methods of Party leadership. Great Lenin taught Communists the ability to lead "by virtue of authority, energy, greater experience, greater versatility, and greater talent".

Efficiency, constructive criticism and principled attitudes combined with conscious and, therefore, firm discipline are the features of the Leninist style characteristic of the life and work of our Party. Our Komsomol, too, is learning this from the Party. (*Applause.*) The strength of Soviet young

people lies in their unbreakable link with the cause of the Party. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Party Central Committee is confident that your Congress will be instrumental in furthering the initiative of the Komsomol organisations, in mobilising the country's young people for new glorious achievements. There is no doubt that the Lenin Komsomol will further unite its ranks round the Party and still more vigorously help to educate the rising generation in a spirit of boundless devotion to the people and to the ideals of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are confident that everywhere and in everything the Komsomol will be equal to the tasks set by the Party and that it will continue to be its reliable mainstay in the struggle for communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the glorious Lenin Komsomol! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the Soviet youth! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

May our great multinational motherland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, live long and flourish! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Under the leadership of the Communist Party forward to the triumph of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. The delegates and guests chant: "To the Communist Party—glory, glory, glory!", "Glory to the CPSU!", "To the Great Party of Lenin—Hurrah!", "Lenin Is With Us!", "To the Leninist Central Committee—glory!", "To the Leninist Party—Hurrah!". Cheers fill the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.*)

SPEECH AT THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

November 24, 1970

Esteemed delegates to the Congress. Dear comrades. The delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union expresses its heartfelt gratitude for this opportunity to participate in the work of your Congress.

On behalf of the 14-million-strong body of Communists of the Soviet Union and of all Soviet working people we convey cordial fraternal greetings to the delegates to the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian Communists and the whole Hungarian people. (*Applause.*)

We highly value this opportunity to attend your Party's Congress not only as a great honour but also as an important form of cooperation between fraternal Parties and of reciprocal enrichment with experience. It is precisely in the working atmosphere of a congress that one becomes fully aware of the affairs and cares of comrades in the joint struggle and comes into direct contact with the creative process of collectively working out decisions on the cardinal problems of further socialist construction.

We heard the report of the Central Committee of the HSWP delivered by Comrade Janos Kadar with close attention and interest. The analysis given in the report of the results of the work and development of socialist Hungary for four years convincingly shows that what the Hungarian Communists had planned at their 9th Congress has now become reality.

The achievements of the Hungarian Communists and of all the working people of socialist Hungary, the new pros-

pects charted by you and the successes of other fraternal countries are further testimony of socialism's immense potentialities when the Party of Communists firmly and consistently implements its leading role in society. The Party rallies and combines the efforts of the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia. It shows sure ways of achieving the set aims, being steadfastly guided by the general laws of socialist construction and taking the national and historical specifics of its country into account.

Extensive and truly creative work is carried on by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Janos Kadar, devoted son of the Hungarian people and an outstanding and esteemed figure of the international communist and working-class movement. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We, Soviet Communists, are well aware of the efforts of our Hungarian comrades to enhance the efficacy of their country's economy and further strengthen socialist ownership. We know of your Party's striving to make the fullest use of the advantages of the socialist mode of production and combine centralised planning with economic incentives. We also know that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is consistently steering a line aimed at promoting socialist democracy. It constantly gives much of its attention to the communist education of the working people, and wages an unflagging struggle against bourgeois ideology and against Right and Left distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory. This principled approach to the solution of the key problems of the development of socialist society has the full understanding of the Communists of the Soviet Union and is highly appraised by them.

We regard it as an extremely important reiteration of the bonds of unbreakable cohesion and militant revolutionary solidarity that traditionally unite our Parties.

Comrades, all of us know perfectly well that the struggle for socialism and communism requires the solution of many difficult problems. Every new phase in the development of socialist and communist construction sets our Parties its own complex problems. This is a natural dialectical process. Communists do not look for an easy life. They always boldly move further forward. Further convincing proof of this is Comrade Kadar's report and the entire atmosphere at your Congress. The same may be said of the work of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal Parties of other socialist countries.

The main thing, comrades, is that the Communists of the socialist countries have all the necessary conditions for successfully resolving the problems arising out of the present-day phase of our social development.

The Soviet Union, the Hungarian People's Republic and other socialist countries have the historic mission of being in the front ranks of the builders of the new world, the shoots of which are today sprouting everywhere. On the international scene an unabating sharp class struggle is going on between working people and exploiters, between the forces of socialism, freedom, peace and progress and the forces of imperialist reaction, oppression and aggression.

The front of this struggle is enormously broad, the struggle itself being waged in various forms, peaceful and non-peaceful. Our persevering day-to-day work, the struggle of the working people of the capitalist countries for social emancipation and the offensive of the peoples on colonialism and neocolonialism are all links of a single chain of great class battles, in which the better morrow of the whole of mankind is born.

Our greatest common possession is the existence of the world socialist system, which is confidently developing and steadily growing stronger. The socialist community in Europe currently has a powerful economic potential. It has a highly-developed industry, a steadily progressing agriculture and vast resources of raw materials. The Soviet Union, People's Hungary and other socialist countries have fine cadres of workers, technicians, engineers and scientists, dedicated fighters for the building of the new society who are capable of carrying out the biggest and most complex tasks of economic, scientific and technological progress.

We have a splendid means which helps to accelerate the development of the socialist countries. This is our mutual support, mutual assistance and the practice of socialist internationalism, when the achievements of each socialist country benefit all, while the achievements of all benefit each member of the family of socialist states.

There are full grounds for saying that in recent years the attention of the fraternal Parties has been centred on enhancing the efficacy of the cooperation among the socialist

countries. In the economy, in politics, in ideology and in matters of defence we have been coordinating our efforts more and more closely.

In the **economic field** an important stage in raising the level of such cooperation was the recent coordination between the CMEA countries of their economic development plans for 1971-1975. The members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have considerable experience of cooperating in carrying out major economic projects. But today we all see the need and possibility for raising the economic cooperation among the socialist countries to a new, qualitatively higher level. The key problem towards whose solution our active joint efforts are presently directed is the development of socialist, economic integration. Economic integration with the active utilisation of the achievements of scientific and technological progress is our common line and we are confident that it will bring the socialist countries to new successes and still further consolidate the positions of world socialism in the world economy.

During recent years the CPSU, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and other fraternal Parties, and the governments of our countries have done much to achieve a still further consolidation of our **political cooperation** and strengthen the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. It seems to me that we have every reason for giving a positive assessment of the work that has been done.

We now have adopted the good practice of consulting each other on pressing problems. This enables us to coordinate our actions on the international scene and, at the same time, to strengthen the foreign political position of each member of the Warsaw Treaty.

Our common achievement is the considerable enhancement of the efficacy of the allied **armed forces**. The large-scale military exercises that have been held in recent years have shown the high level of cooperation and military training of the friendly armies of the Warsaw Treaty and their ability to carry out the most intricate military tasks. Moreover, they have given further confirmation that our brotherhood-in-arms is a reliable means of curbing any aggressor. For more than 15 years the military and political alliance of the socialist states has been effectively serving the interests of socialism and the interests of European and world security. It helps all of us to ensure favourable external condi-

tions for the building of socialism and communism. It is a prime factor of lasting peace in Europe and beyond it.

We are full of optimism when we speak of the common prospects of the world socialist system, of our morrow. In the struggle for the ideals of the working class, for the ideals of the working masses we have a tested weapon. This weapon is Marxist-Leninist theory. Founded on an analysis and account of the general laws of historical development and alien to pre-set patterns and fossilised dogmas, it is constantly enriched by the revolutionary practice of the socialist states and the many-sided experience of the world communist, working-class and national liberation movement. The attempts of the bourgeois ideologists and their revisionist menials from both the Right and "Left" to steer the builders of socialism and communism away from the correct path and envelop them in a smoke-screen of provocative fabrications, demagoguery and falsification are getting a worthy rebuff from the Communists. The fidelity of the Communist and Workers' Parties to Marxism-Leninism is the iron-clad guarantee of our further victories.

Southeast Asia, where with the support of the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the whole world the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are upholding their freedom and independence with arms in hand against the imperialists and their puppets, remains an area of bitter battles. The Middle East, where the imperialists, who are using the Israeli aggressors, would like to put an end to the independence of the Arab states, reverse the social development of those states that have chosen the road of progress and return them to the status of countries dependent on and exploited by international capital and its henchmen, is an important sector of the worldwide front of the liberation struggle. The struggle for genuine independence and social progress is gaining momentum in the Latin American countries. In the imperialist citadels themselves—the United States of America, Britain, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries—the class battles are growing sharper and reaching an unprecedented scale with the working class more and more resolutely declaring its rights and interests.

The European continent is today an area of active struggle and interaction between the two opposing systems. The socialist countries are coming forward as active champions of lasting peace and security for all the peoples of Europe

and pressing for the practical implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems in our continent. It is our common opinion that this policy is consistent with the interests of the revolutionary forces fighting for socialism and democracy, with the interests of all peoples.

Today nobody can any longer deny the huge positive role which the mighty community of socialist countries plays in the international life of present-day Europe. The policy of the socialist countries has been the chief of the factors that have helped to secure a notable improvement of the political climate in Europe in recent years.

A considerable achievement of the policy of the socialist countries, a policy founded on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, has been the development of mutually beneficial cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with France and some other West European states. These relations serve the cause of peace and the relaxation of tension in Europe and the rest of the world.

A result of the long-standing coordinated, principled policy of our community and the realistic position adopted by the new government of the Federal Republic of Germany—evidently not without the pressure of the mood of broad sections of the population of that country—has also been the conclusion of a treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany and the recent initialing of a treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG. These documents are founded on a clear recognition of the real state of affairs in Europe, a situation that had taken shape as a result of the liberation struggle of the peoples during the Second World War. They create excellent prerequisites for furthering peaceful coexistence between the European states in many spheres and, at the same time, safeguard the legitimate interests of the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

It was precisely the countries of the socialist community which put forward the idea of convening a European security conference, an idea that has been favourably received by most of the European countries and is now making its way towards its practical realisation.

All these and many other major foreign policy actions are—this must be re-emphasised—the result of the **joint**,

coordinated policy of the socialist countries. The stronger our unity and the closer our actions are coordinated the greater will be our successes in foreign policy in the interests of each of our countries, in the interests of world socialism and in the interests of all the democratic and peace-loving forces.

Comrades, our Party highly values the active foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic and the genuinely internationalist activity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The Communists of very many countries gratefully note the active role played by our Hungarian friends in the preparations for the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. That Meeting, held, as you all know, in 1969, was a major event in our movement. It helped to cement the communist ranks and secure a further upsurge of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the working masses. This struggle is moving from victory to victory in all parts of the globe. Step by step the revolutionary forces of modern times—the world socialist system, the working class and the national liberation movement—are pressing imperialism.

Dear comrades, considerable achievements have been attained by the Communists, above all by the Communists of socialist countries, in the creative work of building the new society, in the moulding of the new man and in the noble struggle for the highest interests of the working people of all countries. But we know that ahead of us there still are many difficulties, much work and many battles. In our work within our own countries and on the international scene our reliable compass remain Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's immortal words:

“The class struggle is continuing; it has merely changed its forms. It is the class struggle of the proletariat to prevent the return of the old exploiters.... The class struggle is continuing and it is our task to subordinate all interests to that struggle. Our communist morality is also subordinated to that task. We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting system and to unite all the working people around the proletariat, which is building up a new, a communist society.”¹

We, members of the delegation from the Communist

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 293.

Party of the Soviet Union, are grateful for the warm words addressed to our Party from the rostrum of this Congress by Comrade Janos Kadar. I should like to assure you that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers that its highest duty has been and remains to continue, in concert with all fraternal Parties, to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries in the common struggle for our Marxist-Leninist ideals.

Today the Soviet people live and work on the eve of an important event in the life of the country—the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We shall have excellent achievements to show at the Congress. The task set by the preceding 23rd Congress of the CPSU is being successfully fulfilled. As a result of the dedicated labour of Soviet people there has been a further advance of the country's economy and a considerable rise of the standard of living. Soviet science and technology have been successfully developing during these years. Striking testimony of this is the brilliant success of history's first experiment in landing an automatic explorer on the Moon, the Lunokhod-1, which was created by Soviet people.

At present, in charting the plans for the coming period, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strives, as it has always done, to tie them in closely with our common internationalist tasks. We are certain that the coming years will witness further achievements by the socialist community, and for our part we are fully determined to do our utmost for the triumph of our common cause.

In conclusion, I should like to wish the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and all the working people of fraternal Hungary further successes in socialist construction, in the promotion of industry, agriculture, science, culture, education and the national welfare. From the bottom of our hearts we wish you every success in carrying out the big tasks outlined by the 10th Congress of the HSWP.

In token of the long-standing, durable friendship between the Soviet and Hungarian Communists and the peoples of our countries, and of the militant revolutionary traditions of this friendship, allow me, dear comrades, to turn over to the Congress a gift from the Central Committee of our Party, a painting by the Soviet artist Kuznetsov entitled "Long Live the Revolution!" (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The painting portrays Vladimir Ilyich Lenin speaking in

Moscow's Red Square on May 25, 1919 during a parade in honour of the Day of Universal Military Training. Standing next to Lenin on that day was an envoy of the Hungarian revolution, Comrade Tibor Szamuely, Commissar of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and in his speech Lenin warmly greeted him. In those formidable times our peoples were together in the struggle against world capitalism. Today they are together building a new world. Together they will arrive at a bright future—at communism.

Long live the close, unbreakable friendship between the Soviet Union and People's Hungary and the fraternal militant alliance of the Soviet and Hungarian Communists! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, vanguard of the working people and leader and organiser of socialist construction! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

May the solidarity, unity and cooperation of the socialist countries, the communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces grow stronger! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live peace and communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev hands the Presidium a message of greetings from the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 10th Congress of the HSUP and a stormy, prolonged ovation again fills the hall.

**REPORT
OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
TO THE 24th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION**

March 30, 1971

Comrade delegates, dear guests,

Five years have passed since the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

These have been years of our people's intense labour. In implementing the plans outlined by the Party, the Soviet people have scored great successes along all the main lines of communist construction.

These have been years in which our socialist economy took another great stride forward. The volume of industrial production has increased considerably. Agriculture has been growing steadily. New frontiers have been reached in the development of science and technology, and their latest achievements were being applied on an ever growing scale. On this basis we have succeeded in materially advancing in the direction which ultimately expresses the main meaning of our Party's activity—towards further raising the level of the welfare and culture of the whole Soviet people.

These have been years of successful development of socialist social relations and Soviet democracy, years of the further flourishing of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR and of considerable strengthening of the political and defence might of our great country—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (*Applause.*)

In the sphere of international development these have been years of great socio-political changes, years of sharp confrontation between the forces of peace, freedom and progress, and the forces of oppression, reaction and aggression. More than once the horizons of the globe have been

clouded with the danger of war, but on every occasion imperialist encroachments met with resolute rebuff.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have made a big and active contribution to the struggle for peace and the security of nations. (*Applause.*) Our country's international positions have become even more secure, and the role of the world socialist system has increased. The great alliance of the three main revolutionary forces of our day—socialism, the international working-class movement, and the peoples' national liberation struggle—has continued to grow and gain in depth.

The past five-year period has been one of further growth and strengthening of our great Leninist Party, further consolidation of its ties with the people, and enhancement of its leading role in the whole life of Soviet society. In these years, the Party has had to tackle a great many formidable tasks. Summing up the experience accumulated in communist construction, the Party has formulated a principled and realistic policy which has been met with approval and unanimously supported by the whole Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

These have been years of tremendous political upswing and labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people on the occasion of two great anniversaries—the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, and the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin (*applause*)—years of ever more active participation by broad masses of working people in the practical implementation of the plans outlined by the Party. All the Soviet people regard the 24th Congress of the Communist Party as an outstanding event in their lives, and have marked it with concrete deeds and fresh big achievements. (*Applause.*)

At its 24th Congress, our Leninist Party finds itself full of vigour, enriched with new experience and monolithically united, fully aware of the scale and importance of what has already been achieved, and confident in its strength and the correctness of the prospects mapped out for our further advance. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Now comrades, allow me to deal with the results of the work done by the Central Committee and the whole Party in the period under review, and of some of the CC's considerations concerning the Party's policy and the country's development over the next few years.

I
THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE USSR.
THE CPSU'S FOREIGN-POLICY ACTIVITY

Comrades, our internal development is closely connected with the situation in the world arena. In view of this the Party's Central Committee has devoted much attention to international problems. Plenary meetings of the CC have repeatedly considered the most important and pressing problems of the USSR's foreign policy, and the CPSU's activity in the communist movement.

The Soviet Union is a peace-loving state, and this is determined by the very nature of our socialist system. The goals of Soviet foreign policy, as formulated by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, consist in ensuring, together with other socialist countries, favourable international conditions for the construction of socialism and communism; in consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their friendship and brotherhood; supporting the national liberation movement and engaging in all-round co-operation with the young developing states; consistently standing up for the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, giving a resolute rebuff to the aggressive forces of imperialism, and safeguarding mankind from another world war.

The whole of the CC's practical activity in the sphere of foreign policy has been designed to achieve these goals.

**1. For the Further Development of the Friendship
and Co-operation of the Socialist Countries**

The CC's attention has been constantly centred on questions of further cohesion and development of the world socialist system, and relations with the fraternal socialist countries and their Communist Parties.

The world socialist system has a quarter-century behind it. From the standpoint of development of revolutionary theory and practice these have been exceptionally fruitful years. The socialist world has given the communist and working-class movement experience which is of tremendous and truly historic importance. This experience shows:

- The socialist social system, which is firmly established in the states now constituting the world socialist system,

has proved its great viability in the historical contest with capitalism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

- The formation and strengthening of the world socialist system has been a powerful accelerator of historical progress which was started by the Great October Revolution. Fresh prospects have been opened for the triumph of socialism all over the world; life has provided confirmation of the conclusion drawn by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that "the world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle".

- The world socialist system has been making a great contribution to the fulfilment of a task of such vital importance for all the peoples as the prevention of another world war. It is safe to say that many of the imperialist aggressors' plans were frustrated thanks to the existence of the world socialist system and its firm action. (*Prolonged applause.*)

- Successes in socialist construction largely depend on the correct combination of the general and the nationally specific in social development. Not only are we now theoretically aware but also have been convinced in practice that the way to socialism and its main features are determined by the general regularities, which are inherent in the development of all the socialist countries. We are also aware that the effect of the general regularities is manifested in different forms consistent with concrete historical conditions and national specifics. It is impossible to build socialism without basing oneself on general regularities or taking account of the concrete historical specifics of each country. Nor is it possible without a consideration of both these factors correctly to develop relations between the socialist states.

The experience accumulated over the quarter-century also makes it possible to take a more profound and more realistic approach in assessing and determining the ways of overcoming objective and subjective difficulties which arise in the construction of the new society and the establishment of the new, socialist type of inter-state relations. Given a correct policy of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the common social system, and the identity of basic interests and purposes of the peoples of the socialist countries make it possible successfully to overcome these difficulties and steadily to

advance the cause of developing and strengthening the world socialist system.

The past five-year period has seen a considerable contribution to the treasure-house of the collective experience of the fraternal countries and Parties. In the last five years, the economic potential of the socialist states has increased substantially, the political foundations of socialism have been strengthened, the people's living standards have been raised, and culture and science have been further developed.

At the same time, it is known that some difficulties and complications have continued to appear in the socialist world, and this has also had an effect on the development of relations between individual states and the Soviet Union. However, this has not changed the dominant tendency of strengthening friendship and cohesion of the socialist countries. On the whole, our co-operation with the fraternal countries has been successfully developing and strengthening in every sphere. (*Applause.*)

The CPSU has attached special importance to developing **co-operation with the Communist Parties of the fraternal countries**. This co-operation, enriching us with each other's experience, has enabled us jointly to work on the fundamental problems of socialist and communist construction, to find the most rational forms of economic relations, collectively to lay down a common line in foreign affairs, and to exchange opinion on questions relating to the work in the sphere of ideology and culture.

The period under review was marked by important successes in **co-ordinating the foreign-policy activity** of the fraternal Parties and states. The most important international problems and events in this period were considered collectively by the representatives of socialist countries on various levels.

The Warsaw Treaty Organisation has been and continues to be the main centre for co-ordinating the foreign-policy activity of the fraternal countries.

The Warsaw Treaty countries displayed the initiative of putting forward a full-scale programme for strengthening peace in Europe, which is pivoted on the demand that the immutability of the existing state borders should be secured. The Political Consultative Committee has devoted several of its sittings to formulating and concretising this programme.

The Warsaw Treaty countries can also undoubtedly count among their political assets the fact that the plans which had existed within NATO to give the FRG militarists access to nuclear weapons have not been realised.

Joint efforts by the socialist states have also made it possible to achieve substantial progress in solving a task of such importance for stabilising the situation in Europe as the strengthening of the international positions of the German Democratic Republic. (*Applause.*) The so-called Hallstein Doctrine has been defeated. The GDR has already been recognised by 27 states, and this process is bound to continue. (*Applause.*)

Active and consistent support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is vitally important for the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina against the imperialist interventionists. The steps taken by the socialist states in the Middle East have become one of the decisive factors which have frustrated the imperialist plans of overthrowing the progressive regimes in the Arab countries.

In the United Nations and other international bodies, the socialist countries, acting together, have put forward many proposals of key international importance. These proposals have been at the focus of world opinion.

As a result of the collective formulation and implementation of a number of measures in recent years, the **military organisation of the Warsaw Treaty** has been further improved. The armed forces of the allied powers are in a state of high readiness and are capable of guaranteeing the peaceful endeavour of the fraternal peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In short, comrades, the socialist countries' multilateral political co-operation is becoming ever closer and more vigorous. We set ourselves definite aims and work jointly to achieve them. This is naturally of tremendous importance, especially in the present conditions of the contest between the two world social systems.

Of equal importance is **co-operation in the economic sphere**, and extension and deepening of national-economic ties between the socialist countries. The period under review has also been fruitful in this respect.

Let us turn to the facts.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal states seek to help each other in every way to develop their national econo-

mies. In the last five years, over 300 industrial and agricultural projects have been built or reconstructed in the socialist countries with our technical assistance. We have been supplying our friends with many types of industrial products on mutually advantageous terms. The Soviet Union has met 70, and more, per cent of the import requirements in some key types of raw materials and fuel of the CMEA countries and Cuba, and also to a considerable extent those of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

In the past five-year period, our national economy, for its part, has received from the CMEA countries equipment for 54 chemical plants. Over 38 per cent of the seagoing tonnage which our merchant navy has received in that period was made at our friends' shipyards. The CMEA countries are taking part through their investments in developing raw material and fuel branches of the Soviet economy, and in enlarging the capacities for making metal, mineral fertilisers and pulp. We have also been receiving many consumer goods from the fraternal countries.

The USSR and the other CMEA countries arrange their economic relations on a long-term basis. In particular, the fraternal countries have co-ordinated their national-economic plans for 1971-1975. In the last few years, active work has been continued in developing the organisational structure and technical basis for multilateral economic co-operation.

The second section of the Druzhba oil pipeline is being laid. In the first year of its operation, 1964, it carried 8.3 million tons of oil, and in 1975 the fraternal countries will receive almost 50 million tons of oil. A gas pipeline of unique dimensions is being laid to carry natural gas from Siberia to the country's European part. This will also help to increase gas deliveries to Czechoslovakia and Poland, and to start supplying gas to the GDR, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Mir integrated power grids have been yielding great economies for the CMEA countries. The International Bank for Economic Co-operation has been operating successfully, and a common investment bank of the CMEA countries recently started operations. Other forms of multilateral ties are also being strengthened.

All this has produced its results, helping to make social production more efficient, and to develop the national

economy of each of our countries at a rapid pace. In the past five-year period, the CMEA countries' industrial production increased by 49 per cent. Trade between them has also been growing.

However, like other members of CMEA, we believe that the possibilities of the socialist division of labour are not yet being fully used. Practice has led us up to this common conclusion: it is necessary to deepen specialisation and co-operation of production, and to tie in our national-economic plans more closely, that is, to advance along the way of the socialist countries' economic integration. Comrades, this is an important and necessary endeavour.

The economic integration of the socialist countries is a new and complex process. It implies a new and broader approach to many economic questions, and the ability to find the most rational solutions, meeting the interests not only of the given country but of all the participants in co-operation. It requires firm orientation on the latest scientific and technical achievements, and the most profitable and technically advanced lines of production.

That is the approach the CPSU intends to foster among workers in our planning and economic bodies. In this connection consideration should also apparently be given to the steps that would provide every unit of our economic system with an incentive to develop long-term economic ties with the fraternal countries.

In the period between the 23rd and the 24th Congresses, our Party has displayed much concern for strengthening **bilateral relations between the Soviet Union** and the socialist countries.

Close and diverse co-operation, friendship and cordiality are characteristic of our relations with the Warsaw Treaty countries—Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

New treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance have been concluded with Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Together with the treaties with the GDR, Poland and Mongolia, which entered into force earlier, together with the other bilateral treaties between the fraternal countries, these documents constitute a comprehensive system of mutual allied commitments of a new, socialist type.

Our friendship with the Polish People's Republic is

unshakeable. We note with deep satisfaction that the difficulties which arose in fraternal Poland have been overcome. The Polish United Workers' Party is taking steps to have its ties with the working class and all other working people strengthened, and the positions of socialism in the country consolidated. From the bottom of their hearts, the Communists of the Soviet Union wish their Polish friends the very greatest of success. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Our Party and the Soviet people have relations of socialist solidarity and strong and militant friendship with the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. (*Applause.*) Following the precepts of Ho Chi Minh, great patriot and revolutionary, the Vietnamese people have raised high the banner of socialism and are fearlessly confronting the imperialist aggressors. (*Applause.*) The Democratic Republic of Vietnam may be sure that in its armed struggle and its peaceful endeavour it can continue to rely on the Soviet Union's fraternal support. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Over these years, the Central Committee has devoted constant attention to strengthening co-operation with the Republic of Cuba and the Communist Party of Cuba. As a result of joint efforts, considerable successes have been achieved in developing Soviet-Cuban relations. The peoples of the Soviet Union and of Cuba are comrades-in-arms in a common struggle, and their friendship is firm. (*Prolonged applause.*)

For half a century now, the CPSU and the Soviet state have had bonds of strong and time-tested friendship with the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian People's Republic. The Soviet Union is a true friend and ally of socialist Mongolia, and actively supports the efforts of our Mongolian friends aimed at solving major economic problems and strengthening their country's international positions. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the last few years, our ties with the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Workers' Party of Korea have grown, and this, we are sure, meets the interests of the peoples of both countries. The Soviet Union has supported and continues to support the proposals of the KPDR Government on the country's peaceful, democratic unification, and the Korean people's demands for a withdrawal of US troops from the south of Korea. (*Applause.*)

In the period under review, Soviet-Yugoslav relations have continued to develop. The Soviet people want to see socialism in Yugoslavia strengthened, and her ties with the socialist community growing stronger. We stand for Soviet-Yugoslav co-operation, and for developing contacts between our Parties. (*Applause.*)

About our relations with the People's Republic of China. It will be recalled that the Chinese leaders have put forward an ideological-political platform of their own which is incompatible with Leninism on the key questions of international life and the world communist movement, and have demanded that we should abandon the line of the 20th Congress and the Programme of the CPSU. They unfolded an intensive and hostile propaganda campaign against our Party and country, made territorial claims on the Soviet Union, and in the spring and summer of 1969 brought things to the point of armed incidents along the border.

Our Party has resolutely opposed the attempts to distort the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and to split the international communist movement and the ranks of the fighters against imperialism. Displaying restraint and refusing to be provoked, the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government have done their utmost to bring about a normalisation of relations with the People's Republic of China.

In the last eighteen months, as a result of the initiative displayed on our part, there have been signs of some normalisation in relations between the USSR and the PRC. A meeting of the heads of government of the two countries took place in September 1969, and this was followed by negotiations in Peking between government delegations on a settlement of the border issues. These negotiations are proceeding slowly, and it goes without saying that their favourable completion calls for a constructive attitude not only of one side.

An exchange of ambassadors took place between the USSR and the PRC at the end of last year. After a considerable interval, trade agreements have been signed and trade has somewhat increased. These are useful steps. We are prepared to continue to act in this direction.

But on the other hand, comrades, we cannot, of course, fail to see that the anti-Soviet line in China's propaganda and policy is being continued, and that the 9th Congress of

the CPC has written this line, which is hostile to the Soviet Union, into its decisions.

What can be said in this context?

We resolutely reject the slanderous inventions concerning the policy of our Party and our state which are being spread from Peking and instilled into the minds of the Chinese people. (*Prolonged applause.*) It is the more absurd and harmful to sow dissent between China and the USSR considering that this is taking place in a situation in which the imperialists have been stepping up their aggressive action against the freedom-loving peoples. More than ever before the situation demands cohesion and joint action by all the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces, instead of fanning hostility between such states as the USSR and China.

We shall never forsake the national interests of the Soviet state. (*Prolonged applause.*) The CPSU will continue tirelessly to work for the cohesion of the socialist countries and the world communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis. (*Applause.*) At the same time, our Party and the Soviet Government are deeply convinced that an improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would be in line with the fundamental, long-term interests of both countries, the interests of socialism, the freedom of the peoples, and stronger peace. That is why we are prepared in every way to help not only to normalise relations but also to restore neighbourliness and friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and express the confidence that this will eventually be achieved. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Such is our principled stand. We have repeatedly stated it, are firmly committed to it, and are backing it up in practice. (*Applause.*)

As regards Albania, we are prepared, as in the past, to restore normal relations with her. This would be beneficial to both countries and to the common interests of the socialist states.

Comrades, the political crisis in Czechoslovakia has been fairly prominent in the international events of recent years. There is apparently no need here to set out the factual side of the matter, which is well known. Let us deal only with some of the conclusions drawn from what has taken place which we believe to be the most essential.

The Czechoslovak events were a fresh reminder that in

the countries which have taken the path of socialist construction the internal anti-socialist forces, whatever remained of them, may, in certain conditions, become active and even mount direct counter-revolutionary action in the hope of support from outside, from imperialism, which, for its part, is always prepared to form blocs with such forces.

The danger of Right-wing revisionism, which seeks, on the pretext of "improving" socialism, to destroy the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, and paves the way for the penetration of bourgeois ideology, has been fully brought out in this connection.

The Czechoslovak events showed very well how important it is constantly to strengthen the Party's leading role in socialist society, steadily to improve the forms and methods of Party leadership, and to display a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the solution of pressing problems of socialist development.

It was quite clear to us that this was not only an attempt on the part of imperialism and its accomplices to overthrow the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. It was an attempt to strike in this way at the positions of socialism in Europe as a whole, and to create favourable conditions for a subsequent onslaught against the socialist world by the most aggressive forces of imperialism.

In view of the appeals by Party and state leaders, Communists and working people of Czechoslovakia, and considering the danger posed to the socialist gains in that country, we and the fraternal socialist countries then jointly took a decision to render internationalist assistance to Czechoslovakia in defence of socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*) In the extraordinary conditions created by the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution, we were bound to do so by our class duty, loyalty to socialist internationalism, and the concern for the interests of our states and the future of socialism and peace in Europe. (*Applause.*)

You will recall that in its document, "Lessons of the Crisis Development", a plenary meeting of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gave this assessment of the importance of the fraternal states' collective assistance (I quote):

"The entry of the allied troops of the five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia was an act of international solidarity, meeting both the common interests of the Czecho-

slovakian working people and the interests of the international working class, the socialist community and the class interests of the international communist movement. This internationalist act saved the lives of thousands of men, ensured internal and external conditions for peaceful and tranquil labour, strengthened the Western borders of the socialist camp, and blasted the hopes of the imperialist circles for a revision of the results of the Second World War." (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We fully agree with the conclusion drawn by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Life has once again provided convincing evidence that the fraternal unity of the socialist countries is the most reliable barrier against the forces trying to attack and weaken the socialist camp, to undermine and invalidate the working people's socialist gains. The peoples of the socialist countries have clearly demonstrated to the whole world that they will not give up their revolutionary gains, and that the borders of the socialist community are immutable and inviolable. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We are sincerely glad that the Communists of Czechoslovakia have successfully stood the trials that fell to their lot. Today the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is advancing towards its 14th Congress, which we are sure will be a new and important stage in strengthening the positions of socialism in Czechoslovakia. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the present-day socialist world, with its successes and prospects, with all its problems, is still a young and growing social organism, where not everything has settled and where much still bears the marks of earlier historical epochs. The socialist world is forging ahead and is continuously improving. Its development naturally runs through struggle between the new and the old, through the resolution of internal contradictions. The experience that has been accumulated helps the fraternal Parties to find correct and timely resolution of the contradictions and confidently to advance along the path indicated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great teachers of the proletariat. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has regarded and continues to regard as its internationalist duty in every way to promote the further growth of the might of the world socialist system. (*Applause.*) Our stand is that the

co-operation between the fraternal countries should grow ever more diverse and gain in depth, that it should involve ever broader masses of working people, and that each other's concrete experience should be more fundamentally studied at every level of state, social, economic and cultural life.

We want to see every fraternal country a flourishing state, harmoniously combining rapid economic, scientific and technical growth with a flowering of socialist culture and rising living standards for the working people. We want the world socialist system to be a well-knit family of nations, building and defending the new society together, and mutually enriching each other with experience and knowledge, a family, strong and united, which the people of the world would regard as the prototype of the future world community of free nations. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Allow me to assure our friends, our brothers and our comrades-in-arms in the socialist countries that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will spare no effort to attain this lofty goal! (*Prolonged applause.*)

2. Imperialism, Enemy of the Peoples and Social Progress. The Peoples Against Imperialism

Comrades, at its 23rd Congress and then in a number of its documents our Party has already given a comprehensive assessment of modern imperialism. A Marxist-Leninist analysis of its present-day features is contained in the material of the 1969 International Communist Meeting. Allow me, therefore, in the light of the experience of the last few years to deal only with some of the basic points which we must take account of in our policy.

The features of contemporary capitalism largely spring from the fact that it is trying to adapt itself to the new situation in the world. In the conditions of the confrontation with socialism, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries are afraid more than they have ever been of the class struggle developing into a massive revolutionary movement. Hence, the bourgeoisie's striving to use more camouflaged forms of exploitation and oppression of the working people, and its readiness now and again to agree to partial reforms in order to keep the masses under its ideological and polit-

ical control as far as possible. The monopolies have been making extensive use of scientific and technical achievements to fortify their positions, to enhance the efficiency and accelerate the pace of production, and to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the working people.

However, adaptation to the new conditions does not mean that capitalism has been stabilised as a system. **The general crisis of capitalism has continued to deepen.**

Even the most developed capitalist states are not free from grave economic upheavals. The USA, for instance, has been floundering in one of its economic crises for almost two years now. The last few years have also been marked by a grave crisis in the capitalist monetary and financial system. The simultaneous growth of inflation and unemployment has become a permanent feature. There are now almost eight million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries.

The contradictions between the imperialist states have not been eliminated either by the processes of integration or the imperialists' class concern for pooling their efforts in fighting against the socialist world. By the early 1970s, the main centres of imperialist rivalry have become clearly visible: these are the USA—Western Europe (above all, the six Common Market countries)—Japan. The economic and political competitive struggle between them has been growing ever more acute. The import bans imposed by official US agencies on an ever growing number of products from Europe and Japan, and the European countries' efforts to limit their exploitation by US capital are only some of the signs of this struggle.

In the past five-year period, imperialist foreign policy has provided fresh evidence that imperialism has not ceased to be reactionary and aggressive.

In this context, one must deal above all with US imperialism, which in the last few years has reasserted its urge to act as a kind of guarantor and protector of the international system of exploitation and oppression. It seeks to dominate everywhere, interferes in the affairs of other peoples, high-handedly tramples on their legitimate rights and sovereignty, and seeks by force, bribery and economic penetration to impose its will on states and whole areas of the world.

Needless to say, the forces of war and aggression also

exist in the other imperialist countries. In West Germany, these are the revanchists, who have been increasingly gang-ing up with the neo-nazis; in Britain, these are the execu-tioners of Northern Ireland, the suppliers of arms to the South African racists, and the advocates of the aggressive US policy; in Japan, these are the militarists who, in de-fiance of the constitution, which prohibits war "for all time", seek once again to push the country onto the path of expan-sion and aggression.

Another fact, comrades, that should also be borne in mind is that since the war militarism in the capitalist world has been growing on an unprecedented scale. This tendency has been intensified in the recent period. In 1970 alone, the NATO countries invested 103 thousand million dollars in war preparations. Militarisation has acquired the most dan-gerous nature in the USA. In the last five years, that country has spent almost 400 thousand million dollars for military purposes.

The imperialists have been systematically plundering the peoples of dozens of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Every year, they funnel thousands of millions of dollars out of the Third World. Meanwhile, according to a 1970 UN report on the world food situation, 375 million people on these continents live on the brink of death from starvation.

The imperialists are prepared to commit any crime in their efforts to preserve or restore their domination of the peoples in their former colonies or in other countries which are escaping from the grip of capitalist exploitation. The last five-year period has provided much fresh evidence of this. The aggression against the Arab states, the colonialist attempts to invade Guinea, and the subversive activity against the progressive regimes in Latin America—all this is a constant reminder that the imperialist war against the freedom-loving peoples has not ceased.

And the continuing US aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos is the main atrocity commit-ted by the modern colonialists; it is the stamp of ignominy on the United States.

In the last few years, facts about the war crimes of US imperialism have come to light that have literally rocked world public opinion. Tragic notoriety fell to the lot of the Vietnamese village of Song My, whose unarmed civilian

population, including old men, women and children, was sadistically wiped out by the US executioners.

It is hard to keep a calm tone when speaking about the atrocities committed by the interventionists, who are armed to the teeth. Hundreds of thousands of tons of napalm have literally scorched into wasteland whole areas of South Vietnam. Almost 1.5 million Vietnamese have been poisoned, and many have died as a result of the use of chemical weapons. No honest man, least of all a Communist, can ever reconcile his conscience with what is being done by the US interventionists and their henchmen, who claim to represent "Western civilisation" and the so-called "free world". It is a disgrace!

Comrades, we have no doubt at all that the attempts of imperialism to turn the tide of history, to make it flow in its favour, are bound to fail. However, we Communists are well aware that there is no room for passivity or self-complacency. The fighters against capitalist oppression are confronted by the last but the most powerful of the exploiting systems that have ever existed. That is why a long and hard struggle still lies ahead.

But however hard this struggle, it continues to mount and its front is being steadily widened. In the last few years, the fighters against imperialism have written new and glorious pages into the annals of the class battles.

The **international working-class movement** continues to play, as it has played in the past, the role of time-tested and militant vanguard of the revolutionary forces. The events of the past five-year period in the capitalist world have fully borne out the importance of the working class as the chief and strongest opponent of the rule of the monopolies, and as a centre rallying all the anti-monopoly forces. (*Applause.*)

In countries like France and Italy, where the traditions of the class struggle are more developed, and where strong Communist Parties are active, the working people, headed by the working class, have attacked not only individual groups of capitalists, but the whole system of state-monopoly domination. In Britain, the class struggle has reached a high state of tension, and the current strikes are comparable in scale and in the numbers involved only with the general strike of 1926. In the USA, working-class action against the monopolies has assumed great scope, and the

struggle of the Negro people for equality, and of youth against the war in Vietnam is spreading with unprecedented acerbity. The mass working-class movement in the FRG is gathering momentum. For the first time in many decades, large-scale class clashes have taken place in the Scandinavian countries and in Holland. The socio-political crisis in Spain continues to sharpen. In all the class battles of the recent period, the working people's trade unions, especially those brought together within the World Federation of Trade Unions, have played a considerable and increasingly important role.

The Meeting of the fraternal Parties, it will be recalled, drew the conclusion that the current large-scale battles of the working class are a harbinger of fresh class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, to the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other sections of the working people. (*Applause.*)

At the same time, comrades, imperialism is being subjected to ever greater pressure by the forces which have sprung from the national liberation struggle, above all by the young independent and anti-imperialist-minded states of Asia and Africa.

The main thing is that **the struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practical terms begun to grow into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist.**

Today, there are already quite a few countries in Asia and Africa which have taken the non-capitalist way of development, that is, the path of building a socialist society in the long term. Many states have now taken this path. Deep-going social changes, which are in the interests of the masses of people, and which lead to a strengthening of national independence, are being implemented in these countries, and the number of these changes has been growing as time goes on.

The offensive by the forces of national and social liberation against domination by imperialism is expressed in various forms. Thus, in the countries oriented towards socialism the property of the imperialist monopolies is being nationalised. This makes it possible to strengthen and develop the state sector, which is essentially an economic basis for a revolutionary-democratic policy. In a country like the United Arab Republic, the state sector now accounts for

85 per cent of total industrial production, and in Burma, the state sector controls over 80 per cent of the extractive and almost 60 per cent of the manufacturing industry. New serious steps in nationalising imperialist property have been taken in Algeria. Many foreign enterprises, banks and trading companies have been handed over to the state in Guinea, the Sudan, Somalia and Tanzania.

Serious steps have also been taken to solve the land problem, which is complicated and has a bearing on the lot of many millions of peasants. Taking the past five-year period alone, important agrarian transformations have been carried out in the UAR and Syria, and have been started in the Sudan and Somalia. An agrarian reform has been announced for this year in Algeria. In the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), all the land and its minerals have been handed over into the ownership of the state.

Needless to say, it is no easy thing to bring about a radical restructuring of backward social relations on non-capitalist principles, and in an atmosphere of unceasing attacks by the neocolonialists and domestic reactionaries. This makes it all the more important that despite all these difficulties the states taking the socialist orientation have been further advancing along their chosen path. (*Applause.*)

Progressive social change has not advanced to that point in all the former colonies and dependent countries. But the struggle against the forces of reaction and against the henchmen of imperialism is being carried on everywhere, and in some countries the progressive forces have already scored serious gains. One need merely recall, for instance, events like the recent nationalisation of the big banks in India, and the impressive victory scored over the Right-wing forces at the last elections to the House of the People of the Indian Parliament. This is evidence that the masses of people in that country resolutely oppose the reactionary pro-imperialist forces, and stand for the implementation of a land reform and other socio-economic transformations, and for a policy of peace and friendship in international affairs. (*Applause.*) Considerable social shifts have taken place in Ceylon and Nigeria.

Despite all the difficulties and even occasional defeats, a diversified process of social change is going on in vast areas of the world. The working people have been scoring important victories in the fight for their rights, for real free-

dom and for human dignity. The patriots of countries still burdened by the colonial yoke are continuing their courageous fight for liberation.

As to our country, it fully supports this just struggle. The USSR's political and economic co-operation with the liberated countries has been further developed in the last few years. Our trade with them is growing. Dozens of industrial and agricultural enterprises have been built in many countries of Asia and Africa with our participation. We have also been making a contribution to the training of personnel for these countries. All this is being done in the mutual interest.

Great changes have been taking place in a number of Latin American countries. The victory of the Popular Unity Forces in Chile was a most important event. There, for the first time in the history of the continent, the people have secured, by constitutional means, the installation of a government they want and trust. (*Prolonged applause.*) This has incensed domestic reaction and Yankee imperialism, which seek to deprive the Chilean people of their gains. However the people of Chile are fully determined to advance along their chosen path. The working people of other Latin American countries have come out in support of Chile's progressive line. The governments of Peru and Bolivia are fighting against enslavement by the US monopolies.

The great Lenin's prediction that the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries, starting with a struggle for national liberation, would go on to a fight against the very foundations of the exploitative system is coming true. And this means, of course, a most heavy blow at the positions of capitalism as a whole, as a world social system.

Comrades, success in the struggle against imperialism largely depends on the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces, above all of **the world communist movement**, their vanguard. In the last five years, our Party together with the other fraternal Parties, has done much to strengthen this cohesion and the unity of the communist ranks.

It was a complex task. It was precisely in the period under review that the attempts on various sides to attack Marxism-Leninism as the ideological-theoretical basis for the activity of the communist movement have been most acute. The Chinese leadership went over to the establishment

in a number of countries of splinter groupings under the signboard of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist parties", and has clearly tried to unite them in some way as a counterweight to the international communist movement. The Trotskyites have now and again formed blocs with these groupings. Here and there tendencies towards nationalistic self-isolation have been stepped up, and both "Left" and Right-wing opportunism have been revived.

The main aim has been to secure a turn towards the cohesion of the communist movement and a consolidation of its ideological basis. An important stage in the efforts to attain it was the 1967 conference of European Communist Parties at Karlovy Vary and also a number of other international meetings of Communists.

As a result the question of calling an International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was placed on the order of the day. It was preceded by much preparatory work. You are aware, comrades, that a considerable contribution to the elaboration of the idea of the Meeting and to its preparation was made by our Party, by the CC CPSU.

The Meeting was a major step forward in strengthening the international unity of the Communists and in consolidating all the anti-imperialist forces. It has done a great deal for developing a number of propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory as applied to the present-day situation. It has been confirmed that this broadest and most representative form of intercourse between the fraternal Parties meets the needs of the communist movement as an international force. Our Party is in complete agreement with the conclusion drawn by the participants in the Meeting about the advisability of holding such international forums of fraternal Parties as the need arises. It would be useful for them to become an established practice of the world communist movement. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The celebrations of the Lenin centenary, which became truly worldwide, were also of tremendous importance for the cohesion of the communist movement. The Meeting of Communist Parties and the Lenin centenary once again showed the viability of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and brought about an upswing in the fraternal Parties' activity in the fight for the interests of the working class and all working people, and against imperialism, and its minions in the working-class movement. (*Applause.*)

On the whole there is ground to say that cohesion in the international communist movement is being increasingly strengthened, and that fruitful bilateral and multilateral inter-Party ties are becoming ever more active. Our Party welcomes this. It will work further to make sure that such development will continue precisely in this direction. (*Applause.*)

However, comrades, another fact we cannot afford to lose sight of is that negative phenomena have not yet been overcome everywhere. The fight against Right and "Left"-wing revisionism, against nationalism, continues to be urgent. It is precisely the nationalistic tendencies, especially those which assume the form of anti-Sovietism, that bourgeois ideologists and bourgeois propaganda have most willingly relied upon in their fight against socialism and the communist movement. They have been trying to induce the opportunist elements in the Communist Parties to make something of an ideological deal. They appear to be telling them: just give us proof that you are anti-Sovieteers, and then we shall be prepared to proclaim that you are the true "Marxists", and that you are taking completely "independent attitudes". The course of events has shown, incidentally, that such men also take the way of struggle against the Communist Parties in their own countries. Examples of this are renegades of the type of Garaudy in France, Fischer in Austria, Petkov in Venezuela, and the "Manifesto" group leaders in Italy. The fraternal Parties regard the fight against such elements as an important condition for strengthening their ranks. Consequently, even these examples—and their number could be easily multiplied—testify that the struggle against revisionism and nationalism continues to be an important task of the Communist Parties. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, in the struggle against imperialism an ever greater role is being played by the revolutionary-democratic parties, many of which have proclaimed socialism as their programme goal. The CPSU has been actively developing its ties with them. We are sure that co-operation between such parties and the Communist Parties, including those in their own countries, fully meets the interests of the anti-imperialist movement, the strengthening of national independence and the cause of social progress.

We maintain and have been developing relations with

the Left Socialist parties in some countries of the West, East and Latin America. Fairly active work has been carried on on this plane in the last few years.

In accordance with the line laid down by the 1969 International Meeting, the CPSU is prepared to develop cooperation with the Social-Democrats both in the struggle for peace and democracy, and in the struggle for socialism, without, of course, making any concessions in ideology and revolutionary principles. However, this line of the Communists has been meeting with stubborn resistance from the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democrats. Our Party has carried on and will continue to carry on an implacable struggle against any attitudes which tend to subordinate the working-class movement to the interests of monopoly capital, and to undermine the cause of the working people's struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, to the lot of the Communists have fallen the hardest trials of any that have ever fallen to the lot of fighters for the people's cause. We remember these words of Lenin's: "Selfless devotion to the revolution and revolutionary propaganda among the people are not wasted even if long decades divide the sowing from the harvest."¹ The ideas of the Communists have sprouted remarkable shoots in the practice of real socialism, and in the thoughts and deeds of millions upon millions of men.

The Communists of the Soviet Union put a high value on the tremendous work which is being done in their countries by the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. We are well aware how hard this work is, how much selfless dedication and boundless loyalty to our common great ideals it requires. Today we should like once again to assure our comrades-in-arms—the Communists of the whole world: our Party, dear friends, will always march in closely serried, fighting ranks together with you! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We shall never forget the great sacrifices that have been made in the struggle. The names of the heroes of the communist movement, and the feats of courage and loyalty to the working-class cause will always remain sacred for all true revolutionaries. They will always remain sacred for Lenin's Party, for the Soviet people, which first raised the banner of victorious socialist revolution. (*Applause.*)

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 31.

Conscious of its internationalist duty, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to pursue a line in international affairs which helps further to invigorate the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, and to strengthen the fighting unity of all its participants.

The full triumph of the socialist cause all over the world is inevitable. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) And we shall not spare ourselves in the fight for this triumph, for the happiness of the working people! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

3. The Soviet Union's Struggle for Peace and the Security of Peoples. Rebuff to the Imperialist Policy of Aggression

Comrades, in the period under review the Central Committee and the Soviet Government did their utmost to ensure peaceful conditions for communist construction in the USSR, to expose and frustrate action by the aggressive imperialist forces, and to defend socialism, the freedom of peoples and peace.

Our policy has always combined firm rebuffs to aggression, and the constructive line of settling pressing international problems, and maintaining normal, and, wherever the situation allows, good, relations with states belonging to the other social system. As in the past, we have consistently stood up for the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states, regardless of their social system. This principle has now become a real force of international development.

Let me deal with the most important international problems which because of their acerbity or importance for the future have required our special attention.

To start with the events in South-east Asia. The aggressive war started by US ruling circles in that part of the world has not brought the American people any victorious laurels but tens of thousands of funeral wreaths. Anyone capable of taking a realistic view of things must realise that neither direct armed intervention, nor torpedoing of negotiations, nor even the ever wider use of mercenaries will break down the Vietnamese people's determination to become master of its own country.

The so-called Vietnamisation of the war, that is, the

plan to have Vietnamese kill Vietnamese in Washington's interests, and the extension of the aggression to Cambodia and Laos—none of this will get the USA out of the bog of its dirty war in Indochina or wash away the shame heaped on that country by those who started and are continuing the aggression. There is only one way of solving the Vietnamese problem. It is clearly indicated in the proposals of the DRV Government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, proposals which we firmly back. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union resolutely demands an end to the imperialist aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Our country has been and will be an active champion of the just cause of the heroic peoples of Indochina. (*Applause.*)

The Middle East is another "hot spot" in world politics.

The crisis which has arisen as a result of Israel's attack on the UAR, Syria and Jordan has been one of the most intense in the development of international relations over the past period.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries we did everything necessary to stop and condemn the aggression. We raised this question in the UN Security Council in the most resolute terms. An extraordinary session of the General Assembly was called on our demand. The USSR and other fraternal countries have broken off diplomatic relations with Israel, which has ignored the UN decision for a ceasefire. Our country has helped to restore the defence potential of the Arab states which were subjected to invasion, the UAR and Syria in the first place, with whom our co-operation has been growing stronger from year to year.

The United Arab Republic recently came out with important initiatives. It announced its acceptance of the proposal put forward by the UN special representative, Dr. Gunnar Jarring, and readiness to conclude a peace agreement with Israel once the Israeli troops are withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories. The UAR has also proposed steps to resume navigation along the Suez Canal in the very near future. Thus, the attitude of the Arab side provides a real basis for settling the crisis in the Middle East. The Israeli Government's rejection of all these proposals, and Tel Aviv's now openly brazen claims to Arab lands

clearly show who is blocking the way to peace in the Middle East, and who is to blame for the dangerous hotbed of war being maintained in that area. At the same time, the unseemly role of those who are instigating the Israeli extremists, the role of US imperialism and of international Zionism as an instrument of the aggressive imperialist circles, is becoming ever more obvious.

However, Tel Aviv ought to take a sober view of things. Do Israel's ruling circles really expect to secure for themselves the lands of others they have occupied and to go scot-free? In the final count, the advantages obtained by the invaders as a result of their piratical attack are illusory. They will disappear as mirages pass from view in the sands of Sinai. And the longer the delay in reaching a political settlement in the Middle East, the stronger will be the indignation of world public opinion, and the Arab peoples' hatred of the aggressor and its patrons, and the greater the harm the Israeli rulers will inflict on their people and their country.

The Soviet Union will continue its firm support of its Arab friends. (*Applause.*) Our country 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.

Once this is reached, we feel that there could be a consideration of further steps designed for a military détente in the whole area, in particular, for converting the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and friendly co-operation.

Comrades, Europe has been one of the most important lines in our foreign-policy activity all these years.

The improvement in Soviet-French relations has had important positive consequences for the whole course of European affairs. As a result of the recent talks in Moscow with the President of France and the signing of a Protocol on Political Consultations, the possibilities of Soviet-French co-operation have been extended. Our peoples' friendship rests on sound historical traditions. Today, our states also have an extensive sphere of common interests. We stand for the further development and deepening of relations between the USSR and France, and regard this as an important factor of international security.

New prospects in Europe are opening up as a result of a substantial shift in our relations with the FRG.

Throughout the whole postwar period, we, like our allies and friends, have proceeded from the fact that lasting peace in Europe rests above all on the inviolability of the borders of European states. Now, the treaties of the Soviet Union and Poland with the FRG have confirmed with full certainty the inviolability of borders, including those between the GDR and the FRG, and the western border of the Polish state.

There is a sharp demarcation of political forces in West Germany over the ratification of these treaties. One would assume that realistic-minded circles in Bonn, and also in some other Western capitals, are aware of this simple truth: delay over ratification would produce a fresh crisis of confidence over the whole of the FRG's policy, and would worsen the political climate in Europe and the prospects for easing international tensions.

As for the Soviet Union, it is prepared to meet the commitments it has assumed under the Soviet-West-German treaty. We are prepared to cover our part of the way towards normalisation and improvement of relations between the FRG and the socialist part of Europe, provided, of course, the other side acts in accordance with the letter and spirit of the treaty.

The positive changes that have recently taken place in Europe do not mean that the problems Europe inherited from the Second World War have been fully solved. What is to be done to continue the improvement in the European situation, to make headway in ensuring collective security in Europe, and in developing co-operation both on a bilateral and on an all-European basis?

An improvement of the situation in Europe as a whole could be served by the convocation of an all-European conference. This is now being backed by a majority of the European states. Preparations for it are being carried into the plane of practical politics. But attempts to prevent a détente in Europe have not ceased. All the states of this continent will still have to make serious efforts to bring about the convocation of an all-European conference.

An improvement of the situation on the continent naturally requires that the Soviet-West-German and the Polish-West-German treaties should enter into force as soon as possible.

There should also be a settlement of the problems connected with West Berlin. If the USA, France and Britain

proceed, as we have done, from respect for the allied agreements which determine the special status of West Berlin, from respect for the sovereign rights of the GDR as an independent socialist state, the current negotiations could be successfully completed to the mutual advantage of all the parties concerned, including the West Berlin population itself.

Another pressing task is establishment of equitable relations between the GDR and the FRG, based on the generally accepted rules of international law, and also admission of both these states to the United Nations.

Considerable importance should also be attached to the satisfaction of the legitimate demand of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic that the Munich Agreement should be recognised as having been invalid from the outset.

Comrades, disarmament is one of the most important international problems of our day. We seek to secure concrete results reducing the danger of war, and to prevent the peoples from accepting the arms race as an inevitable evil.

A treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was prepared and has entered into force in the period under review. Although far from all states, including some of the nuclear powers, have yet acceded to it, it does to a certain extent narrow down the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war. The important point now is to have the FRG, Japan, Italy and other countries back up their signatures to the treaty with its ratification.

Treaties banning the stationing of nuclear weapons in outer space and on the sea- and ocean-floor have been concluded. But what has been achieved constitutes only the first few steps. It is our aim to bring about a situation in which nuclear energy shall serve peaceful purposes only.

We are engaged in negotiations with the USA on a limitation of strategic armaments. Their favourable outcome would make it possible to avoid another round in the missile arms race, and to release considerable resources for constructive purposes. We are seeking to have the negotiations produce positive results.

However, I should like to emphasise that disarmament talks in general, to say nothing of those involving discussion of highly delicate military-technical aspects, can be productive only if equal consideration is given to the security in-

terests of the parties, and if no one seeks to obtain unilateral advantages.

The struggle for an end to the arms race, both in nuclear and conventional weapons, and for disarmament—all the way to general and complete disarmament—will continue to be one of the most important lines in the foreign-policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state. (*Applause.*)

In recent years, the USSR's relations with the countries of the capitalist world have been fairly active and diverse. With some of them co-operation has been extended on general foreign-policy issues, and political consultations promoting better mutual understanding have been accepted in practice. Economic, scientific and technical ties, in some instances resting on a long-term basis, have acquired considerable scale. For instance, we have been co-operating—on mutually advantageous terms, of course—with Italy in building the Volzhsky Auto Works, and with Austria and several other countries in developing the gas industry, including the laying of gas pipelines from the Soviet Union to Western Europe. Agreement was recently reached on the Soviet Union's participation in setting up an iron-and-steel complex in France. Japanese companies are to co-operate in building a new port in the Far East. Other major projects, in which our business partners have displayed a keen interest, are at the discussion stage.

As usual, we have devoted much attention to our relations with our neighbours. Good neighbourliness and co-operation with Finland have continued to grow stronger; our relations with Afghanistan and Iran have been developing successfully; we have normal relations with Pakistan and Turkey; our ties with Sweden are stable.

Our friendly relations with India have developed considerably. The Indian Government's pursuit of a peaceable, independent line in international affairs, and the traditional feelings of friendship linking the peoples of the two countries have all helped to deepen Soviet-Indian co-operation. (*Applause.*)

We believe there are considerable possibilities for further extending mutually advantageous co-operation with Japan, although the attempts by some Japanese circles to exploit the so-called territorial question have naturally done nothing to benefit Soviet-Japanese relations. Their complete

normalisation on an appropriate contractual basis is also being hampered by the existence of foreign military bases in Japan. The fact is that such normalisation would be in line with the long-term interests of the peoples of the two countries, and the interests of peace in the Far East and in the Pacific area.

Now about the Soviet Union's relations with the United States of America. An improvement of Soviet-American relations would be in the interests of the Soviet and the American peoples, the interests of stronger peace. However, we cannot pass over the US aggressive actions in various parts of the world. In the recent period, the US Administration has taken a more rigid stance on a number of international issues, including some which have a bearing on the interests of the Soviet Union. The frequent zigzags in US foreign policy, which are apparently connected with some kind of domestic political moves from short-term considerations, have also made dealings with the United States much more difficult.

We proceed from the assumption that it is possible to improve relations between the USSR and the USA. Our principled line with respect to the capitalist countries, including the USA, is consistently and fully to practise the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop mutually advantageous ties, and to co-operate, with states prepared to do so, in strengthening peace, making our relations with them as stable as possible. But we have to consider whether we are dealing with a real desire to settle outstanding issues at the negotiation table or attempts to conduct a "positions of strength" policy.

Whenever the imperialists need to cover up their aggressive schemes, they try to revive the "Soviet menace" myth. They seek to find 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 with a full sense of responsibility: we have no territorial claims on anyone whatsoever, we threaten no one, and have no intention to attack 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. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

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. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the period under review marked the end of the quarter-century since the rout of Hitler Germany and militarist Japan. The fruits of that great victory still live in international realities today. The Soviet people cherish everything that has been attained at such great cost.

For more than 25 years now, our people have lived in peace. We regard this as the greatest achievement of our Party's foreign policy. For a quarter-century now, mankind has been safeguarded from world war. That is another historic achievement of the peoples to which the Soviet Union and its foreign policy have made a considerable contribution. However, the forces of aggression and militarism may have been pushed back, but they have not been rendered harmless. In the postwar years, they have started more than 30 wars and armed conflicts of varying scale. Nor is it possible to consider the threat of another world war as being completely eliminated. It is the vital task of all the peaceable states, of all the peoples, to prevent this threat from becoming reality. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union has countered the aggressive policy of imperialism with its policy of active defence of peace and strengthening of international security. The main lines of this policy are well known. Our Party, our Soviet state, in co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries and other peace-loving states, and with the wholehearted support of many millions of people throughout the world, have now for many years been waging a struggle on these lines, taking a stand for the cause of peace and friendship among nations. The CPSU regards the following as the basic concrete tasks of this struggle in the present situation.

First.

To eliminate the hotbeds of war in South-east Asia and in the Middle East and to promote a political settlement in these areas on the basis of respect for the legitimate rights of states and peoples subjected to aggression.

To give an immediate and firm rebuff to any acts of aggression and international arbitrariness. For this, full use must also be made of the possibilities of the United Nations.

Repudiation of the threat or use of force in settling outstanding issues must become a law of international life. For its part, the Soviet Union invites the countries which accept this approach to conclude appropriate bilateral or regional treaties.

Second.

To proceed from the final recognition of the territorial changes that took place 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 convocation and success of an all-European conference.

To do everything to ensure collective security in Europe. We reaffirm the readiness expressed jointly by the participants in the defensive Warsaw Treaty to have a simultaneous annulment of this treaty and of the North Atlantic alliance, or—as a first step—dismantling of their military organisations.

Third.

To conclude treaties putting a ban on nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons.

To work for an end to the testing of nuclear weapons, including underground tests, by everyone and everywhere.

To promote the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

We stand for the nuclear disarmament of all states in possession of nuclear weapons, and for the convocation for these purposes of a conference of the five nuclear powers—the USSR, the USA, the PRC, France and Britain.

Fourth.

To invigorate the struggle to halt the race in all types of weapons. We favour the convocation of a world conference to consider disarmament questions to their full extent.

We stand for the dismantling of foreign military bases. We stand for a reduction of armed forces and armaments in areas where the military confrontation is especially dangerous, above all in Central Europe.

We consider it advisable to work out measures reducing

the probability of accidental outbreak or deliberate fabrication of armed incidents and their development into international crises, into war.

The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate agreements on reducing military expenditure, above all by the major powers.

Fifth.

The UN decisions on the abolition of the remaining colonial regimes must be fully carried out. Manifestations of racism and apartheid must be universally condemned and boycotted.

Sixth.

The Soviet Union is prepared to deepen relations of mutually advantageous co-operation in every sphere with states which for their part seek to do so. Our country is prepared to participate together with the other states concerned in settling problems like the conservation of the environment, development of power and other natural resources, development of transport and communications, prevention and eradication of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, and the exploration and development of outer space and the world ocean.

Such are the main features of the programme for the struggle for peace and international co-operation, for the freedom and independence of nations, which our Party has put forward. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

And we declare that, while consistently pursuing its policy of peace and friendship among nations, the Soviet Union will continue to conduct a resolute struggle against imperialism, and firmly to rebuff the evil designs and subversions of aggressors. As in the past, we shall give undeviating support to the peoples' struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, it is clear from what has been said that the past five years have been a period of vigorous and intense activity by our Party and state in the sphere of international policy.

Of course, in international affairs not everything depends on us or our friends alone. We have not advanced in every sphere as fast as we should like towards the goals we set

ourselves. A number of important acts have yet to be brought to completion, and their importance will become fully evident later. But the overall balance is obvious: great results have been achieved in these five years. Our country's international position has become even stronger, its prestige has been enhanced, and the Soviet people's peaceful endeavour has reliable protection. (*Prolonged applause.*)

II

THE MAIN QUESTIONS OF THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY AT THE PRESENT STAGE

Comrades, fifty years ago, when putting up for broad discussion the GOELRO plan, history's first state plan for economic development, V. I. Lenin said that when the Party and the Soviet Government came to concentrate on the country's economic development that period would be the happiest epoch. He urged that congresses and conferences should be turned into "bodies that will verify our economic achievements, bodies in which we can really learn the business of economic development".¹

Our Party congresses have in fact become such bodies in the full sense of the word! As Lenin had predicted, economics is the main policy for the Party and the Soviet state, a policy on whose success decisively depends the advance of Soviet society towards communism and the consolidation of the international positions of our socialist power.

In reporting on the work done in this most important direction, the Party's Central Committee has good ground to say that the Soviet people have brought the Eighth Five-Year Plan to a fitting completion, thereby taking another major step forward in building the material and technical basis of communism, in strengthening the country's might, and in raising the people's living standards. (*Applause.*)

1. The Main Results of the Eighth Five-Year-Plan Period and the Tasks of the Party's Economic Policy

NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN 1966-1970

In the economic sphere the main result of the five-year period is that the scale of the national economy has been

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 514.

substantially increased, its development accelerated, and qualitative indicators improved.

The Directives of the 23rd Congress have been successfully fulfilled in the main economic targets. The national income was to have increased by 38-41 per cent; it has in fact grown by 41 per cent. Industrial production, with a target of 47-50 per cent, has increased by 50 per cent. The targets set by the Directives for the key indicators relating to the raising of the working people's living standard have been overfulfilled.

On the whole, the eighth five-year period has yielded considerably greater results than the preceding one.

Key Indicators of National Economic Development in the Seventh and the Eighth Five-Year Periods

(comparable prices; increment in thousand million rubles and growth in per cent)

	Seventh five-year period (1961-1965)		Eighth five-year period (1966-1970)	
	Absolute increment	1965 %/‰ of 1960	Absolute increment	1970 %/‰ of 1965
Aggregate social product	113	137	175	142
National income used for consumption and accumulation	45	132	77	141
Industrial production	84	151	125	150
of which				
Group A	66	158	91	151
Group B	18	136	34	149
Agricultural production (annual average output as compared with the preceding period)	7.1	112	14.0	121
Capital investment (for the five years)	77	145	104	142
Freight turnover for all types of transport (thousand million ton-km)	878	147	1,061	138
Retail trade	26.1	134	50.2	148

The country's national income which went into consumption and accumulation increased at an average rate of 7.1

per cent a year, as against 5.7 per cent in the preceding period. Productivity of social labour—a key indicator of efficiency in production—has increased by 37 per cent, as against 29 per cent in the seventh five-year period.

Heavy industry, the basis of the economy, has been further developed. The branches which determine technical progress—electric power, the chemical and the petrochemical industries, engineering, especially radio electronics and instrument-making—have been developing at a much faster rate. The share of the products turned out by these branches has increased from 28 to 33 per cent of total industrial output. The light and the food industries have been developing rapidly. The output of consumer goods in the five years has gone up by 49 per cent. To illustrate the present scale of production, one need merely say that industrial output in 1970 alone was approximately double the industrial output for all the prewar five-year periods taken together. (*Applause.*)

The following table gives an idea of the growth of industrial output in 1966-1970.

	1965	1970	1970 % of 1965
Electric power (thousand million kwh)	507	740	146
Oil, including liquefied petroleum gas (million tons)	243	353	145
Coal (million tons)	578	624	108
Gas (thousand million m ³)	129	200	154
Steel (million tons)	91	116	127
Rolled stock (million tons)	71	92	130
Output of engineering and metal-working industries (thousand million rubles)	51	88	174
Mineral fertilisers, in conventional units (million tons)	31	55	177
Synthetic resins and plastics (thousand tons)	803	1,672	208
Cement (million tons)	72	95	132
Fabrics, all types (thousand million m ²)	7.5	8.9	118
Garments (thousand million rubles)	9.0	15.9	177
Leather footwear (million pairs)	486	676	139
Radio and television sets (million units)	8.8	14.5	164
Domestic refrigerators (million units)	1.7	4.1	247

In the past five-year period, considerable successes have been achieved in agricultural development. For a number of reasons, this branch has been and for the time being remains the most difficult and complex sector of our economy. That is why it is a source of satisfaction that the Party's work, the efforts of our working people in the countryside and workers in the industries concerned have been crowned with major achievements.

Annual average farm output has increased by 21 per cent, as compared with 12 per cent in the preceding five-year period. The most substantial shifts have taken place in the production of grain, whose annual average gross output has increased by 37 million tons, or 30 per cent. The production of meat, milk, eggs and other produce has been markedly increased.

The following table gives an idea of the annual average output of major farm products:

	million tons		1966-1970 % of 1961-1965
	1961-1965	1966-1970	
Grain	130.3	167.5	129
Raw cotton	5.0	6.1	122
Sugar-beet (for factory processing)	59.2	81.0	137
Sunflower seeds	5.1	6.4	126
Flax fibre	0.44	0.46	112
Potatoes	81.6	94.8	116
Vegetables	16.9	19.3	114
Meat (slaughter weight)	9.3	11.6	124
Milk	64.7	80.5	124
Eggs (thousand millions)	28.7	35.8	124
Wool (thousand tons)	362	397	110

The 1970 results need to be dealt with separately. More than 186 million tons of grain and 6.9 million tons of raw cotton were received in the country. We have never yet had such high gross output. (*Applause.*) Grain averaged 15.6 centners, and cotton 25 centners per hectare. (*Applause.*)

The five-year period target for freight turnover has been

fulfilled. Capital construction was proceeding on a large scale. Almost 1,900 large industrial enterprises and installations have been commissioned. A good reserve has been created for a further build-up of production capacities in the early years of the current five-year period.

The location of the country's productive forces has been improved. The economic potential of Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan has markedly increased. The national economy of all the republics has made a stride forward, and the contribution of each to the fulfilment of all-Union tasks has grown. This means that the economic foundation of the union and brotherhood of all our peoples has been enlarged.

The past five-year period has been an important one in the fulfilment of **social tasks**. The changes that have taken place in social relations will be dealt with below. At this point I should like to dwell on some questions connected with the people's rising living standards. In the five years, real incomes per head of population have increased by 33 per cent, as compared with the 30 per cent provided for by the Directives of the Party's 23rd Congress, and the 19 per cent in the preceding five-year period.

You are aware, comrades, that in this five-year period, the minimum wage for workers and office employees was raised to 60 rubles a month. The average wage of workers and office employees for the country has increased by 26 per cent. Collective farmers' incomes from social production have increased by 42 per cent. Guaranteed remuneration for labour has been introduced, the pension age has been lowered, and the payment of sick benefits and disability allowances has been introduced for members of collective farms.

In the five years, social consumption funds have increased by 50 per cent, to almost 64 thousand million rubles in 1970.

The growth of retail trade is a key indicator of the level of living standards. In 1966-1970, it came to 48 per cent, with the structure of consumption being considerably improved. Compared with 1965, consumption of meat per person increased in 1970 by 17 per cent, milk and milk products by 22 per cent, eggs by 23 per cent, fish and fish products by 33 per cent, and sugar by 14 per cent, with a simultaneous reduction in the consumption of bread and potatoes. The sale to the population of cultural and household articles,

especially of consumer durables—radios, television sets, washing machines and refrigerators, and so on—has increased.

Everybody knows on what scale we have tackled and how perseveringly we are working on the housing problem. The state has spent nearly 60 thousand million rubles under this head. More than 500 million sq m of housing have been put up in the past five years. This means that an equivalent of more than 50 large cities with one million population each were built in the country. Most of the family house-warmings were celebrated in separate apartments with modern amenities.

The systems of public education and health have made good headway. The Soviet people's health and longevity are an object of the Party's and the state's constant concern. In 1966-70 we trained 151,000 doctors, or 22,000 more than in the preceding five years. The network of medical institutions was expanded considerably.

For some years, most Soviet workers and office employees have had a five-day work week with two days off. Paid annual leaves have been lengthened for a considerable part of the working people.

As you see, the people's standard of living has risen quite substantially in the past five years. Permit us to express the trust that these achievements will be a source of fresh inspiration for Soviet people, arousing their desire to work still more effectively for the country's good, for the good of our heroic people! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Summing up the results of the past five years and giving their due to the successes achieved, the Party is aware of the shortcomings in the economic field, of the unresolved problems. It should be noted, first of all, that the production targets for some important items were not fully met.

There were also delays in expanding production capacity in the chemical industry, machine-tools, the light and a few other industries. Many ministries have not fulfilled the plans for introducing new equipment and have fallen short of the labour productivity targets. The plans for supplying agriculture with electricity and machinery have not been fully met.

While the average wage increase targets were surpassed, the rates and basic wages of some categories have not been

increased as envisaged in the plan. Though considerable, accretion in the production of some food products, especially meat, and of consumer goods, is still below the demand, sometimes creating shortages in the shops.

These difficulties are partly traceable to objective causes of an external and internal order. But, naturally, at this Congress we should focus our attention especially on the causes relating to deficiencies in the work of the economic, government and Party organs, to shortcomings in planning, in producing and assimilating new equipment, and in making use of available reserves.

However, the shortcomings and unresolved problems do not obscure the main point—the basic positive results of our five-year plan. The Party and people have coped well with a big and complicated task, that of combining continued economic development and reinforcement of the country's defences with a considerably greater growth of the living standard of the working people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The successes of the Soviet people in economic development are of great political significance. They have led to a further consolidation of the socialist system in our country, to still closer cohesion of the entire Soviet people round the Party. (*Applause.*) They have contributed greatly to the common cause of augmenting the economic strength of the socialist states and strengthening the positions of the world socialist system in the economic competition with capitalism.

Comrades, defining the trend in the country's economic development, the 23rd Congress not only approved the main indicators for the Eighth Five-Year Plan, but also raised a number of important questions of long-term economic policy. Resolving these, the Central Committee, acting on the instructions of the Congress, also took steps to remedy the shortcomings of the preceding period in the management of agriculture and industry.

We can report to the Congress that much has been done in the past five years to improve economic management. The Central Committee plenary meetings, CC decisions and those of the Council of Ministers of the USSR resolved major economic problems. Special mention should be made of the importance of the May (1966) and July (1970) Plenary Meetings, which worked out a comprehensive long-term development programme for agriculture, and of the

December (1969) Plenary Meeting, which discussed fundamental questions of the development of our economy, such as the ways to enhance the effectiveness of production and improve management. Summing up the results of all this work, it may be said that the Party has made tangible progress in the period under review in studying and conceptualising a number of the biggest and most complicated questions of its economic policy.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to note the increase in the creative activity of local Party organisations and committees. The Party organisations of many republics, territories and regions made important economic suggestions of nationwide significance to the Central Committee. These were studied and taken into account when framing national economic decisions.

It is an important result of the Party's work in the period under review that Party, government, economic and trade-union cadres and the masses of working people have begun to look more deeply into economic matters, that they show a better understanding of our problems and the ways of solving them.

The country's economic achievements are the result of selfless work in industry, agriculture, transport and building, science and culture, of the work of all the peoples of our multinational country. On behalf of the Congress, permit me to congratulate the working class, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia, all the working people of the Soviet Union, on their great victories in labour! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

THE SPECIFICS OF THE PRESENT STAGE
IN THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
AND THE TASKS OF THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Comrades, V. I. Lenin stressed that the difficulty and art of politics consist in taking into account the specifics of the tasks of each period, the specifics of the conditions in which the Party operates. This approach is also immensely important in working out the economic policy, which must take into account the main features of each stage in the country's development.

In our country, it will be recalled, socialism triumphed back in the latter half of the thirties. This was followed by

more than three decades of the Soviet people's heroic labour and struggle. Our economy of that time and our present-day economy are based on the same type of relations of production, on the same economic laws, the laws of socialism. However, there are unmistakable important new features that distinguish the modern economy from the economy of the late thirties.

An immeasurably higher level has been achieved in the national economy, in socialist social relations, the culture and the consciousness of the broad masses. The developed socialist society to which Lenin referred in 1918 as to the future of our country has been built by the selfless labour of the Soviet people. This has enabled us to tackle in practice the great task set by the Party Programme, by its latest congresses—that of building the material and technical basis of communism.

While discussing at this Congress the fundamental aspects of the Party's economic policy for the coming period, we should pay attention to some of the specific features of the present stage in our economic development.

The most important of these is the economy's entirely new magnitude. Immense economic strength has been built up, based on a versatile industry and large-scale socialist agriculture, advanced science and skilled cadres of workers, specialists and managers, an economy that daily produces a social product worth nearly 2 thousand million rubles, that is, ten times more than at the end of the thirties.

The Party takes this enormous growth of the country's economic power into account in its economic activity. What does this mean in concrete terms? First and foremost, it means a considerable growth of our possibilities. These days we set ourselves and effectuate tasks of which we could only dream in the preceding stages.

At the same time, in the present conditions the demands which society puts on the economy are rapidly increasing along with the economic possibilities. In the early stages of building socialism, it will be recalled, we were compelled to concentrate on the top priorities, on which the very existence of the young Soviet state depended. Now the situation is changing. Not only do we wish to—for we have always wished it—but we can and must deal simultaneously with a broader set of problems.

While securing resources for continued economic growth, while technically re-equipping production, and investing enormously in science and education, we must at the same time concentrate more and more energy and means on tasks relating to the improvement of the Soviet people's well-being. While breaking through in one sector or another, be it ever so important, we can no longer afford any drawn-out lag in any of the others.

The high degree of economic development achieved by our country has yet another important effect: the demands on planning, guidance and economic management techniques are rising substantially. The interdependence of all the economic links is enhancing, adding to the importance of long-term planning, of forging a system of inter-industry connections, and of improving material supplies.

Important specific features of the present stage of the country's economic development are also traceable to the rapidly unfolding scientific and technical revolution. Socialism, the planned socialist economy offer the broadest scope for the all-sided progress of science and technology. However, the scientific and technical revolution requires the improvement of many sides of our economic activity. In other words, it is a huge force favourable for socialism, but one that has to be properly mastered.

Some of the specific features of the present historical stage are also shaped by serious changes in the external conditions. The most important of these, as we have noted, is the unfolding process of the economic integration of the socialist countries, and in accomplishing many of our economic tasks we must take that process into account. We must also take into account the considerably greater role these days of such an area of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism as the economic and technico-scientific competition of the two world systems.

Those are some of the important features of the present stage in the country's economic development. Translated into political tasks, we could describe them briefly as follows: the vast scale of the national economy, the greater economic possibilities and social requirements pose the imperative of greatly improving the standard of all our economic work, substantially raising the effectiveness of our economy, turning our entire vast economy into a still better working, well-gearred mechanism. (*Applause.*)

In all things, we were always helped by our revolutionary will and breadth of vision, by the Party's skill in mobilising the energy of the millions for the fulfilment of constructive tasks, by the labour enthusiasm of the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia. It is more than ever necessary now to combine this great force still more closely with systematic and painstaking organisational work, with a consistently scientific approach to economic management, with rigorous self-discipline and all-round efficiency. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the above circumstances were taken into account by the Central Committee in drafting so important a political document as the Directives for the new five-year plan.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan is sure to be an important stage in Soviet society's further advance to communism, in building its material and technical basis, in augmenting the country's economic and defensive might. **The main task of the Five-Year Plan is to secure a considerable rise in the living standard and cultural level of the people on the basis of high rates of growth of socialist production, increase in its effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and accelerated growth of the productivity of labour.**

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.

Inasmuch as Comrade A. N. Kosygin will deliver the report on the Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975, permit me to dwell on just the three basic questions of the Party's economic policy in the period ahead.

To begin with, the question of the main aims on which the Party is orienting the development of Soviet economy.

Further, the question of the sources of growth, the resources that must be mobilised for the further rapid rise of social production.

Lastly, the question of improving the mechanism of economic management in order to secure successful economic growth.

2. Raising the Standard of Living Is the Supreme Aim of the Party's Economic Policy

Setting a substantial rise of the standard of living of the working people as the main task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the Central Committee believes that this will determine not only our activity for the coming five years, but also the general orientation of the country's economic development over the long term. In setting this course the Party proceeds primarily from the postulate that under socialism the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements is the supreme aim of social production. (*Applause.*)

From the first days of Soviet power our Party and state have been doing their utmost in this respect. But for well-known historical reasons our possibilities were limited for a long time. Now they are substantially greater, which enables the Party to raise the question of centering economic development still more fully on improving the life of the people.

The Party also proceeds from the fact that a higher standard of living is becoming an ever more imperative requirement of our economic development, one of the important economic preconditions for the rapid growth of production.

This approach follows not only from our policy of further accentuating the role of material and moral labour incentives. The question is posed much more broadly: to create conditions favourable for the all-round development of the ability and creative activity of Soviet people, of all working people, that is, to develop the main productive force of society.

Modern production sets rapidly rising demands not only on machines, on technology, but also and primarily on the workers, on those who create these machines and control this technology. For ever larger segments of workers specialised knowledge and a high degree of professional training, man's general cultural standard, are becoming an obligatory condition of successful work. And all these depend to a considerable extent on the standard of living, on how fully the material and spiritual requirements can be satisfied.

Thus, our aims, the greater economic potential and the requirements of economic development make it possible and

necessary to steer the economy more fully to resolving the highly diverse tasks relating to the improvement of the people's standard of living. The Eighth Five-Year Plan has yielded considerable practical results in this respect. Now it is up to us not only to consolidate the achievements, but also to attain new substantial advances.

Defining improvement of the living standard of the working people as the main task, we should refrain, of course, from approaching the matter in a simplified way. It will take time, serious effort, immense means and resources to implement the course of considerably raising the people's standard of living. One can distribute, one can consume only what one has produced. This is a self-evident truth. Our plans derive their strength and realism from the fact that they closely connect the improvement of the living standard with greater social production, with a higher productivity of labour. But this also predicates the responsibility that devolves on the Party, on the Soviet people as a whole. How well we are living today and how well we shall live tomorrow depends on ourselves, on our success in labour.

Allow me to report on the proposals and plans relating to the people's well-being, which the Party's Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers are submitting to the Congress.

A further increase is envisaged of the working people's **cash incomes**. Three-quarters of the accretion in the real incomes of the population is to be accounted for by higher payment for labour.

During these five years the minimum monthly wage for workers and office employees will be raised to 70 rubles. The basic wages and salaries of the middle brackets in industry, transport and in other fields of material production shall be raised. The rates for operators of farm machinery shall be increased. Higher salaries are also envisaged for schoolteachers, doctors and other medical personnel and people in a number of other professions. In many branches, additions to wages are to be introduced or increased in the Urals, the European North, Western Siberia, Kazakhstan (excepting the southern part of the Republic) and a number of districts in the Far East, Eastern Siberia and Central Asia. The allowances for night work are to go up considerably.

These measures will be carried out gradually, by areas

and economic branches. All in all, they will affect some 90 million workers and office employees. As a result, in the coming five years the average monthly wage of workers and office employees will rise to 146-149 rubles and the remuneration of collective farmers' labour to 98 rubles.

It is also envisaged to extend the tax privileges for some categories of working people.

I should also like to touch on yet another question, comrades.

The only way we could advance and develop the economy during the years of industrialisation and postwar reconstruction was by mobilising all our strength and resources. The people of our country understood this well. To the common cause they contributed not only their selfless labour, but also their savings, subscribing actively to government loans, which played an important part in accelerating economic development. The mass subscriptions were not only a tangible contribution to the state budget, but also an impressive demonstration of the Soviet people's patriotism, their devotion to the cause of socialism. (*Applause.*)

It will be recalled that we were able to stop issuing new government loans as from 1958. However, payment of the bonds still held by the population, of which there are about 25,800 million rubles' worth, was foreclosed for a 20-year period, making them payable from 1977 to 1996 in equal yearly sums.

Having examined our present resources, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers consider it possible to begin redeeming the bonds before the fixed term and to cover 2 thousand million rubles' worth in 1974-1975, increasing the amounts payable in the subsequent years. It is planned to redeem all bonds held by the population by 1990, that is, six years ahead of the originally fixed term. As we see it, this decision is correct and corresponds completely to the Party's policy and the interests of the people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Apart from the increase of incomes in payment for labour, the **social consumption funds**, too, are to be raised considerably. It is planned to increase them by 40 per cent, so that in 1975 they will amount to 90 thousand million rubles. These sums will be used for the further improvement of the medical services and the development of education and the upbringing of the rising generation.

The social funds will also be used to finance a number of other important social measures, including improvement of the living conditions of large families and needy families, women working in production, pensioners, and students. It is planned:

— to introduce cash allowances for children where the income per family member does not exceed 50 rubles (*applause*);

— to increase the number of paid days allowed for caring for a sick child and to introduce 100-per cent paid pregnancy and maternity leaves for all working women, regardless of length of employment (*applause*);

— to raise the minimum old-age pensions for workers and office employees (*applause*);

— to raise the minimum pensions of collective farmers and to apply to them the procedure of calculating the size of pension established for workers and office employees (*prolonged applause*);

— to improve pension provisions for invalids and families that have lost their breadwinner in the case of workers and office employees and servicemen (*applause*);

— to increase scholarships and extend scholarship eligibility in higher and specialised secondary educational establishments (*applause*);

— to increase the allowance for meals in hospitals and urban vocational and technical schools. (*Prolonged applause.*)

To carry out the new measures relating to wages and salaries and greater allowances out of the social consumption funds, aimed at raising the standard of living, 22 thousand million rubles are allocated in the current five-year plan as against 10 thousand million in the Eighth Five-Year Plan. (*Prolonged applause.*)

House-building will continue on a still larger scale. In the next five years we are planning to build housing totaling 565-575 million sq m, which will enable us to improve the living conditions of approximately 60 million people. Considerable funds are also being allocated for the public utilities and for town and village improvement.

In this connection, I should like to refer specially to Moscow. It is cherished by all Soviet people as the capital of our country, our biggest industrial, cultural and scientific centre, as the symbol of our great socialist state.

(*Applause.*) Large-scale work in the field of housing development, town improvement and the improvement of transport facilities will continue in Moscow as before. To make Moscow a model communist city is the bounden duty of the entire Soviet people. (*Stormy applause.*)

Attention should be redoubled to the improvement of the country's other cities as well. The advantages of socialism enable us to direct the natural process of urban growth in such a way as to provide increasingly healthier and more comfortable living conditions for the urban population.

Comrades, while mapping out measures to increase substantially the incomes of Soviet people, to extend house-building and to improve towns and villages, the Central Committee holds that special significance now also attaches to the task of **satisfying the growing solvent demand of the population for foodstuffs, manufactured goods and services.** Consumer goods production must go up at a higher rate than the cash incomes of Soviet people.

This problem will be resolved by stepping up the growth of all branches of the economy manufacturing these goods. From this standpoint, too, the Party approaches the important problem of correlating the main proportions in industry.

The Central Committee holds that the accumulated productive potential permits of somewhat higher rates of growth for group B in the new five-year period, which will make it possible to achieve the envisaged rise of the living standard. It stands to reason that this does not invalidate our general policy oriented on the accelerated development of the production of means of production. In determining the correlation of the rates of growth of the two subdivisions, the Party, just as Lenin taught, proceeds from the concrete requirements and existing resources of each stage.

HEAVY INDUSTRY IS THE FOUNDATION
OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC POWER
AND THE FURTHER RISE
OF THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARD

The above-mentioned modification of the national-economic proportions does not mean that we are slackening our concern for heavy industry.

The Party's policy of ensuring the priority development of socialist industry, and principally its basis, heavy industry, has turned our country into a mighty power. It will be no exaggeration to say that only the consistent effectuation of this policy has enabled us to safeguard the gains of the socialist revolution, to end the centuries-long backwardness, to achieve gigantic economic, social and cultural progress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

High growth rates in heavy industry fully retain their importance in the present conditions.

They retain their importance principally because extended socialist reproduction, the possibilities and rates of future economic growth and the building of the material and technical basis of communism are all largely dependent on the successful development of heavy industry. Dependent on its work is the technical equipment of all spheres of the economy, the supply of material and technical resources for higher labour productivity.

They also retain their importance because without developing heavy industry we cannot maintain our defence capability at the level necessary to guarantee the country's security and the peaceful labour of our people. Much has been done in this respect in the past five years: the Soviet Army is now equipped with all types of modern sophisticated weaponry. The further development of the defence industry, its concrete work programmes, depend in many ways on the international situation. The Soviet Union is prepared to support realistic disarmament measures that consolidate peace and do not impair our security. At the same time we must be prepared for any possible turns in the train of events.

Lastly, the development of heavy industry is of special significance because, among other things, the basic tasks of improving the standard of living cannot be achieved without it. Heavy industry is to increase considerably the output of the means of production for the accelerated development of agriculture and the light and the food industries, for more housing, for further promotion of trade and community services.

That, precisely, is the ultimate purpose of heavy industry. In this connection, allow me to recall the words of V. I. Lenin: "In *the final analysis* the manufacture of means of production is necessarily bound up with that of articles

of consumption, since the former are not manufactured for their own sake, but only because more and more means of production are demanded by the branches of industry manufacturing articles of consumption."¹

The Party is setting heavy industry yet another important task—to expand the manufacture of consumer goods directly in its own enterprises. For this all its branches possess considerable facilities. I should also like to mention the defence industry in the same context. Today, as much as 42 per cent of its output is used for civilian purposes. By virtue of its high scientific and technical level, its expertise, inventions and discoveries are of cardinal importance for all spheres of the economy.

Consequently, far from diminishing, the role of heavy industry is continuing to gain in importance in the present stage, because the set of immediate practical problems with which it deals is growing. In the coming five years its leading branches face very strenuous assignments: to raise the output of electricity to over 1,000,000 million kilowatt hours, oil to 480-500 million tons, gas to 300-320 thousand million cubic metres and steel to 142-150 million tons. The output of the engineering, metal-working, chemical and petrochemical industries is to go up 70 per cent.

The Party is confident that the workers of heavy industry will cope creditably with these important and noble tasks. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

THE PROGRAMME OF FURTHER AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Comrades, the rates of growth of the economy as a whole, the rates at which the living standard of Soviet people rises, depend in many respects on the successful development of agriculture. That is why so much attention was devoted to it in the period under review. Since the problems of agriculture have been broadly discussed for quite some time and since many pertinent decisions were adopted in the past periods as well, the Central Committee considers it important to inform the delegates about some of the fundamental features of the approach to these problems worked out in these last few years.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 163.

One of them is that, adhering firmly to the course set by the March (1965) CC Plenary Meeting and consolidated in the decisions of the 23rd Congress, the Central Committee has laid a special accent on creating stable economic conditions stimulating the growth of agricultural production. In specific terms, for collective and state farms this means stable procurement plans for a number of years ahead, introduction of such incentive prices for products delivered in excess of the plan as would stimulate the growth of production, and other measures.

The other feature is that, since we regard isolated measures of an agro-technical and organisational nature as insufficient, we have striven to take into account the whole set of factors determining the development of agriculture, including those of supplying the countryside with the necessary machinery and fertilisers, expanding capital construction, land improvement, personnel training, and improving the organisation of production. This has necessitated a concrete analysis of the needs of agriculture and finding the means to meet them.

On the basis of this approach, the Central Committee at its July (1970) Plenary Meeting worked out a broad, comprehensive agricultural development programme, long-term and realistic. The problems of agriculture are such, comrades, that they cannot be completely resolved in a year or two, or even in five years; it will take a much longer time and require huge allocations and enormous effort not only by the farm workers, but by all our industry.

The targets of the present five years are based on the decisions of the Plenary Meeting. Their fulfilment will amount to an increase of farm production enabling us systematically to expand and improve in the years to come the supply of the population with farm produce and of industry with raw materials. While dealing with the current tasks, we must at the same time take a big step forward in the new five-year period in building up the material and technical basis of agriculture, which will help us in future to resolve completely the problems of agricultural production and of the transformation of the countryside, and to reduce the dependence of farming on the elemental forces of nature.

These were the guidelines which the Central Committee followed in determining the size of investments in agricul-

ture. Some 129 thousand million rubles, or as much as in the two preceding five-year periods combined, will be invested in farming by the state and the collective farms. (*Applause.*)

The nature of the tasks to be carried out in the new five-year period determines the growing measure of responsibility of the agricultural organs, rural Party organisations, collective and state farms. Collective farmers and state-farm workers are to raise the average annual grain output to at least 195 million tons, increasing its sale to the state under the fixed plan and in excess of the plan at higher prices, to 80-85 million tons. In the coming five years the average annual production of meat is to exceed 14 million tons, milk 92 million tons and eggs 46 thousand million. A considerable increase is also envisaged for other farm products.

In accordance with the decisions of the July Central Committee Plenary Meeting, large sums of money and considerable material resources are being set aside for the fulfilment of these assignments. Compared with the previous five years, our agriculture will have many more new tractors, combines, lorries and other farm machinery, mineral fertilisers and various other chemicals, equipment for livestock and poultry farms, electric power and building materials. The exact figures are known to the delegates from the draft Directives.

All this is a real and very large contribution to agricultural production, to making it more effective. At the same time, we should like specially to stress that it is necessary to make the fullest possible use of the available potentialities, of everything that agriculture already possesses. Regrettably, there are still many shortcomings and deficiencies in this respect.

Comrades, as before, increasing **grain** production is still one of the main tasks in agriculture. Our grain needs have been growing from year to year. This applies not only to food grain, but also to forage grain, the production of which should be expanded in view of the necessity of rapidly developing animal husbandry.

As the Central Committee sees it, considerable potentialities exist for increasing the gross grain yield both in our main grain-growing areas such as the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Central chernozem zones, the North

Caucasus, the Volga Area and the steppelands of the Urals and Siberia, and in the non-chernozem and other zones of the country. These potentialities consist in a more effective use of fertilisers and machinery, and in a rigorous observance of agro-technical rules, in improving the organisation of work and perseveringly combating losses of grain, and, to be sure, also of other farm products.

The collective and state farms, and the agricultural organs, must persevere in the effort to improve the pattern of the cultivated land, giving priority to those crops and varieties which yield the biggest harvests. In the southern regions, for example, such as Stavropol Territory and Rostov, Poltava and a few other regions, the maize area has been unjustifiably reduced. This situation should be remedied. Also to be increased is the production of groats, primarily buckwheat and millet. The paddy systems envisaged in the plan are also to be put into operation on schedule, so that rice production should rise to 2 million tons towards the end of the five-year period, which will satisfy the country's demand in full.

We also face the acute and important agricultural problem of further expanding **animal husbandry**. A big advance must be accomplished in this field if we want to provide the population with unintermittent supplies of the most valuable food products and satisfy the growing requirements of the Soviet people in the new five-year period. Here, too, the potentialities available on the collective and state farms should be more fully mobilised.

To begin with, they must consolidate the feed resources, the basis for expanding animal husbandry. Improving the meadows and pastures and utilising them more fully, increasing the stocks of hay, grass meal and haylage, silage and other fodder, and raising the yields of all forage crops, is still an important task. All steps must be taken to reduce livestock losses from disease and poor management. Much will have to be done to build and mechanise livestock units, improve pedigree breeding and expand beef cattle and poultry farming.

At present, personal auxiliary husbandry still plays an appreciable role in the production of meat and milk. However, here and there this does not get the attention it deserves. While concentrating the main attention on increasing social production, the necessary help should be

given collective farmers and state-farm employees in acquiring livestock and poultry and the essential supplies of feed.

It should be noted that the possibilities of expanding animal husbandry are not yet being fully utilised in some republics and regions. This applies to the Moldavian, Armenian, Georgian and Turkmen Union republics, to Voronezh, Omsk, Chelyabinsk and Kostroma regions of the Russian Federation, Odessa Region in the Ukraine, Karaganda and Pavlodar regions in Kazakhstan, and a few others. We hope that the local authorities will draw proper conclusions from this.

Apart from increasing the production of grain and developing animal husbandry, it is of great economic importance to expand the production of other farm products, including industrial crops. Increasing the area of meliorated land and introducing crop rotation in Central Asia, particularly Uzbekistan, will help increase the production of so valuable a crop, so essential for the country, as cotton.

Comrades, our plans closely align the solution of the current questions of this five-year period with the basic long-term trends in the development of agriculture. The Party has defined the ways of solving this problem. First and foremost, the reference here is to the further technical re-equipment of agriculture, to its **mechanisation** and **chemicalisation** and to large-scale land **melioration**.

It follows that increasingly broader use of the country's general economic potential is a necessary condition for the successful development of agriculture. That is why the Party has so urgently set the task of the accelerated development of those branches of industry which manufacture means of production for agriculture and equipment and machinery for processing, transporting, storing and marketing farm products.

Thus, agricultural growth depends not only on the collective farmers and state-farm workers, but also, in many respects, on the efforts of the workers in industry, science and technology. The Party calls on them to contribute creditably to this big, truly countrywide, national cause. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

In the years to come, specialisation of farming and industrial methods of producing meat, milk and other products will be still further developed. This is natural, for

those are processes that shape the future of our agriculture in the long term. But in carrying out this big and important work, it is our duty to avoid mistakes and not to overreach ourselves. Increased specialisation and conversion to industrial lines should be economically substantiated and thoroughly prepared in each concrete case.

The rapid growth of agriculture leads increasingly to the spread of inter-collective-farm and state-collective-farm production associations and the establishment of agro-industrial complexes. These are able to make more effective use of equipment, investments and manpower, and make broader use of industrial methods. The Party will support these forms of organising production in the countryside.

Comrades, fulfilling the farm output assignments will require arduous effort. A big role in raising farming is to be played by the rural Party organisations, government and land authorities and the managers of state and collective farms. The Party highly appreciates their selfless work.

On behalf of the Congress, allow me to express the confidence that the efforts of the collective farmers, the state-farm workers and the agricultural experts will be crowned with new major successes. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

TO EXPAND THE PRODUCTION OF MANUFACTURED CONSUMER GOODS

Comrades, as we have already mentioned, in the past five-year period production and sale of manufactured consumer goods were considerably increased. Yet the output of many items is still lower than is required. The planned increase of the people's cash incomes will push up the demand still more, and will pose the problem of quality still more sharply.

Is our industry ready to rise to the new requirements set by the Party's orientation on the further improvement of the living standard?

It is unquestionably ready for this from the standpoint of its objective resources. The country's industrial potential is large enough considerably to increase the production and to improve the quality of consumer goods. The increased economic possibilities enable us to allocate larger sums for investment in this area, and this is what we are doing.

But as in any other undertaking, success depends not

only on the objective conditions, for the subjective factors, too, are enormously relevant. The Central Committee considers it important, therefore, to draw the attention of the planning and economic authorities, of Party, government and trade union organisations to the necessity of radically changing the approach to consumer goods production.

We have many years of heroic history behind us, comrades, when millions of Communists and non-Party people consciously accepted privations and hardships, were content with the bare essentials and denied themselves the right to demand any special amenities. This could not but reflect on their attitude to the production of consumer goods, to their quality and range. But that which was explicable and natural in the past, when other tasks, other undertakings stood in the forefront, is unacceptable in the present conditions. And if some comrades tend to overlook this, the Party is entitled to regard their attitude as stemming either from a failure to understand the substance of its policy, oriented on a steady rise of the living standard, or as an attempt to vindicate their own inactivity. The Central Committee considers it necessary to raise this issue incisively and frankly. (*Stormy applause.*)

We still have administrators, and this not only locally but in the centre as well, who manage to "coexist peacefully" with shortcomings, who have somehow reconciled themselves to the low quality of some consumer goods, and who are unfolding consumer production with unpardonable slowness. Some go so far as to cut back or even stop the production of needed items, or stop producing commodities that, though inexpensive, are essential for the population, on the pretext of replacing outdated goods with new ones. That is how shortages arise from time to time of goods usually known as "trifles". But there is no such thing as trifles when it comes to items in daily demand. (*Applause.*)

We are equipped to improve the supply of consumer goods considerably in the new five-year period. It is planned appreciably to increase the production of textiles, garments, shoes and knitted goods. In the case of such durables as TV sets, domestic refrigerators, radio receivers and washing machines there is a real possibility of almost fully satisfying the needs of the population. The sale of cars will increase greatly: their 1975 output will be nearly four times that of 1970.

We are now unquestionably grown to these tasks; we must only make the most of the available reserves and possibilities. They are available in each ministry, each republic and region, each city, each enterprise. (*Applause.*)

In the new five-year plan 8.7 thousand million rubles, or nearly twice as much as in the preceding five-year period, is allocated for the development of the light industry, and almost 14 thousand million rubles for the development of the food, meat, dairy and fishing industries. These sums must be put to use correctly and on schedule, so that enterprises should be built or reconstructed rapidly and equipped with up-to-date plant. This sets highly responsible tasks for our engineering industry, our researchers and designers. Also essential here is constant control by Party and economic bodies.

The big and complicated task of saturating the market with consumer goods must be carried out with state retail prices remaining stable, and, moreover, as the necessary economic preconditions are created, price reductions should follow for some consumer items. Cases where prices are inflated should be firmly combated, control over the fixing of retail prices and service charges should be tightened, and those heads of enterprises and economic organs that try to go round the procedure established by the state should be taken to task.

Attaching great importance to satisfying consumer demand, the Central Committee considers it necessary to work out shortly a broad programme for increasing consumer goods production in all branches of industry. Fulfilment of that programme will contribute greatly to the improvement of the living standard of the Soviet people.

TO DEVELOP TRADE AND IMPROVE COMMUNITY SERVICES

The further rise of the standard of living sets higher demands on trade and the services. In recent years, much has been done to develop these branches.

Tens of thousands of new shops, department stores and other trading establishments have been opened in the towns and rural areas. But we still have many flaws in the domain of trade and services, with which, regrettably, some of the people concerned have reconciled themselves, have become

accustomed to regarding them as being practically normal. In many cases, trading establishments are inexpedient and have not learned yet to properly study the market demand. As a result, goods reach the shops out of season or go anywhere but the places where they are needed. Also, it has often happened that some commodities are ordered in unjustifiably small quantities, with the result that their production is reduced, creating acute shortages. This was the case now with domestic sewing machines, now with pressing irons and other goods. In many cases, too, the service in the shops leaves much to be desired.

The Soviet people, the Party respect the work of those engaged in trade. But in addressing them, and particularly managers of trade organisations, we should like to say that the present task is greatly to improve the standard of work, improve the organisation of trade, and to introduce modern trading methods. (*Applause.*)

Much attention is being paid in our country to public catering. We are building and will continue to build many more eating places, cafes and restaurants, though there are still many shortcomings in this field, and especially in the organisation of catering in enterprises, offices, educational establishments, collective and state farms. All too often the capacity of the eating places does not meet the demand, and the fare is not tasty. That is not to be tolerated. We must deal more strictly with the ministries, the local authorities and the heads of enterprises for these deficiencies. An important role should also be played by the trade unions: they must control the catering in enterprises unrelentingly and constantly.

Comrades, we must substantially improve the work of all the services—public catering, tailoring and dressmaking, the repair services, and the recreation and entertainment facilities. Those are not industries that must merely fulfil plans, but services that deal directly with people, with the diversity of their tastes, their feelings and moods. To reduce the work of the services merely to fulfilment of plan percentages and profits is obviously out of the question. (*Applause.*)

The people's need for services is increasing steadily. To satisfy it more fully it is envisaged in the new five-year period to at least double the volume of paid services afforded to the population.

Here, too, we should think of utilising the potentialities. Much depends on local initiative, including that of the local Soviets. Among other things, we should also examine the question of creating conditions in which pensioners, housewives and invalids could do some work in the service industry without overtaxing themselves and with benefit for themselves and for society, either at home, under an individual arrangement, or by forming co-operatives. Accordingly, we shall of course have to improve the corresponding legal provisions regulating such activity, to give it the necessary backing. (*Applause.*)

Briefly, the service industries merit the closest attention both from the standpoint of allocations for their development and the standpoint of improving the body of their personnel, and of elevating the social standing of the people working in them.

* * *

Those, comrades, are the main trends in our activity, aimed at raising the standard of living of the working people. In this context, the new Five-Year Plan should be a big step forward and, at the same time, it should lay the foundation for still more considerable achievements in future. (*Applause.*)

To cope successfully with these tasks, our cadres—economic, government, trade union and Party, in the centre and locally—should be as exacting and discriminating in all matters relating to the living conditions of people as they would with regard to the most important government assignments. That is the attitude the Party expects of them. (*Applause.*)

3. To Enhance the Effectiveness of Social Production on the Basis of Scientific and Technical Progress and Fuller Use of All Potentialities

Comrades, allow me to proceed to the second fundamental question of our economic policy—the resources that we must mobilise to fulfil our tasks. Where can we obtain these resources and, in particular, the means for the accelerated development of the branches which we are accentuating?

Something may be obtained by re-locating resources from one branch to another, but that source is naturally limited. The so-called extensive factors of economic growth, too, are becoming more limited; the supply of additional manpower will decline in 1971-1975 as compared with the previous five years. And the rates of growth of investment also have their limits.

Consequently, we must rely mainly on enhancing the effectiveness of production. In simpler terms, the crux of the problem is to achieve a substantial increase of output and of the national income per unit of labour and material and financial inputs. That, in the final analysis, is what raising the productivity of social labour amounts to.

Higher labour productivity in the coming five years should yield at least 80 per cent of the accretion in the national income, 87-90 per cent of the accretion in industrial production, 95 per cent of the accretion in building and assembly, and the entire accretion in railway freight carriage. The envisaged accretion in farm output must be secured entirely by raising the productivity of labour.

It is precisely from this angle—bearing in mind the need for speeding up the growth of the productivity of labour—that we should approach the main questions of economic development. In so doing, acceleration of scientific and technical progress forges into first place both from the point of view of the current tasks and that of the long-term perspective.

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION. FUSION OF SCIENCE AND PRODUCTION

For Soviet science and technology the past five years have been a period of rapid development and we are legitimately proud of its gains. All the same, rapid acceleration of scientific and technical progress is still one of the main tasks. At a time when the role of science as an immediate productive force keeps growing, separate scientific achievements, no matter how brilliant, are no longer central; what is central is a high scientific and technical level of production as a whole.

For our science this poses still more responsible tasks, requiring its higher effectiveness, a further unfolding of fundamental research, and concentration of the scientists'

energy and attention on the most important and promising long-term trends in scientific and technical progress. Research and design organisations and pilot enterprises must take more pains in perfecting new machinery and new production processes for adoption in the economy. The tasks facing the State Committee for Science and Technology, the Academy of Sciences and the ministries, are becoming greater.

If we examine all the links of the intricate chain that binds science to production, we shall easily see that the weakest links are those relating to the practical realisation of scientific achievements, to their adoption in mass production. To be sure, we have many positive examples in this field; suffice it to recall, say, the work of the Paton Electrical Welding Institute or the development work on isoprene rubber. Unfortunately, however, this is far from being the rule in all cases.

To eliminate the existing difficulties we should achieve a still greater reorientation of the respective scientific organisations on the most important production problems, on the one hand, and, on the other, create conditions compelling enterprises to manufacture the latest types of products, to literally chase after scientific and technical novelties, and not to shy from them, figuratively speaking, as the devil shies from holy water. Those collectives that really fight for modernising plant and production processes, for producing output meeting the latest demands, should be put in a more privileged position. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The national economic plan should become a powerful lever of scientific and technical progress. So far, our plans dealt with questions relating to the use of achievements of science and technology in the economy to an insufficient extent, and, what is more, a considerable number of the ministries have been falling short of the set targets. This applies, among others, to the Ministry of the Timber and Wood-Working Industry and the Ministry of Tractor and Farm Machinery Engineering. The approach should be different. What we need is a comprehensive programme for the further development of plant and technology, one which would take into account all the sections of the plan, its main indicators. This approach is already reflected in the draft Directives.

To accelerate scientific and technical progress it is im-

portant to improve the forms of organising industry, securing, so to speak, the kind of production pattern that would be abreast of the demands of the times. This implies a considerable extension of research and studies in industry itself, the establishment in the enterprises of design bureaus, of a resourceful experimental base, and an influx into industry of a large number of researchers. Naturally, only big amalgamations and combines can accomplish this, which makes their establishment particularly topical. In many cases good results may be obtained by merging research institutions with enterprises, creating powerful science-production complexes. Relevant are the problems of improving scientific and technical information and working out effective methods of control and of independent, extra-administrative experts' panels, which would preclude the creation of machines, devices and production processes falling short of the top modern requirements.

It is essential, comrades, that not only our planning and economic organs, but also all Party cadres should display a full measure of concern for accelerating scientific and technical progress. The importance of this derives both from the vital needs of our present-day economic practice and from future requirements. (*Applause.*) Scientific and technical progress is the main lever for building the material and technical basis of communism. In so important a matter as developing science and technology, therefore, we should see the long-term prospects clearly and take them into account in our practical work.

And the prospects are that the revolution in the development of the productive forces, touched off by science and its discoveries, will become increasingly significant and profound. The task we face, comrades, is one of historical importance: **organically to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system**, to unfold more broadly our own, intrinsically socialist, forms of fusing science with production. (*Applause.*)

As we take steps to speed up scientific and technical progress, we must see to it that it should combine with a rational treatment of natural resources and should not cause dangerous air and water pollution or exhaust the soil. The Party demands most emphatically that the planning and economic bodies and design organisations, all our cadres,

should keep the question of nature protection within their field of vision when designing and building new enterprises or improving the work of existing ones. Not we alone, but the coming generations should also be able to use and enjoy all the gifts of our country's splendid natural environment. We are also prepared to participate in collective international schemes for nature protection and the rational use of natural resources. (*Applause.*)

TO IMPROVE THE STRUCTURE,
ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Comrades, the policy of increasing the effectiveness of production poses a number of important and complicated tasks aimed at securing the most effective proportions of the economic branches.

The rates of economic growth, the possibility of accumulation required for the development of the economy and for raising the living standard depend in many ways on a correct solution of the structural problems. Everybody knows that the effect per invested ruble is greater in some branches than in others, that investments are recouped more quickly in some branches than in others. It is important to bear this in mind in any economy, and doubly so in a big one like ours.

Apart from increasing material benefits for the people, the acceleration in the development of agriculture, of industries manufacturing consumer goods and of the service industries will help improve the proportions in our economy, help to balance it, to expand the sources of the growth of the national income and of accumulations, and to step up the circulation of money.

Improvement of the structure of heavy industry contains considerable potentialities for increasing the effectiveness of production. This implies accelerated development of those of its branches which secure lower production costs, bigger output of the end product and a higher labour productivity both in heavy industry and in other sectors.

In the years ahead the work of raising the effectiveness of production in industry should follow several basic directions. One of these is lowering the consumption of materials per unit of production, economy of raw and other materials. This is of truly national importance.

The growth of the national economy creates a rapidly increasing demand in various raw materials. To meet this demand we shall continue to expand the extractive industries at a high rate. In so doing, it is important to act to achieve their more effective operation, securing fuller processing of raw materials, improving quality and reducing waste. It should be borne in mind, however, that the extractive industries are much more capital- and labour-intensive per unit of production than the manufacturing industries.

Consequently, from the standpoint of the national economy, it is much more advantageous to economise on raw materials by perfecting production in the manufacturing industries, rather than additionally to produce that much more raw materials. Reducing the per unit consumption of materials by a mere one per cent on a countrywide scale is equivalent to an additional 3-4 thousand million rubles' worth of accretion to the national income.

The other important direction in working for the greater effectiveness of production is to use the manpower resources more rationally, to reduce labour outlays, principally by cutting down on manual and physically arduous labour. Apart from improving production processes and the organisation of labour in enterprises, this requires an all-round development of those industries which secure the boost in the rate of renewing and replacing obsolete plant. This applies to industries manufacturing new highly productive equipment, whole systems of machines facilitating conversion to comprehensive mechanisation of jobs and automated production processes. Of great importance, too, is expanding branches that provide technical services to industry and mechanise ancillary jobs.

And the third direction is a substantial improvement of the quality of products and, accordingly, the development of production sectors that facilitate the solution of this problem. In the present conditions, seen from the standpoint of its effect for the entire national economy, better nearly always also means more. One up-to-date programmed machine tool replaces ten of obsolete design, one heavy-duty lorry replaces several ordinary ones and one aircraft engine with a longer life-span replaces two or three of the old type.

To raise the effectiveness of industrial production and improve its structure, we are setting our course on improving

whole complexes of inter-connected industries, the development of which follows a definite programme.

A more effective priority development of the fuel and power complex is one of the key objectives in the coming five years. We shall work for it by improving the structure of the pertinent branches, accelerating the growth of those which are the most promising and economically effective. First and foremost, this means increasing the share of oil and gas in the country's fuel balance and technically re-equipping the coal industry, starting up highly economical hydraulic and thermal, and building more atomic power stations, and raising the economic effectiveness of power installations.

Responsible tasks face the metallurgical industry and engineering. Here, too, factors assuring higher effectiveness of production are being placed in the fore.

This requires improving production processes and modernising the operating metallurgical enterprises, and expanding those sectors of production which secure the improvement of the quality and extension of the grading range of metals, and a higher output of precision shapes and blanks.

The engineering industries should develop along the same lines. Their attention will be centred on increasing the output of high-powered, highly economical, high-precision and dependable machines and equipment. It is planned to increase the share of forge and press machines, and of foundry and assembly equipment, and to give priority to the expansion of the manufacture of programmed machine tools and automated and semi-automated transfer lines.

Electronics, the radio industry and instrument-making, that is, the entire complex of industries creating the technical basis for automating production and management will continue to develop at a high rate. This complex may be legitimately described as the catalyst of scientific and technical progress. Here, particular importance attaches in the coming five years to organising large-scale manufacture of sophisticated electronic computers.

In the new five-year period, much attention is devoted to the development of the chemical and petrochemical industry. Chemisation of the economy is a powerful lever for increasing the effectiveness of social production. There are many uses to which chemicals can be put in most branches of the economy, replacing expensive natural raw materials,

helping to improve the quality of the products and to raise the productivity of labour.

In recent years, work was begun on radically altering the organisation of production in the timber, wood-working, and pulp and paper industry. The task is to increase considerably the output of what is the end product of that industry—timber, woodpulp, paper, cardboard, furniture and fibre boards—without substantially expanding timbering.

In the present stage of economic development the role increases of those branches of the national economy which service the production process, such as transport, communications, material and technical supplies, and others. The effectiveness of the economy depends largely on the work of these branches, in which nearly 16 million of our people are employed. Although substantial advances have been made in this sphere, it requires consistent improvement; its development must be brought into line with the increasing volume and complexity of production.

The work of the transport system, for example, does not meet the present requirements, has become a bottleneck. One of the reasons for this, apparently, is that insufficient funds were allocated for transport development in the preceding five years.

Measures are envisaged in the ninth five-year period to remedy the situation. It is planned to build new and increase the carrying capacity of the existing railway trunk lines and station side-tracks, to build new motor-roads and pipelines, and to continue expanding the maritime and river merchant fleets. On the Kama River construction has begun of a major plant that will produce 150 thousand heavy-duty lorries annually; one more auto works will be built; work has begun on the construction site of a new large railway-car plant in Abakan. In view of the large size of our country ever growing importance attaches to the further development of air transport. We shall put into operation new types of highly economical, comfortable planes and improve the airport ground services. In the new five-year period, Aeroflot, which is already the world's largest airline, will carry almost 500 million passengers and 11 million tons of freight. Growing importance also attaches to such types of activity of our civil aviation as assistance to agriculture and the health services, forest protection and participation in geological surveying. While further developing all types of transport,

there is need to ensure their more co-ordinated operation, to create a single and highly efficient transport system for the country.

Radio, television and all types of communications will be developed on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements.

Improving the system of foreign economic relations offers considerable opportunities for increasing the effectiveness of the economy. Political factors relating to the consolidation of the socialist community and the strengthening of the economic basis of the peaceful coexistence of states, as well as factors flowing from the requirements of our economy, make it important to increase the output of export goods in all branches of industry. This will also help enlarge imports of needed commodities. Beyond question, expanding international exchanges will have a beneficial effect on improving the work of all our industry.

The increased role of economic, scientific and technical contacts with other countries will, of course, require certain measures designed to improve the administration of all foreign economic activity and eliminate any parochial approach in this important field. Foreign economic activity must be based increasingly on a combination of production and commercial functions so as to react quickly to the requirements and possibilities of the world market and to use them to the utmost in the interests of our economic development.

TO IMPROVE UTILISATION OF PRODUCTION ASSETS AND INVESTMENTS

Comrades, the Soviet Union now possesses a vast economic potential and the effectiveness of our economy depends increasingly on how this potential and, above all, the operative **production assets**, are used. Improving their use and raising the product-to-assets ratio is still one of the most important tasks, though our industry has made some advances in this respect in the past five years.

In this connection, I should like to draw attention to just the one question of the low shift coefficient of industrial enterprises. This was discussed at the 23rd Congress and at a number of CC CPSU plenary meetings, but matters have practically not improved, especially in the

engineering industry. Instead of increasing the number of shifts, some economic organs want to build more and more new enterprises. And when the question of increasing the number of shifts is raised, it is countered by references to manpower shortages. But who, may we ask, will work in the new enterprises—people or the holy spirit? No, comrades, we must deal with the matter more strictly, work out and carry through a set of measures ensuring fuller use of the equipment; we must place the matter under the unrelenting control of the Party committees in the enterprises, the city and regional Party committees.

This will help to resolve one of the most urgent problems of our national economy—the **problem of capital construction**.

In the sphere of material production we are now building more than any other country in the world. Older people remember what noteworthy events the commissioning of the Dnieper Hydropower Station, the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works and the Volgograd and Kharkov tractor factories were in our history. Many larger and technically more advanced enterprises and projects are now being placed in operation every year. The major projects completed in recent years included the Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station (the biggest in the world); the unique Konakovo, Burshtyn and Krivoi Rog thermal power stations; the giant West-Siberian and the Karaganda iron and steel works; the oil-producing complexes in Tyumen Region and Western Kazakhstan; the Volzhsky Auto Works and Pavlodar Tractor Works; huge chemical complexes and plants; the Bratsk and Syktyvkar timbering complexes. Construction on the Chernogorsk Worsted Mill, the Kursk Knitwear Factory and other large enterprises of the light and food industries has been completed.

However, the situation as regards capital construction cannot be recognised as being satisfactory. To put the matter briefly, the problem is that we are investing enormous sums of money while the returns are not fast enough, and so are smaller than they should be. There are several reasons for this.

One is that when plans are drawn up they frequently envisage excessively large volumes of capital construction and an excessively large number of projects without taking real possibilities into account. As a result, funds are scat-

tered, the number of unfinished projects grows and large resources are frozen.

Every time state plans are considered it is found necessary to cut the requests of ministries and Union republics. But even these plans are not entirely fulfilled. Nonetheless, many comrades continue to submit obviously overstated requests. It is time this practice was ended. We must build, and live, according to our means. (*Applause.*)

Another reason for the difficulties lies in the irrational distribution of a considerable part of the capital investments. Experience shows that, as a rule, it is economically more profitable to ensure a growth of production by reconstructing and technically modernising factories. But a much too large share of the funds is still channelled into new projects and a clearly inadequate share is used for the modernisation of production and the renewal of plant, with the result that the reconstruction of many factories is intolerably dragged out. In the coming five-year period the emphasis must be on enlarging and reconstructing operating enterprises.

Lastly, there are major shortcomings in construction itself. Plan and financial discipline are sometimes violated. Insufficient use is made of new, effective materials and building elements. The quality of construction remains poor. It must become a law that no economic executive should start the building of new projects without blueprints and estimates. (*Applause.*)

In recent years the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have made a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the state of affairs in capital construction. A number of decisions have been passed which change the very principle by which the work of builders is evaluated: this evaluation must be based on end results, the commissioning of capacities, and the completion of the entire volume of construction, and not on various intermediate stages.

However, in order to effect a radical improvement of the situation in capital construction, very much remains to be done also by the Party organisations linked with this important sphere of the national economy and, of course, by the builders themselves.

* * *

Comrades, the analysis of the possibilities at the disposal of our national economy shows that we do have reserves for making production more efficient and accelerating economic growth, and that these reserves are very considerable. As has been said, these reserves lie in scientific and technical progress, improvement of the structure of the national economy, fuller use of production assets and improvement of capital construction. But that is not the whole point, for these reserves are also available at every individual enterprise, at every collective and state farm.

What I have in mind is elimination of losses in working time, reduction in fluidity of personnel, elimination of un-rhythmic operation, and idling of equipment. Much importance attaches to the saving of raw and other materials, fuel and electric power, careful handling of machinery, machine tools and equipment, tractors, harvesters and motor vehicles. There is now such a vast quantity of diverse machinery in the country that if we use it ineptly or less than fully we tend unjustifiably to reduce its service life, and this inflicts considerable damage on the people's interests. At each individual plant or collective farm the effort to achieve economies may yield hundreds or thousands of rubles, but on the scale of the national economy this will come to many hundreds or even thousands of millions of rubles.

A year ago the CC CPSU, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the CC of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League addressed a letter to the Soviet working people on improving the use of reserves in production and intensifying the effort to achieve savings in the national economy. This letter has become the basis of extensive work amongst the masses which has yielded good results. But the use of all the reserves, greater efforts to save, and the combating of mismanagement, wasteful and superfluous spending do not amount to a short-term campaign. This is one of the most important lines in the day-to-day activity of Party, government, economic, trade union and Young Communist organisations. We must do our utmost to intensify our work in this direction.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to emphasise that for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the new five-year plan it is important to have our cadres make

a definite change in their approach to economic questions, and modify some of their habitual conceptions.

For historical reasons, by virtue of the conditions in which we found ourselves, things developed in such a way that quantitative assessments had always been given priority: the point was to produce so many tons of steel, so many of oil, so many of grain, and so many tractors. Of course, the quantitative side continues to be of importance for us even today. But it must be more fully and consistently supplemented with indicators bearing on the quality of products and on the economic aspect of industrial operations. For example, when this or that executive reports on output, a well-grounded evaluation of his work may be given only when the cost at which this has been achieved is established. And where the cost has been excessive or where he has fulfilled the plan himself, but failed in his inter-enterprise delivery commitments, letting down other enterprises, where success in one sector has entailed a short-fall elsewhere, such an executive does not merit praise but criticism. (*Applause.*) We criticise our executives when they make mistakes or commit this or that offence. This is right, because our standard of exactingness must be raised. But we feel that there must be criticism not only of those who make mistakes but also of those who fail to use all the possibilities for developing production, and fail to display initiative, and sit on their hands. (*Applause.*)

Our success in fulfilling the plans the Party has put forward for the current five-year period will be the greater, the higher the standard of exactingness all of us apply to our own work and to the work of others.

4. To Improve the System of Economic Management

Comrades, the third key question of the Party's economic policy is improvement of the system of economic management. This is essentially a matter of how best to organise the activity of society in accelerating economic and social development, in ensuring the fullest use of the available possibilities, and in rallying even closer together hundreds of thousands of collectives, and tens of millions of working people round the main aims of the Party's policy. Consequently, questions relating to management affect not only a

narrow circle of executives and specialists, but all Party, government and economic organisations and all collectives of working people. This means that improvement of management is an important component part of the Party's entire activity in directing the economy. That was precisely the stand taken by the Central Committee at its December (1969) Plenary Meeting.

Why is it that questions of management have now acquired especial urgency?

It is above all because, as has been said, the growing scale of and the qualitative shifts in our economy now make new and higher demands on management, and do not allow us to be satisfied with the existing forms and methods, even where they have served us well in the past.

Another thing to bear in mind is that the possibilities for improving management have been markedly extended in the recent period. This is due to the higher level of knowledge and professional training of our cadres, and of the broad masses of working people, and to the rapid development of the science of management and computer techniques.

The political aspect of this question is also very important. The uninterrupted operation of the economic mechanism helps to create a good and businesslike atmosphere in the country, promotes labour enthusiasm among the broad masses, and leads to growth of initiative among the working people, because then the people see that their labour efforts produce the expected results, that they benefit the people and the whole of society. (*Applause.*) And, conversely, nothing so tends to cool people's ardour as ill-considered decisions and bungling or bureaucratic practices on the part of individuals, which result in the wasteful use of labour, social resources and created values.

In the period under review, much work has been done in the sphere of improving the economic mechanism. Following the re-establishment of the sectoral system of management the level of centralised direction of the national economy has been substantially raised. In accordance with the Party's decisions, industry has been switched over to a new system of planning and provision of economic incentives, and this has made it possible to stem some undesirable tendencies in the economy of which there had been signs in earlier years. The line for the further development of

democratic principles has been expressed in the broader enlistment of the working people in the management of production, in the extension of the economic competence of the republics and regions, and also in greater operational independence for the enterprises.

At the same time, life and practice—and they are the best teachers—show that we cannot rest content with what has been achieved. Improvement of the system of management is not an ad hoc measure but a dynamic process of solving problems brought up by life. We shall have to continue to focus our attention on these problems in the future.

In this context it appears to be appropriate to deal briefly with some matters which, the Central Committee believes, are of great importance.

On planning. Under socialism, planning is the central element, the core of national-economic guidance. Our country has major achievements in this sphere and justifiably takes pride in them. But we cannot afford to mark time, we must continue to work hard to improve both the theory and the practice of national-economic planning.

The further raising of its scientific level becomes a task of primary importance. There is an urgent need to improve our planning methods. Planning must rest on a more precise study of social requirements, on scientific forecasts of our economic possibilities, on all-round analysis and evaluation of different variants of decisions, and of their immediate and long-term consequences. In order to fulfil this responsible and complex task there is need to broaden the horizons of economic planning.

With ever greater frequency we are confronted with the fact that fulfilment of the most important economic and socio-political tasks requires a much longer term than five years. This raises the question of planning national-economic development over a long term, on the basis of forecasts of the country's population growth, the requirements of the national economy, and scientific and technical progress. This approach, ensuring constant coordination of long-term plans with five-year and annual plans, can help in the more effective solution of the basic problems of our development.

The comprehensive approach to planning and the adoption of major national-economic decisions acquire ever greater importance. The very nature of the tasks before us is such that their fulfilment, as a rule, calls for concerted

efforts by many branches and economic areas, and includes implementation of a whole system of diverse measures.

Do we have any positive experience in this sphere? To be sure, we do. To take only the last few years there are the programme for boosting agriculture, the programme for developing the vast oil-bearing region in Western Siberia, the space exploration programme, and others. We are now faced with a formulation in greater depth of many other long-term programmes and their coordination with the overall plans for the country's economic development.

In planning work fuller account should be taken of local specifics. In our vast country, with its diverse conditions, this task is of primary importance. We must continue our work to improve the territorial location of production.

Science has greatly enriched the theoretical arsenal of planning, by producing methods of economico-mathematical modelling, systems analysis, and so on. Wider use of these methods must be made, and sectoral automated management systems must be created more rapidly, considering that in the future we shall have to create a nationwide automated system for collecting and processing information. This makes it important not only to fabricate the necessary equipment but also to train considerable numbers of skilled personnel.

Comrades, all the successes of our socialist economy are connected with economic planning. Future economic achievements will also largely depend on the quality of planning. That is why we must continue to concentrate our attention on its improvement. We must work consistently to enhance the responsibility of our cadres for the fulfilment of state plans and targets, and for strengthening planning discipline in every link of the national-economic mechanism.

On improving the organisational structure of management. Life, the development of the productive forces, has also raised questions of improving the structure of economic management and specifying the functions of individual organs.

What does this mean in concrete terms?

It means above all the need to enhance the role and improve the work of the State Planning Committee and other all-Union state organs. To do this they should apparently be released from a considerable part of their routine business, to allow them to concentrate their attention on the

main problems of national-economic development. Another pressing question is to enhance the role and extend the independent initiative of ministries and departments, which also requires some specification of their functions.

There is need for greater concentration of production. The experience we have accumulated shows that only large associations are equal to the task of concentrating sufficient numbers of qualified specialists, ensuring rapid technical progress, and making better and fuller use of all resources. The line of forming amalgamations and combines should be followed more boldly: in the long term, they must become the main units of social production operating on a profit-and-loss basis. In setting up such associations it is especially important that administrative boundaries and departmental subordination of enterprises should not be an obstacle to the introduction of more efficient forms of management. The process of concentration must also develop in agriculture.

In improving the structure of management the Party believes it to be important consistently to practice the Leninist principle of individual responsibility for assignments. When a decision is taken it must be made perfectly clear who is responsible for it. Similarly, it must be made clear who is responsible when a decision that is mature for adoption is not adopted or is delayed. (*Applause.*) It is important to define at every level of management the volume and the balance of rights and responsibility. Great powers with little responsibility create possibilities for arbitrary administrative acts, subjectivism and ill-considered decisions. But great responsibility with small powers is not much better. In that position, even the most conscientious worker frequently finds himself powerless, and it is hard to make him fully responsible for the job assigned to him.

In order to eliminate too many levels in management, we must seek to have decisions on most questions taken once and for all, instead of being passed on from one level to another. (*Prolonged applause.*) Every link in the management system must be engaged in its own work to prevent the higher levels from being cluttered up with a mass of minor matters which distract them from the major problems, and to allow the lower levels to deal efficiently with the matters falling within their competence. That seems to be right. (*Applause.*)

Improvement of the management structure requires a consistent struggle against any manifestations of the narrowly departmental and parochial approach.

On increasing economic incentives. In its work to improve the guidance of the national economy, the Party has firmly followed the line of correctly combining directive assignments by central organs and the use of economic levers for exerting an influence on production. These levers—cost accounting, prices, profit, credit, forms of material incentives, and so on—are designed to create economic conditions promoting the successful activity of production collectives, millions of working people, and to ensure well-grounded evaluations of the results of their work. The need for precisely defining the measure of labour and the measure of consumption demands skilful use of all these levers, and improvement of commodity-money relations.

The delegates to the Congress know that some measures have been taken along these lines in accordance with the decisions of the Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in September 1965 "On Improving Industrial Management, Improving Planning and Increasing Economic Incentives in Industrial Production". The experience of past years gives us grounds for saying that having begun the economic reform, the Party has correctly assessed the situation and steered a true course in improving the management of the national economy. However, far from all problems have been resolved.

The experience that has been accumulated has made it more obvious where effort has to be concentrated. This is the creation of the economic conditions, which would, first, induce enterprises to undertake optimal commitments, i.e., adopt maximum plans and make more rational use of capital investments and labour resources, second, ensure the maximum acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the growth of labour productivity and, third, facilitate a consistent drive for higher quality in production.

The consistent implementation of the principles of operation on a profit-and-loss basis remains an urgent task at industrial enterprises, at collective and state farms and at higher economic levels. The role of economic contracts and the responsibility for honouring them must be enhanced. Stable plan targets and economic norms calculated for a

number of years must be worked out for amalgamations and industrial enterprises.

A major aspect of economic activity, on which the efficacy of production depends to a large extent, is the improvement of the system of payment for work. Conscientious, highly productive work must be encouraged and better remunerated. It would be expedient, as the experience of the Shchekino Chemical Works shows, to provide enterprises with broader possibilities for giving incentives to those workers and collectives of workers who make the largest contribution to the development of production, combine trades and adopt a master-like and thrifty attitude to social wealth. An increase of material incentives must go hand in hand with the promotion of moral incentives for work.

In short, comrades, the Party organisations, our economic organs and the collectives of workers have to put in a lot of hard work to improve the economic methods of management.

In this connection, a word must be said also about the responsibility that devolves on Soviet economic science. It has achieved certain successes in recent years. But the swift development of the national economy and the new tasks confronting it are bringing to the fore many intricate theoretical and practical problems that require unremitting attention from both economic bodies and scientists.

On broader participation of the people in economic management. One of the Party's central tasks is to draw the working masses into the management of production on an ever larger scale. What we must achieve is, as Lenin emphasised, that every working person, every politically-conscious worker should feel "he is not only the master in his own factory but that he is also a representative of the country".¹

We have immense possibilities for this. The people's participation in economic management is not confined to resolving economic tasks in individual production collectives. A broader approach has to be adopted to this, in view of the role which our Party and the Soviet state play in economic management. Their policy, including their economic policy, is dictated by the basic interests of the working people. It is charted by representatives of the working

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 403.

people in the elective organs, with the masses participating broadly in the discussion of major plans and decisions. The working people also actively take part in the control of the fulfilment of these decisions. The Party will continue to promote all these forms of socialist democracy.

A big role is played in economic management by the primary Party organisations, which unite millions of workers, collective farmers and office employees. Utilising their right to control the economic activity of enterprises, they effectively influence matters concerning production. A big role is played by the trade unions in resolving economic problems, promoting socialist emulation and mass technical innovation and strengthening labour discipline.

In the period under review there has been a marked upswing of activity by production conferences, workers' meetings and general meetings of collective farmers. Concern must be shown to secure a further enhancement of their authority and bring the key questions of the life of the enterprises up for their discussion. It is necessary to encourage the practice of the heads of amalgamations and enterprises and also of top-level officials of ministries regularly accounting for their work directly to the workers.

Alongside questions of production, questions of labour protection and the improvement of everyday conditions must, naturally, receive the closest attention of the collectives. The practice of drawing up plans for the social development of collectives deserves encouragement. The procedure of concluding and checking collective agreements should be improved.

It is our duty to translate Lenin's behests still more fully into life and get all the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals to become conscious fighters for the implementation of the Party's economic policy, to act like statesmen and fully display their abilities, initiative and economic acumen. (*Applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, in the long run the success of the Party's plans for economic development and raising the people's standard of living depends on people. The guarantee of further achievements in communist construction lies in the conscious and persevering labour of workers, peasants and

intellectuals, of our Party, government, trade union and economic cadres.

That is precisely why our economic programme must be reinforced by broad Party-organisational, political, ideological and educational work that can set in motion all the gigantic forces inherent in the socialist system and in the Soviet man, who combines the remarkable features of fighter, toiler and creator. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our purpose is to make the life of Soviet people even better, even more attractive, even happier. We are marching forward to many years of selfless and inspired labour, giving fully of our creative energy. For us this is the only way to welfare and happiness, to a radiant communist future. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

III

SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

OF SOVIET SOCIETY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades, in the course of the past five years the Central Committee has devoted considerable attention to questions concerning the socio-political and cultural development of Soviet society. Allow me to report what has been done in that sphere.

1. Changes in Society's Social Structure. The Further Strengthening of the Soviet People's Unity

In raising and resolving problems of our political system's further development and questions of an ideological nature, the Central Committee's point of departure is that the Party's policy yields the required results only when it fully takes into account both the interests of the entire people and the interests of various classes and social groups, and directs them into a single common channel.

The Party's policy is directed towards helping to bring the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia closer together, and gradually erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and by hand. This is one of the key sectors in the building of a classless communist society.

In our country the drawing together of all classes and

social groups, the moral and political upbringing of the Soviet people and the strengthening of their social unity are being achieved on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the socialist interests and communist ideals of the **working class**.

The working class is the most numerous in our society. During the past five-year-plan period the number of workers increased by approximately eight million. The working class has been considerably augmented by state-farm workers. Workers comprise more than 55 per cent of the employed population. But the place occupied by the working class in socialist society is determined not only by its numerical strength, which can change depending on economic development and the rate of the scientific and technical revolution. The working class has been and remains the main productive force of society. Its revolutionary spirit, discipline, organisation and collectivism determine its leading position in the system of socialist social relations.

The leading role of the working class as the builder of communism is consolidated with the growth of its general cultural and educational level and of its political activity. The growth of the cultural level of the working class is convincingly shown, in particular, by the last two censuses. In 1959 there were 386 workers with a higher or secondary education per 1,000; today this figure tops 550.

Today there is a steadily growing number of workers who have completely mastered their trade and who, having a secondary education, are continuing their studies and mastering the advanced achievements of science and culture. As a rule, these workers are politically active and they regard the interests of their enterprise and the entire country as their own. The entire mass of Soviet working people look to these workers as models and it is only natural that in recent years the stratum of workers has been steadily growing in the Communist Party, and the number of representatives of the working class has been increasing in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and in our public organisations.

The Party will continue to direct its efforts to securing the growth and strengthening of the influence of the working class in all spheres of the life of our society and to making its activity and initiative more fruitful.

• Our society's political foundation is the alliance of the

working class with the **peasantry**. The Party's policy and its practical measures to promote both industry and agriculture have led to a further consolidation of this great alliance.

The growth of the productive forces of agriculture, the gradual conversion of agricultural labour into a variety of industrial work, the cultural upsurge in the countryside and the remaking of rural life have led to changes in the peasant's social make-up and way of thinking. He now has more and more features in common with the worker. The number of collective farmers whose work is directly linked with machines and mechanisms is growing steadily, and the educational level of the collective-farm peasantry is rising. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War only six per cent of the working people in the countryside had a higher or secondary education. According to the figures for the close of 1970, more than half of the rural population have finished a secondary school or an institution of higher learning. That is a great victory for our society! (*Applause.*)

The appearance of an increasing number of inter-collective and mixed state-collective-farm production associations and enterprises is giving rise to substantial social changes.

The new and more complex machinery—powerful tractors, harvester-combines and lorries—supplied to the countryside, the growth of the peasants' standard of living and the gradual improvement of cultural and everyday conditions are making agricultural labour more attractive and interesting, particularly for young people, and are giving them the opportunity of acquiring high qualifications. As a result, after finishing educational institutions the rural youth now stay to work in the countryside more willingly. This is a positive trend and it merits every possible support, especially as the development of agricultural production requires the training of more skilled cadres for the countryside.

You will recall that the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers adopted the new Model Rules of the Collective Farm. A Union Council of Collective Farms and collective-farm councils of district, regional, territorial and republican levels have been elected. They represent the interests of the peasants. All this is of cardinal importance to the life of the countryside and to the development of collective-farm democracy.

Naturally, comrades, the Party is well aware that much

still remains to be done in the way of promoting culture, improving everyday life and, this must be specially stressed, construction in the countryside. In this respect there is a lot of ground to be covered. But we have no reasons for underestimating what has already been accomplished.

The drawing together of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia is among the paramount social changes in our society. This process has now become increasingly more marked.

Our Soviet **intelligentsia** sees its mission in devoting its creative energy to the cause of the people, to the cause of building a communist society. Numerically, the intelligentsia continues to grow quickly. The number of scientific workers, engineers, technicians, agronomists, teachers and doctors is increasing, and in recent years the rate of growth of the scientific and technical intelligentsia in the Soviet Union has exceeded the rate of growth of all the other social groups. This is a natural process. It is a result of the Party's policy of achieving the utmost acceleration of scientific and technical progress and further raising the cultural and educational standard of the people.

To a huge extent our intelligentsia, particularly the scientific and technical intelligentsia, is replenished from the ranks of the workers and peasants. The following is a typical example. At the Pervouralsk Pipe Works 42 per cent of the engineers and technicians are of working-class stock, 32 per cent of peasant stock and 26 per cent from the families of office employees. The situation is approximately the same at other industrial enterprises in our country.

Comrades, in its policy our Party has taken and will go on taking into consideration the interests of such large social groups as young people, women and pensioners.

I shall speak of young people and of the Party's work among them when I come to the activities of the Lenin Komsomol. At this point I should like to underscore only one thing, and it is that the Party has been and shall go on giving much of its attention to the problems, cares and interests of young people. More than half of our country's population are young people under 30. They are our future and our replacement.

On the Party's initiative a series of important measures has been put into effect during the past five years to improve

the working conditions for women and, at the same time, lighten their household chores. Let me remind you at least of the fact that maternity leave procedures have been extended to collective-farm women and more crèches, kindergartens and everyday service establishments have been opened. You all know, comrades, that further steps in this direction have been planned for the next five-year period.

The aim of the Party's policy is that Soviet women should have further possibilities for bringing up their children, for taking a larger part in social life, and for recreation and education, and that they should have greater access to the blessings of culture. All these are important tasks, and the new five-year plan will be a noteworthy stage in their implementation.

A large group of our society consists of pensioners, of labour and war veterans. The delegates to this Congress know that in recent years citizens going on pension have been given wider opportunities to take part in labour activity. Many Party organisations are evolving useful forms of work with pensioners. But we shall act correctly if we take steps to employ the experience and energy of our veterans more extensively in social and labour activity.

Comrades, one of the greatest achievements of socialism is the practical implementation by the Party of the **Leninist national policy**, a policy promoting equality and friendship among peoples. (*Applause.*)

Many of the fraternal republics recently marked their 50th anniversaries. This was an imposing demonstration of the florescence of socialist nations, of the monolithic unity of all the peoples of our country. Next year we shall mark the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For its political significance and socio-economic consequences the formation of the USSR occupies a prominent place in the history of our state. (*Applause.*)

All the nations and nationalities of our country, above all, the great Russian people, played their role in the formation, consolidation and development of this mighty union of equal nations that have taken the road to socialism. (*Applause.*) The revolutionary energy, dedication, diligence and profound internationalism of the Russian people have quite legitimately won them the sincere respect of all the other peoples of our socialist motherland. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Further progress along the road of the all-round development of each of the fraternal Soviet republics, along the road of the further gradual drawing together of the nations and nationalities of our country, has been made during the past few years under the Party's leadership. This drawing together is taking place under conditions in which the closest attention is given to national features and the development of socialist national cultures. Constant consideration for the general interests of our entire Union and for the interests of each of its constituent republics forms the substance of the Party's policy in this question.

The Party shall continue to strengthen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, consistently pursuing the Leninist line of promoting the florescence of the socialist nations and securing their gradual drawing together. (*Applause.*) The Party shall continue to educate all the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, intolerance of nationalism, chauvinism, national narrowness and conceit in any form, in a spirit of profound respect for all nations and nationalities. (*Prolonged applause.*)

A new historical community of people, the Soviet people, took shape in our country during the years of socialist construction. New, harmonious relations, relations of friendship and co-operation, were formed between the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities in joint labour, in the struggle for socialism and in the battles fought in defence of socialism. Our people are welded together by a common Marxist-Leninist ideology and the lofty aims of building communism. The multinational Soviet people demonstrate this monolithic unity by their labour and by their unanimous approval of the Communist Party's policy. (*Applause.*)

The past five-year period has witnessed a further advance towards the consolidation of our society's unity. We shall go on doing everything to strengthen the community of interests of all the classes and social groups of our country in order to promote the process of drawing them together. (*Applause.*)

2. Strengthening of the Soviet State. Development of Socialist Democracy

Comrades, during the period under review the Party has accomplished considerable and extremely diverse work

aimed at further strengthening the Soviet state and perfecting the entire political organisation of our society. The principal orientation of this work—in accordance with the tasks of communist construction—has been and remains the further development of socialist democracy.

In our country, as everybody knows, the organs of people's power—the **Soviets of Working People's Deputies**—are the foundation of the socialist state and the fullest embodiment of its democratic nature. This, comrades, is a mighty force. Today they comprise over two million deputies, who administer the affairs of our state of the entire people at all its levels. With them at the Soviets there is an army of 25 million activists, dedicated voluntary assistants.

Permit me to remind you that the need to enhance the role of the Soviets was underscored in the decisions adopted by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. To achieve this a lot has been done over the past years. To this end the powers of the district, town, rural and settlement Soviets have been extended also in such an important field as coordinating, within the limits of their competence, the work of factories and economic organisations situated in their territories. Their material and financial resources have been enlarged and they are getting more trained personnel.

The work of the Soviets has, on the whole, become more active and many-sided. The deputies now meet more regularly with their electorate and give an account of their work to them. Also important is the fact that the press, radio and television are gradually making it a practice of reporting the work of the Soviets more fully.

Greater control is exercised by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics over the work of ministries and departments and over the state of affairs in the key sectors of economic and cultural development. The larger number of standing commissions and the more efficient organisation of their activities are enabling the deputies to display more initiative, delve deeper into the work of the executive bodies and participate more actively in drafting laws.

The Party attaches great importance to **perfecting Soviet legislation**. During the period under review attention was concentrated on the legislative regulation of questions such as improving the public health services, strengthening family relations, further bettering labour relations and ensuring

nature conservation and the rational utilisation of natural wealth. On all these questions the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics have passed the appropriate laws after broad discussions with the participation of millions of citizens.

Another point, comrades. There is now a pressing need for a special law defining the status, powers and rights of deputies—from the Supreme to the settlement Soviets—and also the duties of officials with regard to deputies. (*Applause.*) It seems to me that the passage of such a law would enhance the authority and activity of deputies. (*Applause.*)

The successful realisation of the tasks facing us presupposes the precise and efficient work of the **state apparatus**. Hence the increased demands made on the administrative apparatus. The introduction of modern means and methods of administration begun in recent years, creates the condition for a more rational organisation of the administrative apparatus (*applause*), for cutting its operational costs and reducing its personnel. Steps have already been taken in this direction, and they shall be continued.

Most of the employees of the state apparatus are highly-trained, conscientious and considerate people. Their work merits the highest appreciation and respect. But it must be admitted that there still are callous officials, bureaucrats and boors. Their conduct evokes the just indignation of Soviet citizens. Relying on public support, the Party is and will go on making resolute efforts to achieve more efficiency in the work of the administrative apparatus.

The way we see it efficiency in administration organically combines an attentive, solicitous attitude to the needs and cares of the working people with a prompt consideration of their applications and requests. An atmosphere of good will and of respect for man must reign in every institution.

In the system of Soviet socialist democracy an important place is occupied by the organs of **people's control**, in whose work millions of factory and office workers and collective farmers now take part. The Party will continue doing everything to secure the steadfast implementation of Lenin's precepts on constant and effective control by the broad masses.

Comrades, an important feature of the socialist system is that in our country the working people participate in the

administration of society not only through state organs but also through a ramified network of mass organisations, above all, such as the trade unions and the Komsomol.

Today our **trade unions** have more than 93 million members. This is practically the entire working class, the whole of the working intelligentsia and numerous sections of rural workers.

The trade unions are one of the key links in the general system of socialist democracy, in drawing the working people into the administration of the affairs of the state and society. They participate in solving many problems of economic development—from the drawing up of state plans to the management of each enterprise. They play an important role in the production and social work of the personnel of factories, building projects and offices. They help to inculcate a communist attitude to labour and social property, and work to satisfy the cultural and everyday requirements of the people and protect their health.

The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the working people remains one of the basic tasks of the trade unions. It is no secret, for example, that we still have enterprises where over-time is systematically practised, where people are unnecessarily deprived of days off and where, here and there, labour safety is poorly organised. The trade unions can do much to eliminate these abnormal phenomena.

The Party's line is to continue enhancing the role and efficiency of the trade unions. Without assuming petty tutelage over the trade unions, the Party organisations must do everything to promote their activity and initiative, strengthen them with cadres and make more exacting demands on Communists working in trade unions.

The Party will continue giving constant support to the trade unions as the largest organisations of the working people and seeing to it that they are able to fulfil their role of school of administration, school of economic management and school of communism more fully and successfully. (*Applause.*)

In the country's social and political life an important place belongs to the **Lenin Komsomol**, which unites over 28 million young men and women. It would be hard to name a sector of economic and cultural development where the energy, creative initiative and ardour of Komsomol

members have not been displayed. Komsomol shock building projects, team contests of skill by young workers, students' building detachments, youth production brigades and summer work and recreation camps are among the concrete and vital tasks being accomplished by the Komsomol, which is the leader of Soviet young people.

The Komsomol's central task has been and remains to bring up young people in the spirit of communist ideals and devotion to our Soviet motherland, in the spirit of internationalism, and actively to propagate the norms and cultural values of our society.

The different groups of our young people—young workers, collective farmers, specialists, students and schoolchildren—have their own special features. The Komsomol must be able to work with each of these groups. On it largely depends the correct and timely vocational orientation of young men and women, and the education of the rising generation in a spirit of profound respect for work at factories, farms and in the fields.

In recent years there has been a considerable extension of the Komsomol's range of tasks in questions of the labour, education, recreation and everyday life of young people. Party organisations have begun to show more determination in assigning responsible sectors of work to Komsomol members. The Komsomol is now more active socio-politically. An indication of this is that over half a million young people have been elected to organs of state power—the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Nearly 20 per cent of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are young people.

The Party constantly draws new forces from the Komsomol. In the period after the 23rd Congress 45 per cent—or 1,350,000—of new members came from the Komsomol. In the same period the number of Communists working in the Komsomol has doubled. This conforms to the 23rd Congress directives on strengthening the Party nucleus in Komsomol organisations. It is worth making it a rule that Komsomol members admitted to the Party should continue working actively in the Komsomol until they are given other assignments by their Party organisation.

The Party is justly proud of the young builders of communism. Our duty is to pass on to the rising generation our political experience and our experience of resolving prob-

lems of economic and cultural development, to direct the ideological upbringing of young people and to do everything to enable them to be worthy continuers of the cause of their fathers, of the cause of the great Lenin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the development of socialist democracy an important task is to enhance the role of our **labour collectives**, which are the basic units of socialist society. This is a major field of struggle for stepping up the labour and social activity of Soviet people. The new, socialist qualities of the working people and the relations of friendship and comradely mutual assistance take shape in these collectives. The responsibility of each to the collective and of the collective for each of its members is an inalienable feature of our way of life.

During the period under review the Central Committee and the Soviet Government have continued taking steps to **strengthen legality and law and order**, to educate citizens to observe the laws and rules of socialist community relations. The work of the militia, the procurator's offices and the courts has been improved.

It is not only the task of the state apparatus to strengthen legality. Party organisations, the trade unions and the Komsomol are in duty bound to do everything to ensure the strictest observance of laws and promote the legal education of the working people. Respect for legality and for the law must become part and parcel of the make-up of every person. This is particularly true of persons in office. No attempt to deviate from or to go round the law is to be tolerated, no matter what the motives. Nor can we tolerate any violation of the rights of individuals and infringement of the dignity of citizens. For us Communists, champions of the most humane ideals, this is a matter of principle.

The fight against crime remains a serious task. Stricter punishment has lately been established for some kinds of crime. Alongside punishment, as provided by the law, a great measure of concern is displayed in our country to find ways and means of discouraging and preventing crime.

In face of the continuing subversive activity by imperialism an important role is played by **organs of state security**. During the period under review they have been reinforced with politically mature cadres. The Party consistently educates the personnel of these organs in the spirit of Leninist

principles, of absolute observance of socialist legality, in the spirit of unremitting vigilance in the struggle to safeguard Soviet society against the actions of hostile elements and against the intrigues of imperialist intelligence services.

Comrades, everything created by the people must be reliably protected. To strengthen the Soviet state means to strengthen its **Armed Forces** and raise our country's defence capability to the highest possible level. As long as we live in a troubled world, this will remain one of the most important tasks!

The Soviet Army is part of our people and shares their interests. In our country military service is not only a school of combat skill. It is also a good school of ideological and physical steeling, of discipline and organisation.

Carrying out the people's will, the Communist Party works tirelessly to strengthen the country's defence. Questions relating to the development of the Armed Forces were among our main concerns during the period under review. The measures taken in recent years have made it possible substantially to strengthen the might and combat capability of the Armed Forces. The Soviet people may rest assured that our glorious Armed Forces are prepared to repel an enemy attack at any time of the day or night from any quarter. Any possible aggressor is fully aware that in the event of attempting a nuclear-missile attack on our country he will be dealt a devastating counterstrike. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

When speaking of the glorious Soviet Army, we must say a few good words about our war veterans, about the soldiers and commanders who safeguarded our country's freedom in the Great Patriotic War. They had not even had time to rest after the tremendous tension of the war years: the war veterans once again found themselves at the front—the labour front. Many of our wartime comrades are no longer here with us. But millions are still on active duty. Some continue to serve in the army, others are giving the country their knowledge and labour at the factories and construction sites, on collective and state farms, in scientific institutes and schools. Let us wish them all sound health, happiness and fresh successes in their endeavour for the sake of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, as you know, questions of democracy are now at the centre of the ideological and political struggle be-

tween the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists raise a hypocritical hue and cry, alleging that we have no democracy. They offer us all sorts of "advice" on how to "improve" and "democratise" socialism. But their concern is not for socialism, of course. They would like to return us to bourgeois practices and, therefore, try to force bourgeois democracy on us, a democracy for exploiters, alien to the interests of the people.

A vain, useless venture. Soviet people have their own democracy, a socialist democracy, with their own principles and traditions for developing it. (*Prolonged applause.*) There is no freedom in general, just as there is no democracy in general. This is a class concept. That is how Lenin put the question, and that is how our Party puts it today. (*Applause.*) We see the meaning and content of socialist democracy in the increasingly broader participation of the masses in the administration of state and social affairs. In our country the entire political system of society and the steadily growing initiative of the people serve the building of communism. This sort of democracy is vital to us and it is an indispensable condition for the development and consolidation of socialist social relations.

The Party's constant concern is that our socialist democracy should steadily develop and that every person should feel he is a citizen in the full sense of the word, a citizen interested in the cause of the entire nation and bearing his share of the responsibility. The Party will go on consistently implementing this very line. (*Prolonged applause.*)

3. Moulding of the New Man— One of the Party's Main Tasks in Communist Construction

A prominent place in the Party's work during the period under review has been the further promotion of all forms of ideological work, the political education of the masses and the raising of the people's cultural level. A great project—the building of communism—cannot be advanced without the harmonious development of man himself. Communism is inconceivable without a high level of culture, education, sense of civic duty and inner maturity of people

just as it is inconceivable without the appropriate material and technical basis.

The moral and political make-up of Soviet people is moulded by the entire socialist way of our life, by the entire course of affairs in society and, above all, by purposeful, persevering ideological and educational work by the Party, by all its organisations.

The formation of a communist world outlook in the broad mass of the people and their education in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are the core of all the ideological and educational work by the Party.

But even the most advanced ideology becomes a material force only when, having won the masses, it induces them to energetic action and determines the norms of their day-to-day behaviour. One of the paramount objectives of the Party's ideological work is **to foster in Soviet people the new, communist attitude to work**. This is an immense task. Experience very convincingly shows that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was right when he emphasised that it "will take many years, decades, to create a new labour discipline, new forms of social ties between people, and new forms and methods of drawing people into labour. It is a most gratifying and noble work"¹. These are remarkable words! We must draw conclusions from them. (*Applause.*)

The triumph of socialism in our country has given rise to unprecedented manifestations of mass labour enthusiasm such as the Stakhanovite movement, the movement for a communist attitude to work, and so on. The past five-year period has produced many new developments in this respect. Labour emulation has assumed truly nationwide dimensions.

The task, as the Party sees it, is to support the mass movement for a communist attitude to work and give every encouragement to the creative initiative of Soviet people. In recent years, as you are aware, we passed a number of resolutions on encouraging and disseminating such mass initiatives of the people in town and countryside as the socialist emulation movement in honour of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and in honour of the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, and the nationwide

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 518.

Lenin *subbotnik*. The Central Committee gave its approval to the outstanding initiative of workers' collectives of Moscow and Leningrad, who, faithful to the glorious traditions of their cities, launched an emulation movement for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. Moreover, the Central Committee gave its support to the concrete production undertakings of metalworkers, oilmen, miners, car-builders, transport workers and other contingents of working people.

In recent years much has been done in the way of fostering in Soviet people pride for their country, for their people and their great achievements, and a feeling of respect for the outstanding achievements of the past.

Great importance attaches to the work that is being done by the Komsomol, the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Air Force and Navy and also by other organisations and sports societies to train young people to defend their country. The patriotic theme is worthily mirrored in many works of Soviet literature and art. Initiatives by our young people, such as mass tours of places of revolutionary, military and labour glory and other undertakings, merit approval.

Monuments to military glory have been erected in scores of our towns and in thousands of villages, and majestic monuments stand in Volgograd, Leningrad, around Moscow, in Smolensk Region, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, the Baltic republics and the Caucasus as testimony of the Soviet people's unbounded respect for the memory of heroes who gave their lives for the motherland.

The Party highly values the patriotic spirit of Soviet people and their readiness to devote themselves wholly to promoting their socialist motherland's prosperity and defend the gains of the Revolution and the cause of socialism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, the new make-up of the Soviet man, his communist morals and outlook are consolidated in constant and uncompromising struggle with survivals of the past. Communist morals cannot triumph without a determined struggle against such of their antipodes as money-grubbing, bribe-taking, parasitism, slander, anonymous letters, drunkenness and the like. The struggle with what we call survivals of the past in the minds and actions of people is a matter that requires constant attention by the Party and all

the conscious, advanced forces of our society. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

During the period under review the Party CC has taken steps to create in our society a moral atmosphere that would help to establish a respectful and solicitous attitude to people, honesty, exactingness to oneself and others, and trust combined with strict responsibility and a spirit of true comradeship in all fields of social life, in work and everyday relations. In short, our aim has been that in our country everybody should live and work better. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It goes without saying that it is hard to express the results of this work in figures, in statistics. However, every Soviet citizen evidently feels the improvement of the moral atmosphere in our Party and our society. We shall continue steering this very course. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, for the transition to communism it is necessary to achieve a higher level of development not only in the economic field but also in the culture of society as a whole.

What can we say about the work of the Party and, generally, of the state of affairs in education, science and art in recent years?

In the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU the task was set of completing the transition to universal secondary education in the main by the end of 1970. To this end the network of general education (day and evening) and special secondary schools (vocational schools, and so on) was additionally enlarged and the number of other vocational schools giving their pupils a complete secondary education was increased. As a result, although we were unable to reach the set target we have drawn much closer to it: today about 80 per cent of the pupils finishing an eight-year school go on to receive a complete secondary education. We feel that one of the most promising ways of implementing universal secondary education (while preserving the leading role of the general education school) is to build more vocational schools offering a secondary education. (*Applause.*)

The number of institutions of higher learning has continued to grow. More than 60 new institutions of higher learning, including nine universities, were opened during the past five years. Today not only every Union republic but also many Autonomous republics have their own universities.

Extensive work has also been done to renew the content of the study process itself in our schools and institutions of higher learning. It is being brought more into line with the requirements of scientific and technical progress and with the general level of modern scientific knowledge.

The development of all links of public education has resulted in the complete fulfilment of another important directive of the 23rd Party Congress: over seven million specialists with a higher or secondary special education have been trained in the country during the past five years. This is a good and extremely needed addition to the army of builders of communism. (*Applause.*)

The public education system has to ensure the training of large contingents of specialists, including many new professions. Today progress is so swift in all fields that the education received by young people is only a foundation that requires the constant acquisition of knowledge. This makes the systematic improvement of the qualification of cadres extremely important.

Our Party spares no effort to ensure the fruitful unfolding of the entire front of social and natural sciences.

The total number of scientific workers in the country has increased 40 per cent during the past five years and today adds up to nearly 930,000. New scientific centres are being built in the Urals, the Soviet Far East and the North Caucasus.

Extensive and fruitful work has been accomplished during the past five years by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which determines the strategy of scientific quests, brings to light the most promising trends and forms of research needed by society and unites the efforts of our scientists.

We note with satisfaction that in a number of very important branches our scientists have won leading positions in the world. It would be hard and even practically impossible to name all the directions in which scientific research is developing in our country, or to list even the major achievements in the fundamental and applied sciences.

In recent years Soviet scientists have given the motherland first-class automated transfer lines, laser devices, new types of electronic computers, the discovery of huge deposits of minerals, and much else. Further success has crowned space exploration. Much ground has been covered in this sphere during the past five years. Successful sustained group

flights have been accomplished in piloted Soyuz spaceships. Excellent results have been obtained with automatic space vehicles: from the first-ever soft-landing on the Moon to the building of such sophisticated systems as Luna-16, which brought lunar rock back to the Earth, and Luna-17 with its tireless worker Lunokhod; from the first flights to Venus to the receipt of scientific data directly from its surface.

I have already spoken of the tasks of our scientists in the field of scientific and technical progress and the introduction of scientific achievements in production. The social sciences also face important tasks. In the period under review the CC CPSU adopted a special extended resolution on this question. The tasks of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU have been enlarged and specified. In recent years a number of new humanitarian science institutes have been opened in the system of the Academy of Sciences and this has made it possible to intensify the study of problems related to the socio-economic development of the USSR and foreign countries and the world revolutionary process, and to improve scientific information. What we need is a more radical turn of the social sciences towards the elaboration of problems that are and will be pressing.

Soviet science has impressive achievements to its credit. But there still are considerable shortcomings in the work of our scientific institutions. It is no secret, that there are scientific workers who are, to this day, occupied on work that is to a large extent divorced from both the country's direct practical requirements and from the actual interests of the development of the fundamental branches of science. Actually, this is wasted effort. We cannot, of course, reconcile ourselves to this.

It is necessary to be more exacting in the selection of cadres for scientific work. It is important that in every scientific collective there should be a really creative situation, an atmosphere of bold quest, fruitful discussion and comradesly exactingness. Soviet people highly value the achievements of their scientists and they expect them to redouble their efforts in order to resolve the most pressing problems of communist construction. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, with our society's advance along the road of communist construction a growing role is played by litera-

ture and art in moulding the outlook, moral convictions and spiritual culture of Soviet people. Quite naturally, therefore, the Party continues, as it has always done, to devote much attention to the ideological content of our literature and art and to the role they play in society. In line with the Leninist principle of partisanship we believe that our task is to direct the development of all forms of creative art towards participation in the people's great cause of communist construction.

During the past five years our literature, theatre, cinema, television, fine arts and music have given Soviet people many new, interesting and talented works. New works and productions have appeared which deal with our people's past and present realistically, from Party positions, without embellishment and without playing up shortcomings, and concentrate attention on truly important problems of communist education and construction. These works are further confirmation that the closer the artist is to the many-faceted life of the Soviet people the surer is the road to creative achievement and success. (*Applause.*)

During the period under review a prominent place in literature and art was held by the Lenin theme. A number of interesting novels, plays and films about Lenin, all of them permeated with revolutionary passion and the grandeur of devotion to Leninism, were brought out.

A highly satisfying fact is that literature and art are fruitfully developing in all our republics, in dozens of languages of the peoples of the USSR, in the vivid diversity of national forms.

The congresses held in recent years by the unions of writers, artists, composers and film-makers of our country have been noteworthy landmarks in the development of Soviet art. They mirrored the indisputable growth of the ideological and political maturity of our creative intelligentsia, and of their responsibility for the content and artistic value of the works created by them.

Thus, much has been done in recent years by workers in Soviet art. Our people highly value their achievements, which are noteworthy contributions fostering communist consciousness in Soviet people. (*Applause.*)

However, it cannot be said that all is well in the realm of artistic creative work, particularly as regards quality. It would not be amiss to note here that we are still getting

quite a few works that are shallow in content and inexpressive in form. We sometimes even get cases of works being dedicated to a good, topical theme but giving the impression that the artist has taken too insubstantial an approach to his task, that he has not put all his effort, his talent into it. It seems to me that we all have the right to expect workers in art to be more demanding of themselves and of their colleagues.

The achievements of Soviet literature and art would have been unquestionably greater and shortcomings would have been eradicated quicker if our literary-art criticism pursued the Party line more vigorously, adopted a more principled stand and combined exactingness with tact and a solicitous attitude to the creators of artistic values.

Furthermore, sight must not be lost of the fact that in the development of our art there were complicating factors of another order. There were some people who sought to reduce the diversity of present-day Soviet reality to problems that have irreversibly receded into the past as a result of the work done by the Party to surmount the consequences of the personality cult. Another extreme current among individual men of letters was the attempt to white-wash past phenomena which the Party had subjected to emphatic and principled criticism, and to conserve ideas and views contravening the new, creative elements which the Party had introduced into its practical and theoretical work in recent years.

Essentially, both these cases were attempts to belittle the significance of what the Party and the people had already accomplished, and divert attention from current problems, from the Party's constructive guideline and the creative work of Soviet people.

Workers in literature and art are in one of the most crucial sectors of the ideological struggle. The Party and the people have never reconciled nor will ever reconcile themselves to attempts, no matter who makes them, to blunt our ideological weapon and cast a stain on our banner. If a writer slanders Soviet reality and helps our ideological adversaries in their fight against socialism he deserves only one thing—public scorn. (*Stormy applause.*)

We mention these negative phenomena not because they have become appreciably widespread. The Central Committee feels that the Party's frank and principled attitude to-

wards these phenomena helps writers and artists to work with greater confidence and conviction in the general direction of the development of Soviet literature and art in which they have been fruitfully working during the past five years. (*Applause.*)

Soviet writers and artists have been educated by the Communist Party. They draw their inspiration from the deeds and thoughts of their people, and their creative destiny is inseparable from the interests of the socialist motherland. (*Applause.*)

We are for an attentive attitude to creative quests, for the full unfolding of the individuality of gifts and talents, for the diversity and wealth of forms and styles evolved on the basis of the method of socialist realism. The strength of Party leadership lies in the ability to spark the artist with enthusiasm for the lofty mission of serving the people and turn him into a convinced and ardent participant in the remaking of society along communist lines. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, in addition to giving the working masses broad access to cultural values, socialism has made them the direct makers of culture. Striking evidence of this is the unparalleled scale of folk art. Today there are 13 million adults and 10 million schoolchildren in amateur art groups. The creative art of the people is a specific feature of Soviet reality, of our life.

Mass media—newspapers, magazines, television, radio and news agencies—are a powerful instrument in the important and complex work of moulding the new man and in the ideological struggle against the capitalist world.

During the period under review the Party's Central Committee has time and again considered questions relating to the mass media with the aim of securing an improvement of their work and further enlarging their audience.

Our press, radio and television are doing much to ensure quick reporting of the pressing problems of the life of the country and international affairs that really interest Soviet people. They help to disseminate the advanced experience of communist construction and give a rebuff to the ideological sallies of the class enemies.

The mass media have been given larger technical facilities and more material resources. The daily circulation of the newspapers in our country runs to nearly

140 million, while the magazines have a circulation of over 150 million. There has been a particularly large increase of subscriptions to newspapers and magazines in the countryside, where the circulation has exceeded 107 million as against 65 million five years ago.

The demand for books is enormous in our country. It is rightly regarded that the Soviet people read more books than any other nation in the world. Suffice it to say, that books with a total printing of over 6.5 thousand million copies, including more than one thousand million copies of socio-political books, have been published since the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. In 1969 and 1970 alone the total printing of the works of Lenin and books on Lenin and Leninism exceeded 76 million copies. During these years there has been an increase in our country of the demand for books from the fraternal socialist countries. From 1966 to 1970 their translations have been published in the USSR in a printing of 72 million copies. (*Applause.*)

Our TV network now has a huge audience—70 per cent of the country's population. The Orbita TV network covering the Extreme North, the Soviet Far East, Siberia and Central Asia, has now become operational.

Comrades, ideological work, propaganda and mass agitation are an important and responsible field of the Party's activities. A lot has been done in this field. But it must be noted that we are not yet fully satisfied with the state of affairs in it. The Central Committee feels that it is necessary to intensify our entire ideological work, above all, to make more active and purposeful the propagation of communist ideals and the concrete tasks of our construction. In the immediate future a central place in the Party's propaganda and mass agitation must be occupied by work aimed at giving the working people a thorough understanding of the purport and significance of our Congress decisions. Our cardinal task in this sphere is to be able really to convey our ideological conviction in full to the masses, and approach the work of the communist education of the Soviet man in a really creative manner. (*Applause.*)

We are living under conditions of an unabating ideological war, which imperialist propaganda is waging against our country, against the world of socialism, using the most subtle methods and powerful technical means. All the instruments that the bourgeoisie has of influencing minds—

the press, cinema and radio—have been mobilised to delude people, make them believe that under capitalism they are living in a near-paradise, and slander socialism. The ether is virtually clogged with all sorts of fabrications about life in our country and in the fraternal socialist countries.

It is the duty of our propagandists and mass agitators to give a timely resolute and effective rebuff to these ideological attacks and tell hundreds of millions of people the truth about the socialist society, the Soviet way of life and the building of communism in our country. This has to be done with purpose, convincingly, intelligibly and vividly. (*Prolonged applause.*) The voice giving the truth about the Soviet Union must be heard in all the continents. (*Stormy applause.*)

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Thus, comrades, a considerable place in the Party's activities during the period under review was occupied by questions relating to the socio-political development of Soviet society, the ideological and political education of the working people and the development of science and culture. Substantial headway has been made in these fields of communist construction, but there are big and difficult tasks ahead. We are certain that the Party will carry them out successfully and that it will have the unanimous and vigorous support of the entire Soviet people. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The strength of our country lies precisely in the unity and political consciousness of the people. The Party will tirelessly reinforce this source of our strength—the inviolate ideological and political unity of the Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

IV DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY AND SOME QUESTIONS OF INNER-PARTY LIFE

Comrades, the main thing in the Communist Party's work is to map out the general prospects of social development, chart a correct political line and organise the working people to implement it. Our entire reality shows that the CPSU is honourably discharging its role of political

leader of the working class and all working people, and guides the Soviet people along the correct way indicated by Lenin. (*Applause.*) The larger the scale of our creative work and the more difficult the problems that have to be tackled, the greater become the role and responsibility of the Communist Party, which leads the masses.

Our Congress will determine the political line and the concrete programme of work for the coming five-year period. In order to fulfil this programme successfully it will be necessary to mobilise all the strength of the Party and of the people. The forms and methods of the organisational and political work of the Party organisations and their leadership of economic and cultural development must conform as fully as possible with the spirit of our times and with the big tasks that the 24th Congress of the CPSU will set before the Party and the country.

1. Growth of the CPSU Membership and the Development of Inner-Party Democracy

Drawing upon the Leninist organisational principles and developing them conformably to the new conditions, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU gave clear-cut instructions on the basic problems of Party development. Experience has shown that these were correct and viable instructions.

The period under review witnessed the **further growth of the Party membership** and a qualitative improvement of its composition. There are now in the CPSU 14,455,321 persons, of whom 13,810,089 are members and 645,232 are probationary members. Nine per cent of the country's adult population are Communists. The Party composition is: 40.1 per cent workers, 15.1 per cent collective farmers, and 44.8 per cent office workers. Here it must be borne in mind that more than two-thirds of these office workers are engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, scientific workers, and workers in literature and art.

Three million people have been admitted to the CPSU since the 23rd Congress. Of these almost 1,600,000 or more than half are workers. In large industrial areas such as Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Gorky, Donetsk, Karaganda and some other regions 60-70 per cent of the probationary members are workers. The Congress instructions that the leading place in the Party's social composition should

belong to the working class have thus been consistently carried out. We shall continue this line because it fully conforms to our Party's nature and to the place and role of the working class in Soviet society. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It must be noted that Party organisations have become more attentive to the question of enrolment into the Party and are making more demands of those who wish to join the Party. As a result, there has been a certain diminution of the number of people joining the CPSU. Whereas an average of 760,000 people were annually accepted into the Party as probationary members in the interim between the 22nd and 23rd Congresses, the annual average was 600,000 in the period between the 23rd and 24th Congresses.

In this connection it must be re-emphasised that the improvement of the qualitative composition of its ranks must remain one of the Party's cardinal concerns. Excessive preoccupation with the enrolment of new members and an indiscriminate approach, which, regrettably, are still to be found in some organisations, run counter to the Leninist principles of Party development. Our task is to exert a regulating influence on the growth of the Party ranks, replenish them on the basis of individual selection of the most worthy representatives of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, and make sure that the Party composition allows the CPSU to carry out its tasks in the best possible way.

The Party cleanses its ranks of people who violate the Programme and Rules of the CPSU. It must be noted that the Party organisations have drawn correct conclusions from the instructions of the 23rd Congress and have begun to rid themselves more resolutely of those who violate Party or state discipline, or abuse their office, whose behaviour casts a slur on the name of Communist. In future, too, we must not allow a conciliatory attitude to those who behave incorrectly. (*Applause.*) Concern for the purity of the Party ranks is the duty of all Party organisations and of every Communist. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, all these years our Party and its Central Committee have been undeviatingly following a line of further **developing inner-Party democracy, observance of the Leninist norms of Party life and increase of the activity of Communists.** The principle of the electivity and accountability of leading organs is implemented consistently in

the Party, and the spirit of collective leadership and collective work has been consolidated. Questions concerning the Party's work are discussed and decided on a broad democratic basis.

During the period under review there have been 16 plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU. I spoke of the basic questions examined at the plenary meetings and of the importance of the decisions passed by them when I dwelt on various aspects of the Party's work. Meetings of the Politburo of the CC to consider the most important and pressing problems of the Party's home and foreign policy are held regularly once a week. Every week there is also a meeting of the Secretariat of the CC, whose attention is centred chiefly on the selection of cadres and on verifying fulfilment of assignments. Local Party committees likewise hold regular plenary meetings and bureau sittings and operate as organs of collective leadership.

The democratic principles in the life and work of the Party were strikingly manifested also during the latest election campaign. The Party meetings were attended by over 90 per cent of the Communists, and more than three million people spoke at these meetings. The meetings, the Party conferences and the congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics were marked by great activity and a principled discussion of problems. At these meetings, conferences and congresses there was a purposeful exchange of opinion by Communists on the Party's policy and affairs, on the work of their own organisations, on successes and shortcomings, on unresolved problems and conclusions for the future. They showed that all the Party organisations wholeheartedly approve and support the Central Committee's internal and foreign policy. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) The monolithic unity and solidarity of the ranks of our great Leninist Party were demonstrated once again. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Many new people who had given a good account of themselves in practical work in recent years have been elected to the leading organs of Party organisations. They are workers, collective farmers, representatives of all the social strata and groups and of all the nationalities of the country. Among them are people working in different state, social, economic and cultural sectors. A total of 423,000 workers and collective farmers have been elected

to the bureaus of Party organisations and Party committees. This is a much greater number than two years ago. Of the members and alternate members of district and town Party committees nearly 40 per cent are workers and collective farmers. There is now a larger number of workers and collective farmers also in the regional and territorial committees and in the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics.

During the period under review there has been an improvement in inner-Party information. The Central Committee of the CPSU regularly informed the local Party organs, the *aktiv* and all Communists of the key problems of the Party's work and of the situation in and outside the country.

The information going from bottom to top, up to the Central Committee of the CPSU, has become more operational and purposeful. Such information helps to get better bearings in the situation and to take the experience and opinion of Party organisations and the working people more fully into account when resolving problems. We should continue to improve inner-Party information, make it more efficient and use it more widely as an instrument of leadership and a means of education and control.

Criticism and self-criticism, a tested method of eradicating shortcomings and improving the work, has been further developed in the practice of the Party organisations. Most Party committees have become more attentive to the critical remarks and suggestions of Communists and have intensified control over their realisation. At the same time, it must be emphasised that not all Party organisations and their leading organs have drawn the proper conclusions from the instructions of the 23rd Congress on this question. Some leaders lack restraint and tact, the ability to hear critical remarks out attentively and correctly react to criticism. But those who underestimate or ignore criticism wittingly doom themselves to failure. Broad development of principled criticism and self-criticism is a sign of political health of the Party organisations, of their correct understanding of their duty towards the Party and the people.

The development of inner-Party democracy is inseparable from strengthening Party discipline. Experience confirms that in many ways the Party's strength and ability to function are determined by how consistently and correctly

the principle of democratic centralism is implemented. Both anarchic lack of discipline, presented as democracy, and bureaucratic centralisation, hindering the promotion of the initiative and activity of Communists, are equally injurious to the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The work of the Party Control Committee under the CC CPSU has become more diversified. The Committee has begun to make a deeper analysis of questions related to the strengthening of Party discipline and to react more promptly to cases of misconduct by Communists. The Party Commissions of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and of territorial, regional, town and district committees have also become more active. It is important to continue strengthening discipline in the Party and secure the unconditional fulfilment of the requirements of the CPSU Programme and Rules by every Communist.

The question of changing Party membership cards has now arisen before our Party, and on this point I should like to state some considerations. Seventeen years have passed since the last change of cards. The period for which Party cards were issued has run out. It would be correct if we approached the change of Party cards not formally but as an important organisational and political measure. The change should be organised in such a way as to further strengthen the Party and increase the activity and discipline of Communists. It would be also possible to satisfy the wish of many Communists that the Party card should bear the image of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the strength of our Party lies in the high ideological level, activity and dedication of the Communists. Today our Party is leading the people in the fulfilment of great creative tasks. Its moral prestige will be the higher, the loftier the ideological and moral qualities of every Communist.

Regrettably, we still have Party members who do not show themselves to be real political fighters. When they come across shortcomings and other negative phenomena they pretend to notice nothing, adopting the position of philistines, who say, "This does not concern me, let others worry about it." There are also some whose activity is

for purposes of show, of creating an outward impression. They talk more than others about the need for doing one thing or another, always lecture and exhort everybody. But as soon as the time for practical action comes they manage to remain on the sidelines. (*Applause.*)

Communists are more and more emphatically condemning this sort of behaviour. The Party cannot accept passivity and indifference. If you are a Communist your duty is not to shirk difficulties, not to encourage backward attitudes, but to be a politically conscious and active fighter of the Party. (*Stormy applause.*) Always and everywhere—in work, social activities, study and everyday life—a Communist must remain a Communist and worthily bear the lofty title of member of our Leninist Party. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

2. Strengthening of Party Organisations. Selection and Training of Cadres

Comrades, in the implementation of the Party's policy, one of the most important places is occupied by the **primary Party organisations**. In our Party we now have over 370,000 primary organisations, or 45,000 more than on the eve of the 23rd Congress. During the period under review the CC CPSU, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and the territorial and regional Party committees accorded these basic Party units constant attention. The work of a number of primary Party organisations functioning at enterprises and establishments in various branches of the national economy and state administration was discussed in the CC CPSU. The decisions adopted on these questions were the result of a study of local experience, of living practice. They helped the Party organs and the primary organisations to take present-day requirements more fully into consideration and concentrate on resolving the main tasks. This is all the more important because we still have organisations that work poorly, do not display the needed initiative and reconcile themselves to shortcomings.

Steps have been taken to improve the structure of the primary organisations. For example, Party committees have been set up in the railway junctions and integrated Party organisations have been formed in production amalga-

tions and trusts. By way of an experiment, enlarged Party committees have been elected in some primary organisations that have more than a thousand Communists.

It is necessary to continue enhancing the influence of the primary Party organisations on the work of factories and offices. In this connection the numerous suggestions from Communists and Party committees that the provision in the CPSU Rules on the right to control the activities of the management should be specified merit attention. Here the question is that besides the Party organisations in production this right should be enjoyed by the primary Party organisations at research institutes, educational establishments and cultural and medical institutions. (*Applause.*) As regards the Party organisations at central and local government and economic institutions and departments, they must control the activity of the apparatus fulfilling the directives of the Party and the Government. (*Applause.*)

It goes without saying that in exercising control account must be taken of the specifics of the given enterprise or institution. For example, the Party organisations at ministries evidently cannot directly influence the activities of the enterprises and institutions within the jurisdiction of the given ministry. But it is the direct duty of the Party organisation to control the organisation of the work in the ministry itself and the observance of Party and state discipline by its personnel.

The work aimed at improving the structure and activity of local Party organisations continued during the period under review. Nine regional Party committees were formed, chiefly in the Central Asian republics, and 21 town, 38 urban district and 291 rural district committees were set up. The formation of new Party organisations and their leading organs made it possible to intensify the Party's influence in a number of important sectors. Their apparatus was formed chiefly from the existing personnel. In this connection I should like to say that whereas during the past 14 years the CPSU membership doubled, increasing from 7 to 14 million, the staff of the Party apparatus was reduced by more than 20 per cent.

At present in the CPSU there are 14 Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, 6 territorial committees, 142 regional committees, 10 area commit-

tees, 760 town committees, 448 urban district committees and 2,810 rural district committees.

There are full grounds for declaring that if always and in everything our Party comes forward as a close-knit, monolithic force, acts confidently in the country and on the international scene and successfully copes with the tasks confronting it, this is due to a huge extent to the fact that the republican, territorial, regional, area, town and district Party organisations steadily implement the Party's policy and are a reliable mainstay of the CC CPSU. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, during the preparations for this Congress the Communists put forward many suggestions aimed at further strengthening all links of the Party, removing shortcomings in its work and improving inner-Party life. A considerable number of these suggestions must be utilised directly on the spot. Some concern the Party as a whole and should be examined at this Congress. I have mentioned one of them in connection with the question of enhancing the role of primary Party organisations. Permit me now to dwell on another suggestion.

Many comrades feel that regular congresses of the CPSU should be convened not once in four years but once in five years. (*Cries of "Hear, hear!"*) It seems to us that there are grounds for raising this question. By convening congresses once every five years the CPSU would be in a position to sum up the results and chart the tasks of each five-year period in accordance with our practice of planning economic development. (*Applause.*)

It is suggested that congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics should likewise be convened every five years. As regards territorial, regional, area, town and district Party conferences, they could be held twice in the five-year period between congresses, in other words, once in two or three years. Moreover, it would evidently be expedient to establish the same periodicity also for election meetings and conferences in primary Party organisations that have their own committees. (*Applause.*) In all the other primary and shop Party organisations election meetings should be held annually as before.

If these suggestions are approved by the Congress delegates they could be entered into the Rules of the CPSU. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the raising of the level of leadership bearing on all aspects of social life, and of the organisational and political work among the masses is inseparably linked with an improvement of the selection, placing and training of cadres. In this respect our Party now has immense possibilities. The political consciousness, education and professional training of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals have risen to a higher level. It is from them, from the thick of the people, that the Party promotes talented and able leaders for all sectors of communist construction. Over 80 per cent of the present secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, and of the territorial and regional committees, of the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers and of the territorial and regional executive committees, and nearly 70 per cent of the ministers and chairmen of the state committees of the USSR began their careers as workers or peasants. Among the directors of the largest industrial enterprises in the country more than half were once workers.

During the period under review many new people have been promoted to Party, government and economic work in the centre and in the localities, and the cadres have been renewed or augmented with fresh blood.

The secretaries of some territorial and regional committees, the chairmen of some regional executive committees and other functionaries from republican, territorial and regional organs have been promoted to posts in central bodies such as ministers, chairmen of state committees and other leading positions. In recent years the CC has also taken steps to send Party and government functionaries to reinforce the cadres working abroad.

Many new comrades with an excellent political and specialist training have been promoted to the leadership of Party and government bodies in the localities, including the posts of first secretaries of the Central Committees of the republican Communist Parties, and of territorial and regional committees. Moreover, the Central Committee has consistently followed the line of promoting local functionaries; people from the centre were appointed to these posts only in exceptional cases. This practice of selecting and placing cadres is receiving the approval and support of Party organisations and all Communists. (*Applause.*)

The aim of our cadre policy is to promote young,

promising functionaries while maintaining a considerate attitude to veteran cadres and making the maximum use of their experience and knowledge. This is a mandatory condition of the consistency of the Party political line and of its revolutionary traditions. In the work with cadres the practice today is to combine trust and respect for people with principled exactingness. This produces a businesslike, comradely atmosphere and allows cadres to display their capabilities more fully.

Life is continuously making greater demands on cadres. We need people who combine a high level of political consciousness with a sound professional training, people who can knowledgeably tackle the problems of economic and cultural development and are well-versed in modern methods of management.

In cadres the Party has always highly valued such a quality as the feeling for the new. To have this feeling means to see the prospects of development, to look into the future and find the surest ways of resolving problems as they arise. This quality is particularly important today, when swift and far-reaching changes are taking place in social life and production.

The organisation and education of people occupy a prominent place in the work of our leading cadres. Even if a leader is vested with the powers stemming from one-man authority, he cannot depend solely on the force of orders. It is no accident that our Party constantly stresses the need for an organic link between managerial and educational work. It demands that leading cadres should constantly think of the educational effects of the economic and administrative decisions adopted by them.

It sometimes happens that a leading cadre suddenly gets the idea that all the secrets of life are open to him, that he knows everything. That is when he begins issuing instructions on all questions, ordering people about, instead of skilfully using the experience and knowledge of others. We have long had skilled cadres capable of correctly resolving the problems within their competence. We must put more trust in them and, correspondingly, more must be asked of them.

The combination of collective leadership with personal responsibility for the assigned work is an indispensable condition of the growth and education of cadres, of the

correct organisation of our entire work. While promoting the collegial principle in the leadership we must, at the same time, remember that one of the basic principles of management, as it was formulated by V. I. Lenin and as our Party understands it, is that "a definite person is fully responsible for some specified work".¹ (*Applause.*) Well-organised control of the fulfilment of the directives of the Party and the government plays an important role in enhancing the personal responsibility of cadres.

One of our key tasks is to enhance the discipline and responsibility of cadres. We have in mind discipline founded not on fear, not on methods of ruthless administration which deprive people of confidence and initiative, and engender a play for safety and dishonesty. What we have in mind is discipline founded on a high level of consciousness and responsibility of people. As regards cadres who violate discipline, fail to draw conclusions from criticism and behave incorrectly, the necessary measures must be taken against them. (*Applause.*) In our country leading posts are not reserved to anybody for ever. Socialist discipline is the same for all members of society; it is mandatory for one and all. (*Applause.*)

A substantial step towards improving the work with cadres was the creation of a large network of permanently operating courses for the training and re-training of Party and government functionaries. During the period under review these courses were finished by nearly 200,000 persons. Refresher institutes, departments and courses have been set up for economic executives and specialists. An Institute for National Economic Management in which the leading cadres of our industry, including ministers, will improve their knowledge, has recently been opened. In our country the retraining of cadres has never before been conducted on such a scale and it has never involved so many people.

But independent work, naturally, has been and remains the basic method of study. To keep pace with life all our cadres must constantly study, raise their ideological and theoretical level and master the achievements of science and advanced practice.

At all stages of the struggle for the building of the new society our cadres have always been equal to the task and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 529.

justified the trust placed in them. We are firmly confident that they will continue to implement the Party's policy skilfully and perseveringly and serve the people with dedication. (*Stormy applause.*)

3. The Party's Ideological and Theoretical Work. The Marxist-Leninist Education of Communists

Comrades, our Party is a party of scientific communism. It is steadfastly guided by Marxist-Leninist science, which is the most advanced, revolutionary science of modern times, and does everything for its further development. Theoretical understanding of the phenomena of social life and of its main trends enables the Party to foresee the course of social processes, work out a correct political line and avoid errors and subjectivistic decisions.

Our Party's and people's multiform experience of revolutionary struggle, the building of socialism and communism, and problems of the world revolutionary process, the specifics of the present stage of international relations, have all found expression in the decisions of plenary meetings of the CC and in the Party's documents commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. These documents are the result of the development of the Party's theoretical thinking, the result of the collective work of the Central Committee and our Party and scientific cadres. Considerable theoretical work was accomplished in connection with the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, and also in connection with such outstanding events in the life of the international communist movement as the 150th birth anniversaries of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and the centenary of the Paris Commune. (*Applause.*)

Fundamental works showing more fully Lenin's role as the leader and theoretician of the greatest revolution, and as the creator of the Party of the working class and founder of the world's first socialist state have been published during the period under review.

As an eternally living and developing teaching, Leninism has been, remains and will be in the centre of the Party's ideological life, and the foundation of all its revolutionary, transformative activity. While drawing on Lenin's ideologi-

cal legacy, the Party holds that its cardinal task is to find solutions to pressing problems of communist construction on the basis of Lenin's ideas and Lenin's methodology.

In many respects the ways of building the material and technical basis of communism have been specified in recent years. The Party's thinking was directed towards elaborating modern methods of planning and management and the ways of increasing the efficiency of the economy and improving material and moral incentives. The elaboration of the basic questions of the Party's agrarian policy at the present stage was of great theoretical importance.

Much attention was given to the further development of the teaching on the leading role of the Communist Party. Everybody knows that this is one of the fundamental questions of the revolutionary movement and the building of the new society. Today it has become the pivot of the struggle between Marxists-Leninists and representatives of various forms of revisionism. The principled stand of the CPSU and its relentless struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party was of international significance, helping, as is emphasised by the fraternal Parties, the Communists and millions of working people to maintain a correct orientation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Party attached immense importance to the accurate, unbiased presentation of the history of our state. Sharp and just criticism was levelled at individual attempts to assess the history of the Soviet people from non-Party, non-class positions, and belittle the significance of their socialist gains. At the same time, the Party showed the hollowness of dogmatic notions which ignored the great positive changes that have taken place in the life of our society in recent years.

The experience of past years has convincingly shown that the surmounting of the consequences of the personality cult and also of subjectivistic errors has favourably affected the general political and, above all, the ideological situation in the country. We have been and remain true to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and shall never make any concessions in questions of ideology. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Together with other governing Communist Parties, the CPSU has continued the elaboration of the fundamental questions of the development of the world socialist system.

The study and generalisation of each other's experience have made it possible to specify the characteristics of the general laws of socialist construction and reveal more fully the main features of the socialism that has already been built. Particular attention was given to working out the principles of economic integration and other problems arising in the process of co-operation between the fraternal countries and Parties.

A considerable place in the Party's theoretical work was given to analysing the new phenomena in the development of modern capitalism and the ways and means by which world socialism influences the development of the non-socialist part of the world, to studying the new processes taking place in the capitalist economy, particularly under the impact of the scientific and technical revolution.

Theoretical work is a major element of our common internationalist, revolutionary duty. The struggle between the forces of capitalism and socialism on the world scene and the attempts of revisionists of all hues to emasculate the revolutionary teaching and distort the practice of socialist and communist construction require that we continue to pay undivided attention to the problems and creative development of theory. Repetition of old formulas where they have become outworn and an inability or reluctance to adopt a new approach to new problems harm the cause and create additional possibilities for the spread of revisionist counter-feits of Marxism-Leninism. Criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice becomes much more convincing when it is founded on the active and creative development of the social sciences, of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Quite a lot has thus been accomplished, comrades. However, the Central Committee does not consider that everything in our theoretical work is satisfactory. Many problems have only been outlined and await profound elaboration. The Party will have to devote still more attention to the development of theory, improve the work of scientific institutions and see that the social sciences establish a close tie with the practice of Party and state work, with the implementation of the concrete tasks of communist construction.

The Party considers it very important that Communists should perseveringly master the theory of Marxism-Leninism,

know the laws of social development, acquire the ability of confidently getting their bearings in the new phenomena of life, evaluate them correctly and draw correct practical conclusions. The ideological steeling of Communists is an indispensable condition for enhancing the militancy of the Party ranks.

After the 23rd Congress the Party organisations have accomplished a great deal in the way of improving the organisation of Marxist-Leninist education. We have, as you all know, a comprehensive system of Party education consisting of three stages—primary, middle and higher. This ensures continuity in the study of theory and the history and policy of the Party and enables Party committees to take the training level and interests of Communists into consideration when they organise studies for them. Steps have been taken to raise the level of economic education, which acquires considerable importance under present-day conditions. Textbooks and manuals have been compiled and published in mass editions for the first time for all levels of Party education. More than 16 million people now study in the system of Party education, and there is a million-strong army of propagandists.

At the same time, it must be noted that some Party committees do not give this work the proper attention. We still have quite a few Communists who underestimate the importance of Marxist-Leninist study and do not improve their ideological and theoretical level, while their Party organisations fail to make the necessary demands of them.

The Marxist-Leninist education of Communists is important not only for its scale but, principally, for its ideological and political significance. The task is further to improve this work, tie political study in more closely with the concrete tasks of communist construction and see that it has a stronger influence on the growth of the consciousness and activity of all members of the Party. New demands are made of propagandists, whose selection and training should receive special attention.

Comrades, the period since the 23rd Congress has thus witnessed the further ideological, political and organisational cohesion of the CPSU ranks, the growth of activity by the Communists and the strengthening of the Party's ties with the masses.

The unity of interests between the Party and the entire Soviet people makes our society invincible and gives it the ability to withstand any test. It is the indissoluble unity between the Party and all the working people that allows us to forge confidently ahead and resolve the most complex tasks. Our Party values and treasures the trust of the working people above all else. To strengthen our great Party in every way, to deepen its bonds with the people, with the masses—that is the behest left to us by the great Lenin—and we shall be true to this behest of Lenin's! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

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Comrade delegates, the Central Committee has reported to you the results of its work for the past five years, the Party's main tasks for the future and the prospects for our country's development.

In his day Lenin emphasised time and again that one of the cardinal tasks of Party congresses is to sum up the results of practical experience, of all that has been found to be valuable and instructive, criticise shortcomings and find ways of removing them. There is no doubt that with a sense of high responsibility to the Party and the people the delegates to this Congress will, as is accepted in our Party, take a principled, businesslike approach to the discussion of the Report of the CC.

Our plans are founded on realistic calculations, they take into account our country's requirements, resources and possibilities. The discussion of the draft Directives for the new five-year plan has shown that these plans have the whole-hearted approval and support of the Party and the entire people. The fulfilment of these plans depends on the work of each of us, on our organisation and discipline, on our ability and perseverance. The principal task of the Party, of all its organisations, is to mobilise the masses for the drive to carry out the set tasks and unite the entire people still more closely on the Leninist platform of communist construction.

Comrades, we have inexhaustible possibilities. Our country's economic might is greater than ever before. New heights have been attained by Soviet science and culture. The moral and political unity of our people is unbreakable.

We are moving forward shoulder to shoulder with our socialist friends and allies. Our militant alliance with the revolutionary forces of the whole world is growing stronger.

We know that we shall achieve all that we are striving for, and successfully carry out the tasks we are setting ourselves. The guarantee of this has been, is and will be the creative genius of the Soviet people, their selflessness and their unity round their Communist Party, which is steadfastly advancing along the course charted by Lenin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the Party of Lenin, militant vanguard of our entire people! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

May the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, mainstay of peace and friendship among nations, live long and grow stronger! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

May the mighty alliance of revolutionary forces—the world socialist system, the international working-class movement and the fighters for the national and social liberation of peoples—grow stronger and advance from victory to victory! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Hold higher the banner of the eternally living, invincible teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin! Long live communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Glory to the great Soviet people, the builder of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause that grows into an ovation. All rise. Cries of: "Glory to the CPSU!", "Glory to the Soviet people!", "Hurrah!", and "Glory to the Leninist Central Committee!"*)

CONCLUDING SPEECH

April 5, 1971

Comrade delegates,

The Congress has completed the discussion of the Report of the Party Central Committee.

Delegates from the Communist Parties of all the Union republics, from our major cities, from the industrial and agricultural regions of the country, from the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Kemerovo, Krasnoyarsk, Barnaul, Ufa, Donetsk, Orenburg, and from other major Party organisations of the country took part in the discussion of the Report. The speakers included representatives of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, the intelligentsia, young people, Communists serving in the Soviet Armed Forces, and all the detachments of our glorious 14,000,000-strong Communist Party. (*Applause.*)

We have every ground for saying that the discussion of the Report of the Central Committee was principled and businesslike, lively and fruitful. The delegates made valuable proposals, so that their speeches fitted, so to say, into one whole with the Report of the Central Committee.

Since all the speakers approved the Report, the political course and practical work of the Party Central Committee, and the planned domestic and foreign policies, we have the right to think that such is the opinion of our entire Leninist Party. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

To what has been said we need but add that the voice of the entire Soviet people merges with that of the Congress

delegates. Since the opening of the Congress, more than 250,000 letters and telegrams have been sent to the Congress and the Central Committee from Communists and people who are not members of the Party. (*Applause.*)

The kind words of the Soviet people, their active support of the policy of the Party and the lively interest they take in Party activity—all this inspires us, gives us fresh strength and energy, strengthens still more our conviction that **we are following the right road.** (*Prolonged applause.*)

Permit me, comrade delegates, to express, on behalf of the Congress, our profound gratitude to all who shared with us their thoughts and sentiments in connection with the work of our Congress, and to all who support the policy of our Party. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrade delegates,

There prevails at our Party Congress a spirit of cordial, Bolshevik, internationalist solidarity with all countries of socialism, with the Communists of the whole world, and with all fighters against imperialism. (*Stormy applause.*) That is very good, comrades. It is in complete accord with the whole policy of our Party, and with the behests of the great Lenin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The comrades who spoke here noted, as our great gain, the businesslike atmosphere, an atmosphere of comradely understanding and concern for the people, combined with a highly exacting, principled and demanding attitude, which has become firmly established in the Party and the country. I think we have the right to say that our Congress is taking place in precisely such an atmosphere and that it promotes in no small measures the success of our work. (*Applause.*) This has demonstrated once again how important it is to keep to the style of work of the Party organs, which has been evolved in recent years. (*Applause.*)

Lastly, I should like again to point to the main conclusion which stems from the entire course of discussion of the Report of the Central Committee. This conclusion is that unity and cohesion, the spirit of really concerted work, which V. I. Lenin called for so persistently, and which makes our Party strong and invincible, today more than ever before, reigns in our Party. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) Loyal to the behest of Lenin, we shall continue carefully to preserve and constantly strengthen this unity of our Party ranks! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the entire atmosphere of the Congress has made it unnecessary for me to make a longer concluding speech.

(Stormy, prolonged applause that grows into an ovation. All rise. Cries of: "Glory to the Leninist Central Committee!", "Hurrah!", "Glory to the CPSU!", "Glory, glory, glory!")

SPEECH
AT THE CLOSING OF THE 24th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION

April 9, 1971

Comrade delegates,

Permit me to report to you the results of the first Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee elected by the 24th Congress of our Party.

At this Plenary Meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of unity and cohesion, the Central Committee of the Party unanimously elected its leading organs.

L. I. Brezhnev has been elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The following comrades have been elected Members of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU: **Brezhnev L. I.** (*applause*), **Voronov G. I.** (*applause*), **Grishin V. V.** (*applause*), **Kirilenko A. P.** (*applause*), **Kosygin A. N.** (*applause*), **Kulakov F. D.** (*applause*), **Kunayev D. A.** (*applause*), **Mazurov K. T.** (*applause*), **Pelshe A. Y.** (*applause*), **Podgorny N. V.** (*applause*), **Polyansky D. S.** (*applause*), **Suslov M. A.** (*applause*), **Shelepin A. N.** (*applause*), **Shelest P. Y.** (*applause*), **Shcherbitsky V. V.** (*applause*).

The following comrades have been elected Alternate Members of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU:

Andropov Y. V. (*applause*), **Demichev P. N.** (*applause*), **Masherov P. M.** (*applause*), **Mzhavanadze V. P.** (*applause*), **Rashidov Sh. R.** (*applause*), **Ustinov D. F.** (*applause*).

Comrades **Brezhnev L. I.**—General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (*stormy, prolonged*

applause), Demichev P. N. (*applause*), Kapitonov I. V. (*applause*), Katushev K. F. (*applause*), Kirilenko A. P. (*applause*), Kulakov F. D. (*applause*), Ponomaryov B. N. (*applause*), Solomentsev M. S. (*applause*), Suslov M. A. (*applause*), Ustinov D. F. have been elected Secretaries of the Central Committee of the CPSU. (*Applause.*)

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee approved Comrade Pelshe A. Y. Chairman of the Party Control Committee. (*Applause.*)

The Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU elected Comrade Sizov G. F. its Chairman. (*Applause.*)

Comrade delegates,

The Central Committee you elected asked me to thank the Congress for its great trust. (*Applause.*) We value this trust and are well aware of the great responsibility to which it commits us. Allow me to assure you that the Central Committee of the Party, the Politbureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU will do all they can to translate into life the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrade delegates,

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is about to close.

For ten days, the envoys of our great Party, the plenipotentiary delegates of all its glorious detachments, met at their Congress to discuss the results of five years of work and to work out a political course for the years ahead.

For ten days the attention of all our Party, of the entire Soviet people, who justly regard Party congresses as important landmarks in their history, in their advance to the summits of communism, was centered on the Kremlin, on our Congress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

For ten days, the eyes of the whole world were turned on this hall, for the enormous role played by the socialist countries and Communist Parties, by our socialist state and our Leninist Party, in the historical process and in world events has long been realised all over the world. (*Applause.*) By their heroic struggle and selfless labour the working class, the working people of the world and their communist vanguard have ushered in the era when world history cannot disregard socialism and communism and cannot develop apart from them. (*Applause.*)

Summing up the results of the Congress, we have every reason to say that much has been done, that its documents, the speeches of the delegates were a worthy reflection of the immense and all-round experience of our Party, of its collective wisdom. The decisions and documents of the Congress will for long remain in the focus of the ideological activity of the Party and the people. Our Communists and all Soviet people will find in them a source of inspiration; the decisions of the Congress will serve them as a reliable guide to action. (*Applause.*)

Comrades,

I have already had occasion to say that Soviet Communists regarded their Party congresses not only as reports to their own Party, but to all Communist Parties, to the world working-class movement as well. With this attitude we have also come to the 24th Congress.

In its work, as you know, more than a hundred delegations from Communist and Workers' Parties, as well as from national-democratic and socialist Parties of the world, took part. Hardly ever in history had such a representative forum of world revolutionary, liberation and progressive forces gathered. For us, Soviet Communists, this is a source of profound satisfaction. (*Prolonged applause.*)

While listening to the speeches of our foreign friends and brothers, we felt ever more strongly that we were an inalienable, integral part of the great international movement called upon to transform the world. And we realised with particular force the worldwide significance of what our Party and our people are doing, the significance of the contribution we have made, and will be making by our successes in communist construction to the world revolutionary process. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We could see once again that the foreign comrades unanimously approve the course of our Party, its principled Marxist-Leninist line in the world communist movement, its unflinching and consistent efforts aimed at strengthening the unity of this movement, at rallying all revolutionary forces. (*Applause.*)

Dear foreign brothers and friends! Permit me on behalf of the Congress, on behalf of all our Party and the entire Soviet people, to thank you for the great contribution you have made to the work of our Congress. (*Applause.*) Permit me to thank you for the very interesting and profound

speeches which still more vividly revealed to us the picture of the world, the picture of the revolutionary battles taking place on all continents. (*Applause.*) Allow me to thank you for the warm words addressed to our Party, to the Soviet people, for the sentiments of solidarity and internationalism which permeated your speeches. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrade delegates,

The 24th Congress has armed our Party and the entire Soviet people with a clear-cut political line, a political programme for the period ahead. The essence and the content of this line are clearly expressed in the Report of the Central Committee, in the Report on the Draft Directives for the forthcoming Five-Year Plan, in the decisions and resolutions our Congress has just adopted.

In the sphere of economic policy the Party line is a line designed to improve the living conditions of the Soviet people. Without slackening attention to the development of heavy industry, including its defence branches, the Party sets forth as the main practical tasks of its entire economic work a considerable rise in the people's welfare. This is our goal, comrades, and to attain it we must use to the full all the reserves, all the opportunities inherent in our economy. (*Applause.*)

In the sphere of social policy the Party line is a line designed further to strengthen the unity of Soviet society, to bring still closer together the classes and social groups, all the nations and nationalities that make up Soviet society. It is a line for the consistent development of socialist democracy and the enlistment of increasing numbers of people for the management of public and state affairs; it is, further, a line for raising the communist consciousness of all working people, for all-out development of science and culture, for further intellectual development of the Soviet man, for asserting a moral and political atmosphere in the country in which people would find it easy to breathe, joyous to work and peaceful to live. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the sphere of Party development—it is a line for improving the methods of Party guidance of society, strictly observing Leninist norms of Party life, further rallying our Party ranks; it is a line for the all-out strengthening of the bonds of the Party with the working class and the entire Soviet people. (*Applause.*)

In the sphere of foreign policy the Party line is a line

of peace and international security, of strengthening the fraternity of the countries of socialism and alliance with the liberation anti-imperialist forces of the world. It can already be said that the programme of struggle for peace, freedom and independence of the peoples, set forth by the 24th Congress, has met with the broadest response on all continents throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

Thus, the action programme worked out by the 24th Congress is focussed on the most vital interests of the Soviet people. And already today, we see that this is the way the Soviet people—both Communists and non-Party people—regard the work of the 24th Congress and the main content of its decisions. I should like to express the confidence that this will impart to the Soviet people still greater strength, energy, inspiration in their work, in their efforts to implement the Directives for the new Five-Year Plan, for the realisation of all the decisions adopted by the Congress (*Applause.*)

Comrade delegates, you represent all our Republican, territorial and regional Party organisations. You represent all the branches of our national economy, all walks of social life, all sections of communist construction. You represent all the generations of Soviet Communists. All this made it possible for the Congress to discuss thoroughly the problems posed, to find solutions which to the greatest possible extent accord with the tasks in hand, with the interests of the Party and the people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In a few days you will all return to your towns and villages, to your Party organisations. May I express the confidence that in the course of your day-to-day work, you, comrade delegates, will transmit to all Communists and all working people the charge of energy, inspiration and enthusiasm which every one of us had received at the Congress. (*Stormy applause.*)

The main thing, now that we have worked out a reliable and correct political course, is to carry it out successfully.

The scope of the tasks set by the Congress is such that their implementation demands that all our work—economic, ideological-political, Party-organisational—be raised to a considerably higher level. It is precisely on this that all Party organisations should concentrate after the Congress. In a word, there is much to be done—much interesting and absorbing work lies ahead. We are looking forward to

years of selfless and inspired endeavour. Only in this way shall we translate into life what the Congress has charted. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Best wishes of success to you all, comrade delegates! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Best wishes of success to our Party, the Party of Lenin, the recognised leader of the Soviet people. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Best wishes of success to all Soviet working people, the architects of their own destiny, the architects of their own happiness! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

Long live the heroic Soviet people! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism—forward to new victories of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrade delegates, allow me to declare the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closed.

All rise to an ovation. Cries of "Hurrah!", "Glory to the Leninist Communist Party!", "Glory to the Leninist Central Committee!", "Glory to the Soviet people!"

All delegates and guests sing the Internationale. The hall resounds in ovation and cheers in honour of the CPSU.

SPEECH AT THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

April 21, 1971

Dear comrades and friends, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet people our delegation conveys cordial fraternal greetings to the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and all Communists and working people of Bulgaria. (*Prolonged applause.*) We are sincerely grateful to the Central Committee of your Party for the invitation to attend the Congress and wish the delegates to the Congress successful, fruitful work. (*Applause.*)

The wonderful achievements mentioned in the report of the Central Committee of the BCP delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and in the speeches of delegates cannot fail to delight all the friends of socialist Bulgaria. These achievements embody the labour of the people and the policy of the Communist Party, which is confidently leading the Bulgarian people along the path of socialism.

By its entire heroic history, its work and its devoted service to the people the Bulgarian Communist Party has proved its ability and right to head the building of socialism. Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, close unity with the broadest masses of working people and a knowledge of their needs and aspirations give the Communists strength and make them the recognised leaders of the nationwide drive for socialism.

The firm alliance between the working class and the working peasantry of Bulgaria, which is also expressed in the long-standing fraternal cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian People's Agrarian

Union, has indissolubly united the Bulgarian people on the foundation of socialist ideals.

Tsarist Bulgaria was one of the most backward countries in Europe. For many decades it was the object of imperialist intrigues and the victim of bellicose adventurism and fascist terror. Today all that has irreversibly receded into the past. Bulgaria has become a flourishing socialist country with a large modern industry and an advanced agriculture. Bulgarian towns have acquired a new look. The countryside has changed beyond recognition. Present-day Bulgaria is a sovereign state, an active participant in international life and an equal and esteemed member of the fraternal family of socialist countries and peoples.

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

Fundamental social problems whose solution had been sought by many generations of revolutionaries have been resolved in the fraternal socialist countries. Exploitation of man by man has been abolished. There is no unemployment. Every working person feels himself the master of his own life and of his country. This is a good foundation for a confident advance to new summits in the building of socialism and communism and a reliable basis for the realisation of the most ambitious plans. It goes without saying that Communists are far from asserting that the future promises an idyllic, cloudless life. Every new period of social development poses its own big and complex tasks. In the course of the building of socialism and communism difficulties and contradictions arise which have to be surmounted. However, the aims set by the Communists are quite achievable. And they will most certainly be achieved.

The 10th Congress, which is to endorse the Programme of the Bulgarian Communist Party, ushers in a new and important stage in the life of your Party and country. The possibility of being with you during these days and taking part in the work of your Congress is regarded by us as a great honour and as evidence of the unbreakable ties between our Parties and our peoples. (*Stormy applause.*)

In drawing up the draft of its Programme, the Bulgarian Communist Party could rely on the experience it has gained in carrying out socialist reforms and on the glorious inter-

nationalist traditions of the Communists of Bulgaria, the traditions of Blagoyev and Dimitrov. The draft Programme formulates a consistent line towards the building of a developed socialist society, towards the steadily fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the working people. This is the main thing, comrades. Socialism's strength lies in the fact that the socialist system serves the interests of the working people. This is the secret of its durability and the source of the people's trust, which is enjoyed by the Communists, who head the revolutionary reorganisation of society in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Bulgarian Communist Party and other fraternal Parties today have a most valuable possession—international experience of the struggle for socialism and communism. The Communist Parties creatively apply this experience to the conditions in their own countries. We, Soviet Communists, are well aware that at all stages of its history the Bulgarian Communist Party has acted in close fraternal cooperation with our Party, with the revolutionaries of our country. The indissoluble militant friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian Communists has been, is and will be a firm link of the front of socialist countries, of the common front of revolutionary forces. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Allow me, comrade delegates, to convey the heartfelt wishes of the Soviet Communists and of our whole people for complete success in the fulfilment of the economic, political and social tasks set for the coming five years and in the achievement of the great aims spelled out in your Party's draft Programme. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the Soviet delegation has come to Sofia with fresh impressions of the proceedings at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which determined the principal tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state and our entire people for the coming five years.

For Communists and all Soviet people the Congress decisions open up wide vistas for the building of communism.

Steadfastly guided by the Leninist principles underlying its national policy, our Party will continue to do its utmost for the further florescence of all the socialist nations forming the Soviet Union and for drawing them gradually closer together.

During the new five-year period we shall perseveringly continue the line aimed at enhancing the efficacy of the whole of social production, accelerating the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technological progress in the national economy and improving the system of management and planning. Upon completion of the transition to universal secondary education we shall have a still more reliable foundation for the further growth of the cultural and educational level of Soviet people. In all spheres our efforts will be directed towards the implementation of the principal task, namely, the further growth of the people's living standard and cultural level. This is the pivot of our entire policy.

The results of the Congress have been unanimously approved by the Soviet people. Practical work has been started to carry out the Party's plans. Although there is much for us to do, and we are faced with big tasks, we are confident in our complete success. The guarantee for this is the atmosphere of labour and political upsurge reigning in our country. (*Applause.*)

Virtually every day brings news of further achievements by Soviet people on the fronts of labour, culture, science and technology. A fine example of this is the successful launching into orbit of the scientific space station Salute on April 19. (*Prolonged applause.*) This, comrades, is not only a further major advance in the exploration and harnessing of outer space but an extremely important stage for further progress in this field, which is important to the whole of mankind.

Our delegation has been deeply moved by the high assessment, given from this rostrum, of the work of our Party and the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. I should like to thank you heartily for these fraternal feelings, for the warm words addressed here to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) Further, I should like to express again our gratitude for the participation in the work of our Congress of a delegation from the BCP headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, a prominent figure in the international communist movement and our great friend. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) Allow me to assure you, dear comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to be consistently true to the Leninist internationalist traditions and bend every effort to strengthen and promote friend-

ship and cooperation with the Bulgarian Communists, with the Communists of other socialist countries, with all our comrades-in-arms in the struggle for socialism and communism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, in each country the building of socialism has its own specifics, its own characteristic distinctive features. This is quite natural. At the same time, as the draft Programme of the BCP correctly emphasises, the decisive significance of the general laws governing the development of all socialist countries has been proved by history. It is, therefore, by no means accidental, for instance, that there is a profound link between the questions which the 10th Congress of the BCP is discussing and the tasks that were considered by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

It is natural that the attention of the two Congresses has been centred on a task like attaining a substantial rise in the people's standard of living. The road to the fulfilment of this lies through the further growth of the productivity of social labour, a well-considered policy of investments and the planned, proportionate development of all branches of the national economy.

Both the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the 10th Congress of the BCP show once more that questions like the development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the unity of the classes and social groups in socialist society with the working class playing the leading role constantly hold the attention of the Communists in the socialist countries.

Our two Congresses have demonstrated the great significance that now attaches to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the communist education of the working people and an uncompromising struggle against the ideology and morality of the old world.

In the struggle of ideas our positions are stronger than ever before. On our side is the truth of the real achievements of socialism. We have a most powerful weapon—the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which helps us to find sure answers to the new problems posed by life. The strength of our ideas lies in the fact that they are being corroborated by the entire course of social development, which, step by step, leads the whole of mankind to socialism. (*Applause.*)

Our adversaries are conscious of this and use every means in an effort to discredit our ideals. They would have liked

to sow doubt in the historic righteousness of the great cause that we Communists champion. That is why the offensive against bourgeois ideology, the struggle against all sorts of opportunist, revisionist and nationalistic trends has been and remains one of our most urgent tasks. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, in 1920 Lenin said that when socialism triumphs in a number of foremost countries, these countries would exercise "a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole".¹ All of us now see that matters are moving precisely in that direction. Already now the socialist countries have become a force that exercises a powerful influence on the whole of world development. The socialist system's influence today penetrates all spheres of international life, all corners of our planet. Our countries' achievements in the building of socialism and communism inspire millions upon millions of people in the former colonies and dependent countries to build a new life. They inspire the working people in the capitalist countries to fight for the overthrow of the power of the exploiters. The oppressed peoples regard the socialist countries as their mainstay and hope, as the bulwark of peace and justice. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The steadily growing might of the socialist states and their alliance with the revolutionary, liberation and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world are today the decisive factor in the struggle to deliver mankind from the menace of a world missile-nuclear war. Where the imperialists have recourse to arms in order to suppress the liberation struggle they encounter an increasingly firmer and more resolute rebuff. Their own experience is showing them the meaning of the international solidarity of the revolutionary forces and the effectiveness of the support which the socialist countries are rendering to the fighters against imperialist aggression. This is demonstrated most eloquently by the successful struggle of the patriots of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia against the US aggressors and by the failure of the imperialist plans for the overthrow of the progressive regimes in Arab countries.

Considerable successes have been scored by the countries of the socialist community in their persevering and consistent struggle for lasting peace, security and mutually bene-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.

ficial cooperation between the peoples of Europe, although much still remains to be done in this sphere.

In short, comrades, the role played by the socialist countries in the modern world is exceptionally great and noble. Similarly great is our internationalist responsibility as Communists to our class brothers, to the working people of the whole world. We are well aware that the firmer the unity of the socialist countries and the more their actions on the world scene are in harmony and coordinated the more successfully will they carry out their historic mission. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We highly value the substantial contribution of the Bulgarian Communists towards the consolidation of the socialist community. In the promotion of socialist economic integration, in the defence of socialist gains in the international arena and in the working out of measures to achieve a further strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty the Bulgarian Communist Party has always acted and acts in line with consistent socialist internationalism. For this we, its friends and allies, pay it the tribute of our profound esteem. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

With a sense of great satisfaction we can, from this rostrum, tell our peoples and the whole world that the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, like the other fraternal socialist countries, who are allies under the Warsaw Treaty, are united in their determination actively and consistently to pursue the Leninist policy of upholding the cause of peace and freedom of peoples. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) Nobody can ever break our unity. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Everybody in the hall chants: "The CPSU and the BCP", "Friendship Forever!"*) One of the concrete expressions of this unity is the community of foreign political programmes of our Parties, set forth at the 24th Congress of the CPSU and here, at the Congress of the Bulgarian Communists.

We are for peace, international cooperation and the freedom and independence of all peoples. (*Applause.*) The working people of all countries appreciate and understand our aims and give them their warm approval. (*Applause.*) On our side is the invincible strength of the laws of historical development. We, therefore, firmly know that whatever difficulties and surprises may still be harboured by the development of the international situation, the just cause of

the Communists of Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will triumph for the benefit of all mankind. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, in conclusion I should like once more to wish you and all the working people of your republic great successes in work and to wish socialist Bulgaria happiness and prosperity. We are linked by relations of genuine friendship and brotherhood. We are convinced that the work and decisions of the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party will be a further contribution to the strengthening of our fraternal relations and to the consolidation of the militant alliance of the socialist countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party, organiser and inspirer of socialist construction on Bulgarian soil! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise and chant: "BCP!"*)

May the fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples and their unbreakable alliance live long and flourish! (*Stormy applause. Cheers ring out in the hall.*)

May the world socialist system, mainstay of peace, democracy and progress, develop and grow stronger! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the unity of the present-day revolutionary forces and their vanguard, the world communist movement! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

May the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin live long and triumph! (*Stormy, prolonged applause that grows into an ovation. Cheers ring out in the hall. The delegates and guests chant: "The CPSU and the BCP!"*)

To the accompaniment of warm applause Comrade L. I. Brezhnev hands the Presidium a message of greetings from the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

**SPEECH AT THE 14th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

May 26, 1971

Dear Czechoslovak friends,
Comrades,

A fraternal Party's congress is always a big and in many ways instructive event for the Communists. But the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia indisputably plays an especially important role both in the life of your Party and country and in the life of our entire socialist community and the world communist movement.

This Congress consummates a momentous and crucial stage in the history of socialist Czechoslovakia. It may rightly be called a congress of victory over the enemies of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a congress of socialism's triumph. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) Rallying round itself millions of working people, your Party has come to its fourteenth congress bearing aloft the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of socialist internationalism. (*Applause.*)

Your Congress falls on a date that is dear to us all—the fiftieth anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, that tried and tested militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and all the working people of Czechia and Slovakia. These years have been marked by the selfless heroic struggle of the Communists, the best sons and daughters of their people, for the country's freedom and happiness, for socialism. The glorious road of struggle that you have traversed is one your Party and all the patriots of your country can rightly be proud of. (*Prolonged applause.*)

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the millions of Soviet Communists, we heartily congratulate you, dear comrade delegates, and all the Communists of Czechoslovakia you represent on this memorable occasion. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) From the bottom of our hearts we wish you further great success in the struggle for the all-round prosperity of your socialist state, for the further improvement of its peoples' life, for the common cause of all Communists—the great cause of peace, freedom and socialism! (*Applause.*)

We representatives of the CPSU are grateful to the Central Committee of the CPC for the invitation, and are happy to take part in the work of your Congress. Soviet Communists have a profound respect for their Czechoslovak brothers and comrades. The presence of the Party delegations at each other's congresses is a manifestation of the indestructible friendship binding our Parties and peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

There are many pages in the history of the Czechoslovak and Soviet Communists' brotherhood-in-arms linked with Lenin's name. Lenin maintained active contacts with progressive public figures in Czechia and Slovakia long before the Great October Revolution. He hailed the birth of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Lenin's comradely advice and his meetings with Bohumir Šmeral, Antonin Zápotocký, Karel Kreibich and other Czechoslovak Communists played a historic role in the establishment of the CPC, the militant vanguard of the Czechoslovak working class.

The Communists of our country and Soviet people revere the memory of the founders of your Party. Like you, we cherish the name of Comrade Klement Gottwald, the outstanding leader of the Czechoslovak and world communist movement who had done so much to expand and strengthen friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The history of your Party is above all the history of the heroism of the Communists who led the working people in the struggle for the genuine freedom and independence of their country. It was the Communist Party which in the grim Munich days had not only wrathfully stigmatised this disgraceful deal but shown the only way Czechoslovakia's independence could be saved—through a resolute rebuff to

the fascist invader and the acceptance of the assistance offered by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people highly appreciate the Czechoslovak patriots' contribution to the victory over fascism. We remember the valour of the intrepid members of the underground movement, the combat career of the Czechoslovak Corps under the command of General Ludvik Svoboda (*stormy, prolonged applause*), the selflessness of the participants in the Slovak national uprising, its leaders—Karel Šmidke, Gustáv Husák, Ján Šverma and other comrades (*stormy, prolonged applause*), we remember the courage of insurgent Prague to whose assistance Soviet Army units came after effecting a swift thrust. We know that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was the real guiding spirit and organiser of the Czechs' and Slovaks' struggle against the German occupation forces. (*Applause.*)

The revolutionary February of 1948 saw a historic feat performed by the Czechoslovak working class. Led by their Communist Party, the working people of Czechoslovakia took power into their hands and firmly and irrevocably set the country upon the socialist path of development. The socialist revolution swept away the last obstacles to the country's unimpeded development. An end was put once and for all to capitalist exploitation, economic crises and unemployment.

Revolutionary February paved for Czechoslovakia the way to socialism—the way to a rapid growth of the productive forces, the way to a steady rise in the standard of living, to the consolidation of genuinely equal and fraternal relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks and other nationalities of your country. It brought culture and science within the reach of the broad working masses.

The Communists are well aware that the building of a new society is a complex creative process that requires the revolutionary demolition of the entire old social system, a process inevitably entailing a struggle with the class enemy. On an unbeaten track mistakes and setbacks are possible. But the main result of the half-century work done by the CPC is the big and unquestionable successes in socialist construction achieved by the Party together with the masses and in the interest of the masses. (*Applause.*)

The Czechoslovak people may well be proud of the remarkable achievements which distinguish the socialist era of their history. The country did not and could not know

in the past such dynamism, such sweeping socio-economic transformations.

It was socialism which brought in its wake genuine democracy, secured for the working people the decisive role in society, gave them confidence in the morrow, and created the conditions for the all-round development of the human personality. It is the socialist system which makes it possible in our day to use such a great force as modern scientific and technological progress most effectively and in the interests of the entire nation.

The working people of Czechoslovakia have already come to know from their own experience the advantages of the new social system. And there is no doubt that these advantages will manifest themselves more and more deeply and fully as socialist construction continues to advance.

It is in the family of fraternal socialist nations that Czechoslovakia first acquired genuine security, a genuine guarantee of her independence and the inviolability of her frontiers. (*Prolonged applause.*) Your country with its substantial industrial potential has contributed to the consolidation of the economic power of world socialism. The international prestige of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as an active force that consistently stands for peace and the freedom of the peoples and opposes the imperialist policy of oppression and aggression has grown considerably. Freedom fighters on all continents appreciate the important role played by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the world revolutionary process.

There are of course some who do not like the new, genuinely popular system in your country. The establishment of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic does not suit their book. In Czechoslovakia herself there were forces belonging to the past which sought, with the active support of international reaction, to cancel out the gains of the revolutionary February, deprive the Communist Party of its leading role in society, undermine the very foundations of socialism in your country, and reverse the course of history. Lenin's warning that until the historic epoch of transition from capitalism to communism "is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this *hope* turns into *attempts* at restoration"¹ has again been proved

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 254.

correct. The counter-revolutionaries wanted to isolate Czechoslovakia from the fraternal countries, to sever her from the socialist community and put her at the mercy of imperialism.

But it is now clear to all that your Party emerged victorious from the severe test. Its best forces, its hard core, came through with flying colours. (*Stormy applause.*) They barred the way to the turbid wave of anti-socialist hysteria and bourgeois nationalism let loose by the combined forces of internal and external counter-revolution, waged a resolute and successful struggle for the restoration of the Party's leading role in society, and prevented the disruption of Czechoslovakia's fraternal alliance with the socialist countries. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

As Comrade Husák has quite rightly pointed out here, credit for that is due to the thousands and thousands of Czechoslovak Communists who, at that difficult moment, proved themselves to be principled, strong-willed and staunch defenders of all that generations of revolutionaries of your country, the heroes of battles against fascism, the ardent participants in the February revolution and the builders of socialist Czechoslovakia had fought for. (*Prolonged applause.*)

At the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC in April 1969 the Czechoslovak Communists irrevocably said "No" to the Right-wing revisionists, "No" to the accomplices of the enemies of socialism. This marked the decisive turn towards the restoration of the Party's Marxist-Leninist character. The new CPC leadership elected at the plenary meeting led the healthy forces in the Party and society in the struggle for the consolidation of the socialist system and the elimination of the consequences of the counter-revolutionaries' sortie.

The Soviet Communists fully agree with the appraisal of the developments in 1968-69 given in the document known as "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development" and in the CPC Central Committee's report to this Congress. These documents, containing a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of an important stage in the life of your Party and country, are of no little international significance too.

Upholding the gains of socialism, Czechoslovak Communists fought and are fighting both for the national interests of their people and for the international interests of the entire communist liberation movement, for the interests of

peace and social progress. (*Applause.*) That is why the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its leaders—Comrades Gustáv Husák, Ludvík Svoboda and other staunch champions of the socialist cause—enjoy such prestige in the world communist movement. (*Prolonged applause.*) In a difficult situation they showed themselves to be genuine patriots and convinced internationalists for whom the happiness and prosperity of their socialist country were inseparable from the interests of world socialism. (*Applause.*)

Comrades,

The report of the Central Committee of the CPC and the speeches of the Congress delegates give us an impressive picture of the Czechoslovak Communists' broad activity in the struggle to strengthen the socialist system. This is what your whole Party and your whole country live for today. Working for the all-round prosperity of the socialist economy through the application of the achievements of scientific and technological progress and perfecting the methods of socialist management, your Party is laying a solid foundation for the all-round improvement of the working people's material and spiritual living conditions, for the further development of the entire system of socialist social relations.

The inspiring prospects which the Congress is opening up before the Czechoslovak people have become possible, comrades, chiefly because you have won the battle for the Party, have succeeded in uniting it on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. (*Prolonged applause.*) These prospects have become possible, comrades, because you have routed the accomplices of the bourgeoisie, the Right-wing revisionists, who sought to deprive the Party of the invincible weapon of Leninism and who, on the pretext of "improving" and "renovating" socialism, wanted to destroy it and steer the country towards the restoration of the capitalist set-up. At the same time your Party has shown in deed that it possesses that sense of the new essential for revolutionaries of the Leninist type, that it rejects dogmatism and routinism, and that it will not allow the simple repetition of cut-and-dried formulas to be substituted for a creative approach to phenomena. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Your present achievements, comrades, and your confidence in the future are rooted in the fact that the Party has charted the right path which accords with the vital interests of the

millions-strong working masses in city and countryside. This is brought home to them every day. And they prove their devotion to the Communist Party, their trust in its policy in a most convincing manner—by their deeds, by their creative labours. This is precisely the reason why the country's economy, badly undermined and actually brought to the verge of crisis by the revisionist "improvers" of socialism, has been quickly restored and is steadily progressing.

Dear comrades,

We have already said that the lessons your Party has drawn from the sharp encounter with the class enemy are important not only for the further development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic but for the other socialist countries, for other Communist Parties.

Your experience is yet another reminder that in building the new society it is the sacred duty of the Communists of the socialist countries strictly to adhere to Lenin's behests, to the revolutionary essence of his great teachings, resolutely to rebuff any attempts at distorting and falsifying Leninism, any manifestations of opportunism. (*Prolonged applause.*) This experience warns again and again how dangerous complacency is, how necessary it is to be constantly on the alert against any forms of hostile activity on the part of the enemies of socialism. It teaches to understand the need to wage a persevering struggle against the subversive actions of international imperialism. It shows how important it is to strengthen the leading role of the Communist Party and its ties with the broad working masses, constantly to improve the style and methods of Party work in educating the masses, and consistently to develop socialist democracy.

Events have proved convincingly once again that the power of socialist internationalism, the fraternal unity of the socialist states, their indestructible solidarity and mutual support were, are and will always be the greatest of treasures for the Communists of the socialist countries, their reliable and mighty weapon in the struggle with class enemies. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Steeled in class battles, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is confidently leading the working people to new achievements in socialist construction. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic stands today in the eyes of the world as a strong link in the grand alliance of nations which are building a new life, and no one will ever succeed in severing

Czechoslovakia from the socialist camp, in undermining our fraternity and friendship. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Delegates scan "Long live CPSU!" and "Friendship!"*)
Comrades,

The active cooperation of the socialist states within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and bilateral relations, their joint comradely discussions of the problems that arise, elaboration and implementation of a basically integrated foreign policy line, and close coordination of practical actions—all this augments the might of socialism and its influence on world developments.

The Indo-Chinese peoples who are fighting against imperialist aggression, the patriots of the Arab countries, and the other peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and, of course, the European continent, know from their own experience and the destinies of their own countries what a great positive influence is exercised by the teamwork of the socialist states in defence of peace, freedom and social progress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

As regards Europe, one must say that the consistent policy followed by the countries of the socialist community has already yielded tangible results for the consolidation of peace and the promotion of mutually advantageous peaceful cooperation among the states of our continent. People who do not close their eyes to the facts, who objectively appraise the realities of our day cannot but see that the most reliable bulwark of European peace in our day is the socialist community. (*Applause.*) Our joint struggle for a truly lasting peace in Europe is meeting with growing understanding on the part of both the public at large and of many European governments.

We take a realistic view of things. We see the attempts that are being made to sabotage the efforts to promote European security and know who is behind them.

A whole concept, according to which European problems can be settled only in toto, by a package-deal, has been invented to torpedo the constructive initiatives of the socialist states. Thus, attempts are made to obstruct the ratification of the treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, defer the convocation of an all-European conference, and prevent the settlement of other problems, including such an

important one as Bonn's recognition that the Munich diktat was invalid from the very start—with all the consequences ensuing therefrom.

But one cannot endlessly use the interests of international peace and security as a bargaining point. European cooperation should not be made the object of a political deal. We should like to believe that the statesmen of the European countries will find in themselves the resolve and realism to draw practical conclusions from the tragic lessons of the past. We believe in the nations' strong urge towards peace and real security. We sincerely hope that the favourable conditions that now exist will be used and that a solid foundation will be laid for the peaceful cooperation of all European states. (*Applause.*)

The all-round cooperation of the socialist countries is a reliable guarantee of the improvement of the international situation and the creation of favourable conditions for carrying out our grandiose plans for the construction of socialism and communism. Allow me, comrades, to declare from the rostrum of your Congress that the CPSU will continue to chart its course towards the still greater consolidation and expansion of this cooperation. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) This policy was clearly reaffirmed by the 24th Congress of our Party, and we shall do all we can to promote the steady growth of the unity and might of the world socialist system, this greatest achievement of the revolutionary forces of mankind. (*Stormy applause.*)

It is a pleasure to realise that in this great cause, too, we are acting hand in hand with you, comrades. (*Applause.*) Our cooperation in the political, economic and ideological spheres is growing steadily closer and more fruitful. The Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed in the historic Prague Hrad a year ago envisages, as you know, closer relations between the peoples of our two countries and the further expansion of their all-round cooperation, including their economic ties, and we are sure that this will be a major contribution to the common cause of economic integration among the socialist countries. This treaty binds us to take the necessary measures to safeguard the socialist gains of our peoples, the security and independence of our two countries. (*Applause.*) This treaty serves the lofty aim of expanding and developing the eternal indestructible friendship of the Soviet Union and

the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. The auditorium resounds with cries of "Long live the Soviet Union!" and "Hurrah!"*)

Allow me, dear friends, to express our profound gratitude to Comrade Gustáv Husák (*applause*) and the other comrades who spoke here, to you all, for the high appraisal of our Party's activities and the internationalist character of its policy, for the high appraisal of the decisions of our 24th Congress. The appreciation of friends is both heartening and binding. Allow me to assure you that the Soviet Communists, true to Lenin's behests, will always be worthy of the trust of their friends in the joint struggle for socialism and communism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Delegates scan "Friendship!" and "Hurrah!"*)

Concluding, I should like again to wish your Congress complete success in its work. We are convinced that it will pave the way to socialism's further victories in Czechoslovakia and help strengthen still more the friendship of our countries and consolidate the entire socialist community. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the militant alliance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

May the friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples grow broader and stronger year by year! (*Stormy, prolonged applause, cries of "Friendship!"*)

Long live the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, the world communist movement, all anti-imperialist forces! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live peace and communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. The audience scans "Long live peace!"*)

The delegates and guests of the Congress rise to applaud the speech of the head of the CPSU delegation. The hall resounds to endless cheers.

SPEECH AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

June 15, 1971

Esteemed comrades,
Dear friends,

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been instructed by the Central Committee of the CPSU to convey its fraternal communist greetings to the delegates of the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany! (*Applause.*) We also convey these greetings to each member of your Party, to each citizen of the German Democratic Republic. (*Applause.*)

It was with keen interest and a feeling of pride for the deeds and plans of our German friends that our delegation listened to the SUPG Central Committee report delivered by the CC First Secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker. Your Party's present Congress will undoubtedly be a landmark in GDR socialist construction.

In the quarter of a century of its activities the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has done a tremendous job of which it can justly be proud. The handclasp with which the outstanding leaders of the German working-class movement—the Communist Wilhelm Pieck and the Social-Democrat Otto Grotewohl—sealed the indestructible alliance of the two contingents of the working class has become the symbol of your Party. Its foundation was an event of tremendous importance in the history of the German working-class movement, an act of profound political wisdom. The fundamental significance of this act has been confirmed by the whole process of the GDR's development, by the remarkable achievements of socialist development in your country.

Even in the grim years of the Second World War Soviet people did not identify the working people of Germany with the criminal Hitlerite clique. We believed that the spirit of resistance to fascism was alive on German soil too, that the heart of future Germany was beating in the underground groups and prison dungeons. And we were not mistaken! After the war, in a Germany ruined by the nazi adventurers, with the greater part of the population morally corrupted by fascism, the very idea of building a new, socialist society seemed to many a remote, hardly realisable dream. But the German Communists, continuators of the cause championed by the courageous revolutionaries Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thaelmann, believed in the progressive forces of the German people. (*Applause.*) True to their revolutionary duty, in alliance with the progressive Social-Democrats, they boldly assumed responsibility for their country's destinies, succeeded in inspiring the working people by their ideals and stirring the masses to struggle for a better future. Overcoming enormous difficulties and confronted by a powerful and experienced class enemy entrenched on the other side of the Elbe, they creditably and within a brief historical period fulfilled a task of vast significance—they built a socialist state, the German Democratic Republic. (*Prolonged applause.*)

This, comrades, was a real feat. By performing it, the German Communists won the respect and gratitude of their people and their class brothers and comrades-in-arms in the revolutionary struggle the world over. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Armed with the invincible truth of the great teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany achieved success first of all because it had united the best sons and daughters of the German working class. Thanks to its farsighted policy of uniting all the progressive parties and organisations in the country into the National Front, your Party forged an alliance of all the active forces of society on the basis of a programme of peace, democratic transformations and socialist construction. The Communists of the GDR won the minds and hearts of the younger generation with their noble ideas and the grandeur of their cause. (*Applause.*) And this, comrades, is especially important. For it is the young people who are destined to carry on our work and see it through to complete victory. (*Applause.*)

The SUPG enjoys high prestige in the international com-

unist movement also because it has always been led by tried and tested Marxists-Leninists, true representatives of the working class, men steeled in the struggle against fascism, fighters for socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*) Comrade Walter Ulbricht, who has devoted all his energies, all his vast political experience to the cause of the German workers, to the cause of socialism, has won the profound respect and gratitude of the working people of the German Democratic Republic and all its friends. (*Stormy applause.*) Our esteemed friend and comrade, Erich Honecker, staunch, anti-fascist and outstanding organiser of Party and state construction in the republic, enjoys the deep trust of Communists, of all the working people of the GDR. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Your Party can claim credit for the fact that during the process of fulfilling the big and difficult job of reorganising society along the socialist lines it advanced, educated and steeled splendid cadres of Party leaders equipped with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, utterly devoted to the working classes and firmly adhering to the positions of socialist internationalism. (*Applause.*) Such cadres are now to be found in all sections of the Party—from the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to local Party organisations. (*Applause.*)

Comrades,

These days you are clarifying the further perspectives for the Party's work, for the development of the state and socialist society. In this you have the impressive gains of the past years to go by, gains made in implementing the decisions of the previous Party congresses. Much has been done—in the sphere of Party development and economics and the development of socialist statehood.

This is not the first time we are in the GDR, and each visit to your republic is like meeting an old and good friend. (*Prolonged applause.*) Again one comes across things that had previously gladdened our eye and heart. And each time one discovers something new and tangibly feels the pulse of the big seething life your Party and the entire people of the GDR are living. (*Stormy applause.*)

The socialist German Democratic Republic has traversed a big and glorious road. The process of its establishment, its break with the forces of the past were not easy. Every position in socialist construction has literally to be fought

for, every one is contested in bitter struggle against the schemes of the revanchists and imperialists. But, as the great Goethe said so well, "He only earns his freedom and existence who daily conquers them anew." (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The new social system established itself in the GDR firmly and for all time. Its advantages are appreciated by millions of German working people. An end has been put to exploitation, to unemployment, to humiliating social discrimination. The working people of the GDR now know by their everyday experience what free creative labour is, what complete confidence in the morrow means. This new system, under which the people has become the maker and master of its own life, grows stronger year by year and will continue to develop and grow stronger. (*Applause.*)

Of course, when political and socio-economic transformations are undertaken on such a vast scale, it is impossible to foresee everything in detail and not always possible to avoid difficulties. All the more honour therefore to the working class, the cooperated peasantry and the people's intelligentsia who, under the leadership of your Party, are giving the world an example of confident, stable development on the path of socialism and peace. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades,

It so happens that very important events have been taking place in the last few months in the life of many Parties in the fraternal socialist countries, namely, the holding of Party congresses. These are significant and joyful times. Significant because at their supreme forums the Communists plan the development of their countries for many years ahead. Joyful because this development is steadily proceeding in a single direction: towards the still greater prosperity of the socialist countries, towards the improvement of the people's well-being, the creation of increasingly better conditions for a happy life filled with fruitful creative labour for people.

The Communists of Hungary, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the Mongolian People's Republic have already held their congresses. As at your Congress, each of them has discussed in detail and in a businesslike manner plans for further development, for dealing with the problems confronting the given Party and country, for eliminating the existing shortcomings. The plans and problems of course are not the same everywhere—they depend on the conditions of

life in the given country. But there is undoubtedly much the recent congresses of the Communist Parties of the fraternal countries have had in common. Common to them all is the fact that they have given to the world a vivid and impressive picture of a healthy, fast-growing, dynamic socialist society. A society in which the conscious labour of millions under the leadership of the communist vanguard is directed wholly towards promoting the welfare of the entire nation. A society where every year, every five-year-plan period brings with it new tangible successes in the spheres of political, economic, social, scientific and cultural development. (*Prolonged applause.*)

One great advantage of the world socialist system, of our socialist way of life is that in the process of development of the fraternal countries the Communist Parties carefully study and use each other's positive experience. The experience of the Communists of the Soviet Union, who were the first to pave the way to socialist development, the experience of other countries, including the GDR, where the problems of a developed socialist society are being broadly dealt with—all this together forms the collective experience of socialism, our great common asset. (*Prolonged applause.*) Skilful use of it greatly benefits each one of the fraternal countries, often saving them the trouble of seeking solutions that may already have been found by others or preventing them from repeating the miscalculations or errors made by others.

A number of countries of the socialist community have now entered a stage of development which their Communist Parties define as the building of full-grown or developed socialism. At this stage they are confronted by big and highly complex tasks: how best to combine the advantages of the socialist system with the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; how to ensure on this basis highly effective and planned proportionate development of the entire national economy, and substantially improve the people's well-being; in what forms the work of moulding people's consciousness in the socialist spirit is to be developed in breadth and depth; by what ways further progress is to be made in the creative development of socialist democracy; how to raise cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries to a new level. (*Prolonged applause.*)

These are grand and noble tasks! The fraternal socialist

countries are living through a time that is rich with thrilling prospects and opportunities. Of course there will be no few difficulties in their path, but the hardest part of the job can definitely be said to have been done already. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union has entered upon a new and important stage of communist construction. The decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, as you are well aware, have opened up unprecedented horizons in all spheres of social development for the Soviet people. The Communists and all the working people of the Soviet Union hailed the Congress decisions with enthusiasm and have set about implementing them with all speed in the manner characteristic of Communists. We are deeply gratified that the results of the 24th Congress of the CPSU have evoked a broad and favourable response in other countries too. I take this opportunity to inform you, dear German comrades, that the Soviet Communists highly appreciate the attention which the 24th CPSU Congress materials have received in your Party. We are deeply grateful to the Communists and all the working people of the GDR for organising a socialist emulation campaign in honour of our 24th Congress. (*Prolonged applause.*) Soviet people see in all this a manifestation of genuine fraternal friendship and socialist internationalism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

How strikingly the present state of the capitalist world contrasts with the steady advancement of the socialist countries, with their historical optimism! The general crisis of the capitalist system is drawing its noose tighter and tighter. The grave crisis of imperialist policy, the continuing feverish state of the economy, lack of confidence in the future, the profound moral crisis—such is the picture of present-day capitalism. And there is no reformer or healer capable of curing these organic diseases and maladies. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The world recently witnessed yet another shock to capitalism's monetary and financial system. Another blow has been dealt the once shining American dollar, that god, or rather yellow devil, of capitalist society. And this is no accidental, isolated phenomenon. It reflects the general internal instability of capitalism. It is of the same category as the acute class battles, the social, national and racial conflicts that shake the capitalist countries, and the mass

anti-war actions in the United States, the biggest of the bourgeois countries.

The ground is clearly slipping more and more from under the feet of capitalism at home. It is also losing support in the countries of the former colonial world, which are steadily pursuing their own way—the way of independence and social progress, the way of friendship and cooperation with the socialist states. (*Applause.*) In this situation some leaders of the imperialist world become incapable of soberly assessing the position and plunge into military gambles and resort to aggression. This is evidenced by the imperialists' aggressive wars against the peoples of Indochina and the Arab countries.

Under these conditions the role played by the socialist countries in defence of peace and the peoples' freedom and social gains is an especially important one. The peoples of the world know that they can rely on the socialist countries, which consistently follow the Leninist line in their foreign policy. (*Prolonged applause.*) And the closer together our states act, the more coordinated their actions in the world arena, the more stable will the foundations of universal peace and security be and the more firmly will the peoples advance towards freedom and independence. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The great alliance between the socialist countries and the new progressive states which have broken out of their colonial fetters is one of the most characteristic developments of our age. We consider it our duty to do everything we can to strengthen this alliance. An important event in this respect is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation recently concluded between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic, a document which was hailed with satisfaction by all progressive and peaceful forces. (*Applause.*)

We Communists are confirmed and adamant opponents of aggression and aggressors. At the same time we are just as confirmed and staunch proponents of the peaceful coexistence of states, irrespective of the differences in their social systems. We extend our hand in all sincerity to all those who want to cooperate honestly on the basis of mutual respect and mutual advantage, and are ready for such cooperation.

Comrades,

Your Party and your republic are successfully solving major and complex foreign policy problems. Perhaps no

other state of the socialist community has had to overcome so many obstacles on the path to international recognition as the German Democratic Republic. The capitalist world tried to organise a political and diplomatic blockade of the GDR on a worldwide scale. It has failed. The GDR today has diplomatic relations with 29 states in all parts of the world. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The GDR confidently performs its important role and demonstrates its growing potentialities in the most diverse spheres of international intercourse. Its parliamentary and social contacts are steadily expanding. It is now clear to everyone that a European conference is inconceivable without the equal participation of the GDR. (*Applause.*) The foreign trade and economic ties which it already has with more than 100 countries are growing year by year. The Leipzig Fair has become one of the biggest and most popular events of its kind in the world. We share your joy when representatives of the GDR are honoured for victories at international sports contests, and this is happening more and more often. (*Stormy applause.*)

Your republic's growing international prestige and influence is the result of all that the working people of the GDR have done in state, economic and cultural development. It may be said with full justice that it is the result of the many years of joint efforts of the socialist countries, the result of our unity in espousing the cause of peace and socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Berlin in the past was known as a capital from which no good news favourable to peace ever emanated. It was the bastion of the German militarists and munition kings. Its reputation has undergone a complete change after it became the capital of the German socialist state. Today it is the voice of peace and international friendship that one hears from Berlin, the capital of the GDR. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) This change exemplifies the historic turn which the establishment of a peaceful socialist state on German soil has brought about. (*Applause.*)

Today, on the eve of the 30th anniversary of Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, people's thoughts willingly or unwillingly turn to this event, to the lessons of the Second World War. No Soviet people, no Germans, nor any other peoples can forget what that war cost them. Tens of millions of people perished in it. And although a new

generation has arisen since the war, the scars of war, its painful aftermath, make themselves felt in politics and economics and in people's psychology. Today, more than a quarter of a century after the end of the war, the main task facing the peoples of Europe is to prevent a recurrence of this tragedy, to build a really solid peace, a lasting peace. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We all note with satisfaction that certain positive changes have lately taken place in the European political climate. We give credit to the governments of those capitalist countries who respond to our efforts in seeking a détente in European affairs, peaceful cooperation and greater security on the continent. In this connection I should like to dwell on the significance of the treaty which was signed by the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany on August 12 of last year.

It is claimed in some quarters in the West that under this treaty the FRG is making "concessions" to the Soviet Union. In our opinion, however, our commitments under the treaty of August 12 are no less, if not even more, important for the FRG than its analogical commitments are for the Soviet Union. This applies equally to the pledge not to use force, not to encroach on the present frontiers, and to be guided in mutual relations by the provisions of the UN Charter. Consequently, it is not a matter of one-sided concessions—there are none on either side—but a question of the political substance and general purport of the treaty.

To those people in West Germany who indulge in political speculation about the treaty with the Soviet Union we would like to say one thing: the inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other fraternal countries is assured irrespective of whether or not there is such a treaty; it is assured by the united might of the Warsaw Treaty states. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Resounding cheers.*)

The treaty with the FRG can and must, once it comes into force, usher in a new chapter in the FRG's relations with the Soviet Union, give wide scope to mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic and other fields. But that is not all. The coming into force of the Soviet Union's and Poland's treaties with the FRG will in many ways create a new political atmosphere in Europe. This, it may be presumed, will considerably improve conditions for promoting

normal relations between West Germany and the European socialist countries, for developing fruitful cooperation between East and West European countries in general, and for settling major problems relating to European security. (*Applause.*)

The situation is this: there have now appeared in the West realistically-minded circles that want to see European peace strengthened. Their activities, however, are coming under increasingly furious attacks from certain quarters. The peace-loving peoples see this picture and they cannot but draw conclusions from it.

A word about the next door neighbour of your capital—West Berlin. As you know, the joint, coordinated efforts of the Soviet Union and the GDR are directed towards making West Berlin cease being a detonator of tension and crises, towards ensuring normal conditions of life for this city and its population, naturally with due consideration for the lawful interests and sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic. (*Prolonged applause.*) We believe that the present talks on West Berlin have above all helped to clarify the positions of the parties concerned. It is therefore logical that these talks are now entering the stage of discussion of concrete proposals concerning the contents of a possible agreement. I do not know about our partners in the talks, but we ourselves are ready to make efforts to bring the matter to a successful conclusion and to see to it that the agreement reached is effective and is carried out. (*Applause.*)

I have dwelt, comrades, on some of the international issues which are of special urgency in the context of the efforts which the Soviet Union and the GDR are making to strengthen peace in Europe. The 24th Congress of the CPSU put forward a comprehensive programme of struggle for peace and international security, for the peoples' freedom and independence. It defines the basic tasks and objectives of the Soviet Union's foreign policy at the present stage. This programme takes into account the common interests of the states of the socialist community. We are grateful to the Central Committee of the SUPG and the GDR Government for actively supporting it. This is further striking proof of the unity of our foreign policy aims, of the purity and sincerity of our allied relations, relations of genuine socialist solidarity and friendship. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The strong friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR is a great achievement of our Parties, the result of many years of purposeful efforts of the Communists of our two countries. (*Applause.*) Friendship is the soul of our alliance, which was forged in joint struggle for the triumph of peace and socialism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades,

Our Parties and governments share with the entire socialist community their cares and interests, and constantly coordinate their foreign policy activities, and in this is displayed the profound internationalist spirit of their policies.

The fraternal Parties are now making great efforts to extend the scale of economic integration of the socialist states. This is a matter of enormous political significance, a central link in the chain of development of world socialism. We are confident that the fraternal countries, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and creatively developing and improving the methods of economic management and cooperation, will make effective progress in the business of socialist integration. (*Applause.*) And it can definitely be said that the German Democratic Republic will make its important contribution to the fulfilment of this major task. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dear friends,

Allow me heartily to wish you and all the working people of the German Democratic Republic further success in the building of a developed socialist society, to wish you happiness and prosperity. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the guiding force of the German workers' and peasants' state! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. The Congress delegates and guests remain standing till the end of the speech.*)

May the indestructible friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic grow stronger! (*Stormy applause.*) May their all-round cooperation and their fraternal alliance grow closer! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the growing community of the fraternal socialist countries, mankind's vanguard in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. The audience scan "Friendship!", "Long live the CPSU!", "Hurrah!"*)

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING
AT THE ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT FACTORY
IN ZEMUN, YUGOSLAVIA**

September 23, 1971

Dear comrades, friends,

Allow me first of all heartily to thank you for the invitation to visit your factory and meet you, workers of the electronic industry, members of the illustrious working class of Yugoslavia. I must say that even a brief inspection of your factory leaves a very good impression. This is really advanced production, that is, a combination of modern technology, wise heads and skilled hands. Everything shows that you are marching in step with the times.

My comrades and I are sincerely touched by the heartfelt welcome and the warm words spoken here about our country and the Soviet people. I take this opportunity to convey to you and, through you, to the Yugoslav Communists, to all the peoples of socialist Yugoslavia the ardent fraternal greetings of the Communists, workers, and all the working people of the Soviet Union! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The friendship between the peoples of our countries has a long history. This friendship took on a new substance in the struggle for socialism. Soviet people cherish the memory of the Yugoslav internationalists-volunteers, heroes of the Civil War in our country. Those gallant men fought and died not only for the freedom of Russia, they also fought for a new life in their native land.

Another thing we always remember is that it was in the crucible of the Russian revolution that Comrade Tito started on the path of a revolutionary; today he is known to us all as the organiser and hero of the liberation, revolutionary struggle of the Yugoslav people, the leader of the Commu-

nists of Yugoslavia, the head of the Yugoslav socialist state. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Yugoslavia this year has commemorated the 30th anniversary of the armed uprising against the fascist invaders. The Soviet people will never forget that on the day when Hitler's Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia called on the people to rise up for an all-out armed struggle. The flames of the heroic struggle, which flared up on July 4, 1941, engulfed the entire country. The uprising developed into an all-out struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. (*Applause.*)

I take this occasion, comrades, to voice the sincere heartfelt gratitude of the Soviet people to the veterans of these battles—our comrades-in-arms in the anti-fascist struggle. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Soviet men and women know how great were Yugoslavia's sacrifices in the Second World War and how substantial her contribution to the defeat of fascism. We remember very well that the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia by its heroic struggle inscribed the brightest pages in the history of the European Resistance and brought nearer the long-awaited day of our common victory. A firm foundation for the combat comradeship between the Soviet Armed Forces and the Yugoslav People's Army was laid in the joint battles for the liberation of Belgrade and other military operations on Yugoslav soil.

Comrades, we in the Soviet Union think that the further strengthening of cooperation between our Parties and countries based on the principles of full equality and mutual respect is in the best interests of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples and tends to consolidate the world socialist system and promote the cause of peace and progress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We can say with full right that a quite considerable positive experience has been accumulated in Soviet-Yugoslav relations in recent years. This especially applies to the economic, scientific and technological spheres. A case in point is your own factory which, we have been told, has established strong ties with Soviet industry. To be frank, I was curious to know what was thought of your produce in our country. It was a pleasure to learn that it enjoys a good reputation. (*Applause.*)

At the same time cooperation between the Soviet and Yugoslav electronic industries could be much wider and more effective than it is. The same is true of many other sections of our cooperation.

The scale of our country is immense. Our national economy is steadily and dynamically developing on the basis of stable plans. That is why the Soviet Union is a stable buyer of big lots of goods. And such orders, as you know, boost production and make it pay better. We are interested in the high-quality goods which Yugoslav factories are able to produce. On the other hand, the Soviet Union is well placed for supplying diverse and modern manufactured goods and raw materials which socialist Yugoslavia needs. In a word, we have a good basis for mutually beneficial cooperation and quite a few unutilised potentialities. (*Applause.*)

This applies, comrades, not only to economic ties, but also to political cooperation in the broadest sense. We should know each other better, study the experience accumulated by our Parties and peoples more fully and thoroughly. The most reliable way for doing so is direct, live contacts between Party and mass organisations, between people. That is why we would welcome a wider exchange of delegations of different types and at different levels, closer ties between twinned cities and local Party organisations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We should be happy to have workers from your factory and other Yugoslav enterprises visit Soviet workers. I invite you to come to us—come to Moscow, to Leningrad, to Kiev, to Kharkov! (*Stormy applause.*) The doors of our country, the gates of our factories are wide open to Yugoslav workers. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) I think it will be of interest to Yugoslav comrades to visit our republics, to study the life of the Soviet people, to see how our collective farmers, workers of state farms, our scientists and artists, live and work. And naturally it will be interesting for the working people of our country to visit you, to learn better how their Yugoslav brothers live and work. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I want to be quite frank with you on all points, dear comrades and friends, and I want to say that at times one hears that the development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations supposedly has no prospects, because the methods of socialist construction and the forms of organising socialist society

which exist in Yugoslavia do not suit the Soviet Union, while the Yugoslavs do not accept Soviet experience. What can be said on this score?

It is no secret that not everything that determines the specific features of the present organisation of Yugoslav social life seems acceptable to Soviet Communists, to Soviet people. We in the Soviet Union have our traditions, our experience, which correspond both to our understanding of socialism and our conditions.

We as Communists-Marxists know well that there are definite general laws of socialist construction and general, fundamental features and attributes of socialism without which no socialism at all is possible. As for the choice of concrete forms of organisation of social life this is the internal affair of every Communist Party, every people. And we once again express our firm conviction that differences in these forms should not serve as a reason for any alienation and mistrust in relations between socialist states, including of course those between you and us. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are against counterposing to one another the practice of socialist construction in different countries and even more so against anyone imposing his concrete methods of development on others. (*Applause.*)

For us, Communists, Marxists-Leninists, what is fundamental is that our countries belong to one socio-economic formation. And this, comrades, is in the final count the most important thing. We are convinced that if we proceed from this principle and act in the spirit of comradeship and mutual trust, the efforts of our Communist Parties aimed at developing cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be successful. (*Applause.*)

The foundation of the friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples is cemented by the blood shed in the struggle against the common enemy. This foundation is immutable. And we, all of us, comrades, bear responsibility to history, to the memory of those who perished, to our children and grandchildren. It is our responsibility that the edifice of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation erected on this foundation be radiant and durable, that an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual trust prevail in it. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, we in the Soviet Union are following the life of the Yugoslav people, the course of economic and cultural development in your country, with great interest and sympathy. We sincerely rejoice in your successes. We are grieved when we hear of your difficulties and anxieties, and wholeheartedly wish you great achievements in socialist construction, in the further advance of the people's well-being. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dear friends, it gives me pleasure to tell you, our friends, how the working people of our country live. You know that the 24th Congress of the CPSU was held last spring. It charted the main trends of the Party's activities and the development of the country for several years ahead.

It is always difficult to find adequate comparisons and examples to describe in a few sentences the development of an entire country, an entire state. But let me try to do it. Just think of it, our industrial output in 1970 alone was about twice as much as during the three prewar five-year plans. In the interval between the 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses, wages and salaries were substantially raised and the duration of paid holidays was lengthened. The majority of the working people now enjoy two free days a week. In five years, 55 million people improved their housing conditions. Real per capita incomes went up by 33 per cent.

This year we launched a new, the ninth five-year plan. It is of a special significance for our country, for the Soviet people. Backed by the achievements of earlier years we began to turn the entire national economy towards a fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the Soviet people. Of course, a good deal had previously been done to raise the well-being of the Soviet people, to improve their living standard, their working and living conditions. But today we have other, far greater possibilities and we want to make wide use of them in order to give the Soviet citizen a still better and contented life.

All this, comrades, are the tangible fruits of socialism. He who works well, who gives his energies, his knowledge to the building of the new society—and in our country everyone is guaranteed such a possibility—is entitled to good earnings and comfortable housing, to all the opportunities for study and cultural advancement, for healthful rest and recreation.

Our country is preparing to celebrate next year the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. True to the behests of Lenin, the CPSU is consistently pursuing a policy ensuring the economic and cultural advancement of all the nations and nationalities, of which there are more than 100 in our country. There are no longer any backward, poorly developed republics in the Soviet Union—they have long outlived that state. Each of the 15 Union Republics has a modern industry, a mechanised agriculture, a national intelligentsia, its own Academy of Sciences, universities and research institutions. And all this, comrades, is a result of joint common efforts, of fraternal mutual assistance and support. We regard the friendship and cooperation of nations and nationalities as a well-spring of the strength and might of socialist society, as an important factor accelerating the advance to communism.

Our achievements in building socialism and communism are inextricably linked with the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Everywhere and in everything we are consistently applying the Leninist principle of the Party's leading role. The Party's policy articulates the interests of all classes and social groups, all the nations and nationalities in Soviet society. The unity of the Party and the people is the keystone of the Soviet social system.

Soviet men and women are firmly convinced that the programme outlined by the Party will be not only fulfilled, but also overfulfilled. We have all the possibilities for this—a clear-cut political line fully supported by the Soviet people, the necessary material basis and scientific and technological achievements.

Naturally, one more thing is needed for the fulfilment of our plans: the necessity of ensuring a lasting peace and a further relaxation of international tension. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The line of the CPSU in foreign policy is clear and consistent. We firmly defend the interests of socialism from all its enemies. We stand for peace and international security, we stand for the freedom and independence of all the peoples. We have always been and will be determined opponents of the imperialist policy of aggression, wars and oppression. We pursue our policy consistently and steadfastly, we pursue it in close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, with the other freedom-loving and peace-loving

states. And we see that our efforts are producing real fruits. (*Applause.*)

Take, for example, the situation in Europe. We and other socialist countries worked for more than a quarter of a century to finally consolidate the results of the Second World War and postwar development. It has been no easy struggle. But it is yielding ever more tangible results. An agreement has been reached on the question of West Berlin. On the order of the day is the ratification of the Soviet-West German and the Polish-West German treaties. Preparations are being stepped up for an all-European conference on questions of security. And although a long and hard struggle still lies ahead, the idea of a stable peace in Europe is on the whole already becoming a real prospect.

We would like all the peoples of both Europe and other continents to enjoy the boons of peace, of a peaceful life. So far they do not. They are prevented by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, by the rotten reactionary regimes which are foisted by it upon the peoples. We have fought, and will fight, against US aggression in Indochina. We have fought, and will fight, for the elimination of all the consequences of Israeli aggression in the Middle East. (*Applause.*) And we are confident that justice will triumph in the end. The aggressors will be forced to get out and the peoples of the countries attacked will be enabled to decide their own destinies. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union has always held that in present-day conditions when the confrontation between the forces of reaction and progress, the forces of capitalism and socialism continues in the world arena it is necessary to counter the actions of imperialism and reaction by an active and coordinated policy of the socialist states. That is why struggle for the further cohesion of the socialist countries, for eliminating the difficulties and complications which exist in relations between some of them, is one of the principal objectives of Soviet foreign policy.

The socialist states have accumulated considerable experience in developing businesslike all-round cooperation and coordinating a policy of concerted action in the international arena. The high level of fraternal cooperation is expressed, for example, in the defensive Warsaw Treaty which has come into being and functions as a dependable instrument for defending peace and socialism, as a powerful counter-

balance to the imperialist NATO bloc. The activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, of which you are probably well aware because Yugoslavia cooperates with this body, is an important section of cooperation among the socialist countries. A cardinal undertaking, a Comprehensive Programme of economic integration of socialist countries, is now being effected within the framework of this organisation. Fraternal cooperation is also successfully being implemented in the diverse relations which we are developing with Cuba, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and in Soviet-Yugoslav relations, of which I have already spoken.

Dear comrades, we have come to you in Yugoslavia in order to analyse, together with the Yugoslav leaders, the present state of Soviet-Yugoslav relations and to eliminate by common efforts what complicates them, to map out the most promising trends of their further development. In the course of our friendly, candid talks with Comrade Tito and other Yugoslav political leaders we have tried to find a common language, and I think we have succeeded. We are firmly convinced that the closer the cooperation between our countries in the international arena, the better for the cause of socialism, for preserving peace throughout the world. We are confident that our meetings with the leaders of Yugoslavia will tend to strengthen still further the friendship and cooperation between our countries and serve to consolidate peace and socialism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

In conclusion, I would like from this rostrum cordially to thank Comrade Tito, other Yugoslav leaders, the citizens of Belgrade, and all of you, dear comrades, for the warm reception accorded our delegation. (*Prolonged applause.*) We see in this added proof of the friendship of our peoples. Allow me once again to wish happiness and prosperity to you all, to men of labour, workers, to the citizens of all the Yugoslav republics who are bound together by ties of fraternal friendship. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) We wish you great success in your work for the good of your country, for the good of socialism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the glorious working class of Yugoslavia, the main force in the building of socialism in your country! (*Stormy, long-lasting applause. Cries of "Hurrah!"*)

Long live the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the

Soviet Union and socialist Yugoslavia! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Cries of "Hurrah!" again resound.*)

Allow me, comrades, in token of our friendship to present to the personnel of your factory a keepsake, a sculptured portrait of the leader of the world working class, the great teacher of the Communists, the father of our Party and the Soviet state Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We also present you with replicas, produced according to a method elaborated by Soviet engineers of the electronic industry, of our State Emblem and the emblems of all the fifteen Union Republics which make up the single harmonious family—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (*Stormy, prolonged applause, rising to an ovation.*)

SPEECH AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

December 7, 1971

Dear delegates to the Congress,
Dear comrades, friends and brothers,

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union highly appreciates the opportunity to be present here among our Polish friends and to feel the solemn and at the same time businesslike atmosphere of the Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. Participation in the work of fraternal Party congresses is always a source of fresh experience: after all, a Party congress is something of a concentrated expression of the life and struggle of the Communists of the given country.

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, on behalf of fourteen and a half million Soviet Communists, on behalf of all the working people of the Soviet Union to convey to your Congress, to all the Communists and the people of Poland our wholehearted friendly greetings and wishes of success in your great and responsible work. (*Prolonged applause.*)

These wishes express the profound and sincere feelings of Soviet people for fraternal Poland. This is not only because our countries are close neighbours, or because of their kindred languages and culture. It is also because our friendship has been literally forged in the common sufferings of the working people of the two countries. They have cherished, developed and defended it in trying historical conditions, while the exploiting classes and the rulers were doing everything by their self-seeking policies to spread strife and hostility.

Our friendship has been tempered in the flames of the battles for liberation which the best representatives of the two peoples fought against their oppressors, and for national and social freedom. The community of their aims was well expressed over one hundred years ago by Alexander Herzen, outstanding Russian writer and revolutionary. During the Polish uprising against the tsarist oppression he wrote: "We are with Poland because we stand for Russia. . . . We want Poland's independence because we want Russia's liberty." (*Prolonged applause.*)

The class solidarity of the working people of Poland and Russia was raised to a new stage as a result of the revolutionary struggle of the Communists, and the activity of the great Lenin and his associates, a prominent place among whom belongs to that legendary knight of the revolution, Felix Dzerzhinsky. (*Applause.*)

The historical achievement of our Parties consists in the fact that by their activity they have strengthened Soviet-Polish friendship, filling it with new content and uniting the efforts of the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union in the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. We can say that the Communists of the two countries have made the flames of our friendship burn ever more brightly with the warmth of their hearts and of their revolutionary convictions. No wonder that we all so highly cherish and value Soviet-Polish friendship!

Comrades! The workers, peasants and all the other working people of the socialist countries have shown great trust in the Communists by putting into their hands the political leadership of society. This trust puts a great responsibility on our Parties.

We Communists bear the responsibility for the destiny of our country, for the right course of socialist development, for the people's living standards, for the fostering of men, especially the young, in the socialist spirit, and for the country's security. To understand the objective requirements of society at the given stage at the right moment, to find the best solution for mature problems, the way of overcoming the difficulties that arise, and the ways and forms of the most rapid advance and to do so at the right time—all these tasks fall on the ruling Communist Parties.

Naturally, these tasks are not easy, just as the very endeavour to build a fundamentally new society is not easy

and is in fact even extremely complicated. These tasks can in fact be fulfilled only on the basis of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, on the strength of the time-tested laws of socialism, creatively applying and developing revolutionary theory in the conditions of one's country, relying on the support of all the working people, and advancing in common militant array with the fraternal socialist countries.

Historical experience shows that in the great endeavour of socialist construction some failings and mistakes, sometimes even serious ones, are not ruled out. But the important thing is that they do not at all spring from the nature of socialism as a social system, not from its aims or fundamental principles, but are, on the contrary, the occurrence of some deviation or some violation of these principles. That is why the ability to take a critical view of one's own activity and to draw the necessary practical conclusions is also one of the important forms of the Communists' struggle for socialism and communism, and is the style of work bequeathed to us by V. I. Lenin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

When studying the Report of the PUWP Central Committee and hearing the programme statement by the First Secretary of the Central Committee one obtains an especially clear view of the great, difficult and glorious way which your Party has travelled. Allow me to tell you, dear comrades, that the Soviet Communists are aware of the full significance of the impressive achievements of the Communists and all the working people of Poland in developing socialist social relations, the socialist economy and culture.

We respect the principled and courageous approach of the PUWP in correcting the negative phenomena which occurred. We clearly see the great and sincere concern for the interests of the working people, for constantly strengthening the ties with the mass of working people displayed by your Party, by its Central Committee, headed by a true son of the Polish working class, our friend and comrade, Edward Gierek. (*Stormy applause.*)

Dear friends! It has already been said here, at the Congress, that the Party still faces many complex tasks—in the economy and in ideology, in town and country. But we firmly believe that your Party, continuing to be invariably loyal to Leninism, pursuing a clear, consistently rev-

olutionary, realistic policy, expressing the vital interests of the working people, will successfully fulfil its tasks and will live up to the Polish people's trust with honour. (*Applause.*)

The Party of Polish Communists is a truly internationalist party, and a major fighting contingent of the international communist movement. From this high rostrum the CPSU delegation would like to emphasise with a sense of special appreciation the importance of the vigorous activity of the Polish United Workers' Party aimed at strengthening the socialist community and developing all-round cooperation between the socialist states. This is our common concern, comrades, a concern of all the fraternal countries and Parties.

Questions of the further cohesion of the world socialist system and unity of action by the socialist countries were central issues at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. They were circumstantially dealt with at the recent congresses of the Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, German, Hungarian and Mongolian Communists. We see these same problems considered at your Congress as well. This is in fact quite natural. It is evidence that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party and the other fraternal Parties sensitively respond to the requirements of our time, working actively to consolidate and further develop the main, principal line in the development of world socialism—the tendency to unity and cohesion.

This is expressed in everything—in our concerted policies in the international arena, in our vigorous advance of the cause of economic integration, and in the co-ordination of our efforts in the ideological sphere. This is also strikingly expressed in the broad and massive contacts between the Communists, between the working people of the fraternal countries, in the constant exchanges of knowledge, and the comparison of each other's experience and practice.

Living and direct contacts between tens and hundreds of thousands of men, builders of socialism and communism, have become commonplace for us. However, there is a profound historical meaning in this apparent commonplaceness: it is the laying of the foundation of the future worldwide brotherhood of nations. And we can say with a sense of great satisfaction that by strengthening Soviet-Polish

friendship and promoting the further consolidation of the socialist countries' cooperation, the Communists of Poland and the Soviet Union are making their own, important contribution to this great cause. (*Applause.*)

Acting in close alliance with each other, the socialist countries are exerting an active and ever growing influence on the course of world events. Engrossed in our daily affairs we now and again even fail to observe how broad and effective this influence has become. It is strong not only because we are strong. There are other important factors as well which make others heed to our voice, whether they want to or not. One of these factors is that the foreign policy of the socialist community is principled and consistent, that it is a policy which the masses on all continents cherish and understand.

To build socialism and communism we need peace. All peoples need peace. They do not want a repetition of the tragedy of the world war which inflicted on them countless losses and sufferings. People do not want to be killed or to see their cities turned to ruins, their villages burned down. That is why the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and Poland, by all the fraternal socialist countries is a truly popular policy. (*Prolonged applause.*) We stand for peace, we want the coming generations never again to know the horrors of war. To the achievement of this noble aim we bend our whole international authority, all our might.

In the struggle for peace we have millions upon millions of allies in all countries. But we have no right to forget that there exist forces deeply hostile to the cause of peace. That is why our countries' active peaceable policy includes resolute rebuffs to the actions of the aggressive imperialist circles. We are sure that the Polish people, like the peoples of our country, are well aware that the socialist countries can follow no other line.

The defensive alliance of the socialist countries was set up here, in Warsaw, 16 years ago. We took this step for this sole purpose: to prevent the outbreak of another war. It was a counter-measure to NATO's aggressive preparations, to the attempts to talk to us in tones of strength. All these years the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has reliably served the peaceful interests of the fraternal countries, helping to turn the course of events in a direction more

favourable for the peoples. The combat brotherhood of the Soviet Army, the Polish Army, and of the armed forces of the other Warsaw Treaty countries continues to be even today one of the most important factors helping to cool the hot-headed aggressors, a factor helping to preserve peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Communists of Poland, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries always remain true to their internationalist duty in any trials. The mighty power of socialist internationalism is most visually expressed in time of acute international crises, and these have been many in recent years.

In fulfilment of our internationalist duty, we are giving extensive and effective support to the courageous patriots of Vietnam in their struggle for freedom and independence, and against imperialist aggression. On every sector of this struggle—military, political and diplomatic—the Vietnamese people can always rely on the assistance of their friends. In fulfilment of their internationalist duty, the socialist countries are doing everything to upset the plans of the Israeli invaders and their patrons, to help the Arab peoples to safeguard their legitimate rights, and to help establish a just peace in the Middle East.

For all the tricks and dodges of bourgeois propaganda, for all the efforts of anyone to slander our policy, the peoples of the world realise and understand with ever greater clarity that in our day the militant solidarity of the socialist countries, their firm and implacable attitude towards imperialist aggression and every form of international piracy is one of the main pillars of peace, and the security and freedom of nations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Like all the proponents of peace and freedom of nations we have learned with profound regret of the armed conflict which broke out these days between two neighbouring countries in Asia and of the developments which brought the conflict about—a bloody suppression of the basic rights and clearly expressed will of the people of East Pakistan and the tragedy of ten million refugees. The Soviet Union acts firmly in favour of putting an end to the bloodshed, for the peaceful political settlement of the problems which have arisen, with due regard given to the just rights of nations, without any interference of external forces, for

establishing conditions of a lasting and just peace in that region.

Comrades! There has been no armed conflict in Europe for over more than a quarter-century. This is in itself a great achievement of the peaceable states, a great gain of the European nations. But this peace has not been strong. Europe has been in a "cold war" fever. Now and again the line between political struggle and armed clash became fragile and unstable. The security of nations demanded an end to the "cold war" and elimination of its consequences. That is exactly what the socialist part of Europe advocated with the utmost vigour.

We have never believed, and do not believe at this moment, that détente, cooperation and security in Europe can be advanced without reciprocal efforts on both sides, East and West. The more realism there is in the policy of the Western countries, the greater our common possibilities to continue further to improve the situation in Europe, paving the way for fundamental agreements in the interests of European and international security. An example of this is the development of the relations between the Soviet Union, Poland and a number of other socialist countries with France. Another example is the incipient turn in our relations with the FRG. Yet another example is the recent understanding on the questions of West Berlin.

The treaties of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic with the FRG, the four-power agreement on West Berlin and the working out of the agreements between the GDR, the FRG and the West Berlin Senate on the related questions, the growing recognition of the need for admission of the GDR and the FRG into the United Nations, settlement of the problems existing between Czechoslovakia and the FRG, which we hope will be reached by the two sides—all this leads up to the completion of the postwar period of European development. The foundations are being laid for Europe's transition to a new historical phase which, we believe, will develop in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation. And it is at this turning point that an all-European conference on questions of security and cooperation assumes a special importance.

Such a conference is designed to strengthen the foundations of a peaceful life on our continent. These foundations,

in our opinion, are undeviating observance of the inviolability of the present borders, non-interference in domestic affairs, equality, independence and the repudiation of the threat or use of force. Not long ago the Soviet Union and France signed a document expressing precisely this approach to European affairs. We feel that all the states and nations of Europe would only stand to gain if such principles were generally accepted as rules of international life in the whole of Europe. Is it not perhaps worth giving substantial thought to such a possibility?

Incidentally, the North Atlantic bloc Council is to meet in regular session in Brussels shortly. Its decisions will make it possible to judge whether the NATO countries are in fact prepared to square their practical acts with the will of all the European nations for peace, whether they are prepared to respond to our call for an easing of international tensions and strengthening mutual trust and European security. If they are prepared to do so, the best way of proving this is to join the other European states in the practical preparations of an all-European conference which, we believe, could well be called as early as 1972.

Needless to say the positive changes taking place on the European continent have not produced any illusions among us Communists. We are well aware that reactionary militaristic revenge-seeking circles still continue to act in capitalist Europe. They should like to occupy decisive positions in their countries by any possible means and to try to hurl Europe back to the "cold war" period. All this puts on us the duty to be highly vigilant and politically active. All this calls for consistent effort in carrying to fruition the constructive initiatives and actions which hold promise of turning Europe into a continent of peace and good-neighbourhood.

This, comrades, is an undertaking of great historical importance. In its influence on other parts of the world and the world situation as a whole it goes far beyond the European framework itself. There is no doubt at all that a radical improvement of the political climate in Europe and a solution of mature all-European problems, including troop and arms cuts, would meet the interests of all mankind.

The fraternal Communist Parties pay due tribute to the efforts of the Polish United Workers' Party, which through-

out the postwar period has invariably and actively worked to strengthen European and international security, to eliminate the hotbeds of the war danger, and to bring about disarmament and the development of peaceful cooperation between nations. Poland reborn, socialist Poland, has taken a fitting place in world politics. (*Applause.*)

Gone for good are the days when the people of Poland constantly had to fear for their freedom and independence, for the integrity of their state. Today, the inviolability of the Polish borders is ensured by the alliance of Poland and the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and the other fraternal countries, by the whole defence might of the Warsaw Treaty countries. Now that the Polish people have firmly taken the socialist path, now that they have joined the solid family of socialist countries, Poland's freedom and independence are guaranteed finally and infallibly. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Dear Polish friends! The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people are now working to implement the decisions of the 24th Party Congress. A few days ago we approved the current five-year plan. Its main task is to bring about a considerable rise in the people's material and cultural level on the basis of high rates of development in socialist production, enhancement of its efficiency, scientific and technical progress, and accelerated growth of labour productivity. Our plan for national-economic development is also oriented on the further extension of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland, with all the fraternal countries.

Successful fulfilment of the five-year plan calls for great effort, good organisation and discipline. The working people of our country realise this full well. They give their wholehearted and unlimited support to the line of their Leninist Party. We are sure that we shall cope with the tasks we have set and that we shall take another large stride on the way of communist construction.

Dear comrades, the CPSU delegation has no doubts that the 6th Congress of the PUWP will become an important landmark in Poland's socialist development and will make its contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. We wish you great successes in building the socialist society, in developing industry, in raising the standard of living of the people, in fulfilling the plans set

by you for socio-economic development. We wish the whole Polish people happiness and prosperity. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We are convinced that under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia of Poland will ensure the complete victory for socialism on every front! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the Polish United Workers' Party, the inspirer and organiser of the construction of socialist society in your country! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Delegates and guests to the Congress remain standing as Comrade Brezhnev concludes his speech.*)

May the fraternal friendship of the Communists of our two countries, the solid alliance of the peoples of Poland and the USSR gain in strength and flourish! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause rising to an ovation.*)

REQUEST TO READERS

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