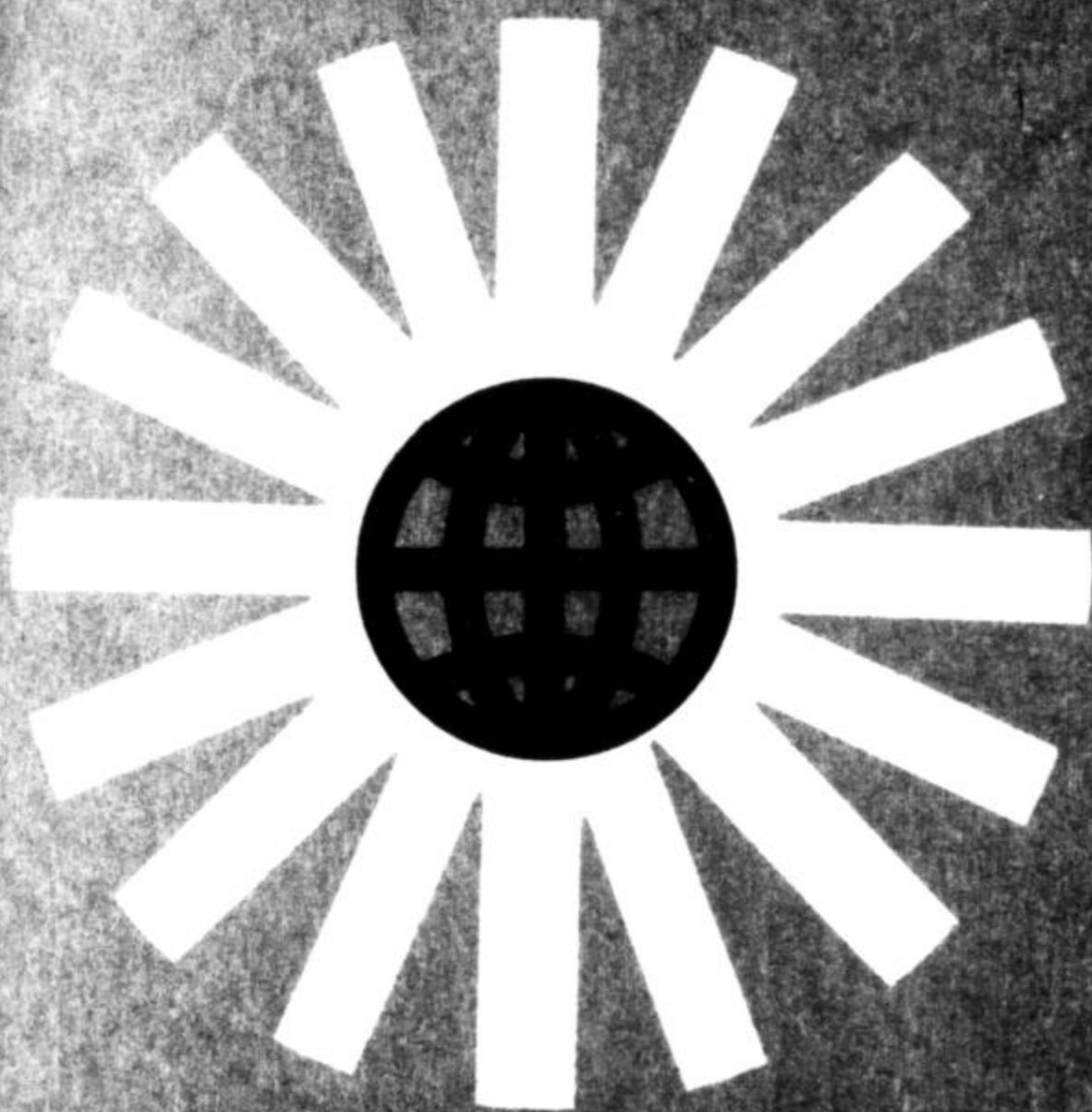


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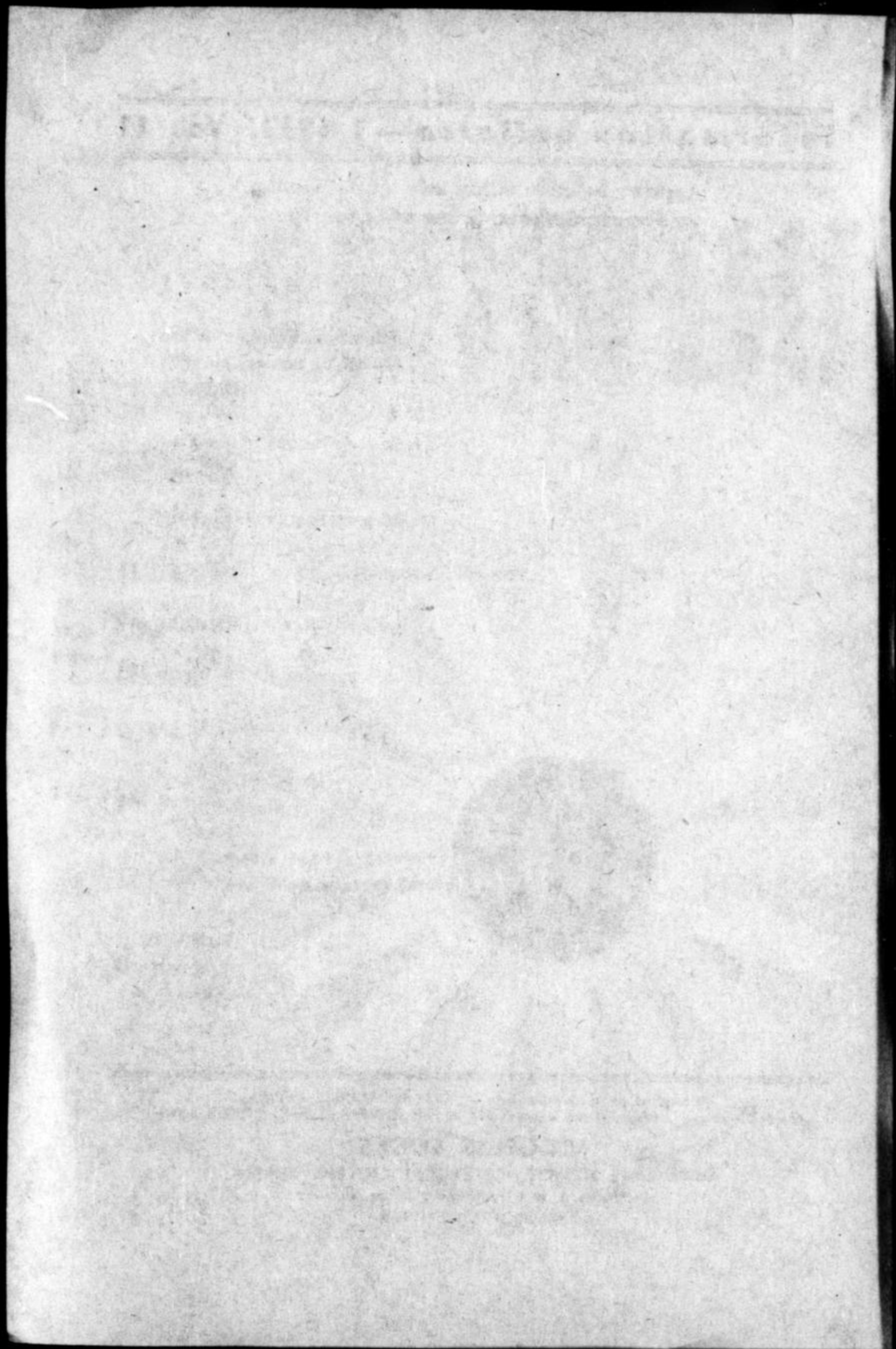


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**FIFTIETH
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50th ANNIVERSARY USSR

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS IN MOSCOW

At the invitation of the CC CPSU Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Soviet government, the following delegations arrived in Moscow for the festivities dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

—People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the PRB;

—Republic of Cuba, led by Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government;

—Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, led by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia;

—German Democratic Republic, led by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany;

—Hungarian People's Republic, led by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party;

—Korean People's Democratic Republic, led by Tsoi Yen Gen, member Political Committee of the Central Committee, Korean Party of Labor, Secretary of the CC KPL, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme People's Assembly of the KPDR;

—Mongolian People's Republic, led by Ymzhagiyn Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the MPR;

—Polish People's Republic, led by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party;

—Socialist Republic of Rumania, led by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, Chairman, State Council of the SRR;

—Democratic Republic of Vietnam, led by Truong Tinh, member Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Working People's Party of Vietnam, Chairman of the Permanent Committee, National Assembly of the DRV;

—Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, led by Rato Dugonic, Deputy Chairman Presidium of the SFRY;

—Afghanistan, led by Abdul Hadi Davi, Chairman of the Senate;

—Algerian Peoples' Democratic Republic, led by Bendjedid Chadli, member Revolutionary Council of the APDR;

—People's Republic of Bangladesh, led by Sayed Nazrul Islam, Minister of Industry;

—Union of Burma, led by Brigadier-General Taung Dan, member of the Revolutionary Council, Minister of Culture, Information and Social Maintenance of the Union of Burma;

—Republic of Chile, led by Hernan del Canto, Minister, General Secretary of the Government;

—People's Republic of the Congo, led by Nikodeme Ekamba-Elombe, Secretary of the CC, Congolese Party of Labor;

—Arab Republic of Egypt, led by Muhammed Abdallah Merzaban, Deputy Prime Minister;

—Finnish Republic, led by Urho Kekkonen, President of the Finnish Republic;

—Guinean Republic, led by Moussa Diakite, member of the National Political Bureau, Democratic Party of Guinea, Minister of the Interior and Security;

—Republic of India, led by Dr. Gopal Swarup Pathak, Vice-President of the Republic of India;

—Iran, led by Djafar Sharif Imami, Chairman of the Senate;

—Iraqi Republic, led by Izzat Mustafa, member of the Regional Leadership, Arab Socialist Baath Party, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, Minister of Health;

—Republic of Mali, led by Karim Dembele, member Military Committee of National Liberation, Minister of Transport, Communications and Tourism;

—Islami Republic of Mauretania, led by Hamdi Ould Mouknas, member Standing Secretariat of the National Political Bureau, Mauritanian People's Party, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the IRM;

—Republic of Sri Lanka, led by P.B.G. Kalugala, Minister of Shipping and Tourism, Vice-President of the Freedom Party of Sri Lanka;

—Somalian Democratic Republic, led by Ismail Ali Abukar, Vice-President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, State Secretary for Information and National Orientation of the SDR;

—Syrian Arab Republic, led by Mouhammed Djaber Badjboudj, Deputy General Secretary, Arab Socialist Baath Party;

—United Republic of Tranzania, led by Saidi Ali Maswanya, member of the Central Committee and National Executive Committee, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), Minister of the Interior;

—Turkish Republic, led by Zeyyat Baykar, Minister of State;

—Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of

South Vietnam, led by Nguyen Thi Binh, Minister for Foreign Affairs, PRG RSV;

—People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, led by Ali Nasser Muhammed, member Political Bureau of the CC, National Front, member of the Presidential Council, Prime Minister of the PDRY;

—Republic of Zambia, led by Alinan Musian Simbule, Secretary of the CC, United National Independence Party, Minister of State;

—Communist Party of Argentina, led by Athas Fava, member Executive Committee of the CC, Secretary CC CPA;

—Communist Party of Australia, John Alan Sendy, National President of the CPA;

—Socialist Party of Australia, Patrick Martin Clancy, Chairman of the SPA;

—Communist Party of Austria, led by Franz Muhri, Chairman of the CPA;

—Communist Party of Bangladesh, led by Khoka Roy, Secretary of the CC CPB;

—Communist Party of Belgium, Urbain Coussement, member Political Bureau of the CC, Secretary of the CC CPB;

—Communist Party of Bolivia;

—Brazilian Communist Party, led by Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the CC BCP;

—Communist Party of Canada, led by William Kashtan, General Secretary of the CPC;

—Communist Party of Chile, led by Mario Zamorano, member Political Commission of the CC, Secretary of the CC CPC;

—Communist Party of Colombia, led by Jesus Villegas, member Executive Committee of the CC, Secretary of the CC CPC;

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

—Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), led by Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of the Party;

—Communist Party of Denmark, led by Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the CPD;

—Dominican Communist Party, led by N. Isa Conde, General Secretary of the DCP;

—Communist Party of Ecuador, led by Pedro Saad, General Secretary of the CPE;

—Communist Party of Finland, led by Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the CPF;

—French Communist Party, led by Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the FCP;

—German Communist Party, led by Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the GCP;

—Communist Party of Great Britain, led by Victor Eddisford,

member Political Committee, Executive Committee of the CPGB;
Communist Party of Greece, led by Charilaos Florakis, First Secretary of the CC CPG;

—Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guy Daninthe, First Secretary of the CC GCP;

—Guatemalan Party of Labor;

—People's Progressive Party of Guyana, led by Jeannette Jagan, member Executive Committee of the General Council, Secretary of the PPP;

—United Party of Haitian Communists;

—Communist Party of Honduras, led by Dionisio Ramos, General Secretary of the CC CPH;

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

—Communist Party of Indonesia;

—People's Party of Iran, led by Iradj Iskanderi, First Secretary of the CC PPI;

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

—Communist Party of Ireland, led by Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the CPI;

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

—Italian Communist Party, led by Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the ICP;

—Communist Party of Japan, led by Tomio Nishizawa, member Standing Bureau of the Presidium, CC CPJ;

—Jordanian Communist Party;

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

—Communist Party of Luxembourg, led by Dominique Urbany, Chairman of the CPL;

—Martinique Communist Party, led by Rene Menil, member of the Political Bureau, CC MCP;

—Mexican Communist Party, led by Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary of the CC MCP;

—Party of Liberation and Socialism, Morocco;

—Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, George Edward Jackson, National Secretary of the SUP;

—Nicaraguan Socialist Party;

—Communist Party of Norway, led by Reidar Toralf Larsen, Chairman of the CPN;

—People's Party of Panama, led by Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary of the PPP;

—Paraguayan Communist Party;

- Peruvian Communist Party, led by Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the CC PCP;
- Communist Party of the Philippines;
- Portuguese Communist Party, led by Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the PCP;
- Puerto Rican Communist Party;
- Réunion Communist Party, Paul Verges, General Secretary of the RCP;
- Communist Party of Salvador, Shafik Jandal, member Political Commission of the CC, Secretary of the CC CPS;
- San Marino Communist Party, Ermenegildo Gasperoni, General Secretary of the SCP;
- Communist Party of Sri Lanka, led by Cattorge Pablis Silva, member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CC CPSL;
- Communist Party of Spain, led by Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the CPS;
- South African Communist Party, led by Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, Chairman of the SACP;
- Sudanese Communist Party;
- Left Party—Communists of Sweden, led by Lars Werner, Deputy Chairman of the LPCS;
- Swiss Party of Labor, Edgar Woog, Chairman, Central Control Commission of the CPL;
- Syrian Communist Party, led by Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the CC SCP;
- Communist Party of Turkey, led by I. Bilen, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPT;
- Communist Party of Uruguay, led by Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC CPU;
- Communist Party of the USA, led by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CC CPUSA;
- Communist Party of Venezuela, led by Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the CPV;
- Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, led by Gerhard Danelius, Chairman of the Party;
- journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review)*;
- People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Spartac Monimambo, member, CC MPLA;
- Socialist Party of Chile, led by Edmundo Serani, member of the Political Commission, CC SPC;
- Socialist Union of Workers and Small Holders of Finland, Tyyne Leivo-Larsson, representative of the Union, Chairman Social-Democratic Women's League;
- African Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde

Islands (PAIGO), led by Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the PAIGO;

—Socialist Party of Japan, led by Kanji Kawasaki, member, Central Executive Committee of the SPJ;

—Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Iraq), Saleh Yousefi, member of the Political Bureau, CC DPK, Minister of State of the Iraqi Republic;

—Patriotic Front of Laos, led by Nouhac Phoumsavan, member of the Standing Committee, CC PFL;

—Madagascar Independence Congress Party (AKFM), Henri Ratsifandrihamananai, Deputy General Secretary of the AKFM;

—Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO), Joaquim Chissano, member Executive Committee and CC of FRELIMO;

—African National Congress of South Africa, Oliver Reginald Tambo, Acting President ANCSA;

—South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO;

—Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), Jason Dziyapapa Moyo, member Executive Committee of ZAPU;

—World Federation of Trade Unions, led by Pierre Gensous, General Secretary of the WFTU;

—World Council of Peace, led by Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the WCP;

—Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization, led by Youssef el Sibai, General Secretary of the AAPSO;

—Women's International Democratic Federation, led by Hertta Kuusinen, President of the WIDF;

—International Federation of Resistance Movements (FIR), Jean Toujas, General Secretary of FIR;

—World Federation of Democratic Youth, led by Roberto Viezzi, President of the WFDY;

—International Union of Students, led by Dusak Ulcak, President of the IUS;

—International Organization of Journalists, led by Jiri Kubka, General Secretary of the IOJ;

—International Cooperative Alliance, Roger Kerinec, Vice-President of the ICA;

—National trade union, women's and youth organizations, societies for friendship and cultural relations with the USSR.



COMMUNIQUE*

ON JOINT ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR AND SUPREME SOVIET OF THE RSFSR

A joint anniversary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics opened at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow, on December 21, 1972, at 10 a.m.

The meeting was opened by N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In his Opening Remarks he said, in part:

Comrades, the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union is an event of great international impact. Never before has its prestige been so high. The appeal of its Leninist foreign policy has never been stronger, and the contribution it is making to the struggle for peace and international security has never been more effective.

Friendship and cooperation among the peoples is the ideal of our foreign, as well as internal, policy. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working class and the entire Soviet people hold aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and stand in the van of the forces fighting for peace, democracy, and social and national liberation. This is precisely why the jubilee of the USSR is a red-letter day for the peoples of the socialist countries, the Communist parties abroad, and all our many friends and allies. (*Applause.*)

Envoys from more than a hundred countries have come to celebrate the jubilee with us and are present in this hall today. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Party and government delegations from eleven socialist countries are present here. (*Applause.*) A solid, truly fraternal friendship prevails among the peoples of the great socialist community, advancing shoulder to shoulder along the same way, to the same goal—communism. We extend the warmest greetings to you, dear comrades and friends. (*Prolonged applause.*)

High-ranking statesmen have come to our festivities from neighboring and friendly countries. Permit me to bid them a sincere welcome. The Soviet Union has applied, and always will apply, itself

*Pravda, December 22 and 23, 1972.

to making the solid and equal relations with these countries serve the interests of peace and security. (*Applause.*)

We, the Soviet people and the Soviet Communists, welcome here with deep feeling and pride the representatives of 65 Communist and Workers' parties of non-socialist countries. (*Applause.*) In the most difficult of conditions, exposed to ferocious attacks and often to bloody repressions and terrorism, the Communists of these countries stand at the head of the people's struggle against capitalism and for socialism. Dear friends and class brothers, we admire your courageous struggle and highly appreciate your unfailing solidarity with the world's first worker-peasant state. (*Applause.*)

We extend fraternal greetings to the delegations of national-democratic parties from African and Asian countries and the Arab East, heading their peoples' struggle for independent and progressive development, for the building of a new life. The people of the Soviet Union side unfailingly with those who are fighting heroically against the imperialists and colonialists, staunchly defending the sacred right of the peoples to independence and self-determination. (*Applause.*)

We are glad to have among us at our jubilee today the delegations of many Left Socialist parties, more than 70 trade-union delegations, and delegations of national and international public bodies, representing many millions of working people and broad sections of the democratic public all over the world. In extending our welcome to these delegations, we say: the Soviet people are always with you in the struggle for peace, security and the national independence of peoples, for democracy and social progress. (*Applause.*)

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, presented a report "On the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The participants in the anniversary meeting of the CC CPSU, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR include full and alternate members of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and RSFSR, delegates to the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, Party veterans and elder statesmen of the Soviet Union, representatives of the working people of Moscow City and Region, men and officers of the Soviet Army and Navy, scientists, writers, artists, leading executives of central government and public organizations.

Attending the meeting are Party and state delegations of socialist countries, statesmen of numerous foreign countries, delegations of the Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist and developing countries, delegations of national-democratic and Left Socialist parties, delegations of the World Federation of Trade Unions,

World Council of Peace, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, Women's International Democratic Federation, International Federation of Resistance Movements, World Federation of Democratic Youth, International Union of Students, International Organization of Journalists, International Cooperative Alliance, delegations of national trade union, women's and youth organizations, societies for friendship and cultural relations with the USSR, the diplomatic corps, and representatives of the Soviet and foreign press.

M. S. Solomentsev, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

Next to speak was **Edward Gierek**, First Secretary, Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, who was warmly received by the meeting.

V. V. Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of the Ukraine, delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The meeting warmly received the speech of **Erich Honecker**, First Secretary of the CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

P. M. Masherov, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Belorussia, delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Truong Tinh, member, Political Bureau of the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam, Chairman of the Standing Committee, National Assembly of the DRV, conveyed fraternal greetings from the heroic people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet people, and expressed deep gratitude for their aid and support in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression. He presented a banner—a gift for the Soviet people. The meeting acclaimed the spokesman of a people who are fighting courageously for the freedom and independence of their country.

S. R. Rashidov, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

The meeting was addressed by **Georges Marchais**, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, who was warmly received by the audience.

The strains of the song "We Are Young Guards" rang out in the hall. Members of the Komsomol and Young Pioneers' Organization from all Union republics, spokesmen of the glorious Soviet youth—the younger generation of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, students and pupils—stepped in, applauded by all participants in the meeting. They directed a message of greetings to the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, and submitted the Lenin Komsomol's report on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The meeting warmly received the speech of V. P. Vinogradov, member of the CPSU since 1915, delegate to the First All-Union Congress of Soviets.

The joint anniversary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continued at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow, on December 22, 1972.

The meeting was resumed at 10 a.m. It was chaired by N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

D. A. Kunayev, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Kazakhstan, delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

Next to speak was Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who was warmly received by the meeting.

Thereupon E. A. Shevardnadze, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Georgia, delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The meeting warmly received the speech of Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Cuba, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government.

Greetings from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic were delivered by G. A. Aliiev, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

The meeting warmly received Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, who spoke with feeling of the Vietnamese people's courageous fight against the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their South Vietnamese puppets. She expressed deep gratitude to the Communist Party, Soviet Government and the whole Soviet people for the support and aid they give to the people of South Vietnam in their just struggle.

A message of greetings on behalf of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was delivered by A. J. Sneckus, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Lithuania.

The meeting warmly received the speech of Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Next to speak was I. I. Bodiul, First Secretary of the CC, Com-

munist Party of Moldavia, who delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The next speaker, warmly received by the meeting, was Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council, People's Republic of Bulgaria.

A. E. Voss, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Latvia, delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The meeting warmly received the speech of Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council, Socialist Republic of Rumania.

Next to speak was T. Usubaliev, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Kirghizia, who delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

The meeting warmly received the speech of Tsoi Yen Gen, member, political Committee of the CC, Korean Party of Labor, Secretary of the CC, Korean Party of Labor, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme People's Assembly, Korean People's Democratic Republic.

D. Rasulov, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Tajikistan, delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic.

The next speaker, warmly received by the meeting, was Rato Dugonic, Vice-Chairman of the Presidium, Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

The meeting warmly received the speech made by Yumzhagiyn Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mongolian People's Republic.

A delegation of the Soviet Army and Navy entered the hall with measured tread to the rhythm of music, carrying banners covered with glory. The meeting greeted with stormy applause the country's valiant defenders, who dependably safeguard the historic gains of the Soviet people building communism. Lieut.-Col. A. V. Zlobin, commander of a tank regiment, delivered a heartfelt message of greetings to the meeting on behalf of the entire personnel of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The meeting warmly received the speech of Hernan del Canto, Minister, General Secretary of the Government, Republic of Chile.

Next to speak was A. Y. Kochinyan, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Armenia, who delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The meeting warmly received the speech of Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

A message of greetings on behalf of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic was delivered by M. Gapurov, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Turkmenistan.

The meeting warmly received the speech of *Gus Hall*, General Secretary, Communist Party of the USA.

The next speaker, warmly received by the meeting, was *Rodney Arismendi*, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Uruguay.

A message of greetings on behalf of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was delivered by *J. G. Kabin*, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Estonia.

The meeting warmly received the speech of *Dr. Gopal Swarup Pathak*, Vice-President of the Republic of India.

The next speaker, warmly received by the audience, was *Aarne Saarinen*, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland.

The meeting warmly received *Dolores Ibarruri*, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, who made a speech.

The audience warmly received the speech of *Pierre Gensous*, General Secretary, World Federation of Trade Unions.

The next speaker, warmly received by the meeting, was *Shripad Amrit Dange*, Chairman of the National Council, Communist Party of India.

Next to speak was *Mohammed Djaber Badjboudj*, leader of the Party and Government delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, deputy General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Baath Party, who was warmly received by the audience.

The meeting warmly received the speech of *Mohammed Abdullah Marzaban*, Deputy Prime Minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

The next speaker, *Izzat Mustafa*, leader of the Party and Government delegation of the Iraqi Republic, member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist Baath Party, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and Minister of Health, was warmly received by the meeting.

The next speaker, warmly received by the meeting, was *Bendjedid Shadli*, member of the Revolutionary Council, Algerian People's Democratic Republic.

The meeting warmly received the speech of *Amilcar Cabral*, General Secretary, African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.

The meeting unanimously adopted with great enthusiasm the appeal "To the Peoples of the World."

Thereupon the joint meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics closed.



FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

REPORT* by L. I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE CC CPSU

Dear comrades,

Dear foreign guests,

These days, the chimes of the Spassky Tower of the Kremlin have an especially stirring ring for the Soviet people. We are approaching the moment when the main timepiece of the Soviet Union will strike the hour marking fifty years since the day the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed. We have met here today in this ceremonial atmosphere together with our esteemed foreign guests to celebrate the glorious jubilee of our multinational federal state.

The formation of the USSR was a direct continuation of the cause of the Great October Revolution, which opened up a new era in mankind's development; it was a practical embodiment of the great Lenin's idea of a voluntary union of free nations.

The half-century history of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is that of the emergence of the indissoluble unity and friendship of all the nations joined in the framework of the Soviet socialist state. It is the history of the unprecedented growth and all-round development of the state born of the socialist revolution, which is now one of the mightiest powers in the world. It is the history of the growth to manhood and the attainment of true prosperity—economic, political and cultural—of all the Republics that have united under the banner of the Soviet state, of all the nations, big and small, which inhabit the country.

Dear compatriots,

Comrades,

On this historic jubilee of the USSR we address words of profound respect and gratitude to the millions upon millions of Soviet people of every generation. We address those who created and built the great Soviet Union with revolutionary courage and selfless labor, to those who heroically defended its freedom, independence and honor in its hour of danger in the hardest-fought war in history, and to those who have carried the Soviet Union to its present flourishing state of might and glory, and who are now blazing the trail for all mankind into the communist future.

We have feelings of the most profound respect and gratitude for

*Pravda, December 22, 1972.

all those who are boundlessly dedicated to the Leninist union of free nations, whose labor and enthusiasm are making our beloved country mightier and more beautiful every day: we mean the glorious working class and the working people on the collective farms, our intelligentsia, our valorous men of the Soviet Army, our remarkable women. We address greetings to our young people, who are taking over from the older generations in a fitting manner and on whom it largely depends what the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be like as it enters the third millennium of our era.

Dear comrades, to all of you we extend our congratulations on this great holiday!

Congratulations to all of you on the golden jubilee of our federal socialist multinational state!

I. THE FORMATION OF THE USSR—A TRIUMPH OF LENINIST NATIONAL POLICY

Comrades, in these anniversary holidays one's mind, quite naturally, goes back to that distant time in December 1922 when the First All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted its Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The more one ponders historical facts, the greater the clarity with which one sees the wisdom of the Leninist Party, which consolidated the success of the October Revolution and the subsequent radical social changes by establishing the indissoluble union of equal Soviet Republics.

The struggle against the enemies of the Revolution and for the victory of socialism in our country required the closest unity of the peoples that had flung off the yoke of tsarism, the bourgeoisie and the landowners. The collapse of the old world the break-up of the exploiting system, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the consolidation of social property in the means of production went hand in hand with fierce class struggle, which developed into a civil war. The young Soviet country was savagely attacked by the forces of internal counter-revolution and world imperialism.

The working class confronted the united counter-revolution with the great power of proletarian solidarity born of the Revolution. The sons of all the peoples of our country fought the enemy shoulder to shoulder under the revolutionary banners of the Red Army in the central areas of the country, in the steppes of the Ukraine and the Volga Area, on the Don and the Kuban, by the White Sea and in the mountains of the Caucasus, in the sands of Central Asia and in the distant Amur territory. Together they went into battle for peace, bread and land, for the power of the Soviets. During the years of the Civil War, as in the unforgettable days of

the Great October Revolution, the internationalist solidarity of the working class and of all the working people was one of the vital sources of our victory. In those early years after the October Revolution all the Soviet Republics then in existence had already formed a close political, military, economic and diplomatic alliance formalized in a number of treaties.

The Civil War and the defeat of the enemies of the Revolution was followed by a period of peaceful construction. Each Soviet Republic naturally faced these questions: What was now to be done? What forms of statehood were to be chosen? How were relations with the fraternal Republics to be built?

For the mass of working people the experience of the three revolutions in Russia, the Bolshevik Party's internationalist slogans, the Decrees on Peace and on Land, the policy of the Communists and Lenin's very name became a symbol of joint struggle for a new life. The working class and the working people of all nationalities wished to strengthen their unity, which had already borne such important fruit in the earlier period.

To advance along the path of socialist construction, all the Soviet Republics had first to cope with the dislocation, to rehabilitate the productive forces undermined by the wars, to overcome the backwardness and to improve the working people's living standards. These tasks could best and soonest be fulfilled by developing the economies under a common plan, making rational use of the potentialities for division of labor among the various parts of the country.

Finally, there was the continued threat of fresh imperialist intervention. It would have been hard to safeguard Soviet power and the country's independence, surrounded as it was by militarily strong capitalist powers, without the closest union, without uniting to the fullest extent the fraternal Republics' military, political and diplomatic efforts.

Thus, the vital interests of all the Soviet peoples, the very logic of the struggle for socialism in this country demanded the formation of a united multinational socialist state. But the establishment of such a state required the Party's organizing role, correct policy and purposeful activity.

Indeed, the Communist Party did have the necessary theoretical basis for such a policy: the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the national question. This doctrine constituted an important component part of the theory of socialist revolution.

The Communists have always viewed the national question through the prism of the class struggle, believing that its solution had to be subordinated to the interests of the Revolution, to the interests of socialism. That is why the Communists and all fighters for socialism believe that the main aspect of the national question is unification of the working people, regardless of their national

origin, in the common battle against every type of oppression, and for a new social system ruling out exploitation of the working people.

Lenin spoke of this with the utmost clarity: "We are consistent internationalists and are striving for the voluntary alliance of the workers and peasants of all nations" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 195).

But what was the basis for establishing such an alliance? Lenin was deeply convinced that it could be established only on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect of all its participants. Lenin stressed: "We want a voluntary union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear awareness of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293).

Thus, the unity of the working people of all nations is one of the basic prerequisites for the triumph of the Revolution. On the other hand, only the triumph of the socialist revolution can ensure the full triumph of the cause of national liberation. This was quite clearly stated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*: "In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

Such is the dialectics of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question: the way to cohesion, unity and the all-round integration of nations lies through their complete liberation from social and national oppression, through the creation of the most favorable conditions for the development of each nation.

The national question was an especially acute one in Russia because of its specific conditions. The exploiting classes of tsarist Russia deliberately spread national strife and hostility, acting on the "divide and rule" principle, which oppressors have practised in every epoch. Although tsarist Russia was one of the major powers at the time, she herself was subjected to imperialist plunder. Accordingly, the Land of Soviets was faced, on the one hand, with the problem of creating fundamentally new relations between the nations and nationalities within the country—relations of trust, friendship, and fraternal cooperation—and on the other, the problem of defending and ensuring the national independence of the young Soviet state in international relations.

It was up to our Party to do what even the most advanced capitalist states boasting of their democracy have been unable and are still unable to do. It is, after all, a fact that even today the national question remains highly acute in the USA, Canada, and Belgium, to say nothing of Great Britain, where English imperialism has for many years been carrying on a savage war against the

people of Northern Ireland, who have risen to struggle for their rights.

Literally within a week after the birth of the Soviet state its famous Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia put on record these principles of the national policy of the Soviet Government: the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; the right of nations to free self-determination, including secession and the establishment of an independent state; the abolition of all manner of national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; the free development of the national minorities; the need for a voluntary and honest alliance of the people of Russia and their complete mutual trust.

In the early years after the October Revolution, the Party, headed by V. I. Lenin, put in a great effort in explaining to the working masses its policy in the sphere of national-state construction. Among those who took an active part in this work were the prominent Party leaders—M. I. Kalinin and F. E. Dzerzhinsky, Y. M. Sverdlov and J. V. Stalin, S. M. Kirov and G. K. Ordzhonikidze, M. V. Frunze and S. G. Shaumyan, G. I. Petrovsky and A. G. Chervyakov, N. Nari-manov and A. T. Dzhangildin, P. I. Stucka and M. G. Tskhakaya, and many other comrades.

The Party put its revolutionary energy, its great labor effort and will into the historic endeavor of creating a socialist multinational state. The Tenth Congress of the RCP(B) noted that the establishment of the Soviet system and the measures carried out by the Party "... transformed relations between the toiling masses of the nationalities of Russia, undermined the old national hostility, cut the ground from under national oppression and won for the Russian workers the trust of their brother workers of other nationalities not only in Russia but also in Europe and Asia, and raised this trust to enthusiasm and a readiness to fight for the common cause. . . ."

The Party's work among the masses, the experience of national construction already gained by the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Transcaucasian Federation and the Autonomous Republics, and the powerful movement for unification which started in all the Republics—all of this paved the way for the establishment of a united socialist state.

There was need, however, to find forms of a union state, and to balance the powers of the all-Union organs and of the Republics in a way that would best ensure unity.

Different tendencies surfaced on these questions in the discussion which began in the autumn of 1922. Some believed that it was possible to consider only something like a confederation of the Republics, without setting up common federative organs vested with extensive powers. Others proposed "autonomization", that is,

the entry of all the fraternal Republics into the RSFSR on the basis of autonomy. It took Lenin's genius to overcome these erroneous tendencies and to find the only right way.

Lenin put forward the plan to establish one federal state in the form of a voluntary union of equal Republics. The power of the Soviets, which had sprung from the Revolution and which had already proved its viability in practice, was the natural basis for such a federal state. On October 6, 1922, a plenary meeting of the RCP(B) Central Committee supported Lenin's initiative and deemed it necessary "to conclude a treaty between the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Federation of the Transcaucasian Republics, and the RSFSR on their unification into a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

The First All-Union Congress of Soviets opened in Moscow on December 30 and, in response to the proposals put forward by congresses of Soviets in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Transcaucasia and the RSFSR, adopted its historic decision setting up the world's first multinational socialist state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This event was a fitting outcome of the first five years of Soviet government, the workers' and peasants' power. The power born of the Revolution not only withstood all the storms, calamities and dangers but also united the working people of our multinational country into the mighty and solid Soviet Union!

That same day, December 30, 1922, the fine city of Moscow was named the capital of the Soviet Union.

In short, December 30, 1922, is a truly historic date in the life of our state, an important milestone in the life of all the Soviet peoples, their great festival. We have a Constitution Day. It would perhaps be worthwhile subsequently to merge these two holidays and to mark December 30 as the Day of the Formation of the USSR. This will be a day of friendship and brotherhood of our peoples, a festival of socialist internationalism!

Comrades, the formation of the Soviet Union and the subsequent formation and entry into it of new Union Republics have multiplied the forces and potentialities of the peoples of our country in socialist construction. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a great socialist power, has come to occupy a fitting place in the world arena with great benefit for the cause of peace, freedom and independence of all the nations of the globe.

When closing the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, M. I. Kalinin said: "... Do we not cherish the name of the RSFSR? We do. It is a name we have won in the flames of military battles.... I see flying above us the Red Banner with the five sacred letters: RSFSR. We, delegates to the Tenth Congress of Soviets, plenipotentiary representatives of the whole Soviet Russian Federation,

dip this cherished banner, battle-scarred and covered with glory, strengthened by the sacrifices of the workers and peasants, before the Union of Soviet Republics. We already visualize the raising of the new Red Banner of the Union of Soviet Republics. Comrades, in my mind's eye I see Comrade Lenin holding this banner. And so, comrades, let us go forward, raising higher this banner for all the working and oppressed peoples of the world to see."

It is a half-century now that the victorious Red Banner of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been proudly flown, epitomizing the greatness of communist ideals, the ideals of social justice, peace, friendship, and the fraternal cooperation of nations. This banner has inspired us in labor and in battle, in days of great jubilation and in the hour of grave ordeal. Our present jubilee is, in a manner of speaking, a solemn vow given by the whole Soviet people, a vow of loyalty to our glorious banner, of loyalty to our great Union, a vow of loyalty to the sacred ideals of communism!

II. THE UNBREAKABLE UNITY AND FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR— A GREAT GAIN OF SOCIALISM

Comrades, the joining of all the peoples of the country into a solid union, the formation of one multinational socialist state has opened up unprecedented opportunities for our country's social, economic and cultural progress. It was as if history had itself quickened its march.

Comrades, consider this point. Since the establishment of the Soviet Union its industrial output has gone up 320-fold. Some may say, of course, that any comparison with 1922 is not indicative, because it had been a year of postwar ruin and famine. Indeed, that is so. In that case, let us compare 1972 with the prewar year of 1940, the year by which our country had already well surpassed the pre-revolutionary level. In that period alone, the Soviet Union's industrial output increased 14-fold. Soviet industry now turns out in one month more than it did in the whole of 1940.

The Soviet Union's rapid economic growth has created a reliable basis for the steady rise in the well-being and culture of all the peoples of this country. Compared with 1940, the real incomes of the population have increased by more than 300 per cent, while retail sales have increased by over 600 per cent. The number of doctors in the country has increased by 370 per cent, and the number of citizens with a higher, and a complete or incomplete secondary education by 550 per cent.

Behind these figures lie deep-going changes in the economy, in socio-political relations, ideology and culture, which have changed

the face of the whole of our society. And an important place among them is held by the new, socialist relations that prevail among all the peoples of our country.

Our Party was well aware that if all the consequences of national oppression and inequality were to be overcome there would be need for more than the adoption of even the best and most equitable laws. There was also need to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of the once oppressed nations and nationalities. In other words, it was not enough to abolish the legal inequality of nations; there was need to put an end to the actual inequality between them. Fulfilment of this task became one of the Party's main political goals.

Summing up the heroic accomplishments of the past half-century, we have every reason to say that the national question, as it came down to us from the past, has been settled completely, finally and for good. This is an accomplishment which can by rights be ranked on a par with the victories in building the new society in the USSR, such as industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution.

A great brotherhood of men of labor, united, irrespective of their national origins, by a community of class interests and aims, has emerged and has been consolidated in this country; the relations between them have no equal in history and we have every right to call these relations the Leninist friendship of peoples. This friendship, comrades, is one of our invaluable gains, one of the most important gains of socialism which is most dear to the heart of every Soviet citizen. We Soviet people will always safeguard this friendship as our most cherished possession!

At present, on this 50th anniversary of the Union, the solution of the national question and the overcoming of the backwardness of the once oppressed nations are regarded by the Soviet people as an ordinary thing, something to be taken for granted. However, one must recall the scale and the complexity of the work that has been done in order to appreciate not only the wisdom but also the courage and the consistency of the Bolshevik Party, which set itself this goal and achieved it.

Let us recall for a moment the state of the outlying national areas of the country by the time of the Revolution. In economic development Central Asia and Kazakhstan were on a level quite usual for colonial countries. Poverty, disease, and ignorance were the lot of the bulk of the population. Suffice it to say that even in the early 1920s from 90 to 96 per cent of the people in the Central Asian Republics and 82 per cent in Kazakhstan could neither read nor write. The social structure of society was essentially a feudal one.

The mark of economic backwardness also lay on many areas of

Transcaucasia and even on Byelorussia, which was close to the center. All these areas, with the exception of a few large cities, still remained in the remote ages in economic terms, social make-up cultural level and living conditions of the working people.

Indeed, comrades, such was the picture no more than half a century ago, a time witnessed by millions of men and women who are still with us. That is the point at which we had to start, and, besides, to be the first to do so, because the proletariat of Russia and its Party had no one's experience to fall back on in tackling these most complicated tasks. The plain fact is that such experience simply was not there.

Those are the conditions in which the Party took, on Lenin's initiative, the line of accelerated economic, cultural, and socio-political development of the outlying national areas.

The Party was aware that this line could be implemented in practice only through great and all-round assistance to the once oppressed nations and nationalities by the more advanced parts of the country, above all, the Russian people and its working class.

Such assistance and readiness to put in a great effort and even, let us plainly say, to make sacrifices so as to overcome the backwardness of the national outskirts and help them to develop at an accelerated pace was bequeathed by Lenin to the proletariat of Russia as a prime internationalist duty. The Russian working class, the Russian people have fulfilled this duty with honor. This was in effect a great achievement by a whole class, a whole people, performed in the name of internationalism. This heroic exploit will never be forgotten by the peoples of our country.

The history of this exploit began literally from the earliest days of the Revolution. As early as 1918, Soviet Russia, herself starving and in ruins, allocated tens of millions of rubles for irrigation works in Turkestan. While the Civil War was still on, decisions were taken to extend financial, food and technical aid to Azerbaijan; sizable funds were remitted to the railwaymen of Kharkov and the miners of the Donets Basin, and important support was rendered to the economy of Byelorussia, Armenia, and Soviet Lithuania and Latvia.

The Tenth Congress of our Party, which concentrated on the tasks of peaceful construction, noted in its resolution: "Now that the landowners and the bourgeoisie have been overthrown . . . , the Party's task is to help the working people of the non-Russian peoples to catch up with the more advanced Central Russia" (*The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and CC Plenary Meetings*, Vol. 2, p. 252). One of the directives issued by the Congress in this context was "the planned implantation of industry on the outskirts through a transfer of factories to the sources of raw materials" (*ibid.*, p. 253). In accordance with this many factories and plants were transferred, without charge,

to the Republics of Transcaucasia, Central Asia and to Kazakhstan, and engineers, technicians, skilled workers, specialists, scientists, teachers and workers in culture were sent to these Republics.

The formation of the USSR marked a new stage in the development of the outlying national areas. Consistent and all-round assistance was rendered to them within the framework of an all-Union economic policy. Suffice it to say that for many years the budget expenditures of a number of Union Republics were covered mainly by subsidies from the all-Union budget. For instance, in 1924 and 1925 the share of the revenues in the budget of the Turkmen Republic covered by that Republic itself came to just over 10 per cent. Even a large Republic such as the Ukraine at that time covered under 40 per cent of its budget expenditures with its own resources.

For many years the population in the Republics and regions facing the gravest material hardships was fully or partially exempted from agricultural and civic taxes. At the same time, the purchasing prices of farm produce were set at a level designed to promote the economic development of the once backward regions.

Vast assistance was rendered to the fraternal Union Republics in cultural construction, the development of education and the training of personnel. Large contingents of young men and women from the national Republics, regions and districts were enrolled at institutions of higher learning in the country's major centers. Dozens of universities and institutes were opened in the Republics. By the will of the Party the socialist cultural revolution rapidly spread to the remotest areas.

The efforts of the Party and the State over a period of many years yielded remarkable fruit. Look at Central Asia and Kazakhstan today! You will find not only first-class cotton fields in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, the once fallow lands of the Kazakhs under crop, flowering orchards and new cattle-breeding farms in Kirghizia and Tajikistan. Today, these Republics are famed for a host of big, modern, beautiful cities, like Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Dushambe, Frunze and Ashkhabad. There you will find large centers of metallurgy, mining and heavy industry, like Jezkazgan and Karaganda, Pavlodar and Navoi, first-rate power and water installations like the Nurek hydroelectric power plant and the Karakum canal. Central Asia and Kazakhstan have become major producers of oil and gas, chemicals and modern machines.

Since the formation of the Union, Kazakhstan's industrial output has increased 600-fold, Tajikistan's over 500-fold, Kirghizia's over 400-fold, Uzbekistan's about 240-fold and Turkmenia's 130-fold. The gross cotton crop in Uzbekistan has gone up 120-fold and in Turkmenia 90-fold. Kazakhstan now produces almost 30 times more grain than it did in 1922.

The results of cultural development in Kazakhstan and the

Central Asian Republics are equally striking. They have achieved virtually 100 per cent literacy. Almost one-half the population in each Republic are men and women with a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education. In Uzbekistan alone there are now more specialists with a higher or secondary special education than the Soviet Union had working in its economy in the late 1920s. Modern science has been firmly established in these Republics: in their national academies there are thousands of scientists engaged in fruitful research.

In the capitalist world achievements which are much more modest are frequently labelled as "miracles". But we Communists do not consider what has happened in Soviet Central Asia and Soviet Kazakhstan as being in any way supernatural. You might say that it is a natural miracle, because it is natural under Soviet power, under socialism, in conditions of relations of friendship and brotherhood of nations that have been established in this country.

Evidence of this comes not only from Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In the Soviet period the Transcaucasian Republics—Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia—have also made giant strides in advancing their economy. Each of them now has the most modern industries, and their subtropical agriculture has scored great successes. The ancient culture and art of the Transcaucasian peoples have flourished and have been enriched. They have large scientific centers, which are known all over the country.

Byelorussia, which went through an especially trying ordeal during the Great Patriotic War, has flourished in the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples. Fine cities and villages have been rebuilt and major industrial construction projects have been completed in Byelorussia, where the invaders trod a scorched earth during the war. Today, Byelorussia's industry makes excellent electronic computers, heavy-duty trucks, modern radio appliances, mineral fertilizers and synthetic fibres. The Republic has a large contingent of scientists and workers in culture.

Not long ago Moldavia was also a backward outlying area. If we do not count the war years and the early postwar years spent in rehabilitation, we find that this Republic has been developing in the family of Soviet nations for not more than a quarter-century. But in that short span it has gone a long way! The Republic has become one of the country's granaries, and one of its major centers of horticulture and wine-making. Its industrial output has increased 31-fold.

In short, on the basis of the Leninist national policy, at the cost of intense effort by the whole Soviet people we have achieved a state in which the term "backward national outlying area", a usual one for old Russia, has disappeared. Comrades, this is a splendid

achievement for our Party, an achievement of socialism, of the socialist friendship of nations!

It has benefited the once oppressed and backward nations in this country. It has benefited our great Soviet Motherland, because it has made the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics even mightier and more solidly united, because it has made the unity of the fraternal Republics truly indissoluble.

The socialist system, the relations of friendship and brotherhood between the nations have also opened up the broadest possibilities for accelerated development in the republics and regions which by the time of the Revolution were at a relatively high level of economic development.

Among them is the Ukraine. It used to be one of the developed industrial and agricultural areas of the country. Ukrainian culture had long and rich traditions. But the Soviet Ukraine has gone such a long way since then!

Take our famous working-class Donets Basin. Let us recall the old coal-mining town of Yuzovka with its huts, dirt and squalor. Compare it with the Yuzovka of today, the large modern city of Donetsk, with its broad avenues and green parks, blocks of modern flats, fine stadiums and Palaces of Culture. Let us recall the life of the Donets Basin miner before the Revolution and the horrible conditions in which he lived and worked. Compare this with the life of the Donets Basin or Krivoy Rog miner today, a man who takes pride in his trade, commanding the respect of the whole country, duly remunerated for his fine labor and enjoying all the benefits of modern culture. Similar comparisons are suggested everywhere: in Zaporozhye, Kharkov and Dnepropetrovsk, in the Kherson and the Transcarpathian area.

Since the formation of the USSR, industrial output in the Ukraine has increased 176-fold. The present-day Ukraine has a powerful metallurgical industry, diversified engineering, large-scale ship-building, and well-developed chemical, light and food industries. The Soviet Ukraine also has a large-scale and highly mechanized agriculture. All this and also splendid scientific centers and magnificent achievements in culture and the arts.

All this is the result of the great effort of the Ukrainian working people and also the result of their fraternal cooperation with the working people of all the other Republics of the Soviet Union. It is no exaggeration to say that the people of the Ukraine were able truly to rise to their full stature and to give full scope to their labor energy and talents only in the community of the Soviet Republics, the union which has enabled them to multiply their own strength!

Another graphic example is offered by the Baltic Republics: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. It may be recalled that when they

joined the Union they could not be ranked among the backward outlying national areas. But on taking the socialist path they showed the highest rate of development in the Soviet Union. Compared with 1940, industrial output has gone up 31-fold in Latvia, 32-fold in Estonia and 37-fold in Lithuania. Their agriculture made good headway, and their culture flourished after it shook off the fetters of provincialism and stagnation in the backwoods of capitalist Europe. This remarkable growth proved possible only when these Republics united with the other Republics of the Union.

I should like to deal specially with the results of the development of the Russian Federation, our biggest Republic, the first among equals, as it is by rights called by all the peoples of our multinational country.

This Republic has had to play a special historical role. On the one hand, as the largest and most developed Republic, it became the mainstay in the development of the other Republics and gave them invaluable fraternal assistance. On the other hand, the Russian Federation is not just Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky and Central Russia's other old industrial towns. It is also a Republic which inherited from the past its own backward national areas. Its 16 Autonomous Republics, 5 autonomous regions and 10 national areas gained their statehood for the first time under Soviet power. On the territory of the Russian Federation there are dozens of peoples, including those who were threatened with extinction under tsarism.

Moreover, together with the large industrial and cultural centers, many fundamentally Russian areas inherited from tsarist Russia old, backward out-of-the-way places, the countless provincial townlets and stagnant hamlets described with bitterness and pain by the Russian classical writers.

That is why the development of the Russian Federation required efforts in various directions. There was the need for rapid progress in the most advanced centers and regions which have played and continue to play the role of the main base, ensuring the advance of the whole of Soviet society. At the same time there was the need to overcome the backwardness over a large area of the Republic, to solve the national question, or, to be more precise, a multiplicity of national questions inherited from the past in the Federation itself. Finally, there were the vast territories in Siberia, the Far East and the North to be opened up.

The working people of the RSFSR fulfilled these great tasks with honor. Hundreds of new modern cities and industrial centers have arisen across the Republic on either side of the Urals. The Republic's old major cities, beginning with Moscow, our capital, and Leningrad, the cradle of the Revolution, have been rejuvenated. Rich natural stores of oil, gas, coal, metallic ores, gold and dia-

monds have been discovered and placed at the service of society.

The Federation's industry has made giant strides: in 50 years its output increased over 300-fold, going up over 11-fold during the post-war years alone. Just imagine what this means, considering the vast scale of the Republic's economy. The output of staple farm produce has been doubled and trebled. Soviet Russia's achievements in science, culture and education are also well known.

Comrades, our half-century of experience is graphic confirmation of Lenin's ideas about the advantages offered by a large-scale, centralized national economy as compared with a fragmented economy. The pooling of the economic potentials and resources of all the Republics accelerates the development of each, the smallest and the largest alike. Management and planning of the economy on the scale of the Union have made it possible to effect a rational location of the productive forces; they afford scope for economic maneuver, and have helped to enhance cooperation and specialization, which yield an overall benefit well in excess of a mere arithmetical addition of the component efforts of each Republic, region and district.

This path has been tested, it is reliable, and we shall advance along it towards new achievements, towards fresh gains in communist construction.

On the basis of the deep-going and all-round socio-political changes over the past half-century our society has risen to a qualitatively new level, thereby realizing the prevision of the great Lenin, who emphasized that socialism "creates new and superior forms of human society" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 38-39). Indeed, as the 24th Congress of the CPSU noted, a new historical entity of men—the Soviet people—has been established and become reality in this country.

This entity is based on the deeply-rooted objective material and spiritual changes in the country's life, on the emergence and development in our country of socialist nations between whom relations of a new type have taken shape.

The economy of the Soviet Union is not a sum total of the economies of the individual republics and regions. It has long since become one economic organism, formed on the basis of the common economic aims and interests of all our nations and nationalities.

The economic condition of, say, Uzbekistan depends not only on the cotton crop in the Republic itself, but also on the work of the machine-builders of the Urals and Leningrad, the miners of the Kuznetsk Basin, the grain-growing state farms of Kazakhstan and the makers of electronic computers in Byelorussia. Similarly, the prosperity of the Ukraine depends not only on the successful work of her working people but also on the results of the work

of the oil industry workers of Tataria and Bashkiria, of the timber industry in the Komi Autonomous Republic, and the engineering industry in Moscow, Gorky and Kuibyshev. There are hundreds and thousands of similar examples. The scale of our work tends to outgrow the boundaries not only of economic regions but also of the Union Republics.

In the past 50 years radical changes have also taken place in the sphere of social relations. In the Soviet Union, the exploitation of man by man has long since been eliminated. The whole Soviet people now consists of socialist classes and social groups. It is welded together by common purpose and outlook. Communism is its goal, and Marxism-Leninism the basis of its world outlook.

The working class, the chief productive force of society and the most progressive class of the present epoch, the collective-farm peasantry, which has shed the private-property mentality, and the Soviet intelligentsia, whose whole creative effort is dedicated to the cause of communist construction, have changed.

Large contingents of the working class have been formed in all the Republics, Union and Autonomous, and in all the national regions and areas. It is the working class, by nature the most internationalist class of all, that plays the decisive role in the process of bringing closer together all the nations and nationalities in our country. It is the workers of all nationalities, united in close-knit production collectives, that are erecting industrial installations, wherever they may be located, building the railways, and laying the canals, the oil pipelines and the electric-power transmission lines linking the various parts of the country, the Union and the Autonomous Republics and the territories and regions into a coherent economic whole.

In each of the Soviet Republics, in each region and in each major city you will find men and women of many nationalities living as neighbors and working together. Throughout the country there is a growing number of mixed marriages, which now run to millions.

The more intensive the economic and social development of each national Republic, the more pronounced the internationalization of every aspect of our life in these Republics. Take Soviet Kazakhstan, which has been growing so rapidly. Living there with the Kazakhs are now millions of Russians, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Byelorussians and people of other nationalities. Kazakh culture is developing and becoming richer as it absorbs the best elements of Russian, Ukrainian, and other national cultures. Is this good or bad? We Communists confidently say: it is good, it is very good, indeed!

In the half-century of the USSR, a Soviet socialist culture has emerged and flourished in this country, a culture uniform in spirit

and basic content, which comprises the more valuable features and traditions of the culture and life of each Soviet nation. At the same time, any one of the Soviet national cultures does not merely feed on its own sources, but also draws on the spiritual riches of the other fraternal nations and, for its part, adds to the latter and has a beneficial effect on them.

Common, internationalist features are becoming ever more pronounced in the varied national forms of Soviet socialist culture. In a progressive process, the national culture is increasingly enriched by the achievements of other fraternal nations. This process is in the spirit of socialism and in the interest of all the nations of our country, laying the groundwork for a new, communist, culture that is free of any national barriers and equally serves all men of labor.

We already have good reason to say that Soviet culture is socialist in content and in the main tendency of development, is varied in national form, and is international in spirit and character. It is thus an organic compound of the spiritual riches being created by all the Soviet nations.

Comrades, these are no abstract formulas: this is life itself. In Turkmenia or Moldavia, for instance, people read and appreciate Pushkin, Shevchenko, Gorky, Mayakovsky, Sholokhov, Tvardovsky, Fedin and Stelmakh as they do their own national writers, while the Russian or the Ukrainian has adopted, as part of his own cultural heritage, the ancient but never-aging epos of Shota Rustaveli, the fine works of Vilis Lacis, Abai Kunanbayev, and Chinghiz Aitmatov and the splendid poetry of Yanka Kupala, Samed Vurgun, Rasul Gamzatov, Eduardas Mezelaitis, Mustai Karim, and many, many others.

The rapid growth of bonds and cooperation between the Soviet nations and nationalities serves to enhance the importance of the Russian language, which has now become the linguistic medium of mutual communication for all of them. And, of course, comrades, we are all glad to see that Russian has become one of the universally accepted world languages.

Thus, both in the material and spiritual spheres, a break-down of national barriers is taking place—a process which Lenin more than once described as important—with prerequisites being formed for a further drawing together of the Soviet nations. The powerful source of their unity lies in the common history of the whole Soviet people and all its constituent nations and national groups, and the common traditions, attitudes and experience stemming from the half-century of their joint struggle and joint labor.

The heroic exploits in defense of the socialist Motherland were the most convincing expression of the Soviet people's unity. The union and friendship of all its nations and nationalities have stood the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War, in the course of which

the sons and daughters of the same Soviet Motherland did not only succeed in safeguarding with honor their socialist gains, but also saved world civilization from the barbarity of fascism, thereby lending powerful support to the peoples' liberation struggle. The glory of this country's heroes, its valiant defenders, will not dim through the ages.

Today, our Armed Forces are a reliable shield for the socialist Motherland and a guarantee for its people's peaceful labor in building communism. The Soviet people deeply respect and love their army, because they know that they need a well-equipped army so long as forces of aggression still exist in the world. The Soviet Army is also a special kind of army in that it is a school of internationalism, a school that fosters feelings of brotherhood, solidarity, and mutual respect among all Soviet nations and nationalities. Our Armed Forces are one friendly family, a real embodiment of socialist internationalism.

Apart from their glorious military record, Soviet people of every nationality are also brought together by the legendary feats of the shock workers in the early five-year-plan periods, the heroic labor of postwar rehabilitation, the exploits of the men and women who developed the virgin lands, the unprecedented scale of the great construction projects of our day, and the opening up of the northern and eastern areas. Joint labor and struggle have forged the Soviet people's common traditions, which are a source of pride and are cherished by every Soviet citizen.

The emergence in our country of a new historical entity of men, the Soviet people, is, comrades, our great accomplishment. We are justified in regarding it as a summary of the economic and sociopolitical changes that have taken place in this country in the past 50 years.

Lenin's Party, its collective reason and unbending will, its organizing and guiding role, was the force that paved the way for the formation of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a force that has guided its development over the half-century, and that is now confidently leading it forward.

The CPSU is a Party of Leninist internationalists both in ideology and policy, and in structure and composition.

The Bolshevik Party was the first political party based on the principle of uniting proletarian organizations in which workers of different nationalities formed a single fighting force. V. I. Lenin wrote back in 1905: "To dispel any idea of its being national in character, the Party called itself 'Rossiiskaya' and not 'Russkaya' " [The adjective *Russkaya* (Russian) pertains to nationality, *Rossiiskaya* (Russian) pertains to Russia as a country—Ed.] (*Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 496). Upon the formation of the Soviet Union, the Party emphasized this special feature by changing its name first

to "All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" and then to "Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

The Party unites the foremost representatives of all the country's nations and nationalities. It is the most vivid embodiment of the USSR working people's militant fellowship and friendship, the inviolable unity of the whole Soviet people. All Communists in this country, whatever their nationality, are members of the single Leninist Party. All of them enjoy equal rights and have equal duties, bearing equal responsibility for the country's future.

It stands to the Party's credit that millions upon millions of Soviet men of every nation and nationality have adopted internationalism—once the ideal of a handful of Communists—as their deep conviction and standard of behavior. This was a true revolution in social thinking, and one which it is hard to overestimate. The Party's success is largely due to its implacable attitude to any departures from the Leninist national policy within its own ranks, its resolute struggle against all manner of deviations, its firm stand for and creative development of the great Marxist-Leninist theory.

Lenin is known to have repeatedly emphasized the complexity of tackling national problems, the need to show tact and tolerance with respect to national feelings, those of the smaller nations in particular, and the need gradually to foster in the latter a spirit of internationalism. But Lenin always demanded that the Communists of any nationality should take a clear and principled stand on the national question, and never allowed for any indulgence in this matter. He always waged a relentless struggle against any manifestations of nationalism or great-power chauvinism among Communists.

It is right, some may ask, to talk of such problems now that our multinational socialist state has been in existence for 50 years and has been developing successfully, and now that the Soviet people have started to build communist society? Yes, comrades, it is right.

As I have already mentioned, we have successfully dealt with those aspects of the national problem that we inherited from the pre-revolutionary past. But in a mature socialist society, national relations continue to be a constantly developing reality, which keeps putting forward fresh tasks and problems. The Party never loses sight of these questions, tackling them in due time in the interest of the country as a whole and of every Republic in particular, in the interests of communist construction.

It should be remembered that nationalistic prejudices, exaggerated or distorted national feelings, are extremely tenacious and deeply embedded in the psychology of politically immature people. These prejudices survive even when the objective premises for any antagonisms in relations between nations have long since ceased to exist. It should also be borne in mind that nationalistic tenden-

cies are often intertwined with parochial attitudes, which are akin to nationalism.

Neither can we afford to overlook the fact that nationalistic survivals are being encouraged from outside in every way by politicians and propagandists of the bourgeois world. Our class adversaries zestfully seize on all cases of this kind, inflating and encouraging them in the hope of impairing — if only a little — the unity of the peoples of our country.

Lastly, comrades, there are also objective problems in our federal state, such as finding the most correct way of developing the individual nations and nationalities and the most correct balance between the interests of each nation and nationality and the common interests of the Soviet people as a whole. In dealing with these problems, our Party closely follows Lenin's injunction that the maximum concern has to be shown for the development and interests of each nation.

The further drawing together of the nations and nationalities of our country is an objective process. The Party is against pushing the process; there is no need for that, for it is determined by the entire course of our Soviet life. At the same time, the Party considers as impermissible any attempt to hold it up, to impede it on some pretext, or to give undue emphasis to national distinctiveness, because this would go against the general line of development of our society, the internationalist ideals and the ideology of Communists, the interests of communist construction.

Lenin could not have spoken more clearly on this score: "The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinctions and remove national barriers; it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 35).

As the Party resolves the problems of the country's further development along the way mapped out by Lenin, it attaches great importance to the continuous, systematic and deep-going education of all Soviet citizens in the spirit of internationalism and Soviet patriotism. For us these two concepts comprise an unbreakable whole. Needless to say that they are cultivated in the people by the Soviet way of life, by all our reality. But conscious efforts of the Party, of all the workers of the politico-ideological front, are also required. Our work in this area is an extremely important part of the general effort of building communism.

Comrades, the accomplishments of the past 50 years are a source of pride for all Soviet people and inculcate in them unshakable confidence in the future of our great Motherland.

The path travelled in this half-century instills in us faith in the strength of our Party, our state, our fine people. If the obstacles

that faced us in the past failed to stem our victorious march to socialism, then no one and nothing can block our path now that the Soviet Union has reached such heights. All the aims set by the Party of Lenin are certain to be attained.

The mighty winds of the times, the winds of history, are filling the sails of the ship of socialism. And, irrepressibly, our ship is sailing farther and farther ahead to the radiant horizons of communism!

III. THE SOVIET UNION IS A DEPENDABLE BULWARK IN THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

Comrades, during the half-century of the Soviet Union's existence the world has witnessed socio-political changes of unprecedented scale and depth.

The socialist revolution triumphed in a number of European, Asian and American countries; a world socialist system took shape. In the capitalist world, the international working-class movement became a mighty, well-organized and politically active force. And its militant vanguard—Communist and Workers' Parties—came into being and grew in most countries of the world. Imperialism's system of colonial oppression collapsed for good.

In short, the world has changed in this half-century. And it is an indisputable fact, comrades, that the Soviet Union — the very fact of its existence, the example of our socialist society, the dynamic foreign policy of our state—has played no small part in all these historic changes.

Life has completely borne out the conclusion drawn by the great Lenin that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its consolidation are necessary "for the world Communist proletariat in its struggle against the world bourgeoisie and its defense against bourgeois intrigues" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 609).

Today, the "world Communist proletariat," the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist Parties, the progressive revolutionary-democratic organizations, the trade unions and broadest sections of working people in all continents have joined us in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union.

We are deeply grateful to our comrades and allies in the fraternal socialist countries, to men of like mind with us, and friends in other countries, for their kind sentiments and solidarity. Throughout our country's history we have had occasion time and again to appreciate the importance for us of our alliance with the international working class and with the communist movement, and of the support by upright, progressive people across the world of our peace-loving policy. We value this support highly.

On this momentous occasion we again assure our comrades-in-arms, our class brothers, our friends all over the world that the Soviet Union shall always be faithful to the great cause of the international unity of the fighters for the freedom of the peoples, for socialism, for lasting world peace.

As we see it, the purpose of our foreign policy is to strengthen peace, which we need for building communism, which is required by all socialist countries, by the peoples of all lands. This is why we shall continue to counteract the policy of aggression and help to eliminate throughout the world the conditions that breed aggressive wars.

As we see it, it is the purpose and mission of our foreign policy to facilitate the exercise by all the peoples of their inalienable rights and, first and foremost, the right to independent and sovereign development, so that they may benefit by the fruits of modern civilization.

As we see it, it is the purpose and mission of our policy on the international scene to side unfailingly with those who are fighting imperialism and all forms of exploitation and oppression, for freedom and human dignity, for democracy and socialism.

In short, we cherish the freedom, peace and welfare of our people, and we wish freedom, peace and welfare to all the peoples of the world!

Comrades, our foreign policy has always been and will be a class policy, a socialist one in content and aim. And precisely its socialist character makes it a policy of peace. "We know, we know only too well, the incredible misfortunes that war brings to the workers and peasants," Lenin stressed (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 148). Lenin's conclusion was crystal clear: to safeguard peace by all means; having started peaceful construction, to apply every effort to continue it without interruption. The Soviet state has always followed this course charted by Lenin. From the first foreign-policy act of the Soviet power — the Decree on Peace — to the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, our Party and state have maintained the continuity of the main directions of the struggle for peace and for the freedom and security of the peoples.

For nearly a quarter of a century, that is, for nearly half the life of the federal Soviet state, we have no longer been alone and have marched forward together with fraternal countries. We have repeatedly declared that we consider it our most important international task to consolidate and develop the world socialist system.

In the early and most difficult years of the People's Democracies, the Soviet Union played the decisive part in defending them against imperialist interference, and on many occasions rendered them the necessary political and economic support. Later, too, joint defense against imperialism's hostile sallies, against its attempts to subvert

the socialist system in one country or another, has always been, and remains, one of the important conditions for the successful development of the world socialist system.

As a result of collective efforts and hard-fought battles against the class enemy we forged a lasting alliance of socialist states and a dependable system of all-round fraternal co-operation, which has become, as it were, the natural form of life for each of our countries. We have learned to perform our day-to-day job successfully, to work patiently for just solutions of issues that have proved insoluble in capitalist conditions. And in doing this, we have learned to harmonize the interests of each with the common interest, and to cooperate, removing from our path everything that may hinder or complicate the common advance.

When the question of uniting the Soviet Republics in a single Union of Soviet Socialist Republics arose 50 years ago, Lenin pointed out that the Union was necessary in order to withstand the military onslaught of imperialism, to defend the gains of the Revolution, and to accomplish the peaceful creative tasks of socialist construction more successfully by common effort.

In principle, the same applies to the fraternal community of sovereign socialist states that have united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We formed this community principally to counter the imperialist threat, the aggressive imperialist military blocs, and to safeguard in common the cause of socialism and peace. And we have every reason to declare that socialism's positions have never been firmer than they are today, and that the cause of peace is gaining one victory after another.

But even in the present conditions, far from having diminished, the need for unity and the closest cooperation among socialist countries has, on the contrary, become greater. Today we require unity, cooperation and joint action chiefly in order to accomplish more quickly and effectively the tasks of developing socialist society and building communism. Moreover, we require unity, cohesion and cooperation in order to safeguard and consolidate the peace, so vital for all the peoples, as successfully as possible, to carry forward international détente, and to effectively repulse all aggressive sallies of the imperialists, all attempts to impinge on the interests of socialism.

This is why the Soviet Union has always been, is and always will be an active champion of unity and cooperation among all the socialist countries.

Comrades, today one cannot but make special mention of our relations with that fraternal socialist state whose name has become for all the world the symbol of heroic struggle against aggression. I am referring to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In Washington the Vietnam war is described as the longest in American history. That is true. It should be added, however, that it is also the dirtiest of all the wars known in American history.

Now, the world has become witness to new American imperialist crimes in Vietnam. Apart from the fact that, resorting to various unsavory maneuvers, the United States is artificially delaying the conclusion of an agreement on terminating the war, it has some days ago resumed bombing towns and mining ports in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Grave responsibility devolves on the U.S. government for these barbarian acts and for the bloodshed that it continues to inflict on the Vietnamese people. Like all the peace-loving states, like all the peoples of the world, the Soviet Union firmly and indignantly condemns these acts of aggression.

It is clear to everyone by now that the U.S. military adventure in Vietnam has failed. And no new outrages can break the will of the heroic people of Vietnam or shake the determination of their friends to give them every possible support and aid in their just struggle of liberation.

No matter what senseless brutalities the modern colonialists may commit, imperialism no longer possesses its former ability to dispose of the destiny of the peoples unimpeded. The socialist cause, the national liberation movement are invincible. In our time, the international solidarity of the socialist states, all revolutionaries, all fighters for peace and progress, has become a tremendous force.

Much could be said of our military, economic and other aid to fighting Vietnam. But our Vietnamese friends, the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, speak of it much more convincingly.

One other point needs to be stressed. We have always regarded it as a central objective of the Soviet Union's foreign policy to work for the elimination of the seat of war in Indochina. This is why we give our Vietnamese friends active assistance in their efforts for a just peace settlement.

In sum, we are translating our internationalist solidarity with the people of Vietnam into concrete deeds all along the line. And we shall spare no effort to preserve and strengthen Soviet-Vietnamese friendship.

Now, comrades, a few words about our present relations with China or, rather, about China's attitude towards most of the socialist states.

It is more than ten years since the leaders of the People's Republic of China have taken the line of struggling against the USSR and, in effect, the entire socialist community, which they continue to regard as the main obstacle to their great-power designs.

Speaking bluntly, what does Peking's foreign policy amount to today? It amounts to absurd claims to Soviet territory, to malicious slander of the Soviet social and political system, of our peace-loving foreign policy. It amounts to undisguised sabotage of the efforts to limit the arms race and of the struggle for disarmament and for a relaxation of international tension. It amounts to continuous attempts to split the socialist camp and the communist movement, to foment discord among the fighters for national liberation, to range the developing countries against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Lastly, it amounts to unprincipled alignments on anti-Soviet grounds with any, even the most reactionary forces—the most rabid haters of the Soviet Union from among the English Tories or the revenge-seeking elements in the FRG, the Portuguese colonialists or the racists of South Africa.

In substance, the objective of doing the greatest possible damage to the USSR, of impairing the interests of the socialist community, is now the sole criterion determining the Chinese leaders' approach to any major international problem.

What can one say about this policy?

We hold that it is unnatural for relations between socialist countries, that it acts against the interests not only of the Soviet, but also of the Chinese people, against the interests of world socialism, of the liberation and anti-imperialist struggle, against peace and international security.

It is therefore understandable that we categorically reject this policy.

The Chinese leaders allege that they are disturbed by some threat emanating from the Soviet Union. If these statements are not hypocritical, it is impossible to understand why in this case China has not replied to our proposal, repeatedly made since 1969, to assume clear, firm and permanent commitments ruling out an attack by one country on the other? If Peking is really concerned about China's security, why has not the PRC leadership agreed to conclude a special treaty renouncing the use of force, the draft of which was submitted to the Chinese side on January 15, 1971? The draft of this treaty states unequivocally that the sides—and I quote—"shall not use against each other armed forces employing any type of arms, including: a) conventional, b) missile, or c) nuclear". No, the Chinese leaders' complaints about a mythical "Soviet threat" quite obviously do not stand up to scrutiny.

Our policy toward China is well known. It is outlined clearly in the decisions of the 24th Party Congress. We are following it consistently, and shall continue to follow it, because it is based on a sober analysis of the present and future realities, and we are convinced that it is correct.

The Soviet Union has neither territorial nor economic claims on

China. Soviet people remember that the relations between the USSR and China have by far not always been what they are now. It is common knowledge that our country rendered the Chinese Communists substantial aid in their struggle against the Japanese aggressors and the Chinese bourgeoisie. The part played in the victory of the people's democratic revolution in China by the Soviet Army, which defeated the Japanese forces occupying China, is also common knowledge. In China they probably remember that the first international treaty concluded by the newly-established People's Republic of China was the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. They probably still remember also the tremendous aid rendered by the Soviet Union to People's China in building her heavy industry, strengthening her defense capability, and training national cadres.

Those were good times in Soviet-Chinese relations. They were relations natural for socialist states. And we trust that the objective interests of the peoples of our two countries, that the laws of history, will ultimately prevail over the subjective political distortions and that Soviet-Chinese friendship will be restored.

We want to see China a flourishing socialist power, and to work shoulder to shoulder with her for peace, against imperialism. But when this is to come about depends on China herself. And, of course, nothing will make us depart from our principled Marxist-Leninist line, from our firm defense of the state interests of the Soviet people and the inviolability of Soviet territory, from our determined struggle against the divisive activities of the PRC leadership in the socialist world and the liberation movement.

Comrades, the whole world knows that acting on Lenin's behests, our Party and people actively support the national liberation struggle of the peoples and the progressive policy of countries liberated from colonial oppression. In saying this we should like to stress that in present conditions, as we see it, a policy is progressive if it firmly repulses neo-colonialism and works for the consolidation of the sovereignty and independence of the young states, for their economic liberation from imperialism, for peace, for social progress and closer solidarity with other progressive forces of our time, and, first and foremost, with the socialist countries.

The Soviet Union is promoting friendly ties and all-round co-operation with the states that adhere to this position.

The friendship between the Soviet Union and India, one of the biggest peace-loving countries on our planet, is exercising a strong positive influence on the international situation as a whole. By now, the Soviet Union and India have gained considerable experience of fruitful cooperation. Now that our relations are based on the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation we feel that they will become closer still. This is borne out by the consolidation

of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces in India. It is also borne out by the policy of the Indian Government headed by Indira Gandhi.

We are pleased to state that we have good relations with many peace-loving countries in Asia and Africa, and, first and foremost, with our immediate neighbors—Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. We consider that there are good prospects for the promotion of good relations with Bangladesh and Pakistan.

We have broad and versatile relations with a number of Arab countries. The entire course of events has shown that friendship with the Soviet Union assures the progressive Arab states the necessary support and aid in their most difficult hour. This is well known in Egypt, and in Syria, in Iraq and the Yemen. We have treaties of friendship with Egypt and Iraq, and shall develop our relations with these countries on the basis of these documents. We are firmly resolved to strengthen friendly ties also with Syria, Algeria and other Arab countries.

The present international situation is such that all who want a real strengthening of world peace should multiply their efforts aimed at extinguishing the hotbed of war in the Middle East and eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression against the Arab states. Many countries have declared in favor of resolving the Middle East problems on the basis of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions, but regrettably words are not enough. If they were buttressed by concrete political actions, Israel would be compelled to agree to a peaceful settlement, to recognize the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples. As concerns the Soviet Union, our readiness to contribute to this is well known.

Our cooperation with many Latin American countries has been making considerable headway of late. Beyond question, this is the result of a consolidation of their independence and of far-reaching anti-imperialist and democratic changes there. Convincing evidence of these changes is provided by the marked strengthening in Latin America of the political positions of heroic revolutionary Cuba, whose leader, our dear friend and comrade, Fidel Castro, we are happy to welcome in this hall today.

Recently, Salvador Allende, President of the Republic of Chile, paid a friendly visit to our country. The results of our negotiations with the head of that state, which has firmly taken the path of anti-imperialist policy and social progress, we regard as a new important step in the development of our relations. We have deep sympathy for the freedom struggle of the people of Chile, as we also have for that of the peoples of other Latin American countries. We are convinced that this struggle will be crowned with success!

Comrades, it is common knowledge that in many developing countries an acute struggle is proceeding between the new, pro-

gressive forces and internal reaction, which is receiving outside support from imperialism. And one of the issues in this struggle is the development of relations with world socialism. Past experience, and current events as well, show that the socio-political conflict in such countries may lead to all kinds of twists and turns. We are well aware of this.

However, the patriots of former colonies and semi-colonies have passed a through political school of national liberation revolutions. And the lessons they have drawn are evidence of the fact, among other things, that friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries facilitates the success of the struggle against imperialism and the consolidation of the genuine independence of liberated countries.

Comrades, the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress has proclaimed the Soviet Union's readiness to extend mutually beneficial cooperation in every sphere with countries also seeking such cooperation. As regards Europe, this point is worded still more explicitly: to effect a radical turn towards détente and peace on that continent.

This accords completely with the common platform of the world communist movement. The Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist Parties says clearly that struggle for world peace is the main aspect of the joint action of Communists.

Only a little over 18 months have passed since the 24th Congress, but we can safely say that our Party and the Soviet state have gone a long way in implementing the most important propositions of the Peace Program.

Together with our friends and allies we have applied much effort to settle problems inherited from the Second World War, and to create a sounder political climate in the world. Our relations with many bourgeois countries, including most countries of capitalist Europe, have shifted to the course of détente and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Elements of realism in the policy of many capitalist countries are ever more pronounced as the might and influence of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries increase, as our peace-loving policy becomes more active, and other important progressive processes make headway in the modern world. First and foremost, this applies to France, whose leaders—General de Gaulle and, later, President Pompidou—set their sights some years ago on mutually advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. This applies to the Federal Republic of Germany, the realistic foreign policy of whose government, headed by Chancellor Brandt, has exercised a considerable influence on the situation in Europe. This also applies to the United States of America to the extent to which it shows a willingness to depart from many of the

cold-war dogmas that for so long determined the orientation of all American foreign policy.

In other words, our consistent policy of peace and the entire course of events are gradually causing the capitalist world to recognize the necessity of dealing with the socialist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

The treaties between the USSR and the FRG, and between Poland and the FRG, which formalized the inviolability of the existing European frontiers, the set of agreements on West Berlin, and the Treaty on the principles of relations between the GDR and the FRG, which is being signed today in the GDR capital, the final breach of the diplomatic blockade of the GDR, all these are major steps in Europe's progress towards peace and security. And all this is not someone's unilateral gain, but a big victory for reason and realism in international relations.

To be sure, there remain international problems in Europe which still await solution. Take problems like the invalidation of the Munich *diktat*, and the admission of the GDR and the FRG to the United Nations. Their solution would help successfully to complete the process of clearing international relations in Europe of all the elements that have burdened them throughout the postwar period.

Our people know that the two world wars burst into their homes from the West, from Europe. We remember 1941. Every Soviet citizen cherishes in his heart the memory of his 20 million compatriots who laid down their lives in the Great Patriotic War. We remember all this well as we complete the history-making labor of finalizing the immutability of the postwar European arrangement. And we may legitimately say today that none of the results of the anti-fascist liberation struggle of the peoples has been forfeited; the fruits of the great Victory have been preserved and consolidated!

The Soviet Union will persevere in its policy of securing lasting peace in Europe, the policy we have followed throughout the postwar period and which is now yielding results that gladden the Soviet people and all who cherish peace. We value our good relations with France and will develop them in accordance with the Principles of Co-operation adopted by the two countries last year. We shall continue our efforts to improve and extend our ties with the FRG in various fields. We are prepared to develop all the positive elements that are entering, or have entered, into the practice of our relations with countries like Finland, our good neighbor, and Italy, the Scandinavian countries and a number of others. We are also prepared to improve relations with those European countries with which they are as yet unsmooth—provided, of course, these countries show by deed a willingness to do the same.

The all-European conference on security and cooperation, for which the socialist countries have worked for many years, should open a new chapter in European history. It appears that it will begin not later than the middle of 1973.

The peoples attach great hopes to the convocation of the all-European conference. They expect it to deal with the basic problems of strengthening European peace, to put an end to the suspicion and fear bred by the cold war, and give the Europeans confidence in the morrow. It seems that its success could introduce useful and sound elements into the relations between the European countries and the non-European participants in the conference—the United States and Canada.

We shall strive to attain imposing results at the conference, of benefit to all its participants.

Everybody knows the political principles, which, in the opinion of the USSR and its allies, should constitute the basis for the security of the European nations. They are: inviolability of state frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, independence, equality, and renunciation of the threat or use of force.

The time has come, we hold, to put on the agenda the framing of a European program of economic and cultural co-operation. This gives rise to the following question: is it possible to find a basis for some forms of business relations between Europe's inter-state trade and economic organizations—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Common Market? It could probably be found, if the Common Market countries refrain from all attempts at discrimination of the other side, and if they assist the development of natural bilateral ties and all-European cooperation.

One often hears that the West attaches importance to cooperation in the cultural domain and, especially, to the exchange of ideas, broader information, and contacts between nations. Permit us to declare here in all earnest: we, too, are in favor of this if, of course, such cooperation is conducted with due respect for the sovereignty, the laws and the customs of each country, and if it promotes mutual spiritual enrichment of the peoples, greater confidence between them, and the ideas of peace and good-neighborliness. We are for broader tourist exchanges. We are for broad public contacts, for meetings of the youth, of people of related professions, for travel on a collective or individual basis. Briefly, the possibilities here are quite broad if the matter is dealt with in a spirit of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's affairs, and not in a cold-war spirit.

It may be recalled that there are also to be negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe, and first and foremost in the Central Europe area. The Soviet Union favors serious

preparations for, and effective conduct of, these negotiations.

Consolidating European peace is a very important and big issue for the future of all mankind. We are doing our utmost, with all energy and purpose, to make Europe, for a long a dangerous volcano, incapable of giving rise to another war. We are well aware that reaction, militarism, revanchists of all shades, have not abandoned attempts to reverse the course of affairs in Europe. But their efforts will fail. The relation of forces on the continent is in favor of peace and peaceful coexistence. And we believe that wars could be eliminated from the life of the European peoples.

Speaking of the Soviet Union's relations with the United States, it will be recalled that the Resolution of the 24th CPSU Congress formulated our objectives as follows:

"The Congress instructs the CC CPSU consistently to continue carrying forward into practice the principle of peaceful coexistence, to extend mutually advantageous relations with the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union is prepared to develop relations also with the United States of America, holding that this conforms with the interests both of the Soviet and the American peoples and those of world peace. At the same time, the Soviet Union will always firmly oppose the aggressive actions of the United States and the policy of force."

As you see, the objectives are quite clear. They conform with the class line of the socialist state's peace-loving policy. The Central Committee of our Party, the Soviet Government, follow this line consistently.

The negotiations held with President Nixon in Moscow this spring were a big step forward in the development of Soviet-American relations.

What is especially important is that both sides have jointly defined the principles of relations between the USSR and the USA, and that they did so by virtue of their conviction that no foundation other than peaceful coexistence is possible for these relations in the nuclear age. This, precisely, is the principal meaning of the pertinent Soviet-American document signed last May.

The readiness expressed by the two sides to cooperate in different fields was accompanied by practical steps. Here I am referring to a whole series of agreements on various matters signed during the summit meeting and during subsequent Soviet-American contacts.

The Soviet-American agreements concerning anti-missile and offensive strategic weapons are, in effect, materially limiting these modern and most powerful types of weapons for the first time in history. But we do not intend to stop there. The understandings reached in Moscow should be consolidated and developed. One of the aims of the relevant negotiations now under way is to find ways

of turning the provisional agreement into a permanent one. And it would probably be a good thing if we gave thought to how we could pass from limiting armaments to their gradual reduction, and also to the establishment of some kind of limits to their qualitative development.

We have concluded a series of economic agreements with the United States. Their implementation may create a basis for large-scale and long-term cooperation in this field. At the same time, this could promote a sounder political climate in Soviet-American relations and facilitate further progress towards lasting peace, the main aim of Soviet foreign policy.

If the two countries—the USSR and the USA—will really follow the course charted jointly during the Moscow negotiations, then, we think, new substantial steps developing Soviet-American relations for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries and for universal peace may become possible during further contacts. However—and this should be emphatically stressed—much will depend on the course of events in the immediate future, and, in particular, on the turn in the question of ending the war in Vietnam.

Comrades, in conformance with the fundamental principles of our policy of peace, good-neighborliness and international friendship, the Soviet Union has advanced the idea of a system of collective security in Asia. It is being alleged in some capitals that our proposal is designed to “contain” or “encircle” China. Such allegations are totally groundless. As we conceive the idea, the People’s Republic of China will become an equal partner of such a system.

Important Soviet-Japanese negotiations are to take place next year. Their purpose is to settle matters left over from the Second World War and to provide a formal treaty basis for relations between our countries. We are striving for a mutually acceptable understanding on the entire set of issues under discussion. However, it is clear that no positive results in the negotiations can be expected, unless the Japanese side also displays the same willingness. The Soviet Union, for its part, is in favor of truly-good-neighborly relations with Japan.

The Soviet Union has been working for disarmament since the first years of its existence. In the past ten years, a series of important treaties has been concluded with the most active involvement of our country on such matters as the banning of nuclear weapons tests, nuclear non-proliferation, the banning of bacteriological weapons and so on. It stands to reason that all these are only the opening pages of the chronicle of disarmament. We call on all governments, on all the peoples of the world, to fill the succeeding pages of this chronicle jointly, including the last one—general and complete disarmament.

The adoption by the UN General Assembly—also on our initiative—of a resolution on the non-application of force in international relations and banning for all time the use of nuclear weapons was a big event in international affairs. Following up this UN resolution, we declare the Soviet Union's readiness to come to terms and appropriately formalize reciprocal commitments with any of the nuclear powers on the non-application of force, including the banning of the use of nuclear weapons against one another.

We are realists and are well aware that influential circles in the imperialist world have not yet abandoned attempts to conduct policy "from positions of strength." The arms race which they have started and which endangers peace is still continuing. And naturally, our allies and we cannot but draw the necessary conclusions. But our peace-loving foreign policy follows a constant course, and in the present situation the potential of the peace-loving forces in their struggle against the forces of aggression and war is greater than ever. The Soviet Union will continue to work for détente and for a stronger peace, persevering in its efforts to untie the knots of international tension, and working for stable good relations with countries of the opposite social system. And if our policy evokes an appropriate response from them, then we shall say confidently that the détente will become stable, and peaceful coexistence—a universally accepted standard of inter-state relations. This means that peace on our planet will really become dependable, and the danger of a new world war could be removed. And the foreign policy of our Party, of our Soviet state, is centered on this aim.

The CPSU has always held, and now holds, that the class struggle between the two systems—the capitalist and the socialist—in the economic and political, and also, of course, the ideological domains, will continue. That is as it should be, because the world outlook and the class aims of socialism and capitalism are opposite and irreconcilable. But we shall strive to shift this historically inevitable struggle onto a path free from the perils of war, of dangerous conflicts and uncontrolled arms race. This will be a tremendous gain for world peace, for the interests of all peoples, of all states.

While expressing its constant wish to cooperate in safeguarding peace with all governments willing to do so, the Soviet Union has been steadily expanding cooperation with the peace-loving public, with the peoples of all countries. Ever new opportunities of promoting peace arise for public organizations and mass movements. And the Soviet public will continue to take an active part in their useful work. We are convinced that the forthcoming World Congress of Peace Forces will play a prominent part in the peoples' struggle for peace.

Comrades, it is with a sense of deep pride for the Soviet people, for our Leninist Party, that we read on this glorious jubilee of our state the following appreciation of its foreign policy, formulated in the early period of the existence of the USSR: "The federal state thus created on the basis of the fraternal cooperation of the peoples of the Soviet Republics sets itself the aim of preserving peace with all nations." This was said in the Address of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR "To All the Peoples and Governments of the World," issued on the formation of the Soviet Union. It also said: "A natural ally of oppressed peoples, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics seeks peaceful and friendly relations, and economic cooperation with all nations. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics sets itself the aim of promoting the interests of the working people of the whole world. On the vast expanses from the Baltic, Black and White Seas to the Pacific Ocean it carries forward fraternity among peoples and affirms the rule of labor, striving at the same time to facilitate friendly cooperation among the peoples of the whole world."

Half a century has passed. The whole world has seen that those were not simply high-sounding words. The Soviet Union is faithful to the banner of socialism and peace, to which it pledged allegiance in the hour of its birth. And on the momentous day of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union we again declare to the whole world: The Communist Party, our state, the Soviet people shall continue to hold aloft securely the banner of Lenin's foreign policy, a policy of peace and friendship among the peoples!

IV. THE SOVIET UNION FOLLOWS THE PATH CHARTED BY THE 24th CPSU CONGRESS

Dear comrades, for almost two years the Soviet people have been working to carry out the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which charted a wide-ranging program for our country's economic and social progress. The tasks that were set by the Congress are immense in scale and extremely complex. The thing is that we Communists are restless people. We want to do as much as we can to improve the life of the people, for their happiness, and to do it as quickly as possible. This is evidently one of our Party's specific features.

Another feature is that the Party not only fights for the people's interests but is capable of rousing and carrying along the broadest masses. And the people respond with enthusiastic activity and mass labor heroism.

During these pre-anniversary months there have been innumer-

able and diverse socio-political and labor initiatives. These wonderful initiatives have come to the fore in the various spheres of industry, construction, transport and agriculture in all parts of the country during the emulation to mark the 50th anniversary of the USSR in a fitting manner. Many enterprises, towns, regions and territories have undertaken to fulfil the annual plan ahead of schedule by boosting labor productivity, quickly mastering the rated capacities of enterprises and machines and stepping up output without increasing the number of workers. Agricultural workers have pledged to deliver quantities of grain and cotton to the state over and above the plan. Among the forms of labor emulation that have emerged are the "contract of thousands" movement in light industry, the emulation movement under the motto "15 Republics—15 Shock Work Shifts" and many, many others. All this, comrades, is a true fountain of popular initiative, an inexhaustible source of our society's vitality.

Communist construction gives birth to real heroes of labor, who personify our Soviet way of life. They set magnificent examples of supreme consciousness, of a communist attitude to labor. From this rostrum I would have liked to name our modest, dedicated working people who are devoting all their strength and ability to the people's cause. But this, regrettably, is physically impossible to do, comrades. Their numbers run to thousands, tens of thousands and millions. There is not a single production collective, district, area, region or territory, not a single republic that does not have foremost workers who are adding to the glory of our country by their deeds. Fine sons and daughters of our Motherland, they are marching in the front ranks of the builders of communism, and their example is followed by millions of working people. Soviet people are proud of them, applaud them and emulate them.

The Party Central Committee and local Party, government, trade union and Komsomol organizations have done much to popularize the excellent initiatives of the working people on a nationwide scale. During the past few months the pages of newspapers and the newscasts on TV and the radio have been reminiscent of communiques from the field of a gigantic battle. Various contingents of working people reported on the fulfilment of their commitments and on their achievements in labor emulation from all parts of the country.

The results of the nationwide emulation movement in honor of the 50th anniversary of the USSR show that the working people of the Soviet Union have kept their word, that they have come to the glorious jubilee with fine labor achievements. The work of the victors in the movement has been marked by the Motherland. Over 3,000 workers' collectives have been awarded Jubilee Badges of

the Central Committee of the CPSU, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Let us congratulate the recipients, comrades, and wish them further glorious achievements for the welfare of the Soviet people.

We are approaching the end of the second year of the five-year plan period with results denoting a considerable growth of the key industries. Suffice it to say that in 1972 alone industrial production was double the output during all the prewar five-year plan periods. In 1971 and 1972 our factories put out half as much again as they did in the first two years of the preceding, eighth five-year plan period.

Many new achievements mark the creative work of the Soviet people during these two years. Some of them may be justifiably called historic.

The 6,000,000 kw Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station on the Yenisei, the largest in the world, has been put into operation at its full capacity with a high degree of efficiency. This hydro-power station's capacity is three times that of the largest hydropower station abroad. Meanwhile, near Moscow, on the ancient soil of Tver, the Konakovo State District Power Station has reached its full capacity. The 2,400,000 kw of this station and the aggregate of over 4,000,000 kw of the Ladyzhin State District Power Station, the Saratov Hydropower Station and the Estonian State District Power Station, which became operational in recent years, are a considerable contribution to the power economy of the European part of the Soviet Union.

The second section of the Volzhsky Auto Works named in honor of the 50th Anniversary of the USSR in the town of Togliatti was put in operation in January 1972. The third section was completed on the eve of the anniversary. Today this modern enterprise, which employs tens of thousands of skilled workers, technicians and engineers, can produce 660,000 passenger cars annually. This is a major achievement of our automobile industry.

The building of another giant—the heavy-duty truck factory in the town of Naberezhniye Chelny on the Kama—is in full swing.

Our oil and gas industry has continued to grow rapidly. Soviet people are opening up nature's treasure-stores in Western Siberia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan more and more confidently, drawing incalculable wealth from them. The increment in oil output alone during the past two years amounted to 44,500,000 tons, which is more than the Soviet Union's entire oil output in 1950. Such are our rates of growth. Such is the scale of our work.

Now, a few words about our agriculture. You are well aware, comrades, that our Party, Government and the entire Soviet people are bending every effort to ensure a reliable growth of agri-

cultural output. Much was done during the period of the eighth five-year plan in keeping with the decisions of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee in March 1965 and of the last two Party congresses.

On the whole, we have been able to create incentives for agricultural workers to boost farm production and secure a definite growth of the profitability of crop and livestock farming. The collective and technical resources and a stronger economy, and a noteworthy growth of crop yields and animal productivity has been achieved.

This is the economic aspect of the issue. The other and no less important aspect, the social aspect, is that during these years there has been a substantial improvement in the living standard of the rural population, who form a considerable section of the Soviet people.

The three main components of the Party's present policy in agriculture are: comprehensive mechanization, chemicalization and large-scale land improvement. For these purposes we have allocated more funds than have ever been appropriated for agriculture. The targets are being successfully realized all along the line. Almost all the tractor and other farm machine factories are now being reconstructed and new and more powerful and more efficient farm machinery is being manufactured. Under the present five-year plan the Soviet Union's output of mineral fertilizers is to be increased by 60 per cent. Irrigation and drainage schemes have been launched in various parts of the Soviet Union and this work is proceeding on an ever-growing scale.

As you all know the weather in the present year of 1972 was exceptionally unfavorable. The cold and snowless winter was followed by an unprecedented drought that set in over a considerable part of our territory. The grain and other crops perished in large areas of the European part of the country.

In this difficult situation the Party took all the necessary steps. The natural calamities were opposed by the conscious will of millions of Soviet people, who, organized by the Party, gave battle to nature with powerful modern machines. All the forces were mobilized in order to bring in the grain harvest quickly and without losses, and to ensure livestock with feed.

A special responsibility devolved on the working people of Kazakhstan, Siberia and some regions in the Urals, where a good crop was grown. There it was important to ensure the swiftest possible harvesting because any unexpected frost and snowfall could lead to the loss of the harvest. A movement under the stirring motto "Lose not an hour and not a gram" was launched by the agricultural workers in the Eastern regions. A real battle was started for grain.

The working people of Siberia, the Urals and Kazakhstan did

not let the country down. They justified its hopes and trust. They grew an excellent crop and worked selflessly to harvest it. The agricultural workers of Kazakhstan gave the country over 1,000 million poods, i.e., more than 17 million tons of grain. The grain-growers of Siberia and the Urals delivered nearly 17 million tons of grain to the state, with the Altai Territory alone accounting for over 5 million tons. Thanks to the good organization and efficiency quite a good harvest was collected and the plan for the sale of grain to the state was overfulfilled by a number of regions and Autonomous Republics of the Center and South of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, the collective and state farms of Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Baltic Republics, Transcaucasia and Central Asia.

As a result, the country's gross grain harvest was over 10,300 million poods, or 168 million tons. This is somewhat above the annual average grain crop during the eighth five-year plan period. State procurements amounted to 60 million tons. This equals the volume fixed in the plan but it is, of course, less than what we expected to receive under more or less normal conditions.

We cannot fail to give our fine cotton-growers special mention. Their work this year was not at all easy. The weather was unfavorable for cotton as well. But this did not intimidate the growers of white gold. At Party meetings, production conferences and at the inter-republican meeting in Tashkent the cotton-growers of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan undertook high commitments. They pledged to give the people 7,135,000 tons of cotton, that is, more cotton than last year, which saw a bumper crop. They worked hard, with dedication. And they kept their word. They not only fulfilled but overfulfilled their commitments. The cotton crop was the largest in history. A total of 7,300,000 tons were sold to the state. Of this quantity Uzbekistan alone accounted for 4,700,000 tons.

We can say with every justification, comrades, that, deeply understanding the country's requirements, the working people of our collective and state farms respond to the Party's call with concrete deeds and feats of labor. These feats are highly valued by the Party and the Soviet people. It is satisfying to note that a large group of foremost agricultural workers has recently been awarded orders and medals, and that many of them have been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. Honor and glory to these outstanding workers!

Comrades, the experience of this year, which was extremely unfavorable to agriculture, has given further convincing evidence of how our country has matured and how strong and healthy our developed socialist society has become.

In pre-revolutionary times or during the early years of Soviet

power such a severe winter and such a long drought would inevitably have had the most devastating consequences bringing calamity to many regions. Today, as life shows, we have the strength to cope with such difficulties. What formerly would have been a catastrophe is today a difficult but nonetheless surmountable obstacle in our development.

Scientists and experts have calculated that had agrotechniques been at the 1955 level, under the weather conditions that were experienced this year, we would have harvested only about 90 million tons of grain from our present crop area. The fact that this year we have received 168 million tons is a considerable achievement in itself. It is an indication of the increased efficiency of our crop farming and of better organization of the work of collective farmers, state-farm workers and agronomists, and the result of the extensive assistance agriculture has received from our industry, a result of our common efforts to promote agriculture.

Of course, we have sustained definite losses on account of the failure of the grain and potato crops. But they can and must be made good by hard work in agriculture and industry. Difficulties unquestionably exist, but the normal course of the life of the country and its citizens will not be disrupted. We shall continue to take steps to maintain the necessary level of supplies to the population.

The past year, comrades, has forcefully confirmed that our Party has been correct in taking the line of consolidating agriculture's material and technical resources. Moreover, it has convincingly shown that the planned measures must be implemented faster, and that the efforts in this direction must be multiplied.

This year's experience has shown that the least losses caused by nature's whims were suffered by farms that observe all the rules of agrotechnique, have an efficient seed-breeding department, correctly apply fertilizers and use irrigation facilities. In short, where the work was well organized, the consequences of the drought were not so severe. Therefore, comrades, while Mother Nature will always be there, work will take its own, and the best weapon against the vicissitudes of the weather is efficient management and active, selfless labor.

The aim set by the Party is to raise our agriculture to a level where it will really correspond to the potentialities of modern machinery and the requirements of communist construction. We will achieve this goal by the concerted labor of our agricultural workers, by ever-broader assistance to the countryside from industry, by the efforts of the entire people under the Party's leadership.

It is the dedicated labor of Soviet people in industry and agriculture and their labor achievements that make it possible to con-

sistently carry out the program approved by the Party Congress for the growth of the people's standard of living. You are well aware, comrades, of the many measures that have been taken in that direction. Let me name only two figures: in 1971 and 1972 nearly 34 million people received increases in wages, pensions and scholarship grants. Some 23 million people have received new flats during these years.

Thus, on the whole, we are witnessing an impressive growth of the Soviet Union's economic might, and this cannot fail to gladden all of us. On this great anniversary we can and must speak of this with full voice. But on great holidays and on routine work days we see not only our achievements but also our weak points and shortcomings, and we concentrate the people's attention and effort to remove them as quickly as possible. Regrettably, we still have shortcomings.

There is hardly any need to list them in detail today. We, Communists, are self-critical people and have time and again spoken of these shortcomings sharply and concretely. The most essential of them is that to this day the vast internal reserves and intensive, qualitative factors are being used with insufficient fullness and effectiveness in economic development. Labor outlays and also outlays of raw and other materials are being slowly reduced in some industries, at many factories, building projects, and collective and state farms.

The central task today is to effect a radical change of orientation, to switch the accent to intensive methods of economic management and thereby achieve a considerable rise of efficiency in the economy. The thing here is that economic growth should be increasingly fostered by an enhancement of labor productivity and an acceleration of scientific and technological progress, by the fuller utilization of operating production capacities, by increasing the return on every ruble invested in the economy, on every ton of utilized metal, fuel, cement and fertilizer.

This is the substance of the switch in economic policy as required by the 24th Congress of the Party. It is only on this foundation that the huge tasks set before the economy during the current five-year period can be carried out. It is only by stepping up efficiency in the economy that adequate means and resources can be found to ensure simultaneously a considerable growth of the people's standard of living, the possibilities for a rapid economic advance in the future and the maintenance of the country's defense capability at the proper level.

The Party knew full well that the attainment of the five-year plan targets would require hard and extensive work, immense energy, organization, a creative approach and daring in the solu-

tion of any problems that may arise. For that reason it was repeatedly stressed that if we did not raise our entire economic activity to a higher level and did not achieve a real turn towards improving the efficacy of the economy it would be difficult to carry out the set tasks. Further, everybody knows the main directions in which we must move. These are improved planning and the betterment of the entire system of management. These are the creation of economic conditions that would compel ministries and enterprises to adopt the maximum plan, mobilize reserves and work more efficiently. Here a wide field opens for our State Planning Committee, ministries and other state organs.

The people to whom the Party has entrusted the leadership of various sectors of economic activity are called upon steadfastly to improve the methods and style of this leadership. They must, in the full sense of the word, acquire a feeling for the new, display initiative and use without delay all the possibilities being opened up by scientific and technological progress. The implacable Bolshevik attitude to shortcomings and indifference in work, and a deep sense of Party responsibility for obtaining the highest economic effect with the least outlay of resources must become an organic quality of every executive.

Comrades, we are marking the anniversary of the USSR on the eve of the New Year. The coming year is of special significance. It is the third and in many ways the decisive year of the five-year plan. The task is not only to cope successfully with the basic targets of next year's plan that were endorsed a few days ago by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, but also substantially to surpass these targets and lay in the necessary reserve for subsequent years.

How can this be achieved? First and foremost, by making use of the large available reserves, about which we have already spoken. This must be achieved by instituting strict economy, by concentrating our efforts and material resources on projects nearing completion, by strengthening labor discipline and improving organization in work.

But this is still not all. The best plans will not be fulfilled if those who work at the machine tools or in the fields, on the livestock farms, in the research institutes or the service industries do not put into their work a part of their heart, of their soul. The energy of highly organized labor multiplied by love of one's country, of the socialist Motherland, can work wonders. That is how it was in our country during the first five-year plans, the Great Patriotic War and postwar rehabilitation and peaceful construction, during years replete with the heroism and labor enthusiasm of the masses.

Today a powerful tide of socialist emulation is sweeping across the country. The workers of foremost collectives, livestock units,

teams and collective and state farms have pledged to increase the output and procurements of livestock products. In Krasnodar Territory agricultural workers have initiated a socialist emulation movement for increasing the yield of grain and other crops. Workers of leading enterprises have joined in the socialist emulation movement for high indicators in the work of all branches of industry, construction and transport.

In this connection I should like to draw your attention to the following. As the living creative initiative of the masses, socialist emulation requires not only active support and encouragement for foremost workers but also the identification of those who lag behind or work less than conscientiously. This must be done publicly so that people would know not only about those who work conscientiously and energetically but also about those who work in a lackadaisical fashion, without enthusiasm. There are cases where some people talk the loudest when commitments are undertaken, but fall silent when the results of the fulfilment of these commitments are summed up, especially when these results are not very good. It so happens that everybody knows the winners, but there seem to be no losers. This kills the very idea of emulation, of genuine labor competition, of genuine labor rivalry, in other words, the factors to which Lenin attached special significance.

Matters must be organized in such a way as to make the drive for a high level of labor productivity, for the best indicators in production and for high quality output, a nation-wide cause.

We appeal to the working people of town and countryside and frankly say: the fulfilment of the 1973 plan is in your hands, comrades. We are confident that our working class, peasants and intellectuals will respond to the Party's call with further labor achievements and that they will spare no effort to secure the successful fulfilment of the assignments of the third, decisive year of the five-year plan.

Dear comrades, while we concentrate attention on our immediate, current tasks, we do not lose sight of the prospects of our onward movement. This the Bolsheviks have never lost sight of. Back in April 1918, when the Soviet power had only just been established, when the fires of the Civil War were blazing and dislocation reigned, Lenin appealed "for the speediest possible compilation of a plan for the reorganization of industry and the economic progress of Russia" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 320). This was both natural and vital, for the October Revolution had been accomplished in order to build socialism, and socialism is inseparable from scientific economic planning.

All the more vital is far-sighted scientific planning of economic and social development now that the Soviet Union is engaged in the building of communism. Under these conditions long-term plan-

ning is a matter of truly crucial importance. As you know, this is mirrored in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

This year, in accordance with the Directives of the Congress, the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a decision on the compilation of a long-term plan for the Soviet Union's economic development in 1976-1990. Work on this plan (to be conducted until 1975) is a major economic and political task. Lenin said in connection with the state plan for the electrification of Russia that a long-term plan of economic development is, essentially, the Party's second program. It seems to me that this is how we must approach the issue in the given case.

Today it is hard, of course, to speak of the concrete content of a long-term plan, of its targets. That is the aim of a painstaking scientific elaboration of the plan. Our planning organs have a big job before them and it will be a serious test that will be judged by the Party and the country. In such a matter subjective wishes and approximation are not only valueless but even dangerous. However, the basic directions, the historic contours of a long-term plan are clear. They are determined by the socio-political and economic tasks set in the Party Program and in the decisions of the latest Party Congress, by the task of creating the material and technical basis of communism and substantially improving the living standard of the Soviet people.

It is obvious that our long-term plan will, furthermore, provide for the widest utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology in all spheres of the national economy for the welfare of the whole people and for a further very considerable rise of labor productivity, because this, as Lenin emphasized, "in the last analysis . . . is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 427).

It is also obvious that thought must be given to achieving the most rational distribution of the productive forces in the country. Today, when the task of levelling up the economic development of the various republics has been in the main completed, we have the possibility of approaching economic problems principally from the standpoint of the interests of the state as a whole, from the standpoint of raising the efficacy of the entire national economy of the USSR, with consideration, needless to say, for the specific interests of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

Lastly, the long-term plan must take into account such a favorable feature of the present-day international situation as the broad development of the international division of labor and, above all, the economic integration of the socialist countries.

Such are some considerations regarding the compilation of the plan for the USSR's economic development up to the year 1990. In

carrying out that plan we must raise the living standard of the Soviet people to a level that would vividly show everybody, even the most diehard sceptics, the possibilities and advantages of our system in all spheres of social life. In that period the Soviet Union will undoubtedly make further substantial advances in science and culture, the all-sided development of the individual and the protection of the people's health. This cannot be otherwise, for in the compilation of all our plans the principal slogan of the Party and the Soviet Government has been and remains: All in the name of man, all for the benefit of man.

Those, comrades, are our targets. Those are the prospects before the world's first country of victorious socialism. Such is the onward movement of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose 50th anniversary we are marking today.

Comrades, as progress is made in building the material and technical basis of communism and raising the people's standard of living, increasing significance attaches to a task like the shaping of men's consciousness, of imbuing every Soviet citizen with the qualities needed by the builder of communism.

During the years of Soviet power there has been an immeasurable enrichment of the people's spiritual life and rise of their cultural level and political consciousness. The entire course of our history following the October Revolution has shown the lofty moral and political qualities that have been shaped in Soviet people, and the immortal deeds the Soviet citizen, the free, conscious toiler, patriot and internationalist is capable of accomplishing. This is one of the most invaluable achievements of socialism.

However, all this does not mean that the political, educational and ideological tasks facing our socialist society have been carried out. It is no secret that to this day social sores, inherited from the past and essentially alien to socialism, such as an unconscientious attitude to work, slackness, indiscipline, greed and various violations of norms of the socialist way of life not infrequently make themselves felt. The Party feels that it is its duty to draw the attention of our entire society to these phenomena, to mobilize the people for a determined struggle against them, to eradicate them, for without this we shall not build communism.

The very essence of communism is determined by the fact that citizens are politically conscious to a high degree, have a sense of responsibility to society and possess other lofty moral qualities. That is why the education of all citizens in the spirit of social consciousness is one of the cardinal components of the building of communism.

Today this kind of education is also imperiously dictated by economic factors. The present level of our socialist economic development and the level achieved by scientific and technological pro-

gress demand not only high, purely professional skill but also labor discipline, precision and organization. Without these elements we simply will not cope with the extremely complex tasks being set by modern life.

We are, comrades, building not a land of idlers where rivers flow with milk and honey, but the most organized and most industrious society in human history. And the people living in that society will be the most industrious, conscientious, organized and politically conscious. We are thus faced with enormously important work and it will evidently take quite a long time because human psychology is remade much more slowly than the material foundations of life.

The Party is conducting and will conduct this work along an ever-broader front. Here practically everything is important: the right atmosphere in family life, competent organization of the educational process, a healthy atmosphere at the place of work, efficient everyday services, and much else. Here a large role is played, of course, by people working in culture, art and the mass information media. The trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass public organizations have always been the Party's active assistants in its ideological and educational work. Today they have still more responsible tasks in this sphere.

Comrades, the great advantage of the Communists and generally of all politically conscious citizens of our society is that they have a sound understanding of the substance and direction of social development and clearly see the objectives that the country has set itself and the road along which we are travelling. It is a matter of honor for these advanced elements to share with every Soviet citizen this understanding, this ideological conviction and the noble passion filling their hearts.

The successes of communist construction depend in many ways on the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, which is our unerring scientific compass. The decisions of the congresses and plenary meetings of the CC of our Party and major Party documents are a model of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. But the very character of the tasks confronting us demands an increasingly active elaboration of the theoretical problems of social development and a creative approach to all the phenomena of life. The following words spoken by Lenin must be the motto of every Marxist: "There can be no dogmatism where the supreme and sole criterion of a doctrine is its conformity to the actual process of social and economic development" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 1 p. 298).

Just as in industry and agriculture not a single advance can now be made without the aid of the latest achievements of science so in our social life the development of science is the indispensable basis for the adoption of decisions, for day-to-day practice. The

Party continues, as it has always done, to support the innovatory, Leninist approach to the study of complex social phenomena and the efforts of our theorists to promote social theory and creatively analyze reality.

We are confronted with extensive work, comrades, in state development and in the further promotion and improvement of socialist democracy. The basic directions of this work were outlined in the Resolution of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. This includes a still more active participation of the masses in management, a fuller implementation by the Soviets of their multi-form functions in the administration of social life; a more consistent application of the principle of the accountability of executive organs to representative organs; the further strengthening of socialist legality; an improvement in the work of the people's control bodies.

One of the major questions of the further development of the Soviet Union that we shall have to resolve in the immediate future is that of the Constitution of the USSR.

Each of our Constitutions has been an ascendant stage in the development of the socialist Soviet state, a new phase in the unfolding of socialist democracy. The 1918 Constitution of the RSFSR legislatively recorded the birth of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat created by the October Revolution. The 1924 Constitution of the USSR was the first Constitution of the multinational Soviet state and it formalized the voluntary union of the fraternal Republics in a single state. The present 1936 Constitution reflected the abolition of the exploiting classes and consolidated the victory of socialism in our country.

But life moves on. During the three and a half decades that have passed since the adoption of that Constitution fundamental changes have taken place in the development of Soviet society, in world development and in the alignment of class forces on the international scene. What is the main substance of these changes? Briefly speaking it lies in the following.

Instead of the foundations of a socialist economy we now have a mature and technically well-equipped economic system both in town and countryside. This system has taken shape under conditions of victorious socialism, i.e., since the adoption of the 1936 Constitution.

With the working class retaining its leading role, there has been in our country a marked convergence of all classes and social groups, and the social homogeneity of socialist society has increasingly grown. The essential distinctions between labor by hand and by brain and between the working and living conditions in town and countryside are being rapidly erased.

Since the war, our society has accomplished a tremendous leap forward in cultural development. Today there is total literacy in

the Soviet Union, with two-thirds of the working population having a secondary or a higher education.

There has been considerable headway in the promotion of socialist democracy: law and order has been strengthened, legislation has been developed, and the role and activity of the Soviets have been enhanced.

All these fundamental changes have enabled our Party to draw the important theoretical and political conclusion that a developed socialist society has been built in the Soviet Union by the selfless labor of Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin's Party. Having completed its great, historic mission the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has gradually grown into a socialist state of the entire working people, with the working class remaining the leading force. The world's first country of victorious socialism has been the first to start the practical work of building communism. Far-reaching changes have also taken place in the Soviet Union's international position.

There are grounds for considering that all these changes in the life of our Motherland and the tasks confronting our society under the new conditions must be reflected in the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We have spoken of this before, and the appropriate preparatory work is being conducted. Today it is the opinion of the Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR that it is time to complete this work. We expect to submit the appropriate proposals for the new text of the Constitution for nationwide discussion before the next Party Congress.

This will doubtlessly be a great, historic event in the life of the Soviet Union. It will not only help Soviet people and the whole world to get a better understanding of what we have achieved and sum up the results of what we have accomplished, but also shed new light on the further progress of our Soviet socialist society, advancing to communism.

Dear comrades, a remarkable, historic road has been traversed during the past half-century by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, founded by Lenin, the home of almost a quarter of a thousand million free and equal people of over 100 nationalities. Soviet people have every reason to love their great Motherland and to be proud of her. This feeling of love for the Soviet Motherland has permeated the speeches of representatives of all the nationalities of our country at the anniversary meetings that have been held during these days throughout the Soviet Union and the hundreds of thousands of letters from the working people dedicated to the glorious anniversary.

During the imperialist world war 58 years ago Vladimir Ilyich Lenin counteposed to the unbridled chauvinism fanned by the exploiting ruling classes a proletarian, communist understanding of national pride. He wrote of the national pride of the Great Russians, in other words, of the Russians, who can justifiably be proud of the glorious revolutionary traditions of their people, of the deeds of heroes of the liberation struggle, of heroes who came from their midst. That is how Lenin, true son of the Russian people and a great internationalist revolutionary, understood the feeling of national pride. He called upon class-conscious Russian proletarians to be faithful "to the proletarian brotherhood of all the nations of Russia, i.e., to the cause of socialism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 106).

Today, half a century after the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we are fully justified in speaking of a broader understanding, of the great sense of patriotism of our whole people, of *the national pride of the Soviet man*.

The arrogant sense of superiority of one nation over another, let alone the mad idea of national or racial exclusiveness, is alien and odious to Soviet people. Soviet people are internationalists. That is how they have been educated by the Party and by our entire reality. But regardless of nationality or language, all Soviet people are proud of their great Motherland, the herald of a new era in mankind's history. They are proud of the inspired labor of millions, who have, under the leadership of the Communists, built a new, truly just and free society and created an unbreakable fraternal union of many peoples. They are proud of the feat accomplished by millions of heroes—sons and daughters of these peoples, who laid down their lives in the joint struggle for these gains. They are proud of the great achievements of emancipated labor, of the achievements of science and the flourishing of culture which assumes diverse national forms, of the entire way of life of the Soviet people, who have shown mankind new horizons and new moral values and ideals.

The national pride of the Soviet man is a feeling that is vast, all-embracing and immensely rich in content. It is broader and more profound than the natural national feelings of each of the peoples forming our country. It has absorbed all the finest accomplishments of the labor, courage and creative genius of millions of Soviet people.

The whole country takes pride in the labor achievements of workers and collective farmers, in the outstanding discoveries of the scientists of all our Republics, in the skill of the craftsmen, in the immortal creations of the folk art of each of the fraternal nations. The fine original works of literature, painting and music of each

of the peoples of the Soviet Union have long ago become our common property, comrades. All this and very much else that is simply impossible to list comprises the integral and common incalculable national wealth of Soviet people. Justifiable pride is taken in all this by every Soviet citizen, by all the sons and daughters of our great multinational country, by all the peoples living in it.

The farther we advance in the building of communism, the more multi-form and stronger become the economic, cultural and other relations linking all the peoples of the USSR the stronger and deeper will be the lofty sense of that great community we call the national pride of the Soviet man.

Comrades, it would be impossible to overestimate the contribution that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, created on Lenin's initiative, has made in the course of half a century to the history of mankind under the leadership of the Communist Party. The fact that the USSR was the first to build a socialist society and was the first to show in practice what really equal fraternal relations between peoples are will undoubtedly be remembered and valued by all peoples for all time to come.

Today the Soviet Union is forging farther ahead.

The Soviet Union is moving toward communism.

We know that the road to it will not be an easy one. Utmost exertion of the efforts of each of the peoples of our country and of all of them together will be needed. We know that great and inspired labor, organization and a high level of political consciousness will be required. We also know that the Soviet people possess all these qualities and will be able to display them and achieve the great objectives that have been set. The earnest of this is our common firm determination to complete the work started under Lenin's leadership in the legendary days of the October Revolution. The earnest of this is the united will of the Soviet people, which has found its expression in the policy of our Leninist Communist Party.

May our great Motherland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, live eternally, grow stronger and flourish!

Glory to the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, tested vanguard of the Soviet people!

May the cause of freedom, independence and progress of all peoples, the cause of socialism live on and triumph!

May the world have lasting peace!

Long live communism!

(L. I. Brezhnev's report was heard with close attention and was punctuated with prolonged applause.)

TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

We, representatives of more than 100 nations and nationalities of the USSR, gathered in Moscow on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics address to all the peoples of the world this message of peace, friendship and brotherhood.

Having performed a socialist revolution and established the workers' and peasants' power, the working people of the Land of Soviets were the first to tackle the great aim of uniting the peoples of this vast country in order to build a society free from the exploitation of man by man, to put an end to hostility between nations, to organize their life together on the basis of trust and friendship, and to establish a fraternal unity of peoples.

Throughout the history of mankind, from hoary antiquity to our time, there has been an uninterrupted succession of tribal, racial and national conflicts. Time and again, countries and peoples were plunged into the vortex of calamities and sufferings, bathing whole continents in blood. For thousands of years the best minds strove to find a way out of this state of affairs, but encountered the solid wall of domination thrown up by the exploiters, which breeds and sustains national oppression.

Today, the whole world is witness to the fact that the Soviet people, inspired and led by their Communist Party, have effectuated their audacious plan. The magnificent vision of a new, socialist type of multinational state—a mighty voluntary union of free peoples welded by friendship and brotherhood — has become a reality.

The chronicle of all multinational states before the October Revolution is a record of a continuous aggravation of national antagonisms. The Soviet Union's development has followed an entirely different pattern. It was a steady consolidation of its economic, political and spiritual foundations, a steady rallying and coming together of the peoples comprising it.

Our success is not a miracle, not a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances; it is profoundly natural. The Soviet people leaned on the victory of the Great October Revolution. They were inspired by the socialist principles of the development of peoples in a united multinational family, by the immortal Lenin. They were and are being led by the Communist Party, equipped with a truly scientific theory of social transformation and unwavering in its loyalty to the cause of the working class, of the whole working people.

In the historic battle for socialism, the working people of all nations and nationalities of our country united around the working

class. And it was on the basis of socialism that they jointly rooted out national oppression and overcame the backwardness of nations stemming from their colonial past. Our whole system and way of life are permeated with the spirit of internationalism, because socialism and the Leninist policy of the friendship of peoples have long since and forever triumphed in our country.

On this day of the 50th anniversary of the USSR we express our heartfelt gratitude to the working people of all countries, who are invariably showing their solidarity with the world's first socialist multinational state.

We address our gratitude to those who fought against the intervention of the imperialist states under the slogan, "Hands Off Soviet Russia!," to those who joined us in the life-and-death struggle against fascism; to those who are working shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to consolidate peace, thwarting the criminal designs of the imperialist aggressors.

When founding the Soviet Union and laying the foundation stones of its edifice, Lenin and the Communist Party thought not only of the future of our own country. Their vision ranged over the future of all mankind; they were convinced that the establishment of a socialist multinational state devoid of oppression and exploitation would help all people in the world to blaze their road to emancipation. Looking back on the past 50 years, we can be proud that in all these years the Soviet Union has invariably sided with those who are fighting for the freedom and happiness of the peoples, and have always done their utmost for the victory of their just cause.

The present epoch is marked by social changes on a scale unprecedented in history. Having first triumphed in our country, socialism won in a number of countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America, giving rise to the socialist world system. The socialist community is a powerful force of worldwide progress.

Under the mighty onslaught of the national liberation movement, inspired by the example of the working people of the socialist countries and benefiting from their support, colonial empires collapsed and many once oppressed peoples took the path of independent development.

We send heartfelt greetings to the peoples of the socialist countries building a new society.

We address fraternal greetings to the working class and the working people of the capitalist countries seeking deliverance from exploitation and from political and spiritual enslavement.

We express our solidarity with the peoples who have recently taken the path of social progress, with those who are firmly de-

fending the sovereignty and independence of their young states in a hard struggle against neo-colonialism and domestic reaction.

Huge masses have been drawn into world politics, and a realistic possibility of shaping their future has opened up before them. The idea of socialism, the ideas of freedom and equality of peoples, the ideas of national independence, are winning the minds of hundreds of millions. In our time, mankind possesses vast productive forces. The scientific and technological revolution is speeding up their development on an unparalleled scale and widening the horizons of knowledge.

For the peoples it is becoming increasingly intolerable to see that many crucial problems of the modern world remain unsolved, while, far from being eradicated, the social calamities born of capitalism are growing. It is a fact that to this day fear of the morrow, social injustice and national and racial oppression reign in large areas of the globe, where the luxury enjoyed by an insignificant minority adjoins the poverty of millions. An existence on the border of starvation remains the lot of entire peoples. All this is the result of colonialism and imperialist tyranny.

Though there has been no world war for over a quarter of a century, there is no room for complacency. The disgraceful aggression of the USA in Vietnam continues. American imperialism deliberately delays the signing of the agreement on the cessation of the war. It has again resumed the barbarous bombardments of the territory of the DRV. Thousands of innocent civilians are perishing.

Arab territories are still overrun by Israeli invaders. The earth is still being defiled by colonial and racist regimes. And all this is taking place in the final third of the 20th century.

The Soviet people, jointly with all other peace-loving peoples, wrathfully protest against the crimes committed by American imperialism in Vietnam. We again confirm our immutable solidarity with, and resolute support for, the heroic Vietnamese people, as well as the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, and express firm conviction that their just cause will triumph!

We reaffirm our resolute support of the fighters against imperialist aggression in the Arab East, and the peoples fighting colonial domination.

The peoples have to pay a contribution of many thousands of millions to militarism. These funds, so acutely needed for peaceful, constructive purposes, for improving the living standard of the working people, are being spent in enlarging and modernizing a war machine that in the hands of imperialism continues to be a grave threat to peace.

Of ever growing significance to mankind is the struggle against the danger stemming from the steady deterioration of the natural

environment, the contamination of the air, the seas and the rivers, and the pollution of cities.

We, representatives of the Soviet people, appeal to the peoples of the world, to all people regardless of nationality, creed or color, to unite and resolve these pressing problems.

We call on the peoples to unite and vitalize their efforts to preserve and strengthen peace, eliminate the war danger and the flash-points of imperialist aggression, and translate into practice the UN resolutions on the non-application of force in international relations and on the banning for all time of nuclear weapons and other means of mass annihilation.

We call on the peoples to unite and vitalize their efforts further to strengthen the positions of socialism, to consolidate the independence of countries that have shaken off the fetters of colonialism, and to secure the total abolition of colonial oppression.

We call on the peoples to unite and vitalize their efforts to wipe out famine, poverty, social injustice, national oppression and inequality.

We call on the peoples to unite and vitalize their efforts to wipe guard man's cultural and moral values against reactionary ideology, the venom of racism, chauvinism and fascism.

We call on the peoples to unite and vitalize their efforts to preserve and restore man's natural environment.

On behalf of the Soviet people and before the whole of mankind we solemnly declare that our country will remain unshakably true to the lofty ideals of the friendship of peoples, of freedom and socialism. On the basis of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU we shall tirelessly work for the consolidation of the socialist community; for a further relaxation of international tension and for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; for the national independence, mutual respect and friendship of peoples; for the improvement of the life of working people and the social progress of mankind.

May lasting peace on earth, freedom and the national independence of peoples triumph! Let everyone take part in the struggle for these lofty, humane aims! Let everyone make his contribution to the attainment of mankind's cherished aspirations to live in peace, freedom and social progress!

Supreme Soviet,
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics

Central Committee,
Communist Party of the
Soviet Union

The Address "To the Peoples of the World" was unanimously adopted by the joint anniversary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on December 22, 1972.

TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE, TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL NATIONALITIES IN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS*

Dear compatriots, citizens of the Land of the Soviets!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR warmly and sincerely congratulate the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia, the servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy, the working people of all nationalities, on the occasion of the great national holiday — the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The road to the creation of the world's first union multinational state of working people was opened by the Great October Revolution, which freed the peoples of Russia from social and national oppression. The Soviet peoples' association in a single socialist state is inseparably linked with the name and work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, great leader of the Revolution.

Under Lenin's leadership the Bolshevik Party was able to merge in a single mighty stream the proletariat's class struggle with the national-liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by tsarism. The toiling masses of all nationalities comprising the mighty international army of the socialist revolution fought jointly to do away with imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation, for peace, bread and land, for their human rights. And they won!

Life itself insistently demanded the cohesion of all the peoples' forces to transform society along socialist lines and defend the revolutionary gains. The working people of all the Soviet republics voiced their will in favor of state unification. On December 30, 1922, the First All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted the Declaration and endorsed the Treaty on the formation of the Soviet Union. This historic act had a tremendous impact on the destinies of our country's nations and nationalities.

We are celebrating the Soviet Union's 50 years as an outstanding result of joint revolutionary struggle and creative labor, as a pageant of friendship of peoples, a triumph of proletarian internationalism, of the Communist Party's Leninist national policy.

It was the heroic labor of Soviet people that built up the socialist society, ensured the real solution of the national problem, and erected the majestic edifice of international brotherhood. National oppression, the national enmity fanned by the autocracy and

*Pravda, December 30, 1972.

the bourgeoisie, have receded into the past. Completely equal rights and the genuine equality of nations have become a fact of life.

Socialism was a powerful accelerator of economic development. A modern industry and large-scale collective agriculture were built up. Close mutual help of different peoples and especially the efforts of the working class of Russia made it possible, within a short period of time, to overcome the age-old backwardness of the hinterlands. The integral economy run according to a general plan is the pride of every socialist nation and the Soviet people as a whole, the basis of our country's might and greatness.

Socialism opened up broad vistas for the spiritual advance of millions of working people. A genuine cultural revolution was carried out. People of labor became active builders of a new, socialist culture. The progress of science and the flourishing of literature and the arts in all the republics was accelerated by active interaction and mutual enrichment of the cultures of fraternal peoples.

Socialism bred relations of comradely cooperation between the country's classes and social groups, between its nations and nationalities. A new historical community, the Soviet people, has sprung up on this basis. The great friendship of peoples became a law of relations between nationalities, the motive force of our development; the organic unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism has become the primary trait of the Soviet man's world outlook. Generations of convinced internationalists, of purposeful fighters for Communist ideals have grown up.

What all Soviet people proudly call the Leninist friendship of peoples multiplied our forces in the years of the first five-year plans; it was one of the major factors of our victory in the Great Patriotic War. The multinational Soviet people's monolithic cohesion played an outstanding part in the creation of a developed socialist society. It is now a great force that makes realistic the most stupendous plans of economic, social and cultural progress.

The 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union is a jubilee of a mighty world power enormously influencing the whole course of historical development. The experience of the Soviet state has shown all peoples of the world what favorable conditions the socialist system creates for the flourishing and coming together of nations, for the development of friendly relations between nationalities and states.

Today the countries of the socialist community are following the road of building a new life together with the Soviet Union. The all-round expansion and deepening of their cooperation, the development of socialist economic integration, joint action on the international scene, all serve to strengthen the positions of socialism and peace.

In pursuance of its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union, to-

gether with the fraternal socialist countries, has always taken the side of those who fight against imperialism, for independence, peace and social progress.

The foreign policy charted and carried out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an embodiment of proletarian internationalism, Lenin's ideas of the equality of peoples, and of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It is a clear, principled policy supported by all progressive forces. It is near and understandable to the broadest masses of the working people, and all peoples of our planet link their hopes and expectations with its proclaimed objectives and the prospects it has opened up. The Soviet Union will continue unswervingly to pursue the line of creating a healthy climate in the world and consolidating universal peace and the security of peoples.

Comrades!

Intense creative labor seethes all across the boundless expanses of our country. Soviet people of all nationalities are putting the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU into effect. Its program of further economic, social and cultural development and raising the people's welfare inspires the working people to new accomplishments, releasing great creative forces. Implementation of the Peace Program put forward by the 24th Congress is yielding tangible results and facilitates the creation of favorable external conditions for communist construction.

New horizons and new tasks lie ahead: the country is entering the third, decisive year of the ninth five-year plan. The patriotic duty of all our working people is to work tirelessly to carry out our plans, to be in the ranks of the active participants in the nationwide socialist emulation movement. The New Year of 1973 must be a year of devoted work on every section of economic and cultural construction.

We look confidently into the future. We know that we are following the correct Leninist road, will perform all we have set out to perform, and make all the Party's plans come true.

The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR address:

—you, heroic toilers of Soviet industry and agriculture, workers of science and culture, creators of all the material and spiritual values of our society;

—you, Soviet women, who have won universal gratitude for your great industriousness, solicitude and kindness, for your maternal care for the rising generations;

—you, young men and women, worthy heirs and continuers of the revolutionary cause of your fathers, of the internationalist combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people;

—you, gallant men of the Soviet Armed Forces standing guard over our great multinational state, peace and socialism;

—all Soviet people — Russians and Ukrainians, Belorussians and Uzbeks, Kazakhs and Georgians, Azerbaijanians and Lithuanians, Moldavians and Latvians, Kirghiz and Tajiks, Armenians, Turkmenians and Estonians, the working people of the Autonomous Republics and regions, national areas and all nationalities of our country.

The rates of economic development, creation of the material and technical base of communist society and strengthening of the country's economic might depend on our daily efforts, organization and discipline. With even greater revolutionary fervor and purpose let us implement Lenin's behest: communism can be built only by selfless labor and on the basis of modern technology, science and education.

Perseverence in introducing the achievements of science and technology in industry and agriculture and higher labor productivity are essential prerequisites for our accelerated advance, higher living and cultural standards. Today, as never before, it is incumbent on every one of us to display a high degree of consciousness and responsibility. The more effective the labor contribution of each worker and every production collective, the greater the achievements of each republic, the richer and stronger will be our union state, the better the life of all Soviet people.

The mounting socio-political activity of the working class and the millions of working people and the all-round development of the man of labor, the country's real master, are the main factor for the further perfection of socialist social relations, the development of Soviet democracy and the strengthening of our union state of the whole people.

So let us tirelessly consolidate the principles and norms of socialist democracy, the Soviet way of life and Communist morality, and bring to reality Lenin's ideal of the new man.

Dear comrades, friends! All of us, in whatever Soviet republic we live and whatever language we speak, are children of one Motherland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Ours is the common historical destiny of the revolutionary fighters for Soviet power and the country's freedom and independence, of the builders of socialism and communism. We have common goals and ideals, a great common cause. All that has been created on Soviet land — beautiful cities, modern factories, powerful electric stations, big modern agricultural enterprises — collective and state farms, the spiritual values of socialist culture — all these are the fruits of our joint labor, our common property. The great Marxist-Leninist teaching has given us titanic strength and showed the roads of victorious socialist construction and international cohesion of the

working people in building a new, Communist world.

So let us continue to strengthen our international brotherhood and, like the apple of our eye, cherish the great Leninist friendship of peoples, that most precious gain of the revolution, the source of our strength and the earnest of coming victories!

We are an indivisible Soviet people and there is no force capable of halting our triumphant forward march, nor are there creative tasks which will not succumb to our collective work and common will.

The earnest of this is the socialist internationalist ideology that has imbued the masses of the people, our joint struggle for the ideals of communism. The earnest of this is the Soviet people's socio-political and ideological unity, the cohesion of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, labor intelligentsia, and the whole close-knit family of nations and nationalities of the USSR around the Communist Party. The great Lenin's behest to us was that we do everything to strengthen and expand the ties of the Party with the masses, and the Party is true to this behest. Equipped with the all-conquering theory of scientific communism and a wealth of political experience, our Party confidently blazes the trail into the future.

In a single, united family we have built a developed socialist society.

In a single, united family we are building and shall build communism!

Long live the inviolable fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country!

May our great multinational Motherland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, flourish and grow stronger!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, fighting vanguard of the working class and all working people, the people's leader in the struggle for communism!

December 30, 1972.

Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Council of Ministers of the USSR

EMPHATIC CONDEMNATION OF BRUTAL REPRESSION IN GUATEMALA

We leaders of Communist, Socialist and People's parties of American countries who have arrived in Moscow for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, emphatically condemn the ultra-reactionary government of Guatemala led by Carlos Arana Osorio, a notorious criminal, on whose orders the authorities atrociously tortured and then murdered our dear comrades Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, General Secretary of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, and prominent members of its Central Committee — Mario Silva Jonama, Carlos Rene Valle y Valle, Hugo Barrios Klee, Carlos Alvarado Jerez and Miguel Angel Hernandez — as well as Fantina Rodriguez, an activist of that Party.

Arana Osorio the tyrant turned a deaf ear to the voice of hundreds of organizations and individual spokesmen of world public opinion who came out in defense of Guatemala's Communists. With his typical cynicism, he denied the fact that his government had ordered their arrest so as to destroy them in cold blood afterwards.

The Guatemalan people have been subjected to brutal repression ever since 1954, when the democratic government under Jacobo Arbenz Guzman fell as a result of intervention by mercenaries and a military coup engineered by the CIA. U.S. imperialism is the real master of that infamous assassin, Carlos Arana Osorio.

The mutilated, bullet-riddled bodies on the roads, the throwing of the regime's opponents into the craters of active volcanoes or into the sea, the "mysterious" disappearance of people, have become an everyday occurrence in Guatemala. Public figures are shot down right in the streets in broad daylight. It is not only Communists and other revolutionaries that are victims of this terror but other citizens, leaders of democratic parties, trade unions and other mass organizations, as well as people active in culture and science. Over 15,000 people have become victims of this criminal activity since 1954. More than 4,000 of them were killed during General Carlos Arana Osorio's two years in power.

These monstrous crimes must be countered with active and militant international solidarity. Emphatic condemnation by the peoples of the world must stay the murderers' hand and help the Guatemalan people to win freedom.

We call on all the peoples of the world, and more particularly on the peoples of our continent, immediately to launch actions of solidarity with the militant fraternal people of Guatemala.

Let us raise our voice in protest and emphatic condemnation of

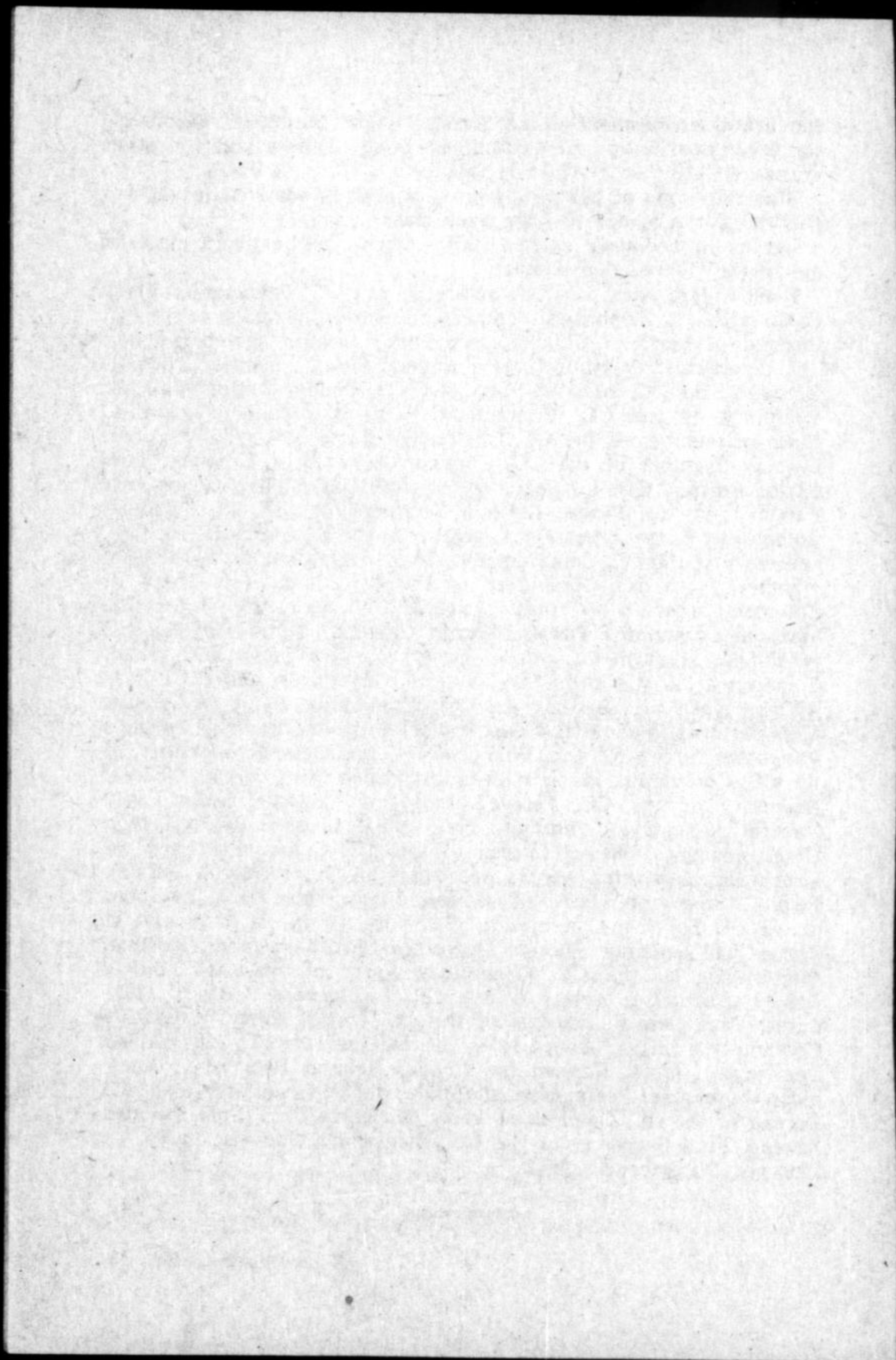
the brutal government under Arana Osorio, which is responsible for the assassination of Communist Party leaders and for other crimes!

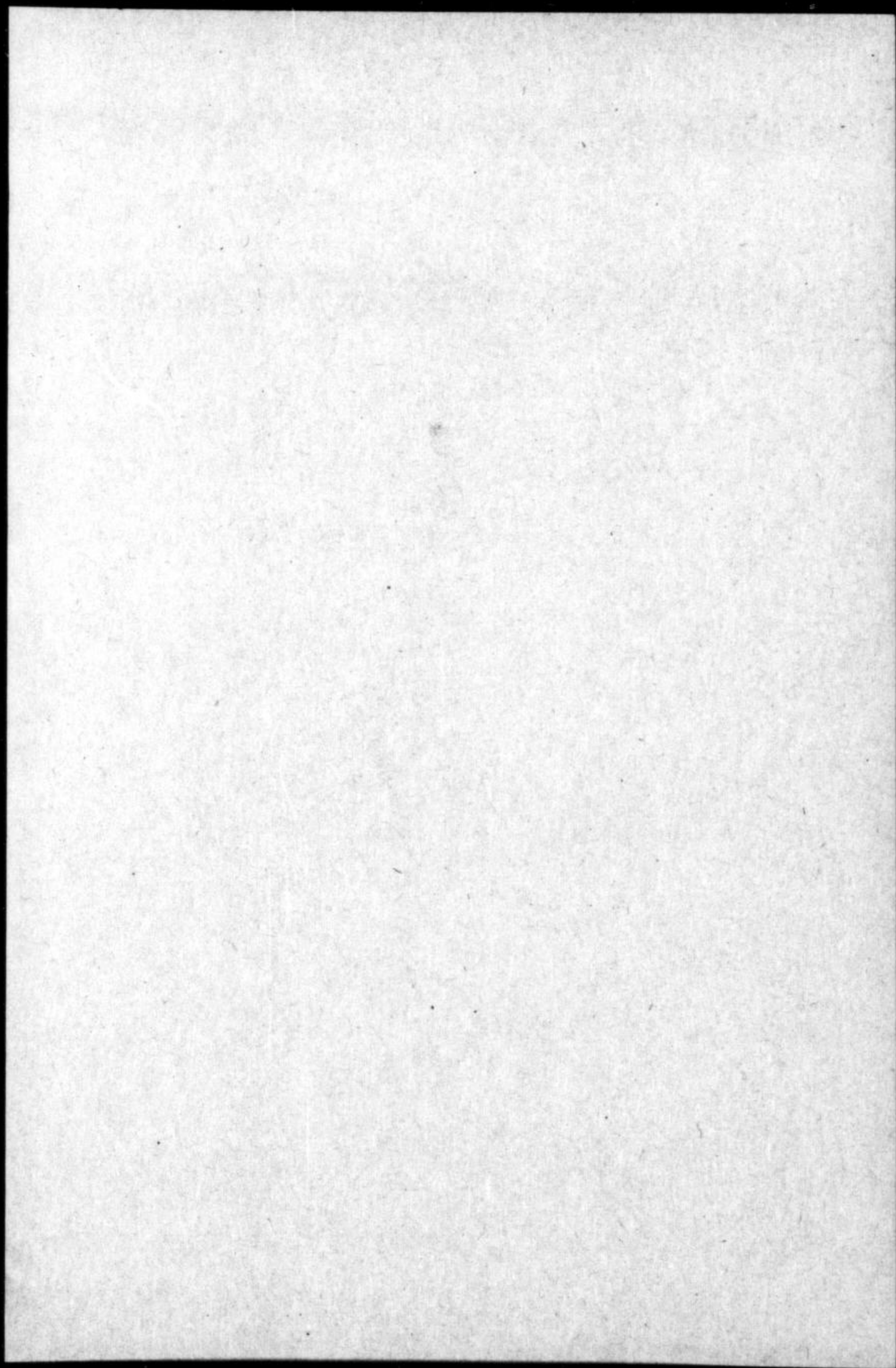
May the blood of our dead comrades and the many thousands of patriots not turn out to have been shed in vain!

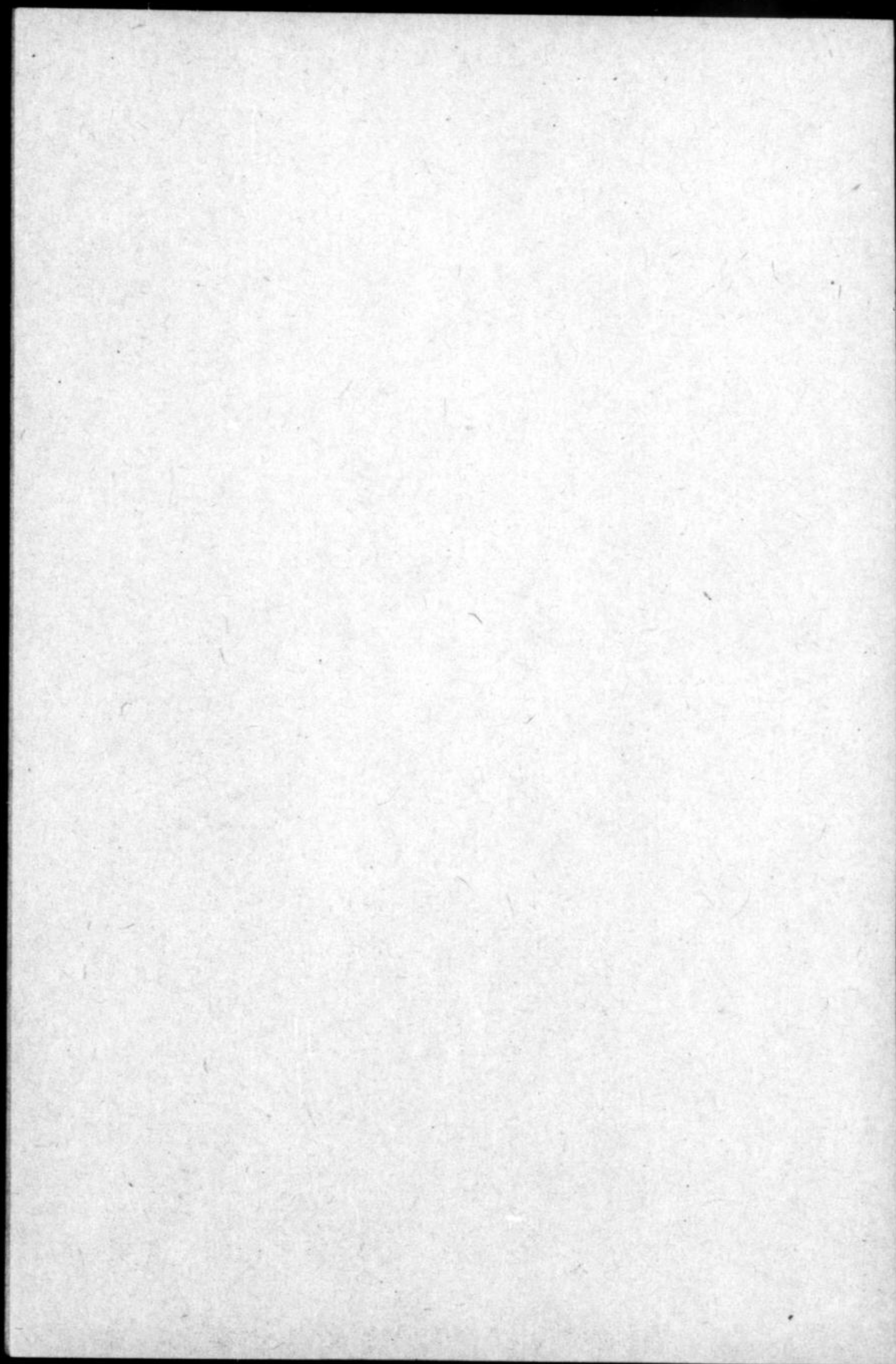
Let us immediately extend active moral, political and material aid to the Guatemalan people!

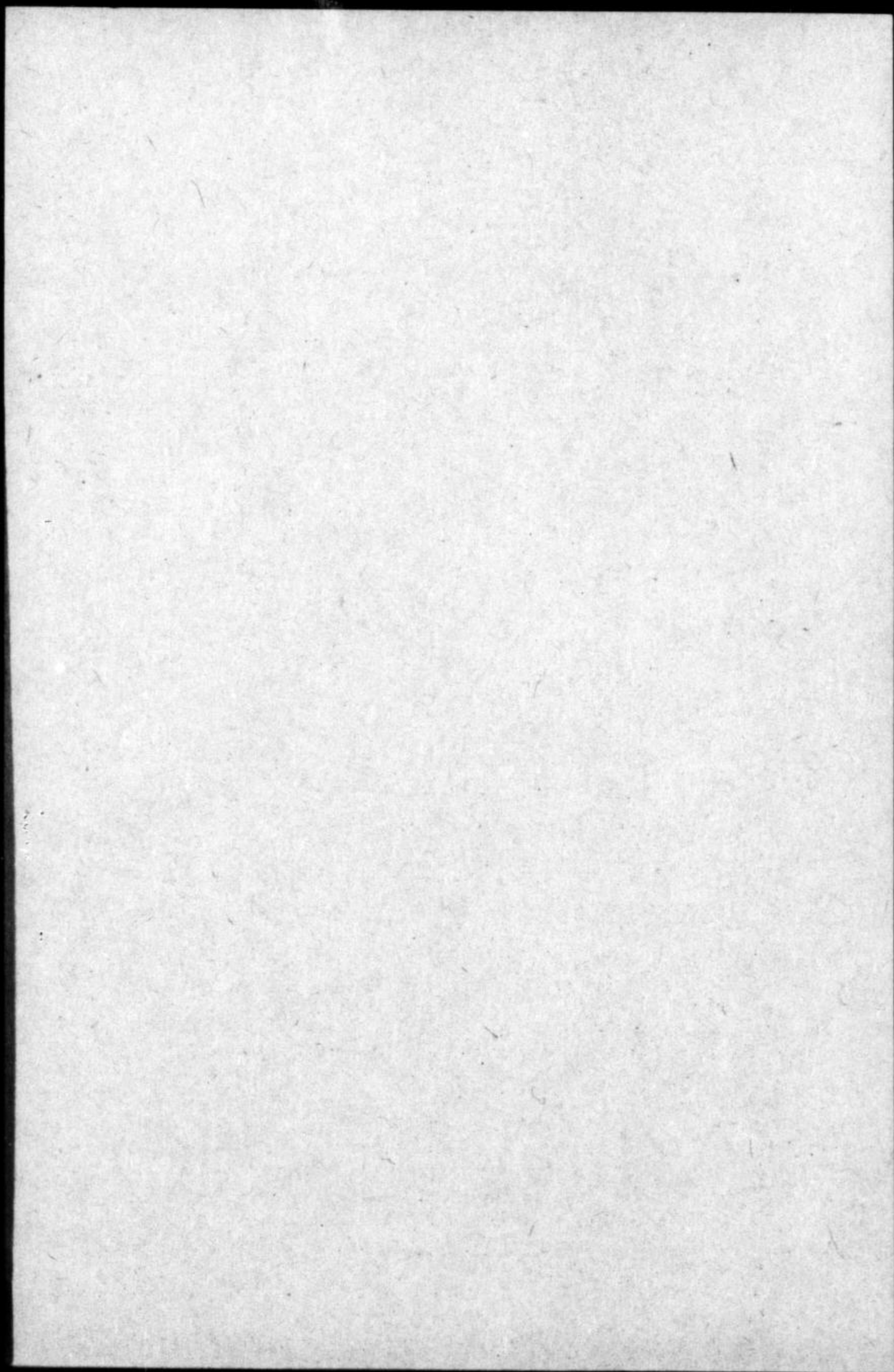
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Moscow, December 20, 1972.









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