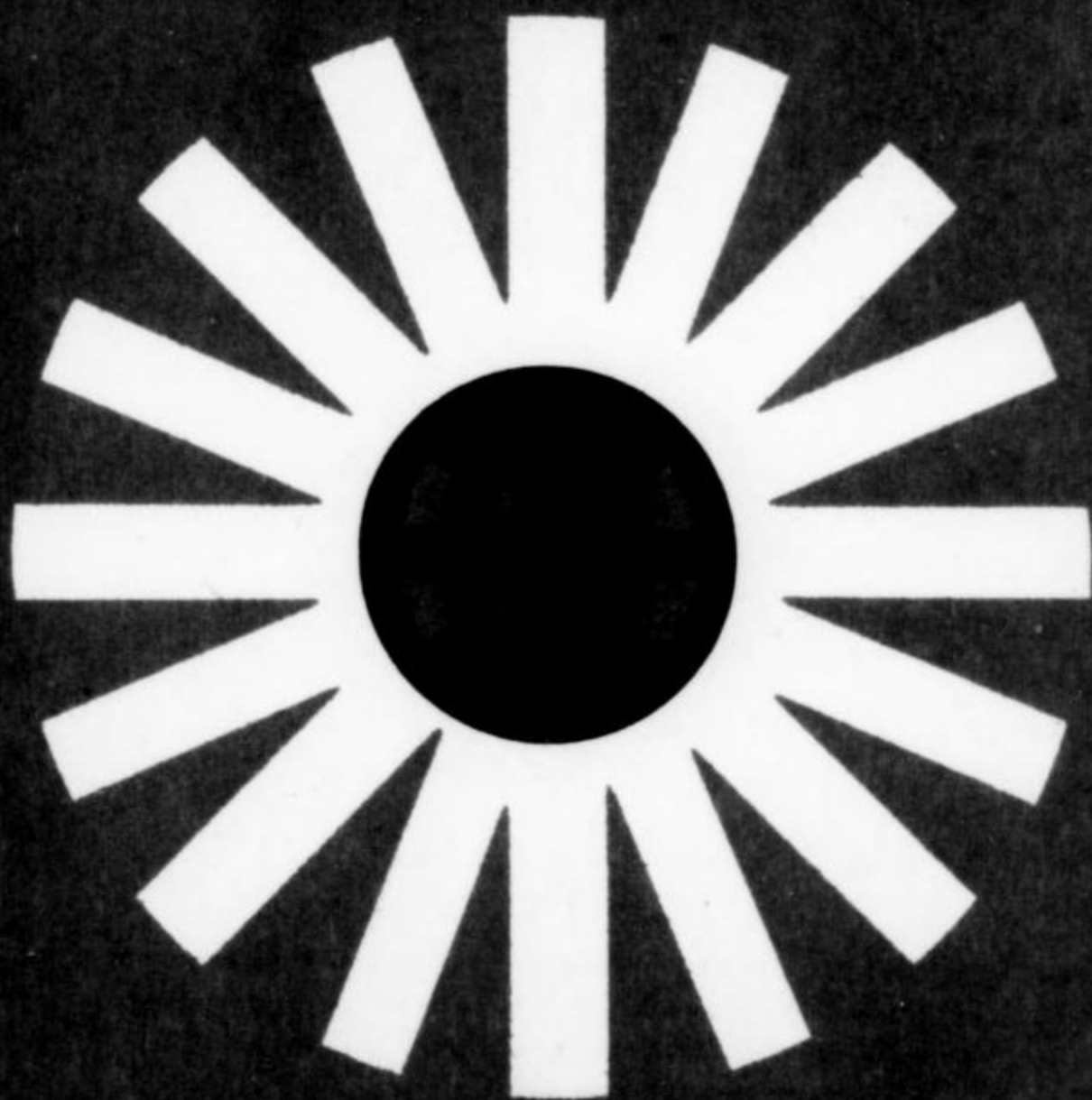




information bulletin — 14-15 (198-199) Vol. 9

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

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Published as a Supplement to **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**,
North American edition of the journal **PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM** by

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 ADELAIDE ST. WEST, TORONTO 2B, ONTARIO, CANADA

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PRINTED IN CANADA
AUGUST 27, 1971



16th CONGRESS OF MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The 16th Congress of the MPRP was held in Ulan Bator on June 7-11.

The Congress was attended by 784 delegates (737 delegates with full vote and 47 delegates with consultative vote). The delegates represented 58,000 full and candidate members of the MPRP. A total of 644 delegates (82.1 per cent) attended Party Congress for the first time. Three delegates were absent for valid reasons.

The delegates represented the working class, the cooperative arats, the intelligentsia of the MPR. They included 205 industrial workers and employees, construction, transport and communications workers; 216 agricultural workers, 86 scientists and workers in education, medicine and the arts. Among the delegates were 123 Party workers, including 50 secretaries of primary Party organizations and cells. Almost 60 per cent of the delegates had a higher, incomplete higher or specialized secondary education; 619 delegates joined the MPRP after 1945; 5.1 per cent of the delegates were under 30 years of age, 23.3 per cent were over 51. There were 168 women delegates. The national composition of the delegates reflected the equal and active participation of the entire population in the life of the MPR: 610 Khalkhas, 39 Kazakhs, 30 Buryats and 105 representatives of other nationalities.

The Congress was opened by Party veteran Zh. Sambu, member of the Politbureau, CC MPRP and Chairman of the Presidium of the Grand People's Khural of the MPR.

The delegations and representatives of 50 Communist, Workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties and the journal *World Marxist Review* attended the Congress at the invitation of the CC MPRP. The guests were warmly welcomed by Politbureau member and Secretary of the CC MPRP, D. Molomzhamts.

After elections to the Presidium, Secretariat, Editing and Credentials commissions, the following agenda was adopted unanimously.

1. Report of the CC MPRP by Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers.
2. Approval of the Directives of the 16th Congress on the five-year economic development plan for 1971-1975.
3. Report of the Central Auditing Commission (CCC) by CAC Chairman Ch. Shanhu.
4. Elections to central Party organs.

Over 30 delegates took the floor in the debates on the reports.

A unanimously adopted resolution on the Central Committee report fully approved the political line and practical activities of the CC MPRP, expressed complete agreement with the appraisals, conclusions and tasks set out in the report and enjoined all Party organizations to apply them in their activities.

The Congress approved the Directives on the five-year economic and cultural development plan of the MPR for 1971-1975 and instructed the CC MPRP and the Council of Ministers to prepare a draft five-year plan taking into account the proposals made at the Congress and during the nationwide discussion. The draft plan will then be submitted for discussion and approval by the Grand National Assembly.

The Congress approved the report of the MPRP Central Auditing Commission.

The Congress resolved to make some changes and amendments in the Party Rules, in particular that MPRP Congresses will be convened once every five years. Meetings to hear reports of primary Party organizations will be held annually and elections once every two years.

The Congress unanimously approved statements in support of the struggle of the peoples of Indochina and the Arab Peoples.

The delegates unanimously elected a new Party Central Committee of 83 full and 55 candidate members and also the Central Auditing Commission of 21 members.

The new Central Committee met in plenum on June 11 and unanimously elected Ts. Dugersuren, N. Zhagvaral, S. Luvsan, D. Mairdar, D. Molomzhamts, Y. Tsedenbal and Zh. Sambu to the CC Politbureau.

N. Luvsanravdan and B. Lhamsuren were elected Politbureau candidate members.

Y. Tsedenbal was elected First Secretary of the CC and the following were elected CC secretaries: Ts. Dugersuren, N. Zhagvaral, D. Molomzhamts and B. Lhamsuren.

N. Luvsanravdan was appointed Chairman of the CC MPRP Party Control Committee.

O. Niamu was elected Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

In his closing speech, First Secretary Y. Tsedenbal said that the Congress was held in a spirit of complete unity and solidarity of the Mongolian Communists, a principled and business-like approach to the problems of the country's internal development, in a spirit of unshakable fidelity to the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Fulfilment of the decisions of the 16th MPRP Congress will bring new victories for our working people in the struggle to build socialism in the MPR.

Participation in the work of the supreme forum of Mongolian Communists by our brothers and sisters in the common struggle, Y. Tsedenbal said, strengthened still more the spirit of fraternal solidarity and unity which permeated the work of the Congress. The moving speeches heard at the Congress from the representatives of the more than 50 Communist, Workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties were a vivid demonstration of the unity of our aims and interests in the common struggle for the working-class cause, for the triumph of the ideals of socialism and communism, for the victory of the just cause of all anti-imperialist forces.

Y. Tsedenbal warmly praised the speech by A. P. Kirilenko, head of the CPSU delegation, member of the CC CPSU Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU. On behalf of the delegates, all Communists and working people of Mongolia, Y. Tsedenbal expressed sincere gratitude to the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet government and the heroic Soviet people for their profound concern and support, fraternal friendship and solidarity, for the selfless and all-round aid in all spheres of the life of society.

"We assure the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties of the world," the speaker continued, "that the MPRP, true to the ideas and behests of the great Lenin and the fearless Sukhe Bator, will continue to help consolidate the international positions of socialism, strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement and all revolutionary forces in the struggle against aggressive imperialist plottings."

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MPRP TO THE 16th CONGRESS OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

**DELIVERED BY COMRADE YUMZHAGIIN TSEDENBAL,
FIRST SECRETARY, CC MPRP**

The 16th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is beginning its work on the threshold of the glorious 50th anniversary of the People's Revolution which brought the Mongolian people national and social liberation. It is with joy and optimism, in the spirit of political and labor enthusiasm that the working

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peoples of the MPR are honoring the Congress of the Party and the 50th anniversary of the People's Revolution with new successes in their peaceful creative work for the further flourishing of their socialist Motherland.

Exactly five years have passed since the 15th Congress of the Party which had adopted the Fourth Program of the MPRP—the program of completing socialist construction in our country. The Mongolian people implementing the decisions of the previous congress of the Party attained big successes in economic and cultural construction, in improving their standard of life. The working people of our country have fulfilled the main targets of the Fourth Five-Year Plan of national economic and cultural development of the MPR for 1966-1970. Thereby another important stride forward has been made for the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism in the MPR.

The period since the 15th Congress was filled with important international events, too. The most salient by its significance was the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which ushered in a new era of world history and the birth centenary of V. I. Lenin, the greatest thinker of our epoch, the great leader of the working people of the world. The celebration of these historical events of worldwide importance in the MPR was a vivid demonstration of the unshakable loyalty of Communists and all Mongolian working people to Lenin's immortal teaching, to the principles of proletarian internationalism and the unbreakable Mongolian-Soviet friendship.

The Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, and the historical 24th Congress of the CPSU, owing to their tremendous importance in the struggle for the unity of action of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism, were outstanding events in the life of the Communists and the people of all countries.

Our party, with its background of 50 years of struggle and victories, has come to its Congress more solidly united and monolithic, confident of its strength and the correctness of its political line centered on the complete victory of socialism on Mongolian soil.

Y. Tsedenbal devoted a considerable part of his report to the work of the MPRP in the sphere of foreign policy.

The recent five years, he said, were marked by further consolidation of the MPR's external positions, by the growth of our country's prestige on the world arena, by its more active participation in international affairs.

The Central Committee of the Party, as formerly, has been firmly and consistently adhering to the policy of utmost strengthening of the MPR's alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union

and the other socialist countries, the consolidation of the international positions and the unity of action of the countries of the socialist camp. This undeviating line of our foreign policy is fully in keeping with the fundamental interests of the MPR and has full support of the entire Mongolian people.

It gives us profound satisfaction to point out that since the 15th Congress of the Party the bonds of traditional, unbreakable friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet people have become still stronger, the all-round cooperation between the MPR and the USSR has become broader and deeper. The international contacts between the MPRP and the great Leninist party—the CPSU, the tested vanguard of the world communist movement—have been further developed.

Looking back on the path traversed by us in 50 years, we may say proudly that our joint struggle of many years to build a new society, the community of objectives, ideals and fundamental interests have forever welded together the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and made them real brothers.

Mongolian-Soviet friendship born at the dawn of the People's Revolution has become the firm guarantee of our successes in all walks of life, the most important factor of the MPR's accelerated advance along the road of completing socialist construction.

The Communists and the working people of the MPR have responded warmly to the words of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, at the 24th Congress of Soviet Communists about the strong and time-tested Mongolian-Soviet friendship which has been developing and growing stronger for half a century.

Mongolian-Soviet relations may be described in the following way; our friendship with the Soviet Union is socialist internationalism in action. It is fully reflected in our daily life, in the successes and achievements of the Mongolian people, in the development and further deepening of Mongolian-Soviet cooperation which, enriched with new experience and new forms, is yielding fine fruit.

The 1966 visit to the MPR of the Party and Government delegation of the Soviet Union led by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev made a bright page in the history of Mongolian-Soviet friendship. The new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the MPR and the USSR was signed during that historic visit, and it provides the political and legal foundation of the unbreakable alliance and fraternity of Soviet and Mongolian peoples.

The official friendly visit made to our country by Comrade N. V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in 1969 and also the visit to the Soviet Union of a Party and Government delegation from the Mongolian People's Republic in October 1970 were of great importance for further strengthening and deepening of the friendship and cooperation between our

countries. As a result of the talks held in Moscow last year, the main trends of economic cooperation for the nearest future were defined and concrete measures facilitating further consolidation of the material and technical foundation of our national economy were outlined.

The truly internationalist assistance rendered by the Soviet Union for the growth of the productive forces of the MPR, for the upswing of the living standards and the cultural level of the Mongolian people is steadily developing. Industrial complexes, farming and cultural projects and amenities were built in different parts of our country during the past five-year plan thanks to the technical and economic assistance of the Soviet Union and with the direct participation of Soviet workers and specialists. In accordance with the tasks of strengthening the entire socialist camp, the Soviet Union is also rendering invaluable assistance by increasing the defense capacity of the MPR.

Soviet specialized building organizations are working in the MPR where they are building industrial, farming and other projects in different parts of the country. We note with profound gratitude that Soviet building organizations are completing the construction and are putting into operation important cultural projects and amenities in Ulan Bator, the capital of the MPR, and in eight aimaks as a gift of the Soviet Union to the Mongolian people on the occasion of the coming 50th anniversary of the People's Revolution. This anniversary gift symbolizes the ever-growing friendship and fraternal cooperation of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples who, for 50 years have been marching together in the struggle for a happy future.

On behalf of the Congress the First Secretary of the CC MPRP expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Government and the fraternal peoples of the USSR for their continuous and sincere assistance to socialist construction in our country, for friendship, fraternity and internationalist solidarity with the Mongolian people.

Our Party sees its duty in tirelessly strengthening the militant alliance and Leninist friendship with the heroic Soviet people—the builders of communism.

The Soviet Union, which is paving for mankind the road to communism, stands as an unbreakable bulwark of socialism, as a guarantee of peaceful construction and universal security.

The magnificent successes of the Soviet people in communist construction, their outstanding scientific and technical achievements, multiply the might of the whole socialist community and are a great source of inspiration for the world revolutionary process.

The recent 24th Congress of the CPSU the entire work of which comprises a new contribution to the development of Marxism-

Leninism is an important landmark in the Soviet peoples' victorious march to communism. It is also a great history-making event in the life of all countries of the socialist camp, in the life of the multi-million army of Communists of the world, in the life of all the peoples of our planet. The report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other documents of the Congress summarize the rich experience of communist construction in the Soviet Union and outline the magnificent prospects of the further dynamic development of Soviet society.

The Communists and the working people of the MPR have welcomed with profound appreciation the magnificent program of communist construction in the Soviet Union mapped by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Our Party warmly welcomes and fully supports the constructive plan of ensuring peace and international security worked out by the Congress of Lenin's Party and which fully meets the vital interests of the peoples of all the countries of the world.

Mongolian Communists are confident that the successful implementation of the great targets set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU for the Ninth Five-Year Plan of economic development of the USSR in 1971-1975, will lead to an unprecedented growth of strength and might of the land of the Soviets, to the further strengthening of the position of the world socialist camp, to further changes in the world alignment of forces in favor of socialism. An earnest of this is the constructive genius of the Soviet people, the wisdom of its militant vanguard—the CPSU, their infinite dedication to the immortal ideas and behests of great Lenin.

New testimony to the Soviet people's creative genius was the launching of the Soyuz 11 spaceship with its crew of stalwart Soviet cosmonauts. Allow me to sincerely hail this outstanding event taking place at the very time our congress is meeting.

In its international work the Party attaches great importance to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the other socialist countries, with the Communist and Workers' parties of these countries.

The MPR is linked by close and diversified cooperation with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. During the period under review, there has been further development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Y. Tsedenbal spoke in detail of the development of cooperation between the MPR and the fraternal socialist countries within the

framework of CMEA, noting that alongside the Soviet Union, concrete assistance in the development of individual branches of the national economy and culture of the MPR has been given by the other CMEA member-countries.

The Mongolian People's Republic, he went on, is taking an active part in the work of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. This makes it possible for the Republic to increase the rate of the development of national economy by making the most of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor.

At present, in pooling efforts to solve problems of economic development, the CMEA member-countries are implementing the policy of socialist integration. The latter is to facilitate the overall improvement of the economic potential of the countries of socialism and ensuring operation of the law of equal economic development, as a result of which Lenin's idea of the real equality of nations in the economic and cultural development is achieved.

One of the main aspects of CMEA member countries' work in the field of socialist integration is the coordination of economic programs. The MPR's program of economic and cultural development for 1971-1975 has been successfully coordinated with the CMEA member-countries.

A big step towards the further deepening of cooperation of socialist countries belonging to the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance is the elaboration of an integrated program of the 23rd and 24th CMEA sessions.

The MPR is all for still greater participation in socialist economic integration, it is all for effective and mutually advantageous cooperation with the countries interested in the joint construction and operation of enterprises, in the joint development and use of natural riches, of the forest and other resources.

Our party and the MPR government view the strengthening of all-round cooperation with fraternal countries in the CMEA framework as one of the main aspects of its foreign economic work.

Y. Tsedenbal said that strong fraternal friendship and warm internationalist solidarity associate the Mongolian people with the heroic Vietnamese people waging a courageous struggle against imperialist aggressors.

The MPR welcomed ardently the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. We are profoundly confident that the just cause of the Vietnamese people who have the internationalist support of the great Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist camp, the support of all peaceful forces—will culminate in a complete victory.

Consolidating its friendship with the fraternal countries the MPR acts in the understanding that deeper and better cooperation among socialist countries fully meets the interests of world socialism—

the vanguard and core of all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces of our times.

As demonstrated by practice, socialist construction is a complicated and diversified process which can and does give rise to definite difficulties caused by internal and external circumstances. These difficulties and related problems are being successfully settled by Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of undeviating observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the strengthening of the internationalist solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries.

Mongolian Communists warmly welcome the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communists and all the working people of Poland who, having overcome their recent difficulties, are exerting great effort to ensure swift progress of their country.

The political crisis in 1968 when internal counterrevolutionary forces and their henchmen, backed by international reaction, had launched vicious attacks against the positions of socialism in Czechoslovakia with the purpose of restoring the capitalist system was a serious test of the strength of socialist foundations in fraternal Czechoslovakia.

We note with great satisfaction that the healthy forces of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of Czechoslovak society, leaning on the timely internationalist support of five Warsaw Treaty countries, were able to resolutely repulse the hostile forces and upheld the interests and the gains of their people.

As was stressed at the 14th Congress of the CPC, the events in Czechoslovakia showed that socialist construction is successful only when there is a steady strengthening of the leading role of the party of the working class, when there is a consolidation of its bonds with the working masses and their broad participation in the management of state affairs on the principles of the utmost development of friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The lessons of the events in Czechoslovakia corroborate that the socialist gains of the working people are inviolable, that the protection of socialism is a vital cause of all fraternal Communist parties, a common internationalist duty of the countries of world socialism.

In present-day conditions, when the aggressive policy of imperialism is spearheaded against the unity of the socialist states, it becomes particularly important to consolidate our ranks on the foundation of Marxist-Leninist principles, and to act as a single front in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Our principled policy of strengthening international friendship determines the MPR's position with regard to Mongolian-Chinese relations.

During the period under review, the MPR, as before, worked to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China which were seriously damaged through no fault of ours. We shall continue in the future to pursue the line of reinstating and developing the relations of friendly cooperation and good neighborhood with the People's Republic of China.

Our Party, the First Secretary of the CC MPRP said, perceives its task in tirelessly broadening and deepening all-round cooperation with the other countries of socialism, in developing and consolidating ideological and political relations with the Marxist-Leninist parties of these countries, in facilitating in every way the consolidation of unity and cohesion of the entire socialist community, in educating the working people of the MPR in a spirit of friendship and international solidarity with the fraternal peoples who are building socialism and communism.

The MPRP, the speaker continued, conducts a consistent policy of all-round support to the international workers and national-liberation movement of peoples, the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the consolidation and development of friendly relations with states which have embarked upon the road of independent development, it will continue to support the communists, the working class and all the working people of capitalist countries in their struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, against imperialism.

It should be stressed, Com. Tsedenbal said, that the friendly relations of the MPR with many Asian and African countries, including the Republic of India, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Ceylon and others, are developing successfully.

We note with profound satisfaction that today many states in Asia and Africa are following the path of non-capitalist development and are implementing progressive reforms in the social and economic life of their respective countries. The experience of the MPR convincingly proves the historical prospects of the non-capitalist road of development for the countries which have rid themselves of colonial domination.

Speaking of the revolutionary changes taking place in Latin American countries, Y. Tsedenbal noted, in particular, that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the MPR and the Republic of Chile in the beginning of June was a positive factor in the development of friendly cooperation between our two countries in the interests of the Mongolian and Chilean peoples.

The Mongolian People's Republic, Y. Tsedenbal said, loyal to the ideals of peace and equal cooperation of peoples, will continue to develop and broaden its friendly relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in the interests of supporting the

anti-imperialist struggle of these peoples, for the triumph of peace and social progress.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, a militant detachment of the great army of world Communists, tirelessly seeks the development of cooperation and international ties with the Communist and Workers' parties of different countries, for the consolidation of the unity of the ranks of the world communist movement. The fact that our party is maintaining close relations and contacts with more than 70 Communist and Workers' parties of the world shows the growth and the broadening of cooperation between the MPRP and other detachments of the communist movement.

The community of opinion and action, close fraternal cooperation and mutual support have always been and remain the norm and the distinguishing feature in the relations between the MPRP and the great party of Lenin—the CPSU, and the other Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries. The Communists and working people of Mongolia entertain feelings of particular respect and profound appreciation for the CPSU—the most tempered and experienced detachment of the world communist movement, which sets an example of unwavering loyalty to the great banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Our party also implements the line of broadening bilateral ties and contacts with Communist, left-socialist and revolutionary-democratic parties of other countries of the world, the line of greater solidarity and cooperation with them in the struggle for the unity of anti-imperialist forces.

In the last few years Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of our Party on many occasions considered questions pertaining to the participation of the MPRP in the general struggle for the unity and cohesion of the entire Communist movement, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against all types of deviations from this all-conquering teaching.

The speaker emphasized that the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the great leader and teacher of the working people of all countries, the founder of the CPSU and of the Soviet state, was of great importance for the consolidation of the unity of the Communist movement and for the cohesion of the ranks of all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces. The congresses of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties are a valuable contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, to the practical aspects of the construction of a new society and intensification of the struggle against all types of opportunism and revisionism. The historical 24th Congress of the CPSU and the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 14th Congress of the CPC, which were held since then, reaffirmed that the strength of Marxist-Leninist parties, the strength of the Communist movement lies in their boundless loyal-

ty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the great teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin.

The Moscow meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1969 was an outstanding event for the unity of the ranks of the Communist movement and the intensification of the people's anti-imperialist struggle.

The appraisals and the conclusions drawn by the Moscow meeting provide a program of action for Communist and Workers' parties, including the MPRP, in the struggle for the affirmation of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, against Right-wing and "Left"-wing opportunism in our movement, against bourgeois nationalism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Our party, sad Y. Tsedenbal, is waging a principled struggle against the anti-Marxist political line of the Chinese leaders. By their splitting actions the leaders of China are trying to divide the socialist countries, undermine and split the ranks of the Communist movement, disarm the working class and the working people of different countries in the face of rabid attacks launched by imperialist reactionaries. The course of the Chinese leaders, who have assumed bellicose nationalism and anti-Sovietism as their weapon, has resulted in China's breakaway from the socialist countries, in armed provocations against the USSR, country of Lenin. This policy radically contradicts the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, including the vital interests of the Chinese peoples themselves.

Our party, together with the fraternal parties, will continue to do everything to uphold by joint effort, the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, to protect and continuously defend the unity and cohesion of all fighters for the cause of the working class, against imperialism and its henchmen.

One of the main directions of the international work of the MPRP and the state, the speaker said, is utmost assistance to the people's struggle for peace and universal security against the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

The very fact, he said, that mankind has had no world war for more than a quarter of a century is the greatest achievement of our time, which became possible due to the titanic efforts of the great Soviet Union, the struggle of the peoples of the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces, in defense of peace and general security, against the danger of another world war.

Speaking from this rostrum, Y. Tsedenbal said, we resolutely denounce the criminal aggression of the U.S. imperialists against the peoples of Indochina. Our party considers that the only realistic way of achieving a rapid political settlement of the problems of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and establishing peace in South-

east Asia, is the immediate cessation of the disgraceful colonial war and the unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from the countries of that area.

The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian socialist country, is vitally interested in ensuring peace and security in Asia and in the Far East. It resolutely opposes the imperialist policy of perpetuating the division of Korea and stands for the peaceful, democratic unification of that country in the interests of the entire people of Korea, in the interests of peace in the Far East.

The peoples of Asia, he stressed, are well aware that the essence of U.S. policy in Asia, is, in the final analysis, to establish its rule in Asia.

The MPR, which repeatedly experienced encroachments of Japanese militarism in the past, is profoundly interested in the peaceful development of Japan. Facts, however, show that Japanese monopoly capital is expanding its military-political alliance with the USA and increasingly pushing the country along the road of militarization.

The broadening of contacts among Asian states, the development of fruitful cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual advantage and non-interference in internal affairs would, without fail, promote stable peace in that part of the world. In this connection the idea of establishing a collective security system in Asia suggested by the Soviet Union in 1969 finds support with Asian peoples who regard the establishment of such a system as a reliable guarantee of peace on the continent.

Ever since the outbreak of the Middle East crisis, the speaker continued, the Mongolian People's Republic, like the other fraternal socialist countries, has firmly sided with the Arab peoples and expresses strong solidarity with their struggle for national independence, territorial integrity and social progress.

The MPR considers that the establishment of real peace in the Middle East requires the liquidation of all the consequences of Israel's aggression. Account must be taken of the rights and interests of all the peoples of the Middle East, including the Arab people of Palestine.

The recent visit to the UAR by Comrade N. V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic, are of supreme importance for ensuring a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet-Egyptian Treaty expresses the Soviet Union's readiness to continue giving comprehensive support to the UAR in the struggle for social progress, for political settlement of the Middle East crisis. The public in Mongolia profoundly welcomes

this Treaty and regards it as a fresh blow against the plans of international imperialism striving to undermine the people's national-liberation movement.

The problem of European security is one of the most pressing and cardinal tasks of international development in our time, holding the attention of the world public.

During the period under review, the speaker noted, the MPR established diplomatic relations with 55 countries. This is an indication of the growth of socialist Mongolia's international prestige and of the steady expansion of her foreign relations. During the period under review, the MPR acted in concert with the fraternal socialist countries and all peace loving forces in relation to urgent international issues.

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Speaking of the MPRP's work aimed at promoting the building of the material and technical basis of socialism and the tasks of developing the country's productive forces in the coming years, Y. Tsedenbal emphasized that the main economic task of the new five year plan (1971-1975), was to achieve a considerable increase in the volume of social production through a more stable growth of agriculture, further development of industry and other branches of the economy, and on this basis to secure a steady rise in the people's living and cultural standards.

1. AGRICULTURE

Speaking of the results and tasks of further development of the main branches of the country's economy, the First Secretary of the CC MPRP noted that in the 11-odd years since the completion of the cooperation of individual arat (peasant) farmsteads, the socialist agricultural enterprises—the farming cooperatives (FC) and state farms, in which farming production is concentrated, had become much stronger. At present we have only 272 farming cooperatives and 32 state farms. On the average there is 535,000 hectares and 60,700 head of cattle per farming cooperative, while the corresponding figures per livestock and crop state farm are 360,000 hectares of farm land, 10,000 hectares under crops, and 30,000 head of cattle.

Considerable measures for strengthening the material and technical foundation of agriculture, for the organizational-economic consolidation of FC and state farms were carried out during the Fourth Five-Year Plan. In 1966-1970 approximately 24 per cent of all capital investments in the national economy were chan-

nelled into agriculture. In the five years, 12 plants and shops for the manufacture of combined feeds were built, as well as dozens of mechanized warehouses for the storage of the reserve stock of feeds in the southern aimaks, five mechanized fodder producing farms were established and 16 integrated mechanized hay-mowing teams, as well as specialized motor pools to transport fodder to remote areas. As a result of these measures the total volume of the fodder reserve fund trebled.

Over the five years state funds were used to build more than 5,900 drilled and shaft wells which made it possible to irrigate and improve the water supply on an area of 18 million hectares of pasture.

In these years the Party and government proclaimed the construction of cattle sheds a nationwide cause and allocated big funds to implement this task. In the past two years alone state building organizations, FCs and state farms built more than 13,000 sheds, with a capacity exceeding six million head of cattle. Specialized units established with the assistance of CMEA member countries carried out considerable work in 1966-1968 in the examination of animals and elaboration of disease prevention measures.

During the Fourth Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union helped to build and put into operation important new agricultural projects, including highly mechanized state farms and dairy farms, seed cleaning centers, farm machinery repair shops, etc.

Considerable gains have been made in the mechanization and electrification of agriculture. The total number of tractors in agriculture increased over the five years 1.4-fold, trucks 1.3-fold, electric power stations 1.3-fold.

Soil cultivation, the sowing and harvesting of cereals at state farms and FCs is fully mechanized. The mechanization of grain stocking at state farms and fodder stocking farms as well as the planting, harvesting and sorting of potatoes at specialized state farms has reached 80-100 per cent.

During the past five year period approximately 50 per cent of state farms have been switched to the services of the central power grid, giving them a reliable source of electricity for production and household needs.

The number of agricultural specialists has grown considerably during the period under review. Institutes, technical schools and vocational schools have trained more than 6,400 specialists and skilled workers for agriculture.

In 1970 workers of state farms and members of farming cooperatives harvested more than 20 million poods of grain, which in the main covered internal requirements in flour and in the seed stock for the sowing in 1971.

To strengthen the farming cooperatives and state farms the Party and government took steps to increase the rate of income of agricultural enterprises and improve the welfare of rural workers. To do this, state procurement prices were raised for the main livestock products.

The utmost encouragement given by the Party and government to farming cooperatives and the financial, economic and organizational aid given to them, the speaker said, were conducive to the further strengthening of the cooperative system and the development of socialist relations in the countryside. The speaker went on to note that another most important measure of a social character provided in the Rules of the FCs adopted by the 3rd FC Congress in 1967 was the introduction of a single pension plan covering all members of farming cooperatives—a social undertaking of major importance.

Compared to the previous five year period, the average gross annual output of agriculture in the Fourth Five-Year Plan went up 6.1 per cent. The fixed assets of FCs in 1970 as against 1965 increased an average of 63 per cent, reaching five million tugriks per cooperative.

The progress in agriculture would have been greater had it not been for serious drawbacks in our work and the difficulties encountered by us. The most important of these difficulties were the natural calamities which were frequent during the period under review.

Much is still being done to do away with the damage inflicted on livestock during the harsh winter of 1967-1968. Thanks to the devoted endeavor of our stock-breeders, the livestock population in 1969-1970 increased by 1.8 million head, and many farming cooperatives have already replenished the losses and are working to increase further the socially-owned herd.

The Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, held this February, analyzed the state of livestock husbandry, uncovered the main causes of existing shortcomings and set specific tasks designed to guarantee stable development of this important branch of our economy.

The main task of the new Five-Year Plan in agriculture, the speaker said, is to increase the volume of farm produce by increasing the population of socially-owned livestock, stepping up the productivity of livestock and the yields of farm crops by fully marshalling and rationally applying available reserves and by further strengthening the material and technical foundation of agriculture.

It is planned to increase gross industrial output by 1975 by 22-25 per cent, as against 1970, including an increase in livestock hus-

bandry by 14-16 per cent, and in crop farming by 40-60 per cent. The livestock population is to reach 25 million head in 1975, as against 22.6 million head in 1970, i.e., an increase of 11 per cent.

It is planned to step up meat production by 15.3 per cent, that of milk—25 per cent, wool—13 per cent. To increase meat resources, the volume of centralized meat procurement should go up 16 per cent.

Y. Tsedenbal emphasized that the consolidation of the material and technical base of farm production was a decisive condition for the fulfilment of these tasks in relation to agriculture, for the achievement of stable development of livestock husbandry and for improving its productivity.

Proceeding from these considerations, the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee decided that under the new Five-Year Plan a provision should be made to allocate at least 35 per cent of total investment for farming improvements. Accordingly, it is provided that approximately 1,900 million tugriks will be invested in agriculture in 1971-1975, a 40 per cent increase over the previous Five-Year Plan. More than 70 per cent of these funds are to be used for strengthening and developing production facilities in animal husbandry.

The supply of tractors to agriculture in 1971-1975 will increase, as against the previous Five-Year Plan, by 80 per cent, of trucks, by 10 per cent, of truck and tractor trailers, by 15 per cent; besides, agriculture will get approximately 1,000 combine harvesters and other farm machinery.

The draft Directives for the new Five-Year Plan envisage an increase of fodder production by 40 per cent, while the total state fodder reserve fund will increase fourfold, as against the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The main tasks for the development of crop farming in the new Five-Year Plan, Y. Tsedenbal continued, is to achieve a considerable increase in crop yields and to satisfy the national requirements in grain, potatoes and vegetables. State procurement of grain, potatoes and vegetables will increase 1.5-1.6 fold in 1975.

The introduction of scientific achievements and advanced experience, the speaker emphasized, is of paramount importance in achieving farm production development goals.

To further strengthen farming cooperatives and state farms, the report goes on, the Party and government are taking measures to stimulate the growth of farm production in the new Five-Year Plan.

During the new Five-Year Plan period measures will be taken to ensure an influx of manpower, including specialists, into agriculture; accordingly, not less than 50,000 young men and women,

graduates of general secondary schools, and more than 3,000 specialists with higher and specialized secondary education will take up work at farming cooperatives and state farms. Some 9,600 machine operators, livestock breeders and other skilled workers will be trained.

2. INDUSTRY

Y. Tsedenbal noted that in the Fourth Five-Year Plan period the country had made a new stride forward towards the solution of the party's key task of turning the MPR into an industrial-agrarian state. In the main the targets of the Five-Year Plan have been fulfilled with regard to increasing fuel and power supplies for the national economy, ensuring the rapid growth of the production of building materials and the further development of the most effective branches of the light and food industries.

In 1970 gross industrial output of the MPR was 60 per cent higher than in 1965, with an average growth rate 9.9 per cent. The average annual growth rate in the leading branches was considerably higher than for the industry as a whole.

There has been a considerable increase in per capita output of the main types of products, in particular the generation of electric power by 78 per cent, coal mining by 77 per cent, meat production by 56 per cent.

Capital investment in industry in 1966-1970 increased 20 per cent as against the previous five-year period. Some 90 big industrial enterprises were built or reconstructed.

Positive changes have taken place in the territorial siting of industry and in its branch structure.

An important change in the structure of industry has been effected by the steady increase in the share of fuel and power production.

The building materials industry developed at a rapid pace.

Thanks to more efficient utilization of capacities of operating enterprises and the construction of new ones there has been an increase in the output of the light and food industries and of industrial cooperatives.

Thanks to the large scale development of geological prospecting, known potential reserves of coal, fluorite, building materials and several precious metals have increased; big deposits have been discovered of copper, phosphorite, tin and other minerals, and a number of deposits have been prepared for commercial development. This will make it possible to considerably expand the country's mineral and raw material reserves, to establish and develop new branches of the mining industry.

Mechanization and automation of production processes, the

improvement of the standard of knowledge and skill of workers, engineers and technicians, the introduction of progressive technologies and advanced methods of labor organization have made it possible to step up labor productivity in industry, over the five years, by 41 per cent. As a result of this more than 81 per cent of the increase in gross industrial output has been effected through higher productivity.

The Central Committee of the Party and the government of the MPR, implementing the decisions of the 15th Congress of the MPRP, undertook in the period under review a number of practical measures to improve the quality of manufactured goods.

In recent years a number of enterprises of the coal, power, light and food industries were switched over, on an experimental basis, to a new system of planning and incentives.

The place and importance of industry in the national economy have grown considerably. The MPR's industry accounts for 34 per cent of the composite social product, more than 60 per cent of the aggregate output of agriculture and industry. Industrial products account for about half of exports and retail sales on the home market.

We may state with feelings of joy and pride that all this is a signal achievement of our people, a result of the successful implementation of the MPRP's policy in the field of socialist industrialization of the country. To solve the tasks of industrialization of the MPR we have had international assistance from the great Soviet Union and also from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The Five-Year Plan of national economic development of the MPR for 1971-1975 will be a major landmark in turning the MPR into an industrial-agrarian country. The main objectives of industrial development in the new Five-Year Plan period are to further strengthen the fuel and power bases of the national economy, expand utilization of the country's mineral resources, promote steady progress in the manufacture of consumer goods, enhance the effectiveness of production and markedly improve the quality of manufactured goods.

The task set for the Fifth Five-Year Plan is to increase the volume of industrial output by 53-56 per cent, with an average annual growth rate of not less than nine per cent. This will make it possible by 1975 to increase the share of industry in the composite social product to 40 per cent, and to 27 per cent in the national income.

Labor productivity in industry is to grow by 37 per cent over the five years. This growth is to account for 75-80 per cent of the increase of industrial output. New enterprises will yield ap-

proximately 15 per cent of gross industrial output in 1975.

After speaking of the development of transport and communications, Y. Tsedenbal went on to say that the Party and government paid much attention to enhancing the economic effectiveness of capital investments and the concentration of funds on projects of importance for the national economy.

Total capital investments from all sources of financing under the new Five-Year Plan, will comprise 5,300-5,500 million tugriks, of which approximately 1,200 million tugriks will be invested in industry, not less than 1,900 million tugriks in agriculture, approximately 600 million tugriks for housing, utilities services and cultural and community services.

IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING STANDARD AND DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE

The First Secretary of the CC MPRP emphasized that the Party was guided in its practical work by the supreme aim of socialist social production—to ensure the fullest satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the people.

The growth of social production in the Fourth Five-Year Plan period provided the basis for the further enhancement of the working people's living and cultural standards. In 1966-1970 the consumption fund increased by 24.6 per cent, the wage fund for workers and employees—by 27 per cent. Old-age pensions were increased by 20 per cent on the average. The pension coverage system was extended greatly by introducing pensions for members of farming cooperatives.

The increase in procurement prices for the main livestock products and the introduction of bonuses over and above the procurement prices for products delivered in excess of plans were instrumental in stepping up rural workers' incomes.

Y. Tsedenbal then set forth a program of measures which the Central Committee of the Party and Council of Ministers of the MPR considered expedient to carry out under the Five-Year Plan for 1971-1975 in order to ensure the steady improvement of national living standards. These include increasing the payment fund for members of farming cooperatives for their work in the commonly owned production by 40-45 per cent; increasing wage rates for workers in industry, construction, geology and water economy by an average seven per cent, increasing salaries of some categories of low-paid workers by 15-20 per cent on the average; reducing state retail prices of certain goods; reducing taxes; increasing grants to mothers of many children; increasing the social consumption fund by 36-40 per cent.

During the coming five-year period, the speaker continued,

centralized capital investments will be used to increase the total housing fund by more than 30 per cent. The Central Committee of the Party considers it especially necessary to work out a long-term concrete program for improving housing-community conditions for the rural workers.

Noting the great achievements in cultural advance, Y. Tsedenbal emphasized that the extension of the socialist cultural revolution had entailed further changes in the intellectual aspect of the working people and the steady growth of their cultural standards.

Progress and perfection of the unified public education system was a major achievement on the cultural front. The transition to universal secondary education for school-age children commenced in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The system of improving the general education level of the adult population has been broadened and perfected. The higher and secondary schools have expanded their facilities for evening and extra-mural education, and retraining courses for specialists have been started. During this period 9,600 specialists with a higher education and more than 12,000 specialists with secondary education were trained for all branches of the national economy and culture. As a result of a considerable increase in the number of vocational schools, 18,000 skilled workers were trained at these establishments during the five year period.

A major objective is to improve the general educational level of young people who are directly engaged in material production. In this connection it is necessary to increase the admission of students from among working people. This can be greatly facilitated by the opening of preparatory departments at higher schools.

The main task of scientific establishments, scientists and specialists in different branches of science and technology in the coming years is to concentrate on outstanding economic problems of practical value for socialist construction. The principled appraisal given by the Central Committee of the Party to the deviation of some scientists from a class conscious attitude to social phenomena facilitates consistent implementation by our scientists of the party line in their professional work.

Our workers in literature and art bear great responsibility before their socialist Motherland. They are called upon to help the Party develop a high standard of consciousness and communist morality in working people and to educate them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, resolute struggle against the influence of ideologies alien to Marxism.

Speaking of the measures taken by the Party and government to broaden the network of medical establishments, strengthen the material base of public health, and to bring medical services closer

to the population, the speaker said that, as of 1970, there were 94.3 hospital beds per 10,000 of the population and one doctor per 560 people. Thanks to the improvement of the standard of life and the better work of public health bodies, the birth rate continues to grow and the mortality rate continues to drop.

With respect to questions of improving the organization and management of the national economy, Y. Tsedenbal noted that the basic idea of the new economic management system was, first and foremost, to improve organizational leadership of management. Special attention should be devoted to putting all economic organizations on a full profit-and-loss system of operation, to ensuring the financially sound functioning of all material production units.

Another feature of the new system of economic management is the combining of centralized management and planning with the promotion of economic initiative and independence of enterprises, whose powers in the use of material, manpower and financial resources for the fulfilment of the state plans will be increased. Particular importance is attached to material incentives for making collectives and individuals interested in the results of their work.

Of great importance in improving the effectiveness of social production, Y. Tsedenbal then went on, is the extension of foreign economic relations, deepening of the economic and technical cooperation and coordination of economic plans with the other socialist countries; still greater participation of our country in the economic integration which accelerates the development of the productive forces of every socialist country and of the entire socialist camp. It is a fact that the national and international interests of every country engaged in socialist economic integration are properly balanced.

Particularly important for the accelerated growth of our economy is the expansion of economic relations between the MPR and the Soviet Union, the development of appropriate forms of production, scientific and technological cooperation between our two countries and of joint investment operations. In order to improve the forms and methods of bilateral cooperation, direct contacts are being established between individual ministries and economic organizations of both sides.

The Central Committee of the Party considers it necessary to commence the elaboration of scientific forecasts and long-term plans for national economic development covering 10 or 15 years. The long-term plans should be oriented to resolve major economic and social problems, evolve the optimum pattern of the national economy, provide for the correct geographic distribution of productive forces, etc.

We are all aware that, in the 60s, the MPR, having created the

foundations of socialism, entered a new stage, the stage of completing the material and technical base of socialism. This is a task that requires time and a great deal of creative work. The completion of socialist construction in our country presupposes the passage of a whole period of historical development, a series of economic development stages. The first stage, as stated in our Party's Program, is to make the MPR, in the nearest future, an industrial-agrarian country with a rational pattern of mining and manufacturing industries, a sound and expedient balance between the main branches of the socialist economy.

Under the guidance of our Party, the working people of the country are advancing towards this objective. When it is realized the MPR will have reached a stage beyond which lies a period of the development of the production potential of socialist society, the attainment of a high level of socio-economic progress. It should be borne in mind that the material and technical basis of socialism will be created in an optimum complex of conditions, with due regard for the existence and development of international socialist division of labor and the steady expansion of integration processes among the countries of socialism.

THE PARTY

The past period, Y. Tsedenbal said, is characterized by the further enhancement of the leading and organizing role of the Party in all spheres of our society. The considerable expansion and qualitative improvement in the membership of the MPRP is an important indicator of the steady growth of its role and prestige and strong fusion with the masses of the working people.

As of April 1, 1971, the MPRP numbered 58,048 members and candidate members. The Party composition is: 30 per cent workers, 20.4 per cent members of farming cooperatives, and 49.6 per cent office workers and intellectuals. The number of women members of the Party went up from 19.4 per cent in 1966, to 21.6 per cent in 1971. Of the 12,366 persons admitted to the party since the 15th Congress, 63.6 per cent are workers, stock-breeders and specialists employed in different sectors of the national economy and culture. Sixty three per cent of the recently admitted party members are young people, aged from 20 to 30.

The many thousand strong army of Communists heads the masses and is in the vanguard of the struggle for socialist construction. Party members are a model in their conscious and diligent attitude to work.

All members of the Party wholeheartedly approve and undividedly support the political line and practical work of the Central Com-

mittee of the MPRP, and by their daily work contribute to the successful implementation of party decisions.

The quantitative and qualitative growth of party membership is a result of the measures taken by the Central Committee to exert greater influence on the strengthening of party ranks.

An important organizational and political undertaking aimed at strengthening the party was the exchange of party membership cards carried out in the second half of 1970. This work, carried out 27 years after the previous exchange of party membership cards in 1943, did not pursue the aim of purging the Party. It helped, however, to conduct on a Party-wide scale a check-up and a principled appraisal of the political and business-like qualities of Communists, reveal shortcomings in some Party organizations with respect to the admission and education of new members, enhance the vanguard role of Communists, rid our ranks of unworthy individuals, improve and streamline party documentation and records.

During the period under review there was further activization of the entire work of the Party on the basis of Leninist principles of Party life. Taking guidance from the decisions of the 15th Congress of the Party, the Central Committee of the MPRP gave undeviating attention to strengthening collective leadership and developing inner-party democracy.

The Central Committee of the MPRP gave much attention to the refinement of the forms and methods of organizational and political work of party organizations, improvement of guidance of economic and cultural work.

The Central Committee of the MPRP considers it necessary to further enhance the role of the organs of Party control, to invigorate their work and perfect its forms and methods.

It is to continue to enhance the role and vigor of primary Party organizations.

Y. Tsedenbal went on to say that during the preparation for the Congress, Communists had put forward concrete suggestions concerning the introduction of certain changes in the Party Rules. Having thoroughly studied the submitted suggestions, the Central Committee of the Party puts forward the following questions for the consideration of the Congress. It is suggested that regular congresses of the MPRP should be convened once in five years and aimak and town party conferences, once in two or three years.

After discussing questions of inner-party information and work with Party cadres, Y. Tsedenbal went on to say that at present 58 per cent of workers of the apparatus of aimak and town Party committees had a higher education while approximately 80 per cent of the chairmen of farming cooperatives and secretaries of the primary Party organizations of farming cooperatives and state

farms had a higher or specialized secondary education. There had been a considerable change in the qualitative composition of cadres in state, trade union and Revolutionary Youth League organizations.

Speaking of the improvement of Party guidance of the work of state and public organizations, Y. Tsedenbal noted that the Central Committee of the Party, in taking measures to strengthen further the socialist state, had concentrated on improving the work of the Khurals of People's Deputies and on the development of socialist democracy.

The state, exercising its creative functions, the speaker continued, shows daily concern for the strengthening of its defense capacity, for the protection of the historic gains of the Mongolian people.

The soldiers of our glorious People's Army the 50th Anniversary of which was observed by the entire Mongolian people, are continuing to raise the level of the combat and political training and perfecting their military skills.

It is necessary continuously to improve work with army personnel to help them master modern combat machines and weapons, study the rich combat experience of the Soviet Army, improve party political work in the army and the education of soldiers in the spirit of socialist patriotism and unbreakable friendship with the Soviet people and the people of other socialist countries, in the spirit of loyalty to the cause of socialism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Y. Tsedenbal also spoke of the role and importance of the trade unions in the development of socialist democracy and drawing the working masses into the management of public affairs, as well as of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League as a militant assistant and reserve of the MPRP, and of other public organizations.

Speaking of the ideological work of the party, Y. Tsedenbal stressed that Marxist-Leninist theory provided the scientific foundation for the ideological and political work of the MPRP. Further broadening of exchanges of experience of ideological work with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, more joint action in the struggle for the ideological purity and creative development of Marxism-Leninism, against anti-communism, Right-wing and "Left"-wing opportunism, exerts a beneficial influence on the ideological and political activity of Party organizations. It should be specifically noted that the preparation for and celebration of the 150th birth anniversaries of K. Marx and F. Engels and, especially, of the birth centenary of V. I. Lenin, provided important stimuli for our Party's ideological and theoretical activities. The completion of the translation and publication of the fourth edition of V. I. Lenin's collected works, the publication of a number of thematical collections of his works and a three-volume selected works by K. Marx

and F. Engels are important for the profound study of the theoretical legacy of the architects of scientific communism and the enhancement of Marxist-Leninist education of Communists and working people.

The Central Committee of the Party deems it necessary to extend its work on the development of theoretical thought in conjunction with the topical problems of socialist construction in our country, enhancement of the study of our cadres, using the history-making experience of the CPSU.

Improvement of the Marxist-Leninist education of functionaries and Party members was one of the cardinal issues of the entire ideological work, Y. Tsedenbal stressed.

The mass media—an effective instrument of the Party's ideological work and an important source of development of the intellectual life of the people—are becoming more widespread and stronger.

In the present conditions the intensification of work aimed at educating all members of society in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism is particularly important. Education of the working people and in particular, our younger generation, in a spirit of internationalism, of the unbreakable traditional friendship with the Soviet Union and with our class brothers is a matter of continuous concern of our Party.

The protection of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the irreconcilable struggle against the influence of bourgeois and opportunist ideology, resolute opposition to all manifestations of nationalism which the ideologues of imperialism try to use in their subversive actions, is the prime duty of all Party organizations. The task is to conduct a consistent class policy which leaves no place for any compromise with ideas alien to socialism, with ideas of nationalism and chauvinism, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

There can be no doubt that the work of our congress will reaffirm the unshakable loyalty of the MPRP to Marxism-Leninism, and this is the earnest of new victories in the construction of socialism on Mongolian soil.

Y. Tsedenbal noted that the Communists and the working people wholeheartedly endorsed the Draft Directives as a program aimed at achieving further progress of the productive forces and greater well-being of the people and fully in accord with the interests of the builders of socialism—the working class, cooperated arats and working intelligentsia.

The Central Committee of the MPRP, Y. Tsedenbal said in conclusion, expresses firm confidence that the working people of Mongolia will exert every effort to implement successfully the decision of the 16th Congress of their People's Revolutionary Party.

Every Congress of Mongolian Communists is an event of tremen-

dous importance in the life of the entire country. The 16th Congress of the MPRP, which sets new objectives aimed at putting the Party's Program into practice, will be an important landmark in ensuring the complete victory of socialism in the MPR.

SPEECH* BY A. P. KIRILENKO

TO 16th CONGRESS OF THE MPRP

It is a great honor to take part in the proceedings of a congress held by a fraternal Party. It is also a fine and businesslike form of exchanging experience. It is in a congress atmosphere that one can feel the pulse of a fraternal country, and to see and understand the deeds, plans and thoughts of friends. Our Party very gratefully accepted the invitation of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to send a delegation of the CPSU to the 16th MPRP Congress.

Party Congresses have recently been held in a number of socialist countries. The Parties are the guiding force of their respective peoples. Not long ago there was the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the range of top Party forums, which determine the basic stages of the USSR's advancement, this Congress is outstanding. The comprehensive, scientifically-grounded program for further communist construction adopted by the Congress, its theoretical propositions and political conclusions have become a mighty instrument in the fight for communism. They have in large measure enriched Marxist-Leninist science. As unanimously assessed by the fraternal Parties, the 24th Congress is of outstanding international significance.

It can be noted with deep satisfaction that these congresses, their ideas and political directives, have greatly contributed to the further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement, in the progress of world socialism, the entire revolutionary transforming activity of the forces of social progress. Thoroughly and comprehensively analyzing the results of the road covered, fully taking into account the outstanding achievements of socialism and certain difficulties in social development, Communists are in a Leninist way, ably paving the way for fresh victories of socialism and communism.

All this wholly refers to the 16th Congress of the Mongolian

Abridged from Pravda, June 9, 1971.

People's Revolutionary Party, which is an outstanding event in the life of the countries of the socialist community, and the entire Communist and workers' movement. The presence in this hall of delegations of fraternal Parties from all continents serves to emphasize the great international significance of your Congress.

Present-day Mongolia stands before the rest of the world as a country looking ahead. Much that is new, generated by the socialist system and purposeful policy and activities of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, glorious son of the Mongolian workingmen, a patriot and internationalist, a prominent leader of the international Communist movement, can be observed in the country's economy and social structure, its ideology and literally in all spheres of public life.

The Soviet people are sincerely happy to see the progress of the young Mongolian industry. Its share in the country's economy has been rising steadily. Socialist Mongolia has been marching step by step towards developing into an industrial-agrarian state. In 1966-70 its gross industrial output went up 1.6 times, with average annual rates of increment rising by 9.9 per cent.

Guided by Lenin's ideas, you have implemented a truly cultural revolution which is an attractive power to many countries. Socialist ideology has taken firm root in the minds of the Mongolian people. At the present time you are going over to compulsory incomplete secondary education, which provides fresh proof that socialism gives full access to knowledge and culture for all working people.

The Mongolian People's Republic today is on the threshold of new major accomplishments. The directives for the new Five-Year-Plan, which you are discussing, advance important tasks in all branches of your national economy. They open up broad horizons before your country. The plans of your Party are based on the general laws governing the construction of socialism, but they also take into account Mongolia's national and historical features. This approach is indicated by Marxist-Leninist theory. Its correctness has been corroborated by the experiences of all socialist countries, including the non-capitalist way of development of the Mongolian People's Republic.

We are confident that in the future, too, developing your contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, using everything valuable in your own experience, and actively participating in the program for socialist integration within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the Mongolian People's Republic will attain still greater heights under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard — the Party of Mongolian Communists.

Your Congress is being held on the eve of an important landmark, the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution.

Together with you this anniversary will be marked by the Soviet people, your brothers in other socialist countries, and Communists all over the world.

Cooperating fraternally with the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic has asserted itself as a fully independent and sovereign state of Mongolian toilers. The proud and freedom-loving people of Mongolia have realized their age-old aspirations. By its entire life socialist Mongolia proves that a socialist, internationalist policy assures the comprehensive flowering of a nation, of its unique culture and of all the people's finest traditions . . .

The economic positions of the whole world of socialism will be consolidated by the strengthening of the economic might of the Soviet Union which will be achieved as a result of the fulfilling of the new Five-Year Plan—and we have all reason firmly to believe that we shall fulfil it. I need hardly say that the increase of our economic potential will enhance our defense potential. We have created powerful means of national defense. We shall continue increasing our vigilance and defense. We shall continue to show the utmost concern for the Soviet Armed Forces which have reliably protected the peaceful effort of the Soviet people and of our friends.

The Soviet Union, socialist Mongolia, along with other socialist countries, have always supported peoples fighting for the sacred cause of freedom, independence and social progress. We have been fighting consistently against imperialist aggression. This is our common position in relation to the criminal U.S. aggression in Indochina. The heroic people of Vietnam and the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia have received and will go on receiving from us aid and support in their sacred struggle.

We hold a principled anti-imperialist stand also on the Middle East crisis. The people in the Arab countries fully appreciate our internationalist policy. We are confident that any intrigues of the enemies of friendship between the Arab peoples and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are futile, and that mutual understanding and solidarity will continue to prevail in our relations. Clear testimony of this is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic.

We stand for a really thorough healthening of the entire international climate. This, specifically, is evidenced by the efforts of our state to bring about the ratification of the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the FRG and the Treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG, which would seal the results of the Second World War. We have been likewise trying to achieve

tangible progress in the solution of the disarmament problems, including the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. All our constructive proposals for settling outstanding disputes in Europe and Asia have been directed to this end.

Our Party is doing all it possibly can to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement. We consider that the return of the Communist Party of China, the People's Republic of China, to positions of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and the world Communist movement would meet the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle and the consolidation of the entire anti-imperialist front. As for the CPSU, our principled line is directed towards improving our relations with the People's Republic of China. We firmly adhere to this line and confirm it in practice, and we hope that sooner or later Peking will realize the need of common effort to normalize our relations. This would be an important step towards promoting cooperation and good-neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. It would serve the interests of both nations and the entire socialist camp, and of the world revolutionary movement. It would also deal a crushing blow to the imperialist designs . . .

I take this opportunity to note with satisfaction the tangible contribution that the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is making to the struggle for unity and solidarity of the socialist community and the world Communist movement.

The power of attraction of the example provided by socialist Mongolia is increasing. We may rest assured that the fulfilment of the targets posed by the 16th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party will enhance still more the prestige of the Mongolian People's Republic in the international arena, increase its contribution to the progress of mankind along the socialist road.

JUST CAUSE OF PEOPLES OF INDOCHINA WILL BE VICTORIOUS

STATEMENT BY THE 16TH MPRP CONGRESS

We, delegates of the 16th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, on behalf of Mongolian Communists and all Mongolian people, convey our fraternal greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam and the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia, courageously struggling for peace, freedom and the national inde-

pendence of their countries, against the aggression of American imperialists and their accomplices.

The Communists and people of the Mongolian People's Republic, together with the progressive forces of the world, are proud of and admire every new victory scored by the fighting peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, who are supported by international solidarity and the increasingly effective aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces of the world.

The unbending militant spirit, courage and heroism of the peoples of Indochina are a vivid demonstration of the insurmountable force of the national-liberation movement and the hopelessness of the policy of aggression and international brigandage perpetrated by the U.S. ruling circles in pursuance of their global strategy.

Day after day the imperialist aggressors are suffering heavy defeats in Indochina under the powerful blows of the heroic Vietnamese, the courageous patriots of Laos and Cambodia. Every fresh military venture launched by the American interventionists brings them into deeper international isolation and exposes the crimes against mankind committed by the American military. Neither the notorious Vietnamization policy, nor the attempts to escalate the aggression throughout the entire Indochinese Peninsula are capable of breaking the will of the peoples of Indochina for victory, or of helping the aggressor carry out his perfidious plans.

The 16th Congress of the MPRP proclaims that the Mongolian People's Republic firmly supports the constructive proposals advanced by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam for a political solution of the Vietnamese problem.

True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Mongolian People's Republic will continue to aid and support the working people of the fraternal socialist state—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—the liberation forces of South Vietnam and the patriots of Laos and Cambodia, whose just struggle is a significant contribution to peace, national independence and the social progress of the peoples.

Broad actions to stop the criminal plans of the American military, to extend and strengthen international solidarity with the peoples of Indochina, to end the imperialist aggression in Indochina and secure withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops, and effective support for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia is the internationalist duty of the Communists and all honest people who cherish democracy, national independence, freedom, peace and security.

The just cause of the peoples of Indochina will be victorious!

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

On behalf of all members of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and all working people of Mongolia, we representatives of Mongolian Communists voice our emphatic support and militant solidarity with the Arab peoples, courageously defending their just cause in the struggle against the aggression and expansionist policy of the Israeli reactionary circles and their imperialist patrons.

Contrary to the just demands of the peoples of the Arab East and world public opinion and grossly violating the generally recognized norms of international law, the Israeli military are stubbornly resisting a political solution of the Middle East crisis, refusing to withdraw their troops from the occupied Arab territory and flagrantly ignoring the UN decisions.

In its expansionist policy towards the Arab countries the Israeli rulers are relying on direct support and protection from the imperialist circles of the United States who speak about a political solution of the Middle East conflict while fanning the hotbed of war in the Middle East in the attempt to prevent the free and progressive development of the Arab nations.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and all Mongolian people, together with all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces of the world, decisively condemn the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and demand that the Israeli government show respect for the rights and interests of all Arab peoples, including the Palestinian Arabs, and immediately withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territory in accordance with the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

We sincerely hail the staunch and courageous Arab peoples who are resolutely resisting the Israeli aggressor, relying on the support and aid of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and all the peace-loving progressive forces of the world.

The 16th Congress of the MPRP declares that the Mongolian People's Republic will continue consistently supporting the courageous struggle of the Arab peoples to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression and to establish a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Mongolian Communists and Mongolian people are certain that the just struggle of the Arab peoples for their freedom, independence, territorial integrity and progressive development will be successful and that the Israeli aggressor, attempting to foist his will upon the Arab peoples, to undermine their unity in the struggle against imperialism and international Zionism and to weaken the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the Middle East will suffer a disgraceful defeat.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

The following are excerpts from two resolutions of the plenum held on May 28-29. The full text was published by the **Kansan Uutiset** on May 30 and June 3.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RIGHTIST FORCES AND BOURGEOIS POLICY

Contradictions in society and the class struggle in our country have sharpened lately. The working-class struggle against big capital has grown significantly. For quite some time the movement for higher wages and better working conditions has been gaining momentum. This affects all the working people. The struggle waged directly at enterprises and the strikes in the metalworking and building industries have been notably serious and effective. The struggle is continuing in different spheres of production, especially at industrial enterprises. In spite of growing opposition by the employers, it is expressed in the fight to sign labor contracts in the working people's interests.

The employers are supported by some of the Social-Democratic leaders. The growing class contradictions also reflect an acute ideological and political struggle.

The growing working-class opposition is accompanied by a strengthening of the positions of the Rightist forces and intensified attacks against communism, the workers' movement and democratic forces.

The shift towards the right that took place a year ago during parliamentary elections also strengthened the positions of the Rightist forces in the government. In our country a bourgeois majority government is now in power, a coalition government of bourgeois parties and the Social-Democrats. The Communist Party of Finland and the Democratic Union of the Finnish People (DUFP) are not in the government. The growth of Rightist forces and the resulting political development is not in the interests of the working class and working people. Such political development is advantageous only for big capital, Rightist forces and the Rightists in the government coalition parties who are gradually forcing a radical change in our country's policy. The attempts to involve

Finland in the EEC in one way or another pursue the same purpose.

Finland's democratic and progressive forces must jointly resist the growing pressure of the Rightists in order to defend the working people's vital interests, ensure broader democracy in the country's political life and struggle for a consistent implementation of a peaceful policy, for peaceful relations and cooperation between the peoples of Finland and the USSR.

The resolution goes on to sum up the activities of the CPF and the Democratic Union in the government, pointing out that at a time when the CPF and the Democratic Union participated in the government several positive decisions had been passed, especially in foreign policy. Most significant among these was the 20-year extension of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between Finland and the USSR. While in the government, the CPF and the Democratic Union, the resolution stresses, worked for adoption of as many decisions in the interests of the working class as they could.

It has become obvious, the resolution continues, that the struggle of the Communists and the People's Democrats to change the government's economic policy, for the working people's interests, especially the struggle against rising prices and payments, was correct.

The 900 or so local strikes in 1970, the struggle for higher wages and better working conditions and the strikes of metal-workers and builders were a serious confrontation of class forces. Over a million workers were involved in this struggle.

The strike movement showed that the working class is not only better organized, but also that the workers are more than ever determined to fight. This is especially true of the steelworkers' strike which sparked off a broad solidarity movement among workers in other branches of industry, the working-class movement in general, the small farmers, students and employees, workers in arts and doctors.

It was only the Communist Party of Finland and the people's democratic movement that unreservedly stood up for workers' demands. The Social-Democratic leadership actually resisted the workers' struggle to secure bigger gains, although it went on record as supporting their struggle. In spite of this the working people's front was united and firm and significant successes were won in the struggle.

Many aspects of the economic development cause concern: the rate of production growth has slowed down, unemployment has gone up and the foreign trade deficit has increased. Prices are constantly rising, cancelling workers' gains. Measures proposed by the government prove that in its economic policy it is doing the bidding of big capital.

This situation demands an active and determined struggle by the working class, the small farmers and other working people for a more democratic course in the country's economic, social and cultural policy, in the interests of the working people.

Consistently following its political line, the CPF is emphatically against any decisions profitable to big capital. The Party calls for a consistent and active peace policy and the development of friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. It resolutely opposes any attempts to tie our country to Western political and economic groupings.

It is possible, even with the present government, to partially fulfill the economic and social changes demanded by the working people. However, these changes will be accomplished only if the government is forced to adopt progressive solutions by energetic mass action by the working class, the small farmers and other segments of the population.

The resolution then sets out in detail the urgent demands of the working people in the economic, political, social, cultural and other spheres. The Party urges vigorous mass action around these demands.

The urgent demands voiced by the Communist Party, the resolution says in conclusion, correspond to the vital interests of the entire working class and all working people. Their realization implies economic and political solutions against big capital. In view of this the Party is striving to show broad sections of the population that it is necessary to curtail and abolish the power of big capital and carry out radical democratic reforms.

The Communist Party believes that in the present conditions and the existing balance of political forces, cooperation between the Left parties and the Center remains the best and positive basis of the government's policy conforming to the interests of the working people. A government established on this basis would be successful if, besides following a correct foreign policy in the nation's interests, it would also implement an internal and economic policy meeting the vital economic and social demands of the working population.

In the changed conditions joint action by the workers and cooperation of workers' parties is more important than ever before. The anti-Communist forces are exploiting the present political situation in order to provoke contradictions at places of work and in workers' organizations and split the unity that was won in the struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. These forces must not be allowed to succeed. The Communist Party strives to consolidate cooperation among the workers for the defense of their common class interests and opposes any actions

that fragment the workers' class might. Proceeding from this, the CPF consistently strives for cooperation with the Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Alliance of Workers and Small Farmers. The working class will be successful now only if it works in earnest to draft a program for joint action by workers' parties, at least on some particular issues, if it puts to the fore factors that unite it, in spite of existing ideological and political differences. Success will be guaranteed only when all the workers unanimously and energetically demand this.

Cooperation does not mean rejection of criticism. While Communists invite criticism of their activity, they in turn criticize activity by the Social-Democratic Party leadership which runs counter to the workers' interests. It is imperative, however, that criticism be business-like and concrete and that it facilitate workers cooperation on the basis of their class interests.

The influence of reformist thinking upon the workers must be neutralized by effectively explaining the fundamentals of scientific socialism and through energetic and principled political activity by the Communists. In this manner it will be possible to create better conditions for a movement to transform society in a way that would lead to extension of democracy, and curtail and abolish monopoly power.

The Communist Party hopes that the forces would grow in the Social-Democratic Party who wish to work together with the Communists for the interests of the working class, against big capital and reaction.

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY FINNISH-SOVIET RELATIONS

The Communist Party of Finland has always played a central role in the establishment of relations between Finland and the USSR. The Party's consistent efforts to strengthen friendship between the peoples of both countries and also state, economic and cultural relations, paved the way for the gradual acceptance of a line corresponding to the basic interests of the Finnish people, not only as the basis of Finland's foreign policy, but also as a natural necessity in the mutual relations between our peoples.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the first Soviet government headed by V. I. Lenin immediately granted Finland complete independence. However, friendly relations between the two countries based upon mutual trust were established only after Finland's reactionary militaristic policy suffered a crushing defeat during the Second World War. In 1948 Finland and the USSR signed a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid which

was extended twice. This treaty served as a basis for economic, scientific and cultural agreements which had a favorable effect on the development of our peaceful relations and broadening cooperation between our peoples. The Treaty is also a firm basis for strengthening Finland's security.

As a result of the positive development of relations between Finland and the USSR our country today occupies a place on the international arena unprecedented in its history.

The development of friendship and cooperation between Finland and the USSR is a question of such great importance that it cannot be regarded as belonging just to the competency of governments and statesmen. It must be the concern of every citizen. One of the requisites for further strengthening friendship and cooperation between Finland and the USSR is active participation of the broad masses in this work so that it becomes in practice the concern of all people.

An organized anti-Soviet campaign has been stepped up in Finland lately. It is closely connected with the propaganda waged by international monopoly capital against the USSR and the other socialist countries. It is aimed at weakening the ever growing positive influence exerted on the peoples of the world by the socialist construction in these countries and their consistent policy of peace. In this way it strives to prepare the ground for the growth and strengthening of reactionary Rightist forces in all countries.

The Rightist forces who have become more active in Finland are at once the support base and helpers of the international reactionary centers spreading anti-Soviet propaganda. The main aim of their activity is to block and weaken the positive and successful development of Finnish-Soviet friendship and economic cooperation. Since the Communist Party is a staunch supporter of this friendship and cooperation, reaction is doing its utmost to weaken its positions and its influence among the people and to disunite its forces.

The Rightist forces are striving to provoke differences between the Finnish and Soviet peoples. Magazines and other reading material published in our country are a constant source of false information about the Soviet Union. Publishing activity that undermines the friendly relations between Finland and the USSR contradicts the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid.

There are military and para-military organizations in Finland, such as the Alliance of Reserve Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers, and the organization In Support of the Country's Defense whose leaders conduct a policy obstructing the development of

relations between our countries based on mutual trust. Attempts are now being made to revive the Schutzkorps and "Lotta" organizations and even formation of former Finnish SS members, which are banned by the peace treaty.

The CPF proceeds from the assumption that the state authorities will take effective measures against these forces before they have time to inflict irreparable harm. Our Party appeals to the working class of Finland and to all democratic forces in the country to launch a determined struggle against the Rightist forces, against their propaganda activities which are gaining in scope and which are guided by Western anti-Communist centers, against all activity contradicting Finland's interests.

The documents and the new five-year economic development plan adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress open up still greater and broader opportunities for cooperation in economy, science, technology and culture and also in foreign policy acts aimed at strengthening peace and security. The need is for a positive attitude towards the constructive proposals advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress and for practical steps to extend cooperation.

Then the resolution enumerates the measures required for a broad development of trade and economic cooperation with the USSR, stressing that expansion of the exports to the Soviet Union of products of engineering and other mass-employment industries would lead to greater employment in Finland.

In inter-state cooperation most urgent today are the questions of European security. Helping to put into effect the initiative of the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries on convening an all-European security conference, and also Finland's proposals towards the same goal, launching preparations in the immediate future for convening the conference is a matter of great importance requiring constant cooperation.

The preparations for the security conference show that there are many issues on which Finland, in cooperation with the Soviet Union, should constantly display initiative. Among these problems are the establishment of nuclear-free zones, dismantling of military bases and withdrawal of all foreign troops from European countries, recognition of the GDR and a general improvement and normalization of relations between European countries. Efforts in the interests of European security are closely connected with the development of beneficial and necessary cooperation among European countries in economy, culture and other spheres, such as prevention of pollution of the environment and the seas.

The CPF highly values the activities of the Finland-Soviet Union Society in broadening cultural relations between the two countries. The CPF believes it to be extremely important to continue de-

veloping the activities of this mass public organization. The Communist Party call upon Communists to participate actively in its work. It appeals to primary organizations to facilitate in every possible way the work of this activity, which spreads information about the USSR in our country, strengthens friendship and broadens cooperation between the peoples of Finland and the USSR.

The resolution goes on to stress the importance of extending fruitful cooperation between various organizations of the two countries in the fields of science, education, culture, sports, etc.

The Communist Party of Finland, the resolution concludes, is ready to continue cooperating with all forces supporting the unity and cooperation between the peoples of Finland and the USSR.

The CPF Central Committee appeals to all Party organizations and Communists to spread information about the life in the Soviet Union and the great achievements of that country and to oppose all attacks on the Soviet Union and socialism. The CC CPF appeals especially to the press of the Party and the People's Democratic movement to increase its activity in strengthening friendship between our countries.

The proposals jointly advanced at meetings between representatives of the CPF and the CPSU, constant cooperation between the Parties and the initiative and activities of the People's Democrats in the government have opened up new opportunities for the development of relations between our two countries and have created the prerequisites for broad agreements between our countries. Our Party will continue exerting maximum effort to promote the favorable development of relations between our countries.

RESOLUTION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France approved a report of the Political Bureau made by Comrade René Piquet on the Party's propaganda work.

Propaganda work has always been very important, because it is one of the conditions for developing the people's struggle.

But it has acquired even greater significance at a time when at the new stage in capitalist policy, faced with a growing popular struggle, the government and employers are forced to exert maximum efforts in the field of ideology. They take advantage of the tremendous propaganda facilities monopolized by them in order to deceive and mislead the public. To carry out the required political changes, the democratic and socialist transformation of society, it is necessary to bring the working class into action and establish its alliance with ever broader masses of the working people. The various "theories" of capitalism, class cooperation, the anti-communism and anti-Sovietism of the big bourgeoisie and the Leftist groups necessitate comprehensive, well-argued and unceasing resistance.

The Party's propaganda work is essential for action, notably for the efforts to realize the seven goals advanced at the present Central Committee Plenum, to propagate the Party's program of advanced democracy and socialism, to popularize socialism's successes in those countries where it has triumphed. Propaganda work is indispensable to surmount the obstacles to establishing alliance between the workers and the democratic forces.

The Party's propaganda work must be more efficient, diverse and specific, depending on events and the social category of the population.

The party has at its command important propaganda media, first of all distribution of its press, notably the newspaper *L'Humanité*.

Along with utilization of the existing facilities and introducing modern methods and forms of disseminating its ideas, it is necessary to develop mass propaganda means, such as newspapers of Party cells, sections, enterprises and cities, leaflets, posters, public meetings and discussions and films.

Propaganda is greatly dependent on the Party's organizational activity, primarily on the activity of Party cells. It is the respon-

L'Humanité, June 5, 1971.

sibility of all Communists. However, it is obvious that this collective responsibility must be accompanied by the appointment of people directly responsible for propaganda activity at all levels, federations and sections.

The Central Committee decided to help train thousands of propaganda workers, notably by organizing special training and supplying every propaganda worker with reference material.

Spreading the ideas of socialism and the new propositions of the Party program, helping to organize mass popular action, the Party's propaganda activity will facilitate the building of a democratic and socialist France.

Rosny-sous-Bois, June 4, 1971.

LETTER* FROM CC FRENCH CP TO SOCIALIST UNITY CONGRESS

Dear Comrades,

Our Party has made it a rule never to interfere in the internal affairs of other democratic organizations. As we have stated on numerous occasions, the problem of the unification of the Socialist Party with the Convention of Republican Institutions is exclusively within the competence of your Congress.

At the same time, as you have pointed out during the preparations for your Congress, it will discuss the relations between our two parties. It is apparent for the democratically minded public in our country that, considering the importance of this problem, it will be the central and even decisive problem of your Congress.

However, this is a question common to both our parties and concerns the interests of the working people and the whole country. For that reason we would like once more to state the position of the French Communist Party on this problem.

We believe this to be all the more necessary because this problem is extremely acute today.

The 13 years of a policy of social regression and authoritarianism have led our country into the present crisis which is reflected in all spheres of national life.

Big capital rule proves more and more its inability to solve the problems facing the country in the people's interests, whether they concern the social needs of the population or the harmonious development of our economy, the youth and their future, or the requirements of national education and modern research, or France's in-

L'Humanité, June 8, 1971.

ternational actions. Its policy in all domains has the sole purpose of subordinating the activities, interests and fate of the great majority of the population to the thirst for profits of a few big private groups of industrialists and financiers. And it intends to pursue this policy today at any cost to the detriment of the working people.

The working people and intellectuals in town and country are profoundly discontented and at times angered. At a time when labor productivity has greatly increased and technological progress affords man unlimited opportunities, the hardships of life are growing for many people, above all the working class, their purchasing power is constantly dropping, their employment and activity are threatened and their democratic rights ignored.

As a result, the social and political struggle is developing and broadening. It involves not only the working class, but also other groups of working people. If this struggle is waged in unity and with a sense of responsibility, then, as recent events have demonstrated, it can serve as a means of forcing the big employers and the government to retreat. The development of this popular struggle is causing the first rifts in the government majority.

In these conditions it is imperative and urgent to offer a clear-cut political alternative to the working people.

What do the working people, the democrats and growing numbers of French men and women want? They want a real political and economic democracy that will satisfy their main demands, guarantee their participation in the direction and management of state affairs at all levels, organize balanced development of the economy and conduct a peaceful foreign policy based on national independence and the broadest international cooperation.

This presupposes the establishment of a new regime that will employ effective means for a gradual weakening of the domination of national life by big monopoly capital, a regime that will resolutely rely on the masses comprising the overwhelming majority. This would create favorable conditions for the socialist transformation of society.

This transformation of a revolutionary nature is on the order of the day in our time. Capitalism has had its day. Only socialism is capable of fully and effectively responding to the modern demands of economic, social and humane development and that is why socialism will triumph. This idea is winning the hearts and minds of the working masses.

Placing the basic means of production and exchange in the hands of the people, liquidation of exploitation and oppression of man, replacing the power of capital with the power of labor—such are the essential conditions of a socialist transformation.

In France this transformation must follow the path concordant

with our national conditions, relying on the support of the people's creative activity, developing and enriching our country's best democratic traditions. In this new society, we would especially like to see flourishing cooperation between all democratic parties, working for socialism and in the interests of socialism. And, finally, a socialist France will be an independent and peaceful France. It will base its relations with other countries on equality and respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's affairs, on international cooperation void of any discrimination. It will work to consolidate relations of international solidarity between the people of France and all the socialist, anti-imperialist and progressive forces the world over.

Such are the fundamental aims of the French Communist Party. They are approved by millions of Frenchmen. In all circumstances we will continue appealing to the working class and all our people to struggle for their fulfilment, for they correspond to their vital interests.

What road do we recommend to achieve the triumph in our country of a truly new policy based on these principles? The establishment of a broad union of the labor and democratic forces for the mobilizing perspective of a future replacement of the coalition of Rightist and Centrist conservative rulers by a democratic government, representing the people's aspirations and capable of leading France through a definite stage on the road to socialism.

Since our two parties exercise a decisive influence on the working people, a political agreement between them would be the basis for unification of the majority, as we said in our joint statement of December 18, 1969. This would lead to better conditions for the people's struggle for the triumph of a truly new national policy. It would reinforce our two parties and all democratic forces of the country.

We consider such an agreement to be possible.

On many problems concerning a democratic renovation and then a socialist transformation of society, the initial results of the negotiations started by our parties reveal common views. In fact, we have already been able to jointly formulate many essential principles, providing a solid basis for a far-reaching agreement.

Proceeding from this, it is possible, in our view, to work in common to conclude a political agreement which, in accordance with the December 18, 1969 joint statement, would aim at, "replacing the existing system by a new regime of economic and political democracy and opening the way for a transition to socialism, in order to build it in common, taking into consideration the traditions, characteristic traits and aspirations of the French people."

To respond to the exigencies of the labor and democratic strug-

gle in the present conditions, the agreement between our two parties should not be reduced to a transient agreement or contract dictated by circumstances and concluded in connection with the election campaign. Together, we must determine and propose to other Left formations and all labor and democratic forces, to all people of France, a really joint program of struggle and government.

As a component of the long-range struggle for a socialist France, the central objective of this program would be to propose a policy to the people of France that would be followed by a government of democratic unity, measures which it would propose to take without delay and the first economic and social reforms which it would carry out with them and for them.

Such a joint program would open up a new perspective for the people's struggle. This is what is expected by men and women, so many of whom approved the union's progress at the recent municipal elections, because they saw the dawn of a new hope. United action by the working people and democrats will gain added confidence and militancy from our agreement.

New millions of Frenchmen would join the common struggle. The resultant broad movement leaning on the majority would make it possible to break the power of big capital and to find a democratic solution to the social and political crisis in our country, in keeping with the interests of the people and country.

It is in this spirit that we propose again to conclude a political agreement and to elaborate a joint program of struggle and of government.

True, at the end of the first stage of our negotiations there still remain questions that have to be clarified and differences to be surmounted. In view of this we consider that the realization of a fundamental political agreement between our parties depends entirely on the determination of the Socialist Party to exclude definitely any alliance with forces representing capitalism, including those that pose as the "center" and pseudo-reformists, and to take action in defense of the interests of the working class and all the toiling people in order to terminate the domination of the country by big capital and establish a regime of political and economic democracy, to build a truly socialist society.

As soon as the Socialist Party decides to resolutely take this road, the drafting of a political agreement respecting the identity of each of our parties will encounter no insurmountable obstacles on our side.

These are the considerations, dear comrades, which we wanted to submit to you.

Together with millions of working people, democrats and republicans, we would like to see your Congress state its definite ap-

proval of an agreement between our two parties in the struggle
for an advanced democracy, for a socialist France.

With fraternal greetings,

Central Committee,
Communist Party of France

Rosny, June 4, 1971.

STATEMENTS BY NATIONAL BUREAU OF INDEPENDENCE CONGRESS PARTY OF MADAGASCAR (ICPM)

I

Having carefully studied the recent political events in the country, the National Bureau of the ICPM makes the following statement.

It is evident

—that a considerable section of the public has realized the necessity for profound changes in all spheres of life in the country;

—that the Development Planning Days held in Ankondrano brought the situation home to the public, which wants concrete action to follow the unanimously adopted ideas and demands;

—that, on the other hand, alarming political events have taken place and that imperialism was able rapidly to consolidate its domination of our country's economy.

The ICPM considers it its duty to reaffirm that only socialism can bring about profound changes that will lead the country out of the present impasse. In connection with this the Party recalls once again that the nation's healthy forces meeting in Ankondrano expressed their point of view on this problem, declaring:

Socialism means:

—revealing and defending the interests of the majority and not the minority; the mass of the peasants being specially designated as part of this majority;

—a democratic system based on respect for the will and opinion of the people, legality and justice;

—concentrating in the hands of the state (or the people) of the basic means of production, notably those branches of the economy that determine the country's development and progress.

It means:

—applying socialist principles in the economy, which must be geared to developing production to satisfy the interests and requirements of the people and ensure their welfare, primarily developing rice production;

—delimiting of the public sectors;

—these sectors are those determining the country's development, first of all power sources, marketing of rice, the banks and insurance.

The ICPM maintains that these principles could serve as a basis

Excerpts from the May 27 and June 5 statements on the situation in the country.

for the country's development and achievement of economic independence.

The recent events in the country connected with the international situation show that imperialism has launched a widespread offensive against Africa and Madagascar and is using various methods to achieve its aims, such as:

- outright subversion in order to provoke mass unrest;
- dividing the people according to ethnic, tribal and religious differences through anti-communist propaganda;
- bribery of national leaders and officials in order to thwart all projects that are beneficial to the people and could promote the country's progress.

It is a well-known fact that foreign monopoly capital has installed itself in Madagascar lately, using its investments to exploit our natural riches. The ICPM especially stresses the penetration by the most reactionary international forces, those from the USA, South Korea, South Vietnam, South Africa and Portugal. The ICPM states emphatically that our country is in grave danger. All this encourages the reactionary forces.

It was in these adverse conditions affecting the country's future that the Executive Bureau of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) was dismissed. The ICPM has always maintained positions of respect for the internal affairs of each party. However, the incontestable fact is that the SDP has a majority in Parliament and members of the SDP are in all key posts in the country. Therefore, dismissal of the SDP leadership will one way or another influence the life of the country.

The ICPM National Bureau recalls certain facts that took place at the beginning of the year and which, in its view, are connected with this dismissal: dissolution of the government only a few months after its formation; a reshuffle of ministers; appointment of officials to key posts after they had been removed from other key posts by the government.

The ICPM points out that these changes have resulted in the concentration of state power in the hands of one person and of power in the hands of the majority party.

The ICPM notes therefore that the present political situation shows two main trends: towards orientating the national structures towards a regime of personal power, and, on the other hand, towards encouraging the country's penetration by foreign reactionary forces.

The ICPM again calls on the Malagasy people and all countrymen to be vigilant and to show political vision, so as to frustrate all demobilizing campaigns and maneuvers. Everyone should come out in defense of the principles of democracy, socialism and national unity.

Tananarive, May 27, 1971.

II

Following the arrest of Andre Resampa, former Vice-President and General Secretary of the SDP, and of two other persons as his accomplices on charges of treason and secret dealings with the U.S. embassy, the National Bureau of the ICPM recalls, first of all, its statement of May 27, 1971.

These events confirm the correctness of the ICPM position. The ICPM once again points to the maneuvers of American imperialism and CIO secret agencies.

American imperialist subversion is aimed at undermining the movements and forces that are working for peace, progress, democracy and socialism. The United States does not stop short of using any methods in achieving its aims, from violence and murder to such cynical means as:

- fabrication of false documents;
- bribing journalists, especially those who call themselves "nationalists," defending anti-socialist ideas in order to spread confusion among the people and facilitate provocations;
- using the activity of certain churches for purposes having nothing in common with religion;
- speculating on poverty and bribing citizens;
- misleading and bribing the youth, making them subservient to the so-called American way of life;
- taking advantage of merchants or persons having business connections with American companies and firms;
- double-dealing in order to get rid of undesirable rivals or accomplices.

The ICPM points out that American imperialist subversion and spying in the country are facilitated by the opportunities accorded to the companies who intend to exploit Madagascar's oil and other natural resources, and by the various U.S. specialists in the country.

The ICPM demands annulment of agreements between the Malagasy and U.S. governments concerning the NASA station in Imerintsiatosika, because this supposedly research station is actually part of American imperialist military plans in this region of the Indian Ocean.

The ICPM demands strict control of the movement of all Americans arriving in the country, whatever the activity they are going to engage in, including religious activity.

The ICPM demands that the American cultural center be closed down, because it is undoubtedly a cover for various information agents, exploiting young people of Malagasy for that purpose.

Though the United States is undeniably at the head of world imperialism, the ICPM stresses that this should not make us forget

or underestimate the equally dangerous activities of other imperialists.

The ICPM demands open trials of all individuals held under arrest, full repeal of the anti-democratic ordinance No. 60-063 of July 22, 1970, incompatible with human rights.

The ICPM notes the rapid evolution of various political forces in the country:

- significant changes have taken place or are under way in the SDP, though it is still difficult to foresee their consequences;

- the reactionary forces planned to unite their forces on the basis of nationalism for attacking the ideas of socialism and its cause:

- the Leftists resort to diversions and provocations, especially among the youth, asserting everywhere that only violence can lead to changes. This is grist to the mill of imperialism.

In these conditions the attacks continue against the ICPM, the bastion of socialism in Madagascar. Various provocations are being planned in order to facilitate dissolution of the ICPM.

The ICPM emphatically reaffirms its fidelity to the principles and line of conduct determined by its Congresses; a peaceful struggle to achieve Party goals; unity of all forces working for socialism in order to prevent reaction from carrying out its plans.

The ICPM appeals to all members and sections of the Party and to all its countrymen to expose the provocations by the imperialists and their agents, to remain calm and true to principles, to show maximum vigilance in relation to certain organizations and newspapers engaged in subversion against socialism.

Tananarive, June 5, 1971.

THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE, CONCERN FOR THEIR WELL-BEING — THE SUPREME AIM OF THE PARTY'S ACTIVITIES

LEONID BREZHNEV MEETS THE ELECTORATE

On June 11, the electorate of the Bauman Constituency in Moscow met in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses with their candidate to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The participants in the meeting gave a standing ovation to Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, G. I. Voronov, V. V. Grishin, A. N. Kosygin, F. D. Kulakov, K. T. Mazurov, A. J. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, D. S. Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, Y. V. Andropov, P. N. Demichev, D. F. Ustinov, I. V. Kapitonov, K. F. Katushev, B. N. Ponomaryov, M. S. Solomentsev.

The meeting was opened by V. N. Makeyev, First Secretary of the Bauman District Committee of the CPSU.

The speakers at the meeting—a worker, a scientist, a teacher, and a student—had words of warm approval to say about the foreign policy of our Leninist Party, about the Bauman constituency candidate to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and stressed L. I. Brezhnev's close ties with the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia, his great wartime services, his concern for the war veterans and the younger generation. His constant contacts with working people are a distinguishing fine trait of L. I. Brezhnev, an outstanding political figure and statesman. The participants in the meeting expressed their confidence that the electorate would unanimously cast their votes for their candidate.

SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear comrades, Dear Muscovites,

The working people of the Bauman Constituency have accorded me a great honor. They have again nominated me to run for the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Permit me to thank the working people of the organizations and institutions who have nominated me, all comrades — both Communists and non-Party people, veterans of labor and the young people who will discharge

Pravda, June 12, 1971.

their lofty civic duty for the first time this year, taking part in the elections of the bodies of Soviet power. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the trustees who have spoken here at this meeting, to the canvassers and all other comrades who have done a lot of work during the election campaign.

I regard this as your confidence in the Party, above all, in its efforts and struggle, its aims and plans. These aims and plans of the Party, comrades, are the aims and plans of the whole of our people, all Soviet people.

At election meetings it is customary to report on the results of the work accomplished in the period following the previous elections. However, today all are apparently well aware of these results. The 24th Party Congress which closed but two months ago and which held its sittings in this very hall considered from all angles the results of the splendid labor efforts of our people in the preceding five-year period. We are rightfully proud of these results. At the same time we regard them as a starting point for advance towards new heights of social progress.

Our path of advance, the general line of our development for the next five-year period and for a longer term have been determined by the decisions of the Congress. As you know, the purpose of these decisions is to ensure a considerably higher material and cultural level of the people on the basis of high rates of development of socialist production, higher efficiency, scientific and technological progress and accelerated growth of labor productivity.

In other words, the 24th CPSU Congress has mapped out a significant turn in the country's entire economy, all its sectors, all the leading bodies and the Party and state personnel towards solving the task of improvement of the living standards of the people. We have never set such goals on such a broad plane before.

The interests of the people, concern for their well-being and spiritual and cultural advancement is the supreme aim of the Party's activities. The Party itself was founded for this purpose. The Revolution was effected to secure this goal. For this, Soviet people had courageously surmounted tremendous difficulties and made great sacrifices. Today we can say with pride that our struggle and our efforts have borne fruit. The heroic and Herculean Soviet people have triumphantly passed through all the trials. They have now emerged onto the broad and bright road indicated by the Party of Lenin, the road to communism. As is said in the well-known revolutionary song, they are forging the keys of happiness. And this happiness which has been built up by the people themselves will be the best reward to many generations of selfless fighters for our Communist cause.

The targets of the Ninth Five-Year Plan adopted by the 24th Party Congress are indeed impressive. We shall build hundreds of

new factories and plants, giant electric power stations and long transport arteries. Besides, our plans provide for the re-equipment and reconstruction of thousands of enterprises built earlier, for the comprehensive introduction of new equipment and new production techniques. We shall also build many housing projects, schools, hospitals, stadiums and houses of culture.

Serious problems will also have to be tackled in the countryside. It is essential to ensure a sizable increase in crop yields and livestock productivity, to unfold on a broader scale work for improving the living conditions of the rural workers. We have indeed lots to do. It should be said that the tasks in hand are very important and as a rule not easy. Our countryside will be able to cope with these tasks only if it is duly assisted by the town, i.e., if the working class produces the necessary quantities of farm machinery, fertilizers, herbicides and many other material and technical means. Boosting output of farm products is the concern of all Soviet people.

In a word, comrades, we all have to work hard to accomplish the plans we have adopted. We have work enough for all—for our glorious working class, for our collective farmers and for our intellectuals.

The course set by the Congress has met with thorough understanding and full support on the part of the Soviet people. The working people of town and country have readily responded to the call of the Party to enhance their activity in the upbuilding of communism. They are helping to execute the decisions of the Congress of the Leninist Party with practical deeds and conscientious labor.

The Soviet scientists have responded to the decisions of the Congress with new outstanding achievements, particularly in the field of space research and exploration of celestial bodies. In addition to the diligent Lunokhod which is still functioning on the Moon, in addition to our two automatic stations which are proceeding to Mars, we have now launched the world's first orbital manned station—the Salyut. Like a hospitable hostess it has received two visitors: the spaceships Soyuz 10 and Soyuz 11. The gallant crew of the station—cosmonauts Georgi Dobrovolsky, Vladislav Volkov and Viktor Patsayev—have been working successfully, conducting important research in the interests of the Soviet people and the whole of mankind. Comrades, all this impressively demonstrates our mighty industrial potential, the possibilities of our technology and science which is to make a very big contribution to the accomplishment of the grand program of development of the USSR outlined by the Congress.

In the last few weeks election meetings have been held in practically every locality of our boundless country. Tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people have spoken at these meetings.

The people have instructed their candidates to do their utmost to fulfil the new Five-Year Plan, to carry out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

Here at this meeting with the electorate of the Bauman District of Moscow I cannot but say a few kind words about the working people of our capital. Muscovites have long been in the lead of the all-Union socialist emulation movement. In the last few years they have introduced quite a few valuable proposals which have won nationwide recognition and support. And now, in the early months of the new five-year period, the Muscovites have proposed to emulate for the accomplishment of the production plans for the current year of 1971 ahead of schedule. This initiative, taken up by thousands of collectives in our country, is fully in keeping with the glorious traditions of the working people of the capital.

It is pleasant to note that the workers, engineers, technicians and office employees of the Bauman District hold a worthy place among the foremost workers. Last year the working people of the Bauman District fulfilled the industrial output target by September 30. They have made a good start this year too. In the socialist emulation drive the enterprises of the district have put out several million roubles' worth of products above the planned quota. Comrades, I would like to wish you all success in living up to your pledges in the first year of the five-year period. I am sure you will manage to accomplish more than you have undertaken to do.

It is particularly noteworthy that in Moscow enterprises, including those of your district, there is an increasing number of excellent quality teams and sections. In upholding the honor of the capital, the honor of the Moscow trademark, the workers of the city have shown that they have understood full well the ideas of the 24th CPSU Congress and have taken them closely to heart. Conscientious efficient labor contributed by each worker, coupled with high quality of the products, is the key to the solution of the big problems confronting us in the new five-year period, to securing a higher level in the national economy as a whole, in our entire life. This is the only way to real and sizable improvement in the living standards of the working people. And the Soviet people headed by the Party are confidently marching along this road. And we shall never turn away from this road.

Comrades, the day after tomorrow the people will elect deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, the territorial, regional, area, city, district, village and settlement Soviets. The deputies will be given a mandate for managing the affairs of society in the next few years.

It is not difficult to imagine the tremendous scope of work that will have to be shouldered by the newly elected Soviets. They will play a very big role in boosting output both in town and country-

side. The execution of the plans for the construction of houses, schools and children's establishments, for the provision of local amenities and utilities, and for the uninterrupted supply of the working people with the necessary goods and services is the direct concern of the Soviets.

Nor can they overlook such questions as the organization of the leisure of the working people, the development of the network of sports, travel, cultural and other facilities. These matters are in large measure also the concern of the Soviets.

There is apparently no need to list here all the questions in the solution of which the activity of the Soviets and their initiative will play a decisive role. However, it is important to point out that the local authorities will have to shoulder a sizable share of the work on the practical realization of the decisions adopted by the 24th Congress of our Party. Today this must be the main contribution of the Soviets to the consolidation and development of the new socialist way of life.

To cope with the problems and tasks confronting the Soviets, the latter now have far greater possibilities. The legislative acts passed in recent years have essentially extended the powers enjoyed by the Soviets as the supreme bodies of state power in the localities. These acts have expanded their material and financial resources too. More enterprises, institutions and organizations charged with providing services to the population are being transferred to the Soviets. The Soviets now have the right to coordinate the work of the enterprises located on their territory, specifically to organize the production of mass consumer items. The Soviets are now in a position to do a lot to stimulate the work of the local industries, to organize cooperative workshops and different handicrafts.

In short, the Soviets are now in a position to do what the voters expect of them. But, of course, to this end the Soviets should make correct use of the means they have at their disposal and of the rights they enjoy.

Our public has repeatedly indicated that in many cases the Soviets fail to utilize in full measure the material and financial resources available to them or do so too slowly. Quite often money is used for financing projects which cannot be regarded as projects of primary importance. The Soviets do not always take advantage of their right to pool the funds of enterprises and organizations allocated for the construction of housing, cultural and service establishments. The result is that the living conditions of the people are not improved as they should be. We cannot put up with that, comrades. The newly elected Soviets have to take decisive steps to overcome these shortcomings.

The Soviets can do very much with the funds secured in excess of their plans for budgetary income or of saved funds. However, it

should also be pointed out that there have been cases when funds which under the law should be spent by the Soviets have been withdrawn by higher local governmental bodies. This is an infringement of the rights of the Soviets. Such action fetters the initiative of the local functionaries. More than that, it leaves them with a feeling of just resentment against those who violate our legality in such a manner. Comrades, there must be nothing of the kind.

Since we are discussing the unrealized possibilities of the Soviets I would like to recall the following. The Central Committee Report to the 24th CPSU Congress pointed out that we have many people, such as pensioners, housewives and disabled persons who would have gladly worked to the measure of their strength in the sphere of services on a cooperative basis, for instance. To enlist the services of these people in socially useful activity, to mobilize their efforts is another task of the Soviets.

It is evident that this activity should be governed by the corresponding legal norms. If such norms do not exist it will be necessary to elaborate them. The main purpose is to give all possible support to initiative aimed at promoting the welfare of society and at improving the services.

It would be a good thing for Muscovites to display initiative in this undertaking too. It would perhaps be worthwhile to set the following concrete task to each district Soviet of the capital: each district Soviet should organize several cooperative tailoring shops, dining halls and other similar enterprises. This would make it possible to try out in practice the strong and weak points of such an undertaking and then to sum up the experience accumulated and to draw the pertinent conclusions on a broader plane.

And now a few words about the style and method of work of our Soviets. The Soviets, particularly the local Soviets, are precisely those authorities the ordinary Soviet citizen comes in contact with most often. The working people come to the Soviets with their everyday needs, they come there when they want an answer to one question or another, to solve some problem of theirs.

The people who work in the Soviets are good, conscientious and competent people who like their jobs. They display concern for all aspects of life in their district or settlement. However, it is a fact that there are still unfortunate exceptions to this rule. It sometimes happens that when a citizen comes to his local Soviet he does not get the welcome that should be extended to him. He meets with ill will and his problem remains unsolved. And if it is solved he will first be made to come again and again.

We still have comrades who regard receiving visitors on personal matters as a thing of minor importance which does not warrant special attention. They say they have more important matters to attend to. Of course, people who work on the Soviets have lots on

their hands. However, the attitude they display to the needs of the people, including personal needs, is not a thing of minor importance. This attitude is an important indicator of the level of the work at the given Soviet.

I would like to recall that V. I. Lenin repeatedly drew attention to the need to persistently struggle against bureaucratic distortions in the work of the bodies of Soviet power. Given the support of the Party organizations, the Soviets should resolutely fight such distortions.

The decisions of the 24th Congress say that the work of the Soviets will be effective only if it is widely supported by the masses. Already now there are several million voluntary activists working in the Soviets and their numbers are growing continuously. This is a good and important indicator of the truly democratic character of the work in the Soviets. But building up a wide circle of activists around the Soviets does not mean that this will solve all the problems. Far from it.

The object is to ensure constant contact between the Soviets and the entire mass of voters. The decision of the CPSU Central Committee of March 5, 1971, points out the need to ensure that the population, the voters are kept informed about all the practical affairs of the Soviets, that they take an active part in the measures undertaken by the Soviets. The most important matters bearing on the life of the districts and towns should be submitted for discussion by the working people at the enterprises and at their place of residence. To make this a rule and norm in the work of the Soviets is the direct duty of the deputies now being elected.

The essence of socialist democracy is to draw the broadest possible mass of working people into active participation in solving social matters. And who, if not the Soviets, in the first place, should translate this principle of socialist sovereignty of the people into life.

It is important to stress at this point what we have said more than once before: in their big and important job, our Soviets, their staffs should receive constant assistance and support from all Party organizations. The duty of the Communists is to do everything necessary to improve and activate all the work of the Soviets.

The Soviets are our own people's power. It was born in the flames of revolution. The Great October Revolution triumphed under the slogan: "All power to the Soviets!" Soviet power secured the victory of socialism in our country. And the whole activity of the Soviets today is subordinated to the solution of the greatest historic task of building communism.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, by his own example, showed us how Communists should help build up the Soviets and enhance their role. So let us, comrades, in this matter, too, be worthy continuers of the cause of the great Lenin!

Comrades, since we all shall take part on Sunday in forming the highest organ of authority of the Russian Federation—the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR—it is appropriate at this point to touch upon certain issues connected with the further development of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

I have had occasion to be in many Union Republics these last few years, and everywhere—in the Ukraine and in Georgia, in Kazakhstan and Armenia, in Byelorussia and Azerbaijan—everywhere the people spoke with great warmth, with respect and affection about the contribution the Russian Federation has made to the development of all the Republics of our country. These sincere words of gratitude have been merited by the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia of Soviet Russia. Their labor, their will and intellect, their disinterestedness and heartfelt generosity played a vital part in the practical implementation of the Party's national policy, in the transformation of former backward outlying national territories of tsarist Russia into flourishing socialist Republics.

In the constellation of the equal Republics, the Russian Federation holds a leading place—in respect to population, territory, natural wealth, its economic and scientific and technical potential.

The working people of the Russian Federation successfully fulfilled the tasks of the Eighth Five-Year Plan. In the course of five years production assets and output of industrial goods increased by 50 per cent. The agricultural production growth rates have also risen. Annual average output of agricultural produce in 1966-1970 was 20 per cent higher than in the previous five-year-plan period.

All this is very good, comrades, but the assignment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan and the targets for the more distant future call for a further and faster advance on a broader front than before. Life teaches us that the broader this front and the more tasks have to be tackled simultaneously, the more imperative the need of solving them in combination, systematically and purposefully, taking into account the complex and versatile dependence between individual areas of the country, between sectors of the national economy, between all spheres of social life. In a word, what we need is a complex, systematic approach to the elaboration of major decisions. We have adopted such an approach and shall consistently apply it.

Not so long ago, for instance, the Politbureau of the Central Committee examined the question of measures for the development of agriculture in the Smolensk Region. We strove to approach the problem on a broad plane and to solve it with due consideration to the requirements of all sectors of agriculture, and their ties with industry, transport, trade, etc. The Central Committee's decision, therefore, embraces such matters as the improvement of elevator, refrigerator and storage facilities, the erection of power transmission lines and substations, the construction of a casting yard for

reinforced-concrete elements and a large-panel housing plant, the training of skilled cadres, and much else.

It is important to continue and to expand the practice of complex, comprehensive examination of the state of affairs in groups of regions of the Russian Federation, for instance, the Center Black Earth zone, the North-West area, the European North, the Volga areas, the Urals, and others. Special attention should be given to such problems as land improvement, a further rise in crop yields, the development of livestock breeding, road construction, amenities in the countryside, and the future of small towns.

I would like to dwell particularly on questions of more intensive development of natural resources and the buildup of the economic potential of Siberia and the Far East. Speaking about plan assignments, the share of the Eastern areas in the Russian Federation's production in the new five-year-plan period should rise from 11.8 to 31.5 per cent in oil production, from 13.4 to 45.4 per cent in gas production, from 58.2 to 64.5 per cent in coal extraction, and from 22.4 to 31.3 per cent in cellulose manufacture.

That, however, is but the quantitative side of the issue. No matter how important as such are the quoted indicators, it is no less important how, in what way, with what methods it is planned to solve such a big and important task as the further development of the Eastern areas of the Russian Federation. As an example I can refer to the recently adopted decision on measures for the all-round development in 1971-1980 of the productive forces of Krasnoyarsk Territory.

These measures envisage the construction of large power stations and the setting up, on this basis, of a new center of electricity generation and power-consuming enterprises, including the East-Siberian electro-metallurgical works; the launching of a large-scale petrochemical complex; the better use of timber resources; a noticeable growth in agricultural production and development of enterprises of the light and food industries, and the establishment of scientific institutions. Naturally, along with this, it is planned to build houses and schools, cultural centers and municipal and public services.

Decisions of this nature and scale, binding into a single whole factors of a most diversified character—economic, socio-political, demographic, geographic, and many others—should be drawn up, notably, on the Bratsk economic complex, the Sayan territorial-production complex, and the West Siberian oil base. It is essential later to start elaborating corresponding complex programs of development for Yakutia, Chukotka, and all the other areas of the Far East and Siberia.

Advancing such a task, the Party pins big hopes on the Siberian branch and Far Eastern department of the USSR Academy of

Sciences. It is, after all, a question of a truly scientific approach to the development of vast territories of the Russian Federation, an approach that would combine a solution of urgent present-day tasks with due consideration to the long-range prospects of the country's development. We must work today in such a way that our children and grandchildren can add more and more new storeys to the edifice which we are erecting and not to re-do what has already been done.

Let us be frank, comrades, these great tasks cannot be solved to the end and in full measure in one five-year period or even two. But already now, by mobilizing existing resources and leaning on local initiative, we can accomplish a great deal.

Permit me to express confidence that Communists and all working people of the multinational Russian Federation will successfully carry out the historic decisions of the 24th Party Congress and make a worthy contribution to the further progress of our great socialist country.

Comrades, we all, Muscovites, are proud of living and working in our wonderful city. To make the capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics still more beautiful and well-appointed is one of the Party's constant concerns.

Back in 1935 the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR endorsed a master plan for the reconstruction of Moscow. This was the first social and city-building document of such a scale in world history. Under this plan, which was specified and supplemented in subsequent years, the appearance of the ancient Russian capital has changed considerably. In the years of Soviet government the population of Moscow has almost quadrupled and now totals more than seven million. In the same period, city housing has increased nearly sixfold. Industrial output has gone up more than 100-fold. Splendid avenues and thoroughfares have been built, and imposing buildings have been put up. Eighty-nine Metro underground stations have been built. Today Moscow is actually one of the best-planned capitals in the world.

However, the complicated and quickened rhythm of urban life and the rapidly growing requirements of the population call for fresh solutions. Our aim is to transform Moscow into a model conveniently planned communist city, with a modern architecture, high standards of amenities and sanitary and hygienic facilities. The other day, as you know, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR approved the main provisions of a new master plan for the development of Moscow and a protection belt of forest parks. This plan, which was reported in the papers yesterday, embraces a period up to 1985-1990 with longer-range forecasts taken into account.

At one time, in the early years of Soviet power, Lenin, in a con-

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versation with architects, said that Moscow should be rebuilt in such a way that it should be aesthetically attractive and be a comfortable city to live in. The new master plan is precisely aimed at carrying out this instruction of Lenin's. It is orientated on using the latest achievements in city-building, and at the same time, on preserving the distinctive historically-evolved appearance of Moscow. It combines doubled output by the capital's industrial enterprises with a considerable improvement of working conditions, welfare and recreation of the working people.

The question now is to translate this plan into life. Naturally, the whole country will take part in the development of the capital, but the main tasks will have to be tackled by the Muscovites, by the Party and YCL organizations of the city, by the trade unions, the Moscow City Soviet, and the district Soviets of the capital. It goes without saying that considerable work also lies ahead for the Communists, for all residents of the Bauman district.

I hope that Muscovites will fulfil these tasks with honor. I would advise you, comrades, to demand more of your Deputies—those in the districts, and in the Moscow City Soviet, and in the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. Let our Soviets, our Deputies constantly feel that their work in carrying out the Congress decisions and the assignments of the Five-Year Plan is always under control of the electorate. That, I am sure, will be for the best.

Comrades, the practical work in promoting the political line of the 24th CPSU Congress embraces not only internal problems of the country's development but also our foreign policy.

The 24th Congress reaffirmed that the Soviet Union's foreign policy is characterized by purposefulness and consistency, an approach to the solution of current problems from the viewpoint of the perspective, long-range targets and tasks. As before, we shall promote in every way the development of cooperation among the socialist countries, and the consolidation of the world socialist system. As before, we shall strengthen our militant alliance and friendship with the young national-democratic states, with all forces of the anti-imperialist movement. As before, we shall oppose aggression, and work for universal peace, for the replacement of military blocs and groupings by collective security systems.

Only two months have elapsed since the Congress, but we have made definite steps forward in all the main directions of foreign policy activities. Among the most recent developments the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the United Arab Republic should be mentioned, first of all. This Treaty vividly reflects the close friendship, mutual support and understanding which distinguish the relations of the Soviet Union with progressive Arab states. We regard this document as one more proof of the growing unity of the anti-imperialist front of the peoples.

The outcome of the visit to the Soviet Union of Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau also deserves mention. The Soviet-Canadian Protocol on Consultations, just like the Soviet-French Protocol, signed earlier during the visit to the USSR of President Pompidou of France, shows convincingly the great opportunities of active political cooperation among states with differing social systems. The greater the interest our partners show in maintaining peace, in developing economic, scientific and technical and other ties, the broader the possibilities and the easier their realization.

This in full measure refers also to such a major issue of the times as stopping the arms race. In view of its tremendous importance, permit me to dwell in greater detail on certain questions concerning this matter.

The struggle against militarism and for disarmament has, since Lenin's time, always been an inalienable component of the foreign policy activities of the Soviet state. Our country, our Party, adhere to this course today, too. Added proof of this are the documents of the 24th Congress, which formulate a whole set of concrete proposals aimed both at the adoption of partial measures and at the creation of foundations for general and complete disarmament.

Some may say that the Soviet state had repeatedly made proposals of this kind in the past as well, but they were not accepted by the other side. Is not this evidence of the unreality of plans for disarmament, of limiting the arms drive in a world where capitalism still exists, where the imperialist powers continue to exert considerable influence on the international situation?

It stands to reason that the fight for disarmament is a complicated matter. In this, like in many other foreign policy issues, we come up against stubborn resistance on the part of the imperialist forces. Nevertheless, we regard the proposals set forth by the 24th CPSU Congress not as propaganda slogans, but as action slogans, mirroring political aims which are becoming ever more attainable in our epoch.

What permits us to pose the question thus? First and foremost, it is the changed correlation of forces, both socio-political and military, in the world.

Only a few years ago, the imperialists, above all the American imperialists, seriously hoped, with the help of the arms race, to strengthen their positions on the world scene, and, at the same time, weaken the economy of the USSR and other socialist countries, and frustrate our plans of peaceful construction. The failure of such calculations of our enemies has now become most obvious. Everybody now sees that socialism is strong enough to secure both reliable defenses and economic development, though, of course, without the large expenditures on defense, we would have advanced our economy much faster.

On the other hand, the imperialists, including those in the United States of America, the richest capitalist country, are experiencing ever more the adverse economic and political consequences of the unbridled arms drive. Enormous military spending engenders in the capitalist countries chronic inflation, causes systematic currency and financial crises, and hampers the solution of the sharpening internal problems.

Simultaneously, indignation is mounting among working people against the policy of militarism and aggression. The anti-war movement in the United States is becoming ever more massive and is exercising serious pressure on the government. Resistance to the growing military spending is also increasing in other NATO countries. As a result, even among a part of the ruling circles of Western states, the arms race is no longer regarded as an absolute blessing. All this, of course, to a certain degree facilitates the efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving countries in combating the arms drive. Such a fight is becoming more real than ever before.

This atmosphere undoubtedly adds significance to the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic arms, a positive outcome of which would, in our opinion, accord with the interests of the peoples of both countries, and the task of consolidating universal peace.

I have mentioned before that the determining factor for the success of these negotiations is strict observance of the principle of equal security of both sides, rejection of attempts to gain any unilateral advantages at the expense of the other side. I, therefore, would like to hope that the government of the United States, too, adopts a constructive attitude.

Washington also pays lip service to the principle of equal security, but, in fact, the American side cannot force itself to consistently promote this in life. For instance, a hullabaloo is systematically raised in the United States—especially on the eve of the adoption in Washington of a new military budget—over Soviet defense programs. The measures which we take to strengthen defense are pictured as practically a kind of “perfidy,” as a direct threat to the success of the talks. But, we ask, on what grounds does Washington expect us to reject already adopted programs, if the American government itself, throughout the period of negotiations adopted several major decisions on a buildup of its strategic forces? It is high time to abandon the double measure, the double standard of assessing one's own moves and the moves of the other side.

And this refers not only to missiles. The U.S. propaganda machine has launched a whole campaign about the Soviet Navy. Washington, you see, regards as a threat that our naval vessels appear in the Mediterranean Sea, in the Indian Ocean, and in other seas, whereas the American politicians regard it as normal and natural

that their Sixth Fleet is permanently stationed in the Mediterranean right near the Soviet Union, one might say, and the Seventh Fleet off the coasts of China and Indochina.

We have never regarded and do not regard as ideal a situation when the navies of great powers sail for long periods at the other end of the world. We are ready to settle this problem, but to settle it as equals.

The Soviet Union is prepared, on the basis of such principles, to discuss any proposals. We for our part came out at the Congress with a number of initiatives—the banning of all types of mass-destruction weapons; the curtailment of military budgets of states, the total discontinuation of nuclear weapon tests. We also proposed the convocation of a conference of the five nuclear powers—the Soviet Union, the Peoples Republic of China, the United States, Britain and France. We are waiting for an answer to these proposals. The world public is also waiting.

You know that among our proposals there is one on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe. This is a major and independent question, and we and our allies have repeatedly voiced corresponding considerations on this matter. Practical results in its settlement would be of great importance for a détente and a lasting peace on the European continent. It can be noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union's point of view on this question has met with definite interest in most Western countries. The recent NATO session in Lisbon also had to take up the matter, but we still have no clear answer. We continue to be asked: does our proposal concern only foreign armed forces or does it also involve national armed forces? We could say in answer to that: We are prepared to discuss both aspects. We for our part reaffirm our readiness to give due attention to this whole important complex of questions. Naturally, we shall act in close contact with our allies.

Permit me, comrades, to assure you that the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, loyal to the 24th Party Congress decisions, will continue perseveringly and actively to pursue a foreign policy aimed at securing all conditions for the calm, peaceful endeavor of the Soviet people, and at strengthening the foundations of world peace. This is a Leninist foreign-policy line, and we shall consistently translate it into life.

Dear comrades, in the approaching elections, you, the electorate of the Bauman District of Moscow, like all Soviet electors, will be voting not only for individual candidates nominated by the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. What is actually being put to the vote is the political platform of this bloc. It is based on the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party, a congress which has charted a clear course for the further strengthening of the might of our country, for a further rise of the well-being and cultural stan-

dards of the Soviet people, for the further cohesion of Soviet society and development of socialist democracy, for the fight for peace and international security. Permit me to express confidence that the elections will fully confirm the approval by the entire people of the line of our Party.

In conclusion, I wish once again to thank you for your trust in me. Permit me to assure you that, as before, throughout my working life, I shall go on giving all my energy and strength to the cause of communism, to the cause of the people. For me, as a Communist, there are not and cannot be any other interests, any other aims.

Long live the indestructible unity of the Party and the people!

Long live our great socialist country!

Long live world peace!

Long live communism!

The meeting of the electorate with Comrade Brezhnev was a striking manifestation of the unbreakable unity of Party and people, of the Muscovites' wholehearted support for the Party's home and foreign policy and their determination to put into effect the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

SOCIALISM — THE FUTURE FOR YOUTH

Britain's young people today are growing up in a society from which many of them feel cut off.

It is a system dependent on profit, domination, conformity, a system of exploitation of millions by millionaires, of old people thrown on the scrapheap with insufficient to live on, a system which pours millions down the arms drain but denies milk to schoolchildren.

There are six million people, between 18 and 24, who are eligible to vote, but the last General Election had the lowest poll since 1945—which suggests that large numbers of new young voters didn't vote.

For young people living in the Britain of 1971 under a Tory Big Business Government, the future in terms of training, employment, wages and conditions is black.

Tens of thousands of young people leave Scotland, Wales and the North-East every year in search of employment, either in the Midlands or South-East England.

Youngsters who've stayed on at school to learn skills and trades find opportunities decreasing as one industry after another contracts.

Fewer apprenticeships are available. Young people with a secondary modern school education find themselves restricted to dead-end jobs.

And what a scandal it is that youngsters can leave school only to land up in the dole queue!

Britain is still a class-ridden society—divided into those who live on profits and dividends and those who do the work and produce the wealth.

So young people, as much as any other section of the working population, face the problems of rising prices, bad housing, inadequate health and educational facilities, poor public transport—all the burdens, in fact, which stem from a Government which is dedicated to supporting reaction and Big Business at home and abroad.

POVERTY AND PLENTY

In an age when man has already set foot on the moon, when a space station steadily encircles the globe—on the surface of the earth people continue to be exploited, oppressed and killed, with millions eking out an existence in poverty amidst plenty.

Morning Star, June 12, 1971.

number 14-15, 1971 69

But we are living in the middle of a technological and scientific revolution which can transform our lives.

This is the age of automation, the computer, atomic energy, but Britain under the Tories cannot and will not use such revolutionary developments for the good of all.

To do that we need a new way of life—Socialism.

A Socialist world would bring an end to wars and gigantic arms programs, an end to exploitation.

Socialism is, in fact, the only kind of society which can meet the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution now going on.

The changes are happening so quickly, only a planned society conducted by a government which controls all economic activity—a Socialist government—can see such changes through effectively.

In a Socialist Britain, industry and the State would be organized by working people, to benefit all. Democracy would be a reality; racialism would be wiped out; freedom of speech would be extended.

Under Socialism, affairs like Rolls-Royce could not happen; neither would the U.S. be permitted to own or control so much of our country's industry and commerce as it does today.

Citizens of a Socialist Britain would live in a good house for a rent equivalent to about five per cent or so of the household income. Eventually rent could be abolished altogether.

People buying houses would not be saddled with back-breaking interest charges.

For young people there would be fine schools turning out thousands of scientists and technologists to meet the demands of the new age, the continually expanding production and steadily rising living standards.

There would be more hospitals as good or better than the best there are today, supplemented by an efficient health service which included up-to-date, well-staffed health centers.

A Socialist Britain would have decent pensions for the elderly, with free transport and requirement-built housing.

With industry nationalized and the economy planned, unemployment would have disappeared. Automation, instead of bringing increased profits to the few and unemployment to many, would enable the working week to be steadily reduced.

Training for all trades and professions would be available regardless of sex. There would be equal pay for equal work.

Art, music, drama, all kinds of leisure and sports facilities would be available.

WORTHY OF HUMANITY

The people would not only have a hand in running the country, but the worker would participate in running his factory, and in deciding how its production, for the people, could be improved.

This doesn't mean that trade unions would disappear. They would continue, and so would the right to strike and the right to freely air grievances.

All of these things, and a lot more, could be achieved in a Socialist Britain.

The ownership by the people of the means of production, distribution and exchange is even more necessary now than in the days of Keir Hardie.

The first step is to get rid of the Tories—as quickly as possible.

Then we can start to sweep aside a society based on scarcity and greed, and build a life really worthy of humanity.

ISSUE IN WORLD IS NOT "SUPERPOWERS" BUT CLASS STRUGGLE

Recent press dispatches from China and elsewhere have been studded with references to "superpowers," presumably the United States and the Soviet Union. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, discusses these references in **Daily World** of June 12, 1971.

The world is not divided between "superpowers" and "non-superpowers." The central contradiction, the struggle in the world, is not between "superpower" and "non-superpowers."

The basic division of society is between two classes — the working class and the capitalist class. The basic division between social systems as they represent these classes is between the working class system of socialism and the capitalist class system of capitalism. The basic division in the world is between socialist nations and capitalist nations. The basic struggle in the world is the class struggle as represented in the struggle between the two systems.

This basic class division determines the interests and the world position for each country.

In countries where the working class is in power, in a fundamental sense the class interests and the national interests merge. This is true in domestic affairs as it is true in world relationships. The task of a revolutionary party is to find this path of merging interests.

To speak about "superpowers" in general terms is to forget the basic class essence of all phenomena. To speak about "superpowers" in the abstract is to forget the class struggle. To speak about "superpowers" is an opportunistic evasion of the class struggle.

We in the United States have for a long time had experience with such phrases. The most reactionary anti-working-class big business forces in the USA speak about the twin evils of "big business" and "big trade unions." Any worker known such forces and such slogans are not against big business. The "big business—big trade union" slogan is a cover for an attack on the trade unions, on the working class. It is a class slogan of monopoly capital. It is the "superpower" slogan for the domestic scene.

The "superpower" concept, no less than the "big business—big

trade union" concept is a slogan put out by monopoly capitalism, by imperialism.

On the domestic scene the "big business—big trade union" slogan blunts and confuses the anti-monopoly movement. On the world scene the "superpower" concept confuses and blunts the anti-imperialist sentiments. That is why U.S. imperialism, above all, pushes the classless "superpower" concept.

It is demagoguery to speak about a struggle against the most powerful imperialist world force, and also to speak about the evils of "superpowers."

To speak about "superpowers" in the abstract is to confuse the issue. It is a way of running interference for the dominant imperialist power. It is a cover for imperialist aggression.

It is in this sense that the remarks of Premier Chou En Lai of the People's Republic of China, as quoted in the June 9 issue of the *New York Times*, do a disservice to the struggle against imperialism and to the class struggle on a world scale.

Premier Chou En Lai spoke about "the evils of power politics of superpowers." There are no classless power politics. There is the power politics of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, which is the reactionary evil force in the world. There is a growing power of the socialist world, in alliance with other anti-imperialist forces, which is the progressive force in the world. In the very center of this force is the socialist Soviet Union.

The power of Soviet politics is totally committed to the struggle against imperialism. The power of U.S. imperialist politics is totally committed to oppression, to exploitation, to the enslavement of people.

Can one speak in the abstract about "superpower politics" in Indochina? Is the role of the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism the same in the Mid-East, in Africa, in Latin America? They are at the opposite dialectical poles. One is the main force of oppression and exploitation, the other the main outside force of support to the force of liberation and freedom. To speak about them in general terms as "superpowers" is a service to U.S. imperialism.

We in the United States, who have the historic responsibility of fighting against the most ferocious and most evil imperialism in the world, reject any concept that any socialist power, in any way, is similar to this reactionary force. We reject any concept that dilutes, camouflages or confuses the basic nature of this beast. To compare a socialist country to U.S. imperialism, in any sense, is a service to U.S. imperialism.

Years ago, during the U.S. aggression against Korea, the movement against U.S. imperialist policies, when it was in its initial stages, employed the slogan of "a plague on both your houses."

Our Party never accepted that because it was opportunism. We do not accept it in the struggles and movements of our people and we do not accept it as a legitimate concept in the world revolutionary movement. We call down a "plague" only on the forces of imperialism. We say, a plague on imperialism, on capitalism.

We are for the closest unity of all forces in the world struggle against imperialism, in general, and against U.S. imperialism in particular. We are against any concept that in any way blurs over this class approach to all problems. We are against any concept that provides a way out, a cover for U.S. imperialism.

EIGHTH CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES, MEXICO AND PANAMA

Continuing a positive tradition of many years' standing, the Communist parties of the Central American countries, Mexico and Panama convened the Eighth Conference in order to exchange information on the political situation in their respective countries and experience in the anti-imperialist democratic and popular struggle.

The Conference went on record as stating that the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement in that region is developing and gaining force.

The delegates unanimously recognized the need to find better forms of cooperation among the Communist parties and between them and other progressive movements so as to establish on a regional scale, a united front of struggle against the common enemy—Yankee imperialism and the local oligarchy.

The Conference also voiced the need to step up the solidarity movement with all peoples struggling against imperialism and all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Considering the brutal reprisals practised for many years against democrats and revolutionaries in fraternal Nicaragua and Guatemala, the delegates stressed the necessity of displaying constant and more effective solidarity with them. It was likewise decided to step up the struggle for the liberation of political prisoners in Mexico and of all patriots languishing in the jails of other countries on the continent.

The Conference hailed the triumph of the Popular Unity forces in Chile as an event of great historical import for all of Latin America. This great victory of the Chilean people imparts fresh impetus to the process initiated by the Cuban revolution and opens a clear perspective of socialism for the continent. The delegates hailed the anti-imperialist and democratic processes in other Latin American countries such as Peru and Bolivia.

North American imperialism and its Latin American servitors are planning new military aggression on a grand scale against the people of Cuba. The Conference calls upon the peoples of Central America, Mexico, Panama and other regions of the continent to prevent imperialism from committing this new crime against the Cuban people, their sovereignty and right to self-determination. The Conference appeals to the peoples to rise in defense of revolutionary

Cuba if imperialism's madness leads it to commit aggression against Cuba.

The Conference voices its concern over attempts by reactionary circles in Central American countries to take advantage of the consequences of the armed conflict between Salvador and Honduras. Efforts are being made to reach a peace settlement so as to give more scope to the monopolies and the oligarchy, while preserving the poison of hatred and chauvinism dividing the peoples. The Conference calls upon the peoples of Salvador and Honduras to take the initiative in establishing a durable peace in Central America and not to permit themselves to be made victims of Yankee imperialist monopolies and the oligarchy in both countries.

The Conference greets the struggle of the people of North America against racism, for peace, against the ultra-reactionary groups and bellicose monopolies. The Conference believes that the present struggle of the American people plays a positive role within the framework of the world anti-imperialist movement and that this role will increase in the future.

Angela Davis symbolizes the American people who are rising against oppression, against the monopolies. The Conference calls for a struggle to save the life of this outstanding American revolutionary.

It was resolved to show greater solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, waging a heroic struggle against the criminal aggression of American imperialism.

The Conference also resolved to voice its solidarity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU at a time when they are the main object of attacks by the forces of reaction and imperialism who are striving to turn anti-Sovietism into one of the main weapons of counter-revolution.

The Communist parties of the Central American countries, Mexico and Panama resolved to continue meetings for exchanging opinions and finding the best and most effective means of cooperation.

The Communist Party of Mexico

The Guatemalan Party of Labor

The Communist Party of Salvador

The Communist Party of Honduras

The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

The People's Party of Panama

Last minute obstacles prevented the Socialist Party of Nicaragua from sending a representative.

Central America, June 6, 1971.

JOINT SOVIET-GUINEAN COMMUNIQUE

A Soviet Communist Party delegation headed by D. Rasulov, CC CPSU member and First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Tajikistan, visited the Republic of Guinea between May 13 and 22, 1971 at the invitation of the National Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea.

The CPSU delegation attended the celebrations to mark the 24th anniversary of the Democratic Party of Guinea and visited the Kindia, Labe, Pita, Dalaba and Mamou administrative regions, where it had friendly discussions with leaders of local Party organizations.

On May 20, the CPSU delegation was received by President A. Sekou Toure, General Secretary of the DPG.

The delegation conveyed to President Sekou Toure a message of good will from L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. A friendly discussion was held between the CPSU delegation and President Sekou Toure concerning the international situation, the anti-imperialist struggle and other questions of interest to both sides. The representatives of the two Parties condemned the imperialist aggression in Indochina and the Middle East and the attempts by imperialist and neo-colonialist circles to undermine African unity and the liberation movements against the Portuguese colonialists. Both sides expressed militant solidarity with the courageous struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the Arab states and with the patriotic forces in Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The CPSU delegation congratulated the DPG leadership on the Guinean people's success in warding off attacks against the Republic of Guinea by the Portuguese aggressor and expressed high praise for DPG efforts to further strengthen Guinea's national independence and its development along the socialist road. The DPG leadership expressed gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet government for supporting Guinea in repulsing the Portuguese aggression.

The Soviet delegation was informed of the preparations for new imperialist aggression from the territory of Guinea (Bissau) with the support of Western countries.

The CPSU delegation assured the Guinean side of active solidarity by the CPSU and the Soviet people in the face of new imperialist plots against the Republic of Guinea.

Agreement was reached on broadening mutual exchanges of Party

delegations at various levels to study the political experience of each Party and to provide for a more regular exchange of information on problems of interest to the DPG and the CPSU.

THE CPSU AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY PARTY OF CHILE

On June 1, a meeting was held in the CC CPSU with a delegation of the Socialist Party of Chile, visiting the USSR at the invitation of the CC CPSU. Participating for the CPSU were CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev and CC CPSU Secretary B. N. Ponomaryov. The SPC was represented by C. Altamirano, General Secretary, R. Calderon, member of the CC SPC Political Commission and secretary of the SPC for work among the masses, and G. Elgueta, member of the CC SPC Political Commission.

The two sides discussed the international situation, the development of the national liberation movement and the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America, and other problems of interest to both sides.

The SPC delegation told about the policy conducted by the popular government and about the activities of Chilean Socialists and other parties in the Popular Unity coalition in fulfilling its program for radical social, economic and political changes and the transition to building socialism. The SPC delegation stressed the need to strengthen the Popular Unity coalition, especially the alliance between Socialists and Communists as an important factor in consolidating revolutionary gains.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev informed the SPC delegation of the plans for the building of communism adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress, the measures for further improving the material well-being of the Soviet people and a consistent implementation of foreign policy designed to strengthen peace and the security of the peoples and to give support to the forces waging a struggle against imperialism, for their national independence.

During the talks, held in a comradely atmosphere, the participants also discussed ways of promoting friendly ties between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Party of Chile. Both delegations expressed their desire to develop friendship and all-round cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Chile.

Pravda, June 2, 1971.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES

YUGOSLAVIA

On *June 16* President Tito addressed a meeting of the political aktiv in Belgrade.

He stressed that the League of Communists was on the eve of a reform and that the reform was needed. In the past and today, the LCY had not been up to its tasks, he said. It is important to place the LCY on a basis allowing it to surmount all the contradictions that have appeared and are appearing in Yugoslav society.

President Tito dwelt on problems of the organizational structure of the LCY and said this question would be discussed at the Second LCY Conference to be held before mid-October 1971.

J. Tito noted the importance of enhancing the leading role of the League of Communists which, he stressed, is the country's main cementing force. Ideologically, the League must interfere in all spheres. We must not allow small groups to weaken the socialist orientation of our development. It is especially important to prevent activity by hostile elements who are agents of interests alien to our country.

President Tito underscored the significance of the ideological and political education of Communists, saying that the entire system of ideological and political education must fully correspond to the ideas of our great teachers, the classics of Marxism.

ISRAEL

The 19th Plenum of the CC, Communist Party of Israel, was held in Haifa *June 18-19*.

A report on the political and social struggle in Israel in the light of the Middle East events and the international situation was delivered by Party General Secretary Meir Vilner.

A Plenum resolution states that the Israeli ruling circles are continuing their aggressive and expansionist policy that serves the global interests of American imperialism and is aimed against the progressive regimes in the Arab countries.

The government is rapidly settling the occupied Arab territories. Israel's military expenditures are growing.

The CC CPI expressed support for the growing struggle of the working people of Israel for their rights, against racial discrimination. The CC CPI condemned the enforcement of emergency laws against strikers, interference by the authorities in labor conflicts and police repressions against strikers.

The Plenum sharply criticized the Histadrut leadership for consenting to the enforcement of the emergency laws and called on all working people to prevent adoption of anti-strike laws.

The CC CPI protested against the police arbitrariness of the Israeli authorities, prohibiting members of the Party Central Committee to travel freely in the country.

LEBANON

On June 19 the weekly *Al-Akhbar* published a report by the Political Bureau of the CC, Lebanese Communist Party, saying in part:

The Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party met at the beginning of June to discuss a Politbureau report on convening the Party's third congress. The meeting approved the report and a draft agenda for the Congress. It resolved to convene the congress and to launch preparations in all Party organizations on the basis of the following agenda:

1. Report by the CC LCP on Party activities since the Second Congress;
2. Political theses on urgent problems in the light of the Party's political program;
3. The organizational situation in the Party. Changes in the Party Rules;
4. The Party's agricultural program;
5. Elections to Party bodies.

USSR

On June 20 *Pravda* reported results of the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics and local Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

The report says that the elections were held in a spirit of high political and labor activity to put into practice the decisions of the 24th Party Congress and mobilize working people for fulfilment of the targets of the ninth five-year economic development plan.

Of the 153,958,044 votes cast (99.96 per cent of the total), 153,782,814 (99.89 per cent) were cast for the nominated candidates, 174,796 were against and 434 ballots were declared invalid.

Altogether, 5,879 deputies were elected, including 3,974 Party members and candidate members, and 1,905 non-Party members; 2,045 women were elected, 1,742 workers and 1,221 collective farmers; 1,012 deputies are below 30 years of age.

In the 20 autonomous republics 11,543,183 electors (99.97 per cent of the total) took part in the elections. 2,994 deputies were elected by an absolute majority, including 1,902 Party members and

candidate members, 945 workers and 489 collective farmers. 554 of the deputies are under 30.

24,008 ballots were cast against the candidates and 10 ballots were found to be invalid.

In the elections to local Soviets 2,165,035 deputies were elected, including 963,173 Party members and candidates, 790,340 workers and 623,405 collective farmers; 992,636 women were elected. 557,015 were below 30 years.

In 95 electoral districts the candidate did not win a majority and in six districts the elections were found to be invalid because of violations of electoral laws. New elections will be held in these districts.

The elections convincingly confirmed the people's support for the home and foreign policies of the CPSU, outlined at the 24th Congress, and demonstrated the might of socialist democracy.

CYPRUS.

On *June 24* the Political Bureau of AKEL released a statement noting that the "problem of Cyprus must be solved by Cypriots themselves without outside interference and threats." In order to guarantee its effectiveness the solution must be based on democratic principles. Negotiations between the communities can and are bound to be successful due to mutual good-will and understanding.

The Party believes that, given a strong home front and taking decisive measures against the plotters and isolating the splitters, insisting on continuation of the negotiations between the communities, with international support and solidarity, especially on the part of the Soviet Union, which expressed solidarity in the recent Soviet-Cypriot Communique, Cyprus will free itself of all the dangers threatening it, and the people will be afforded an opportunity of solving their own problems on the basis of full independence, territorial integrity and unity of the state.

POLAND

The 10th Plenum of the CC PUWP was held in Warsaw on *June 24-25*. P. Jaroszewicz, member of the Politbureau of the Party and Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, delivered the Politbureau report on the basic trends in the country's social and economic development in the coming five years, stemming from the Directives of the Eighth Plenum of the CC PUWP. The main goal of the plan, the report stated, is to accelerate the improvement of living standards as compared with the past decade.

The Plenum was addressed by Party First Secretary Edward Gierek who stressed the need to continue work on the program for the country's development in the coming five years.

The Plenum adopted a decision on the basic tasks of the country's social and economic development in the 1971-75 period.

Organizational problems were also debated. The Central Committee relieved CC secretaries M. Moczar and A. Starewicz of their duties in view of their appointment to other posts.

CHILE

The Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Party met on *June 24-26* to discuss the working people's participation in boosting production in the country, the role of the Popular Unity movement in mobilizing the people to struggle for social reforms, preparations for the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Chile and the tasks in consolidating Party ranks. The concluding session was addressed by General Secretary Luis Corvalan, who stressed the role of the working class in assuring the success of revolutionary reforms in Chile and the significance of production committees at enterprises in the struggle against possible sabotage and subversion by reactionary forces. Though there is still the danger of counter-revolutionary plotting, the speaker expressed confidence that the people of Chile would be successful in their struggle for a new life.

USA

Addressing a meeting in Hibbing (Minnesota) on *June 27*, Gus Hall, General Secretary CP USA, said that the secret Pentagon papers which appeared in the press were "the biggest thing that has hit this country in the past 50 years."

These papers show that in Indochina the government was waging an unjust, immoral and criminal war of aggression, he said.

Gus Hall demanded that the American war criminals be taken to court on the basis of these exposures.

BELGIUM

A plenary meeting of the CC, Communist Party of Belgium, held at the *end of June*, approved a report by Party Chairman Marc Drumaux on the tasks of the Party at the present stage. The report noted that the government, which serves the interests of big capital, has not solved any of the problems facing the country.

The speaker set forth the CP program with reference to the three basic regions of the country. The program envisages increasing employment, raising pensions, cutting taxes and securing additional allocations for education and other purposes.

It is obvious, the speaker continued, that there is no military threat to Belgium. Communists demand a drastic cut in the country's military spending as part of its contribution to European security. Considerable allocations would then be released for social and economic needs.

JAPAN

On *June 29* the newspaper *Akahata* carried a statement by the Japanese Communist Party Presidium on the election results to the upper Chamber of Parliament.

The successes of the Japanese Communist Party, says the statement, show that more and more Japanese people are supporting the political program of the JCP in defense of peace and democracy, for the full return of Okinawa, annulment of the Japanese-American security treaty and no negative constitutional amendments. The JCP, the statement says, will continue exerting maximum efforts to establish a united front of progressive forces in defense of peace, democracy and Japan's neutrality.

The paper notes that over 4.8 million people, almost 12 per cent of the electorate, voted for the CP candidates. The Party won six seats in the elections, increasing the number of Party deputies in the Chamber to 10.

CUBA

Addressing a meeting at the opening of a new boarding school on the Island of Pinos on *June 29*, Premier Fidel Castro stressed the advances in education that the country had made during the years of people's rule. The main difficulties in building the new Cuba, he said, were illiteracy and ignorance. We eliminated them and are now heading for a future where a profound knowledge in science, technology, culture and the arts will be available to all. Reaching this goal is the task of the present generation.

Fidel Castro described the efforts being made in the country to accelerate construction of boarding schools. Now one such school is commissioned every month and next year two schools will be built every month. Within 10-15 years we should have 1,200 such schools, enough to meet increasing requirements.

GREECE

A *June* statement by the Political Bureau of the CC, CP of Greece, says that the Republic of Cyprus is living through critical days. The Greek colonels, Turkish chauvinists, American and other NATO imperialists are plotting against it, preparing to interfere in the internal affairs of Cyprus in line with a plan approved at the NATO Council meeting in Lisbon. Under this plan, Cyprus would be under tripartite occupation by the terroristic Athens and Ankara regimes and NATO. The island would be turned into a springboard for provocations against the neighboring Arab and socialist countries. In short, the plan, if effected, would signify an end to the independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

The Communist Party of Greece is exposing the junta's complicity

in these gangster plans. It is necessary to increase the vigilance and unity of Greek patriots and to step up resistance on Cyprus and in Greece.

The Communist Party of Greece, the statement says, appealed to all patriots and anti-dictatorial parties and organizations to express support for our brothers in Cyprus, to foil the plot and to step up the struggle to overthrow the junta, which has established a tyranny in Greece and is encroaching on the independence of Cyprus.

ITALY

The Italian Communist Party Central Committee met on *June 30-July 3*.

Enrico Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary of the Party, made a report on the political situation and the tasks of the Party following the June 13 elections.

The CC ICP, says a resolution, points out that the elections confirmed the strength of the Communist Party and all Left forces in general. It called for greater consolidation of the Left forces to defend democracy and Republican law and order from the neo-fascists and the Right reactionaries.

FRG

The Ninth Plenum of the Board of the German Communist Party met in Dusseldorf on *July 3-4*. It discussed matters connected with the coming GCP Congress to be held in this city November 25-28.

The Plenum approved the draft theses reported by Party Chairman Kurt Bachmann, "The GCP against Big Capital, for Peace, Democratic Progress and Socialism," to be submitted to the Congress. The speaker noted that the theses are an important political document, setting out the Party's program for the present and future of the Federal Republic and its alternative to the state-monopoly system of capitalism. The theses will be widely discussed.

The GCP Chairman called for early ratification of the treaties which the FRG signed with the USSR and Poland. This, he said, is in the interests of the working class and all peace-loving forces. The government of the FRG must support the convening of a European security conference without any reservations and recognize the GDR under international law. Kurt Bachmann condemned the crimes committed by the American aggressors in Indochina.

Referring to the attacks by reactionary elements against the GCP, Kurt Bachmann said that the threats against Communists in the FRG are a challenge to all the democratic forces in West Germany. He also demanded an end to the disgraceful ban on the Communist Party of Germany.

Addressing the Plenum, GCP Deputy Chairman Herbert Mies said

that the results of the 24th CPSU Congress and the Eighth SUPG Congress demonstrated the tremendous vitality and humane nature of the socialist social system.

The German Communist Party, he said, is closely united with the CPSU and the SUPG on the principles of proletarian internationalism. This unity is a source of strength for the West German Communists.

Party activities during the past four months were reviewed by K. H. Netzel, member of the GCP Presidium.

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