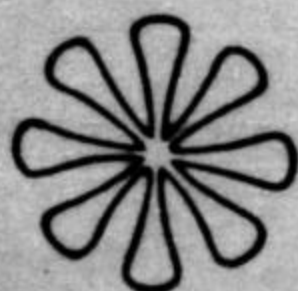


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In this issue

**JOINT LENIN
COMMEMORATIVE
MEETING OF
CC CPSU AND
SUPREME SOVIETS
OF USSR
and RSFSR**

April 21, 1970

—N. V. Podgorny

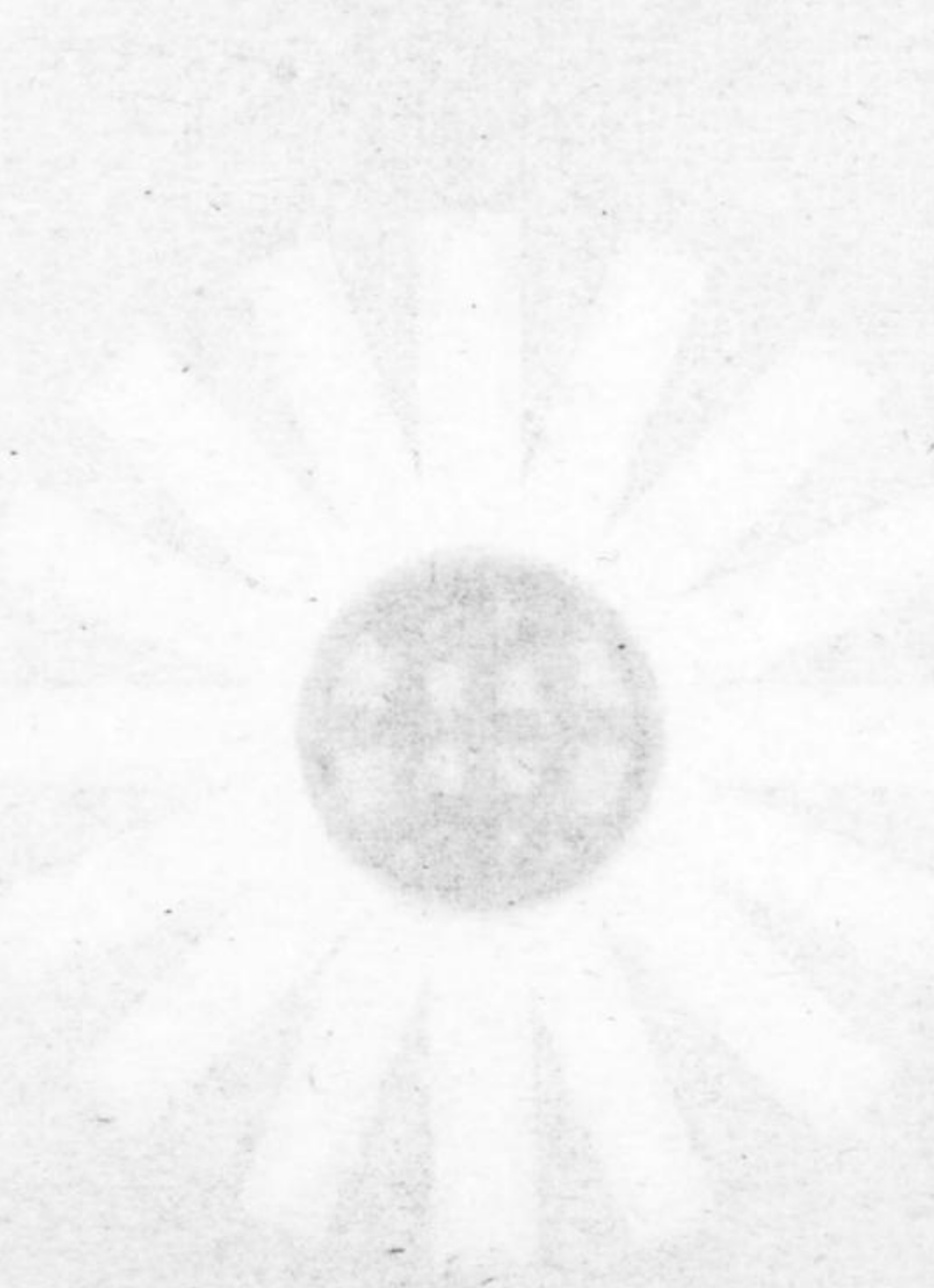
—L. I. Brezhnev

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**JOINT COMMEMORATIVE MEETING
OF THE CC CPSU AND THE
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ON THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH
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OPENING SPEECH

BY N. V. PODGORNYY

POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBER, CC CPSU, AND PRESIDENT,
PRESIDIUM, USSR SUPREME SOVIET

Dear Comrades,

Esteemed Foreign Guests,

A great event has brought us together in this hall: we have met to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

The name of Lenin—brilliant continuer of Marx's and Engels' work, the greatest thinker, revolutionary and statesman—has for ever gone down in the annals of the international revolutionary movement, in world history. Lenin founded and reared the Communist Party, militant party of the working class, organizer and inspirer of the October Socialist Revolution, of all the heroic accomplishments of our people. It was under Lenin's leadership that the first worker-peasant state in man's history, a fraternal commonwealth of peoples—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—was brought into being.

The Soviet people's life and plans and achievements are associated with Lenin's name. Socialism in our country was built according to Lenin's designs and under the leadership of the Leninist Party. In the hour of trial, Lenin's ideas roused our people to the defense of their socialist country. We are marching to communism under Lenin's banner. Economically powerful, politically united, and invincible, the Land of Soviets looks confidently to the future as it strides on in the van of the world revolutionary movement.

We are proud of the fact that Lenin was born and grew up on our soil, that he was a great son of Russia, and that our country is the homeland of Leninism. But Lenin also became the leader of all the working people of the world. Historical development proves irrefutably that Leninism is a deeply internationalist, a historic doctrine.

Lenin made an invaluable contribution to Marxist theory, that mighty weapon of the proletariat in its class struggles against capital, for socialism and communism. Lenin expressed the age-long aspirations of millions of working and oppressed people with such depth and insight that his teachings became the banner under which the whole of toiling mankind has been carrying on a just and noble

fight against imperialism, against oppression and exploitation, for peace, the freedom and independence of the peoples and social progress.

Leninism is marching triumphantly over the planet. Lenin's name is uttered with boundless love in every language of the globe. A great internationalist and ardent fighter against every form of social or national oppression, for closer international solidarity of the forces championing the revolutionary transformation of the world, Lenin belongs to the whole of progressive humanity.

The present epoch, initiated by the Great October, is characterized by the steady consolidation of the positions of world socialism, the powerful growth of the working-class and national liberation movement and the enormous scale of the international Communist movement.

Today we say: what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin accomplished in the course of his illustrious life and what millions of his followers are accomplishing will last, not a hundred years, but centuries and millenniums.

The glorious Lenin centenary has become a worldwide event for the man of labor. Brother parties, all progressive forces, all who are fighting for the happiness and radiant future of mankind, observe the Lenin centenary along with the Soviet people. This is why representatives of the revolutionary contingents of every continent are with us here.

Allow me to convey warm greetings to our foreign guests on behalf of the participants in this centenary meeting, and on behalf of all Soviet people.

We are happy to extend a heartfelt welcome to representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties confidently building socialism. Allow me fraternally to greet the delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the PRB;

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party led by Comrade Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC;

Working People's Party of Vietnam led by Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC;

Socialist Unity Party of Germany led by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC, Chairman, State Council of the GDR;

Korean Party of Labor led by Comrade Tsoi Yen Gen, member, Political Committee and Presidium of the Political Committee, Secretary of the Party CC, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Peoples' Assembly of the KPDR;

Communist Party of Cuba led by Comrade Oswaldo Dorticos Torrado, member, Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CC, President of the Republic of Cuba;

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party led by Comrade Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the MPR;

Polish United Workers' Party led by Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC;

Rumanian Communist Party led by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Party, Chairman, State Council of the SRR;

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia led by Comrade Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC;

League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Comrade Vladimir Bakaric, member of the Executive Bureau, Presidium of the LCY.

We also extend heartfelt greetings to the delegation of the courageous and heroic people of South Vietnam led by Ho Xuan Son, member, Secretariat of the CC, National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

We are happy to greet in this hall the delegation of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Laos led by Comrade Nouhak Phoumsavan.

Attending this meeting are representatives of sixty-six Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist and developing countries. We convey fraternal greetings to our comrades-in-arms and true friends—the Communists of all continents. Allow me to extend a heartfelt welcome to the delegations of the following parties:

Communist Party of Australia led by Comrade William Eric Gollan, member of the National Committee;

Communist Party of Austria led by Comrade Friedl Fuernberg, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of Argentina led by Comrade Jeronimo Arnedo Alvarez, General Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of Belgium led by Comrade Jean Terfve, Vice-Chairman;

Communist Party of Great Britain led by Comrade Bert Ramelson, member, Political Committee of the Executive Committee;

Communist Party of Venezuela led by Comrade Jesus Faria, General Secretary;

Guadeloupe Communist Party led by Comrade Hegesippe Ibene, member, Political Bureau of the CC;

Communist Party of Germany led by Comrade Max Reimann, First Secretary of the CC;

German Communist Party led by Comrade Kurt Bachmann, Chairman;

Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin led by Comrade Gerhard Danelius, Chairman;

Communist Party of Honduras led by Comrade Mario Morales, First Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of Greece led by Comrade Apostolos Grozos, Chairman of the CC;

Communist Party of Denmark led by Comrade Knud Jespersen, Chairman;

Communist Party of Israel led by Comrade Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of India led by Comrade Shripad Amrit Dange, Chairman of the National Council;

Jordanian Communist Party led by Comrade Fuad Nassar, First Secretary of the CC;

Iraqi Communist Party led by Comrade Aziz Mohammed, First Secretary of the CC;

People's Party of Iran led by Comrade Reza Radmanesh, First Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of Ireland led by Comrade Michael O'Riordan, Secretary of the Executive Committee;

Communist Party of Spain led by Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman;

Italian Communist Party led by Comrade Gian Carlo Pajetta, member, Political Bureau of the CC;

Communist Party of Canada led by Comrade William Kashtan, General Secretary;

Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, led by Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary;

Communist Party of Colombia led by Comrade Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CC;

People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica led by Comrade Manuel Mora, General Secretary of the CC;

Lebanese Communist Party led by Comrade Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of Luxembourg led by Comrade Dominique Urbany, Chairman;

Martinique Communist Party led by Comrade Armand Nicolas, General Secretary;

Mexican Communist Party led by Comrade Manuel Terrazas, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC;

Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand led by Comrade Alexander Drennan, National Chairman;

Communist Party of Norway led by Comrade Ivar Lie, member, Secretariat of the CC;

People's Party of Panama led by Comrade Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary;

Paraguayan Communist Party led by Comrade Efrain Morel, Secretary of the CC;

Peruvian Communist Party led by Comrade Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the CC;

Portuguese Communist Party led by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary;

Puerto Rican Communist Party led by Comrade Juan Perez, member of the CC;

Réunion Communist Party led by Comrade Jean Baptiste Ponama, member, Political Bureau of the CC;

San Marino Communist Party led by Comrade Gaston Pasolini, member of the Political Bureau;

Syrian Communist Party led by Comrade Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of the United States of America led by Comrade Gus Hall, General Secretary, and Comrade Henry Winston, National Chairman;

Sudanese Communist Party led by Comrade Muawiya Ibrahim Suri, member of the CC;

Tunisian Communist Party led by Comrade Mohamed Harmel, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of Uruguay led by Comrade Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC;

Communist Party of Finland led by Comrade Ville Pessi, member of the Political Bureau;

French Communist Party led by Comrade Jacques Duclos, member of the Political Bureau;

Communist Party of Ceylon led by Comrade Hikkaduve Ratnavira, member of the Political Bureau;

Communist Party of Chile led by Comrade Orlando Millas, member, Political Commission of the CC;

Swiss Party of Labor led by Comrade Jakob Lechleiter, member, Leading Committee and Political Secretariat of the CC;

Left Party—Communists of Sweden led by Comrade Gosta Johansson, member, Executive Committee of the Party Leadership;

Communist Party of Ecuador led by Comrade Pedro Antonio Saad, General Secretary;

South African Communist Party led by Comrade John B. Marks, Chairman;

Communist Party of Japan led by Comrade Suketika Tsugane, member of the CC.

We also extend warm greetings to the delegations of the brother parties of Bolivia, Brazil, Haiti, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Turkey and the delegates of a number of other parties.

We are happy to convey the friendly sentiments of the Soviet people to the representatives of national democratic parties and organizations who have come to Moscow. Allow me to greet the following delegations:

People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola led by Agostinho Neto, Chairman;

Arab Socialist Union of the UAR led by Ali Sabri, member, Supreme Executive Committee;

African National Congress of South Africa led by Oliver Tumbo, President;

Democratic Party of Guinea led by Minister Lansan Diane, member, National Political Bureau;

African Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands led by Hamilcar Cabral, General Secretary;

Afro-Shirazi Party (Zanzibar) led by Adam Taib Abdullah, key functionary of the Party;

Arab Socialist Baath Party of Iraq led by Minister Izzat Mustafa, member, Regional Leadership of the Party, member, Council of the Revolutionary Command;

National Front of the People's Republic of South Yemen led by Abdel Fattah Ismail, General Secretary;

Congolese Party of Labor, People's Republic of the Congo, led by Alphonse Fongui, member of the CC;

Democratic Party of Kurdistan led by Habib Abdel Kerim, General Secretary of the CC;

Mauritanian People's Party led by Bakkar Koulibali, key functionary of the Party, member of parliament;

Independence Congress Party of Madagascar led by Gisèle Rabe-sahala, General Secretary;

Military Committee for National Liberation, Republic of Mali, led by Baba Diarra, Second Vice-Chairman;

Liberation Front of Mozambique led by Armando Gabusa, member of the CC and Executive Committee;

Arab Socialist Baath Party of Syria led by Rabah Tawil, member of the Political Bureau and Regional Leadership;

Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic led by General Muhammed Ainarshe Guled, Vice-President;

Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Sudan led by Minister Faruq Hamadallah, member of the Revolutionary Council;

African National Union of Tanganyika led by Thomas Musa, member of the CC and National Executive Committee.

We extend warm greetings to the delegations of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity led by Comrade Dario Valori, member of the Political Bureau and deputy secretary of the Party;

Organization of Icelandic Socialists led by Comrade Jon Steinsson, member, Leading Committee of the Reykjavik Organization of Socialists;

San Marino Socialist Party led by Comrade Remi Giacomini, Secretary;

Social-Democratic Workers' and Small Holders' Union of Finland led by Comrade Uuno Nokelainen, Vice-Chairman;

Socialist Party of Chile led by Comrade Adonis Sepulveda, Deputy General Secretary;

Socialist Party of Japan led by Comrade Kenjin Matsuzawa, leader of the parliamentary group in the Upper Chamber.

Present in this hall are the delegations of international democratic organizations uniting tens of millions of working people, and prominent trade unionists from most countries of the world. Allow me to greet them heartily.

We are happy to greet all our foreign friends who these days have come to Moscow and other cities of the Soviet Union to commemorate the great Lenin anniversary with us.

Dear comrades and friends, Lenin is immortal. He is always with us. All the victories achieved by the working people under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties are inseparable from Lenin's name and from Leninism. Lenin's ideas and deeds express themselves in the remarkable present and magnificent future of the Soviet people, in the successes of the working people of the socialist countries, in the future accomplishments of the whole of progressive mankind.

LENIN'S CAUSE LIVES ON AND TRIUMPHS

REPORT BY L. I. BREZHNEV
GENERAL SECRETARY, CC CPSU

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. Lenin's life, the whole of his life, his struggle, and his activity were dedicated to a single cause—the cause of liberating labor from the oppression of capital. The name of Lenin, who inspired and organized the Great October Socialist Revolution, is linked with the 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.

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 solemn 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.

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.

We greet in this hall our fighting comrades 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 endeavors, in the struggle to translate into life the invincible teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin!

I.

V. I. LENIN—THINKER AND REVOLUTIONARY

Comrades, let us turn in our mind's eye to the last, 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 aggrandizement. 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 replacement of capitalism by socialism was inevitable, and gave the working-class movement its fighting slogan—"Workers of all countries, unite." In 1871, the first proletarian revolution flashed across the horizons of our planet: the Paris Commune raised aloft its red banner. The Communards suffered a defeat, but the cause for which they had fought could not be defeated. The ranks of the proletariat multiplied, its organization and consciousness were enhanced, and class hatred for the oppressors became more acute. Marxist ideas spread ever more widely 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 premises 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 strongarm methods, and the chronic abomination of the autocracy, as Lenin put it—all this caused growing indignation

among the masses, and turned Russia into 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 feat 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.

What Lenin confronted as he was faced with a choice of 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 the darkest reaction had led her. Lenin found the answer to this question in the works of Marx.

Relying on the theory of Marxism, 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 endeavor 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

organizing 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 organization of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia!" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 467).

He made it his life's work to create and to 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 from the landowners and the bourgeoisie, but also to rule Russia, and to 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.

When Lenin started on his activity as a 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.

The battles of three Russian revolutions produced and put to the test new theoretical conclusions and generalizations, and new strategic and tactical propositions which made up the basis of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution.

The 1905-1907 revolution was the first test. The works which Lenin wrote in that period add up to eight volumes. Among them are such capital works as *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, and *The Agrarian Program 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 are still to overthrow the exploiting system.

Lenin's theoretical thinking is so penetrating and so profound and carries such general significance for the world revolutionary 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 see in every political trend, program and declaration, in every social and moral doctrine the interests of definite classes, and to determine their attitude to them from the proletarian standpoint.

Lenin held the connection between 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 defense 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 theoretical substantiating of the Party's activity, ceaselessly enriching and developing Marxist philosophy.

With splendid mastery over 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 showing 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, of 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 chauvinist intoxication, a slogan urging the defeat of "one's own" government, and to call for the converting of 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." (Vol. 35, p. 259).

An impassioned fighter for the revolution, Lenin was also its most profound thinker. During the war, he carried on a vast amount of scientific work in analyzing 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 an integral 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 allegedly become "organized," 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 that 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.

All this has become a part of the golden fund 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 that 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 prevalent concerning the further way the revolution was to take, in order to realize with fresh force 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 work 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 generalizations on a much broader plane. Lenin made it quite clear that in Russia the economic and political premises had matured for socialist revolution, 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 comprehensive theory of the armed uprising as an art.

At the same time Lenin saw in the development of the revolution in Russia and pointed out to the Party, an extremely rare opportunity offered by history which, he said, was extremely valuable, the opportunity of a peaceful transfer 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 achievement of Lenin's thinking which is meaningful to this very day.

On the very eve of the October Revolution, during his last period in the 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 the 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!" 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.

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.

Lenin directed the defense of the Soviet Republic, and the formation of the Red Army. He found the solution for 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 focussed 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 principled political analysis, and an implacable attitude to ideological and political vacillation. The unity of the Party, for which Lenin worked with such fervor, was, is and will continue to be one of the most important sources of all our victories.

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 an integral 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 demolished 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. Lenin's teaching incorporated everything that had been produced by mankind's best minds, generalizing 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 who possessed 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. "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."

Leninism is the most advanced and influential ideology of the modern world, the invincible ideology of those who have the future with them. 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 mil-

lions 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.

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 of fighter and revolutionary, a man of spotless purity, and of exceptional personal charm.

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 traitors and renegades from the revolutionary cause.

The 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 communist 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 mistakes in good time, and resolution 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 prevision to illumine the way lying ahead of the working class for many decades.

Lenin resolutely fought against any playing down of revolutionary theory, 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 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 honorably to carry Lenin's banner, the banner of communism.

Lenin was unequalled in his ability to create an atmosphere of real collectivity in any work. While maintaining his standpoint with fervor, conviction and insistence, he valued the opinion of his comrades and was attentive 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 and its Politburo, and of 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 centers 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 generalizations against what appeared to be particular cases 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 mass, to know its moods, to know everything, to understand it, and to know how to approach it. These words best reflect Lenin's style, which has become a model for the Party he founded, for the Communists of the whole world.

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 exactitude 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 lifetime

achievement an inspiring example for Communists and for millions of other men.

II.

LENINISM—THE 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." The working class of our country became the first contingent of the international army of labor to raze to the ground the old, capitalist world, and to create a new, socialist world.

1. THE 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 need to beat back the joint attack of the armed foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution. The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia rallied around Lenin's Party, while relying on the powerful international support of the working people of other countries, and succeeded in scoring 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 130). 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, industrialization, collectivization, 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 historical 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 the spiritual world of men. Needless to say, it was based on the vast creative potential of the Party, tens of 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 strength of the new system lay in the unity of Marxist science, which determines the Party's program propositions, and the initiative and historical creative endeavor 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.

The cause of socialist construction generated such a tide of revolutionary enthusiasm and inspired, dedicated labor, that it literally swept away all the obstacles on the road to socialism. What was once a plan became actual reality. That was a world historical victory of the Soviet people, a triumph of Leninism.

In the 1930s, socialism was firmly established in every sphere of life in our country. The world saw a socialist industrial-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 around the Leninist Party were displayed with unprecedented force. In the course of the stern trial, 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.

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. From generation to generation—for ever—our people will honor the memory of those who gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of the Soviet people, for the sake of their native land.

Guided by Lenin's precepts we shall continue to strengthen our country's defenses, 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.

Everyone is aware of the heavy losses and destruction which the war brought us. Many towns and villages, factories and electric power stations, schools and hospitals had to be built anew. Thwarting the enemies' insidious calculations that our state would be weakened for a long time, and healing the wounds of war in the shortest possible time, the Soviet people took a great stride forward. The mind is staggered by the material and spiritual gains achieved in the post-war years. Socialism has once again demonstrated its strength and viability.

Our Party and the Soviet people have accumulated a vast store of experience in the class struggle and the social transformations. The innovatory character of these transformations demanded of the Party political and theoretical maturity, efficient organization and steadfastness, consistency, and a thorough verification of the ways and means of building the new society. And, to use Lenin's word, 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." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 413.)

The novelty, the singularity, the unprecedented scale of the social change and the economic construction, the lack of experience and the wild resistance of the bourgeoisie—all that 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 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 . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 54-55).

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 fell to the lot of the Soviet people. On its shoulders it bore a tremendous historical responsibility. But courageously and steadfastly it overcame all the trials, fulfilling its mission with honor. Everywhere and at all times, in the hours of the stern trials of life and fierce battles, in the hours of joyous victories and of grievous setbacks, our people remained loyal to the Leninist banner, loyal to its Party and to the cause of the revolution. On this momentous day, comrades, we can say that we have some achievements to report in honoring Lenin's memory. For the first time in the history of world civilization, 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.

Soviet society today is a society with a powerful socialist industry and a developed agriculture. Comparison is the best way to realize the scale of the modern economy. Today our industry takes five days to turn out as much as 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 that before the Revolution. Ten figures will no longer suffice to express its value: it now has a value in excess of a thousand thousand million rubles. Behind these figures lie the heroic labor of Soviet people, the construction of thousands of enterprises, and the development of new natural resources and economic areas.

Soviet society today is one of friendship and co-operation of all classes and social groups, of all nations and nationalities, of all generations; it is socialist democracy, which actually assures the working people of participation in the administration of all affairs of state and society; it is advanced socialist science and culture which belong to the broadest masses 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 labor. 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 living conditions 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, this is essentially one of the basic distinctions between our system and capital-

ism, where 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 possibility 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 that we have, everything that we live by and take pride in—all this is the result of the struggle and labor effort of our working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, of the whole Soviet people.

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 to build socialism and communism. It is the working class, above all, that has labored to create all the country's industrial and defense 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 organized class, continues to play the leading role in our society.

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.

The collective-farm peasantry is a reliable ally of the working class in struggle and in labor. 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 little world of individualism. Collective labor on socialized land has transformed the everyday life and the 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.

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 been and remains a solid foundation of our system, and a pledge of fresh victories on the way to communism!

Lenin's prediction of the 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, its knowledge and its victorious Leninist baton. The Party is quite sure that Soviet youth and its vanguard, the Leninist Kom-somol, in whose ranks more than 100 million Soviet people have already had their political schooling, will bring glory to their country by fresh remarkable achievements.

The Soviet people have behind them 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.

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 Program 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, 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 regularities of socialist development discovered by Lenin. That is why Lenin continues to be a living participant in our endeavor, and our sage and reliable teacher.

Just as every building is started from its foundations, so the creation of the material and technical basis comes to the fore in the gigantic and multi-plane effort of communist construction.

The more than half a century of experience in socialist economic endeavor 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 be rid of every care. 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 fast 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 organization and administration that will accord with 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, beginning from those of March and September of 1965 and ending with 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 of development of the Soviet economy over a considerable period ahead.

We strive to take the Leninist approach to this great undertaking, by 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 the productivity of labor in every sphere. Lenin pointed to the decisive importance of this aspect of our endeavor in the early years of Soviet power. Today, with the level of socialist economic development we have achieved, we have real possibilities

of ensuring rapid economic growth primarily by intensifying development in every branch.

The most important thing that this requires is acceleration of scientific and technical progress. That is what Lenin taught us. His entire activity in directing economic construction was oriented on achieving 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 dictates the need further to raise the level and efficiency of scientific research, and to make rapid use of scientific and technical achievements in the national economy.

The task of improving the organization of labor and the style of work of all those taking part in social production has also become quite pressing. The main thing here is to set oneself higher demands.

Exceptional importance now attaches to the correct organization of planning. There is no doubt, 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 the methods of planning, and to enhance the scientific-technical and economic validity of current and long-term plans.

May I give a reminder of this call of Lenin's: "Do not be afraid of long-term plans." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 511). 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 the 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 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.

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 program for

the country's development over a long term. There is no doubt that this approach to planning will help to accelerate our advance to communism.

Comrades, Lenin saw the construction of a communist economy not only as the concern of economic leaders, and the organizers 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." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 288.) Accordingly, the Party's course is directed towards ensuring the further extension of the working people's participation in running industrial enterprises, and state and collective farms, in working for the greater efficiency of production and higher labor productivity, for the fullest use of available facilities and for higher labor discipline.

The Leninist slogan of stringent economy is not a temporary one, but is 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 gram of raw materials and fuel, every machine component, every hard-earned kopek.

In response to the Party's call, and with the active participation of the trade unions and other social organizations, a countrywide popular movement has now been started to improve the use of reserves in production and to tighten the regime of economies in the national economy. The initiatives displayed by 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 truly aware of being masters of their own country, and that they show a personal concern for the interests of production and for the preservation and multiplication of the national wealth. 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!

It is well known that for our society the solution 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 favorable 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 the categories 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 develops

and culture grows. Lenin put this very aptly. 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 516.)

The task today is not only to raise further the remuneration for labor but also to expand production of the goods the population needs, to improve the quality of the services, further to continue extensive housing construction, and to take fresh measures aimed at protecting 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 labor, 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. The living standard of the Soviet people depends on their effort. 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 advancing towards gradual overcoming of the distinctions between classes and social groups, for which it is necessary, Lenin emphasized, "to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.) 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 bring closer together the character of the labor 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 obliteration 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 moving towards gradually overcoming the distinction between workers by hand and workers by brain. This requires many more steps forward in the development of the economy and culture, improvement of the conditions and change in the character of labor, and further enhancement of the cultural and professional-technical level of the whole people.

Lenin said that anyone who undertakes the great endeavor 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." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 289-90.) We have already done much in the sphere of public education. Almost 80 million, that is, a third of the population, are 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 in college will move into production, into science and culture. 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 was 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 program for a socialist solution of the national question. This program has been implemented. The triumph of Lenin's national policy, the Soviet Union's solution of the national question—one of the most acute, the most difficult questions of social life—is of tremendous importance, and a major stride forward in mankind's social development.

Communist construction in our multinational country implies the consistent pursuit of a line to bring the nations together in every way, and to consolidate their cooperation and mutual assistance. The way to this is further development of the economy and culture in all our Republics, improvement of mutual exchanges of accomplishments in material and spiritual culture and, of course, persistent efforts 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 narrow 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." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 347.) The multinational Soviet state, founded by Lenin, is this whole and this general. Lenin's precept was that we should protect as the apple of our eye the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This great precept of Lenin's is being faithfully fulfilled by the Party and the people.

The Soviet socialist state of the whole people is our main instrument in building communism. That is why there is need constantly to strengthen this state and to improve the whole system of social administration.

Lenin held the possibility of involving the working people in the day-to-day administration of the state to be the greatest advantage of socialism. He set the task of teaching "the people the art of administration" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 426). For that purpose we are working and shall continue to work to enhance the role of the Soviets, of the social organizations 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144). Nor can this be otherwise. The Party is working steadily and purposefully to develop socialist democracy, which serves above all as a means of enlisting millions of working people in the process of conscious historical creative effort and in 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 the questions of social life, combatting any departures from the rules and principles of socialist community living, criticizing shortcomings and taking an active part in eliminating them. To enable Soviet citizens to have the fullest enjoyment of their rights, the Party has shown day-to-day concern in improving the forms of popular representation and people's control over the activity of the organs of power and administration.

The broad rights held out by socialist democracy to the working people in various spheres of social life are organically combined with their civil 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 have the "development of democracy" which is being strongly urged upon us by bourgeois ideologists and their Right-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. We shall safeguard and preserve, develop and improve these traditions.

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 "humanization," we repeat with pride Lenin's words about proletarian, socialist democracy being a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy. 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.

Following Lenin's path, the Soviet people have created a new, socialist way of life, a new socialist civilization.

The creative power of socialism, the mobilizing power of Lenin's ideas was clearly manifested in the period of preparation for the Lenin centenary. The emulation to fulfil the five-year plan ahead of schedule, which was started to mark the Lenin anniversary, has become a true emulation of the whole people.

The labor enthusiasm of the people reached its peak in the All-Union Lenin Subbotnik of April 11, which was an unforgettable nationwide festival of inspired labor. 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 take note of the high level of organization and activity displayed by all the working people during the All-Union Communist Subbotnik on April 11, and express their deep and whole-hearted gratitude to all its participants for their patriotic, selfless and gratuitous labor effort for the benefit of our socialist country.

It would be impossible to list the labor 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 organizations that distinguished themselves in the emulation movement were awarded Lenin centenary diplomas. In honor 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 Valor." 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 receipt of these high decorations and express the confidence that they will always be in the forefront of the builders of communism.

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. Honor and glory to them and I wish them further outstanding achievements in promoting the economy, science, technology and culture of our great socialist Motherland.

3. COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION— PARTY OF LENIN

Comrades, our great Party, under whose leadership the Soviet people won historic victories, was created by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He taught the Party to serve the working people with unbounded devotion. He put into 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 organizing the new system, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working and exploited people in organizing their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie.” (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 404).

When we re-register the Party membership, the No. 1 Party card is always made out in the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. This is not simply a symbol. The great energy of Lenin’s mind and the throb 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 source from which we draw confidence in our strength and our courage, optimism and will for victory.

Born as the Party of the proletariat, with the triumph of socialism and leaning as always on the support of the working class, the CPSU became the vanguard of the whole Soviet people. Today approximately one in every eleven citizens of the USSR of the age of 18 and 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 six 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 coordinate 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 organizing 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. As 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 opportunely taking note of emerging 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 road of communist construction, setting the people tasks that have to be carried out and inspiring them to perform creative feats of labor.

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 Programs. 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 unflaggingly upheld by Lenin. Its strength lies in its unbreakable bond with the working class, with the popular masses, whose collective leader and organizer 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 to the people and high principles. During Lenin's lifetime and after his death the Party courageously and openly criticized, 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, with its 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." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 275).

Lenin attached immense significance to developing the political awareness of the masses, which, he wrote, remains "the basis and chief content of our work." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 178). In line with Lenin's precept 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 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 342). If anything, 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. It was by no means the goodness of life that taught them this. The material from which this garb is sewn is much too flimsy. The attempts to slander socialism, to besmirch the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government and, at the same time, rehabilitate capitalism and embellish the facade of its ramshackle edifice fail the test of time.

Nonetheless, the danger of bourgeois ideology and revisionism must on no account be underestimated. Experience shows that the poison 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 important role. 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.

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 Party safeguards and tirelessly strengthens its political, organizational and ideological unity. Conversely, any belittlement 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 com-

munism 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..." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 304). The program 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.

Lenin used to say that the Communist Party is the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch. In commemorating the centenary 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.

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 unblazed trails and make our country—the birthplace of socialism—the birthplace of communism, the most humane of social systems.

III. .

LENINISM AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Comrades, the period of history that started after the October Revolution was characterized by Lenin as the transition from capitalism to socialism. Lenin was unshakably convinced that the worldwide triumph of socialism was 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160). 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 159).

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 trends of development are such as was foreseen by Lenin. However many of the components of the contemporary world differ from each other, each of them is moving towards communism, and will ultimately arrive at communism!

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 has been accomplished in a number of countries of Europe and Asia and then spread to the Western Hemisphere as well, triumphing in Cuba.

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 broad popular masses into account.

Historically, as you all know, matters developed 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 popular masses of 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, of a society without exploitation, without oppression and oppressors, of 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 Communists, from the great and lofty aims of their struggle. The founder of these principles was Lenin, who formulated the foundations of socialist foreign policy after the October Revolution.

Lenin always regarded 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 163). 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 friendship and alliance with the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies so as to fight international imperialism together with them.

Lenin oriented the Soviet state on a consistent policy of peace in defense 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 signed personally by Lenin was the historical Decree on Peace. It was Lenin who advanced the proposition on "peaceful co-habitation" or, as we now call it, peaceful co-existence 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 program of 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. Fixed in 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 will continue doing 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.

—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.

—Realistically-minded circles in the bourgeois countries, circles that really recognize the principles of peaceful co-existence, may be confident that in the Soviet Union they will have a partner prepared to promote mutually beneficial cooperation.

—We shall continue our active efforts to halt the arms race, which is ruinous to the peoples, to secure disarmament and to get outstanding issues settled on a reasonable foundation, by negotiations.

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. This is a powerful weapon and we shall make the utmost use of it in our struggle for peace and communism.

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.

Mankind's greatest blessing is the fact that the united might of the socialist countries and their active policy in defense of peace fetter the aggressive ambitions of the imperialists and create the decisive obstacles to the unleashing of a world rocket-nuclear war by the aggressors. This result of the policy pursued by the socialist countries benefits the whole of mankind.

Where the imperialists nonetheless take the road of military adventures against one socialist country or another or have recourse to "quiet" counter-revolution they feel the strength and solidarity of the socialist states.

Comrades, look what is happening to the U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the people of South Vietnam. No social system save socialism could have given the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people such a scale, organization, staunchness and tenacity. No political force save the Marxist-Leninist Party could have armed the embattled 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 U.S. adventure in Vietnam is suffering failure. The feat of Vietnam will go down in history. Honor and glory to the heroic Vietnamese people!

Similarly instructive is the failure of the anti-socialist conspiracy in Czechoslovakia. This was a widely-conceived, demagoguescreened attempt of the remnants of the former exploiting classes in alliance with the Right opportunists and with the support of world imperialism to destroy the foundations of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia, to 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 on the European continent. 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.

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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

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 approach to the solution of some problems of socialist construction have given rise to a number of specific features in the development of individual socialist countries. However, these are specific 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 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 the work of Lenin.

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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 38). The main thing is that the road to socialism and the system itself are characterized, as is emphasized 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 break-up 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 socialization of the means of production and the consolidation of socialist relations of production and other social relations in town and countryside; the bringing of the values of culture within the reach of the broad 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 the 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 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 popular masses of the whole 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 Document the exceedingly important proposition: "The defense of socialism is the internationalist duty of Communists."

Comrades, the task of *strengthening the unity and promoting comprehensive 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 fruit of the nationalistic policy of the Chinese leadership and the result of 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."

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 the 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 broad 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 will continue to work actively and consistently in this direction in a Leninist way.

Lenin tirelessly emphasized the vital importance of unity, the need for close and all-sided fraternal cooperation among peoples who have taken the road of socialism. We, Soviet Communists, are true to Lenin's behests. We are doing, and shall continue to do, everything in our power to promote political and economic cooperation among socialist states and their ideological unity.

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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 325). To this day we regard these words as a sacred behest to all contingents of the socialist front fighting imperialism in the Leninist way. Remembering these words, we shall bend every effort to make the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the military alliance of the socialist countries, still more powerful and to strengthen the joint defense capability of the socialist states.

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 verdict against the forces of reaction, oppression and aggression, as a mighty bulwark of all the 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.

2. LENINISM—VICTORIOUS BANNER OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF PEOPLES

When Lenin analyzed the new phenomena in capitalist society he defined not only the cardinal features of imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism but also the direction of its development. Bourgeois society, he pointed out, is moving "from monopoly to étatisation," 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, whose dimensions continue to grow. 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 characterization 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 crimes like 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 into 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 im-

perialism 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 especially 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. . . . Civilization, freedom and wealth under capitalism call to mind the rich glutton who is rotting alive but will not let what is young live on" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 389). 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 harbored 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 program 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 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 tell-

ing blows in the principal centers 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 indicators 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. And the bourgeoisie is feeling this in a most tangible manner.

The blows being struck at imperialism by the popular 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 steep 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 programs of struggle for democracy on the basis of which the popular masses can be rallied around the working class and led to the next stage, namely, the struggle for socialism. This strategy fully conforms to the considerations formulated 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 can lead to the creation of a revolutionary-democratic state in which the foundations of big capitalist rule 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 360).

But whatever stages of transition the revolutionary masses will have to go through and whatever intermediate programs 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. Communists are what they are because they subordinate their entire struggle to this main, end goal. For the sake of this goal they rally around 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 exhortation 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 popular 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 is doomed by history.

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 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482).

That is exactly what is happening today.

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 organizing 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 on Cyprus, the plots 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 U.S. imperialist circles backing them 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. One can confidently say that the cause of the imperialists is doomed and that the cause of the freedom of peoples is unconquerable!

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 capi-

talists in the main completed, the former colonial world has entered a new stage: *the struggle no longer solely for national but also—and that is now the main thing—for social liberation is today becoming more and more clearly pronounced.* The young countries are looking for ways of development without capitalism, without capitalist 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 human psychology and set up a new administrative apparatus relying on the support of the popular 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 an active political struggle. This alliance has now become a reality.

As regards the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, they sacredly fulfil Lenin's behest that the utmost support should be rendered to the liberation movement of the peoples.

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 a 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!

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 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 Marxist-Leninists. From generation to generation their names will be handed down as an example of real heroism, as a symbol of unshakeable belief that a bright future lies before mankind. Honor and glory to the heroes of the communist movement, the Prometheuses of our epoch!

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 criticize them openly so as to remedy them the more speedily and radically" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 185). True to this behest of the leader, we cannot but say today that certain weaknesses and difficulties, which have disrupted its unity in a number of links and which prevent Communists from making full use of the possibilities of the revolutionary struggle, have manifested themselves in the communist movement over the past few years. 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. Lenin emphasized that "the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 302).

Imperialist ideologists and politicians have stated intensive subversive activities against the Communists. They are using every possible means and method to weaken the unity of the communist front and to 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 cooperation among them on a worldwide scale. All this demands the unity of the 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 Marxist-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 score new victories. Under the banner of Leninism we shall secure the complete triumph of our just cause.

* * *

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 achievement" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 72) 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 unbound-

ed 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 coming 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 381). And since 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.

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, Marxist-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 of social life on a foundation that differs fundamentally from capitalism. This means uprooting the habits and traditions formed in the course of the millenia 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 won liberation from the yoke of capitalism. It is founded on the experience of 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 fulfilling the program 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. 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.

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 the communist civilization. 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" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 192). We Communists will certainly go further. We shall strive for something bigger. And no matter how difficult the tasks that confront and will confront us may be, we shall carry them out. The world Lenin dreamed of will be built!

Long live the Soviet people, builder of communism!

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

May the world revolutionary movement grow broader and advance from victory to victory!

Long live the all-conquering strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism!

Lenin lived, he lives, he will go on living!

CONCLUDING SPEECH

BY A. N. KOSYGIN

POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBER, CC CPSU, AND CHAIRMAN,
USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Dear Comrades and Friends,
Esteemed Foreign Guests,

Our meeting, dedicated to the hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, brilliant thinker and great revolutionary, leader of the working class and other working people of all countries, is drawing to a close.

The commemoration of the Lenin centenary became a magnificent demonstration of the triumph of Lenin's cause, of the deep vitality of his ideas and behests.

In the atmosphere of nationwide enthusiasm, of a great holiday, the indestructible unity of Party and people and the Soviet people's boundless love for their teacher and leader, their loyalty to Lenin's ideas and cause, manifested themselves with particular force.

On every continent working people, whatever the nation or race they belong to, turn to Lenin's ideas and deeds as they fight for a happy future. This is a vivid indication of the immense impact of Lenin's ideas on social development in the world.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, revealed in his speech the sources of the great revolutionizing force of Lenin's teachings. He assessed the historic victories achieved by the Soviet people and the international Communist and working-class movement under Lenin's banner and emphasized the urgent tasks of the present stage of the struggle for socialism, peace, democracy and social progress.

In this hall we heard with keen attention spokesmen of the working people of our country—its heroic working class, its glorious collective-farm peasantry, its intelligentsia, veterans of the Lenin guard and young builders of communism, representatives of the Armed Forces of our country. It was a rousing vow of allegiance to Leninism by generations of Soviet people. They spoke proudly of the historic gains of the Land of Soviets, of the fulfilment of Lenin's behests, of the tremendous victories achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party, which is confidently leading our country along the road charted by Lenin.

The Lenin centenary aroused tremendous enthusiasm among the people and was marked by new achievements in labor. This meeting

has been receiving numerous messages of greeting in which workers, collective farmers, scientists and other working people of the Soviet Union report on their gains in the socialist competition dedicated to the centenary.

Allow me, comrades, to express deep gratitude to the working people, to all Soviet men and women, for their devoted efforts and to wish them new big achievements.

The stirring speeches made here by messengers of the Communist parties of socialist countries and by representatives of the Communist parties leading the fight against monopoly capitalist oppression and speeches by prominent leaders of the national liberation movement of Asia, Africa and Latin America forcefully vindicate the idea of the great creative role of Lenin's teachings and the effect of Lenin's ideas on the peoples' fight for freedom, independence and social progress.

Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, the Soviet government and all our people to express deep gratitude to our dear guests for their kind words and friendly wishes for further success to our Party and people.

We greatly appreciate the messages of greeting and good wishes sent us by various organizations and individuals on the occasion of the Lenin centenary.

The most remarkable aspect of the speeches made at this meeting was that all social development in the present epoch, when the system based on exploitation is being destroyed and a new world is being built in the interests of all working people is inseparably associated with Lenin's name and teachings.

Lenin, that titan of scientific thought and revolutionary action, revealed the perspective of far-reaching social change in modern society and provided an unsurpassed model of courage, determination and revolutionary creativity.

All the historic accomplishments of our age—the October Revolution and socialist development in the USSR, the formation of the world socialist system, the collapse of colonialism and the liberation of oppressed nations—are linked with Lenin's name and his immortal teachings.

Lenin is the banner under which mankind is winning its freedom from oppression, building a new world and establishing the international fraternity of the working people.

Lenin and Leninism paved the way for genuine social progress in every field.

The victorious teachings of Lenin are the great force moulding the new man—champion of social progress and communist ideals. In calling for communist education of the working people, Lenin

devoted special attention to the education of youth. The rise of the Leninist Komsomol, vanguard of the Soviet youth, is directly linked with Lenin's name. "... In a certain sense," Lenin said, "it may be said that it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society."

Leninism is a creative, developing and ever-living doctrine. It equips us with a scientific methodology enabling us to know the most intricate social phenomena and processes. What makes Lenin's teachings so creative is that they are projected into the future, that they call us onwards and give us a historical perspective. All our life, present and future alike, is illuminated by Lenin's ideas. This is why Lenin's image and ideas are immortal. They will live on through the ages.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state and the Soviet people will do all in their power to fulfil the great Lenin's behests. To be a Leninist and to work in a Leninist spirit is not only a great privilege but a great duty, an obligation to follow Lenin's behests in one's entire political practice, to act in accordance with the principles developed by him.

To work in a Leninist spirit means creatively solving the problems posed by life, stepping up the struggle for communism, making maximum use of the advantages of the socialist system, of the fruits and achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, raising the efficiency of production to the utmost, steadily improving the people's standard of living and educating the new man.

To work in a Leninist spirit means strengthening the anti-imperialist unity and cohesion of all the revolutionary and liberation forces of our time, above all the cohesion of the socialist countries, which constitute the main contingent of the world revolutionary process.

To work in a Leninist spirit means continuously strengthening the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and doing everything to foster internationalist relations between parties and peoples.

To work in a Leninist spirit means fighting steadfastly and consistently for peace, safeguarding peace with a firm hand, aiding the peoples against imperialist aggression and upholding the cause of social progress and national independence.

Great ideas generate great energy. Marxism-Leninism has equipped us with great ideas to transform society. It has given us the ideals of communism. It has aroused great enthusiasm among the masses and stimulates their creative effort.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

May the name and work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin live on through the ages!

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