

L.I. BREZHNEV

**FOLLOWING
LENIN'S
COURSE**

**Speeches and Articles
(1972-1975)**



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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ЛЕНИНСКИМ КУРСОМ
РЕЧИ И ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЯ

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**THE DECISIONS
OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU
ARE A MILITANT PROGRAMME OF ACTION
FOR THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS**

*Speech at the Fifteenth Congress
of the Trade Unions of the USSR*

March 20, 1972

Dear comrade delegates, esteemed guests from abroad, Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to convey warmest greetings to the 15th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions. This Congress is a major event in the life of our country. It owes its significance to the important role that the trade unions, whose ranks unite 98 million Soviet working people, play in the building of communism. It is natural, therefore, that your attention will focus upon the questions connected with the specific participation of the trade unions in carrying out the key tasks set by the 24th Party Congress.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, as we know, laid down the general directions of the home and foreign policy of the Party and the Soviet state at the current stage, outlining a broad programme for the further development of industry and agriculture, for raising living standards, and for the communist education of the working people. The Congress decisions have been unanimously supported by the working class, farmers and intellectuals of our country, and welcomed as a militant programme of action by such mass organisations as the trade unions and the Komsomol. This nationwide support lends enormous power to the Congress

decisions. It inspires confidence and firm conviction that the programme drawn up by the Party Congress will be put into effect.

This means that our country will take yet another big stride forward in laying the material and technical foundations of communism, in perfecting social relations, in strengthening its economic potential and international positions. It also means that we shall fulfil the programme charted by the Congress for achieving a considerable improvement in living standards. The sum assigned for these purposes is 22,000 million rubles—more than twice as much as under the previous, eighth five-year plan.

These mammoth tasks are being tackled on a sound material basis. Every branch of our economy will receive far more funds for development purposes than in the past five-year period. Total capital investments for the ninth five-year plan will exceed 500,000 million rubles.

The Party is devoting special attention to the development of industries directly connected with the accomplishment of the main task of the five-year plan—the raising of the people's living standards. Investments in agriculture will amount to 128,600 million rubles, which is 46,400 million rubles more than in the previous five-year period, and investments in the light industry and in the food, meat and dairy industries will increase by 74 per cent.

The very fact that we are able to plan and accomplish tasks of such dimensions speaks for the strength of our country. We have all the means needed—material, scientific and technical—for making good use of these allocations.

Our Motherland, our Party, have raised a great army of specialists—of highly skilled industrial workers, farming experts, builders, engineers and technicians, scientists and organisers of production. The Party relies on them, on their experience, skill and knowledge and looks to them to make the five-year plan a complete success.

To mobilise the efforts of this great army of labour the Party will, as always, rely on the trade unions, on its steadfast helper in working with the people, in working for the cause of communism.

Comrades, nearly a year has passed since the 24th Congress of the CPSU. It is time to ask ourselves what kind of beginning has been made on the programme of economic development that it drew up.

You are all familiar with the results achieved by the Soviet economy in the past year. If we consider the main, overall figures, such as the growth of the national income, industrial production, trade and freight turnover, the results may be regarded as fairly successful. The plan was fulfilled and some of its targets were overfulfilled. The picture in agriculture is rather more complex. Weather conditions prevented us from achieving all the successes we had counted upon. But even in this field, taking into consideration the unfavourable objective conditions, the results may be assessed as good enough.

All these positive results must be appreciated. In appraising them the Party has every reason to say to all Soviet working people: We thank you heartily, dear comrades, for your unstinting work, for the great contribution that you have made in the past year to the economic progress of the Motherland!

At the same time, in analysing the results of the first year since the Congress, we cannot afford to deal only with overall figures. We must dig deeper and find out what progress is being made in raising the whole level of economic activity, in achieving the qualitative shift that the Congress demanded of us. If we take this approach to the results of the economic year, we shall find a number of problems that merit special attention.

The situation in the important sphere of capital construction is slow in improving. The quota of projects to be completed in 1971 was not fulfilled. Construction periods are still too long. The portion of what are known as "uncompleteds" has actually increased in comparison with 1970.

We cannot be fully satisfied either with the year's results for introduction of new machinery and raising labour productivity. The portion of increased output to be secured by raising the productivity of labour turned out to be less

than had been planned, both in industry and in construction, particularly the latter.

Improvement in the quality of certain types of finished goods was slow. This included consumer goods. As a result, presumably, large quantities of mass-requirement commodities—footwear, knitted goods and ready-made clothes—are piling up in the warehouses.

In short, comrades, in considering the results of the past year we should not look only at our successes. The Congress directives on improving all economic activity must be put into effect more quickly and more energetically than has been the case so far.

The current five-year plan has been drawn up on the assumption that all of us will work better today and tomorrow than we worked yesterday. Let us be frank—this is an essential condition for the successful fulfilment of the five-year plan. If we do not learn to work better, the plan will involve severe strain. But if we do, we shall be able to accomplish even more than is planned, we shall be able to create the reserve we need for even more rapid progress in the future. The guarantee of success in all our plans lies in a more exacting attitude, a higher sense of responsibility, in strenuous and conscientious work.

It is particularly worthwhile remembering this in connection with the unusually severe winter of 1972, which made itself felt both in industry and in the countryside. Naturally, it will take considerable effort by Party, government and managerial personnel to overcome the difficulties that have arisen. Much work in this field will also fall upon the trade unions. I should like to express confidence that the working people of our country will cope successfully with all the tasks set down in the economic plan for 1972.

Comrades, we are going through an extremely interesting and at the same time complex stage of development. The growth of the national economy, the scientific and technological revolution, the changing international situation place new and higher demands upon the style, methods and organisation of all our work.

The thorough reorganisation and serious improvement of our economic activities, and our work in other fields as well, which the 24th Congress demanded, have already begun. But much searching, thinking and experimenting still lie ahead of us.

This is the style of work, the creative style, that we must all be prepared to adopt. In the next few years we shall have to evolve and put into effect the measures needed to implement the economic policy adopted by the Congress. Above all, this means measures for accelerating scientific and technological progress. The Central Committee attaches priority importance to this question and intends to consider it at one of its plenary meetings. A number of measures for improving economic planning and management and increasing efficiency are in preparation. Party and economic bodies must continue to focus attention on the problems of raising agricultural production. We have been working on this for a number of years and much has been achieved, but it must be realised that to accomplish the tasks set by the Party will require more years of persistent effort.

In short, comrades, a huge amount of creative work lies ahead.

It is essential both for successful fulfilment of the current five-year plan and to prepare the ground for accelerated progress in the future. Very soon we shall begin working out the long-term prospects of the country's economic development as far ahead as 1990. This long-term planning must be based on most accurate, scientifically grounded calculation and the most modern methods of economic management and planning, forms and structures of organisation and administration. This means we shall all have to work hard in the sphere of planning.

For this reason it is particularly important today to learn advanced methods of work, management and administration. This must be a basic principle of our whole style of work, of our whole approach to the practical problems that face our Party and the whole Soviet people. A list of priorities for the Party, government, management and trade union bodies in the economic field would run as follows:

—approach every question from the standpoint of specific fulfilment of the ninth five-year plan, of the whole economic and social policy drawn up by the 24th Party Congress;

—see to it that all economic decisions, no matter on what level they are taken, are properly grounded and effective in all respects. Carry out assignments economically, with the minimum expenditure and maximum benefit for society, and resolutely combat departmental narrowness and parochialism;

—our common task remains—and this must be stressed once again—to be much more demanding and raise the personal responsibility of personnel at all levels for the work entrusted to them, for fulfilling the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the government. Violations of Party and state discipline must be stopped, and any such violations severely penalised.

Comrades, these problems directly concern the trade unions.

Our trade unions are operating in a society in which socialism has won the day and their main features are determined by this fact. In their struggle for the interests of the working people they have progressed beyond the “protective function”, because our country has long since been rid of any exploiting classes. To be sure, the trade unions even today are called upon to protect the working people from what Lenin called excessive departmental zeal and bureaucratic distortions, with which, unfortunately, we are still sometimes troubled. But their functions by no means end there. One of the main features of the Soviet trade unions is that they take a direct and active part in the development of society, in raising production, increasing its efficiency and in economic management.

The trade unions possess quite a number of well-tried means of influencing this decisive sphere of social life. First among these comes the trade unions’ ability to organise socialist competition.

The Central Committee recently passed an important decision on socialist competition in the new conditions. The substance of this decision is to create an organic link be-

tween socialist competition and the main lines of advance in the Party's economic policy. This means that the competition movement must orientate the masses of the working people to strive for quality as well as quantity and the saving of funds, of material and labour resources, for the effective and rapid incorporation in production of scientific and technological advances, for increased labour productivity.

The correct use of material and moral incentives is of no small importance in our work.

The trade unions, which under our legislation enjoy extensive rights in matters concerning wages and the setting of quotas and rates for the job, can be of great help, specifically, in enhancing the role of payment according to work done, which is a major instrument of material incentive. The opportunities for this have increased now that the production collectives have at their disposal large funds derived from the incomes of enterprises.

I felt I should remind you of this because of the numerous instances of the egalitarian approach in payment for work and distribution of the funds intended for providing material incentives. Caring for the well-being of the working people does not imply being the "kind uncle" for all and sundry regardless of their contribution to social production. Earnings must always be *earned*, and everyone must feel that they directly depend on his contribution to the production successes of the collective.

The amount of benefits accruing to the working people ultimately depends on this. The benefits that the new five-year plan will provide for Soviet people are not going to fall from heaven or be given to us. We have got to produce them ourselves and this will require persistent effort and hard work.

While improving material incentives, we must at the same time substantially enhance the role of moral incentives.

These incentives are widely employed in our country and include such high marks of appreciation of labour services as the awarding of decorations and the conferring of titles. These ways of encouraging the best workers and the best collectives still retain their full significance, of course.

Moral incentives, however, should not be reduced merely to awards. It is also very important for every enterprise, every collective to create the right kind of atmosphere, the right kind of public opinion, so that everyone is fully aware of who is working and how he is working, and everyone gets his due. Everyone must be confident that good work and worthy conduct will always be acknowledged and appreciated, will win the respect and gratitude of his comrades at work. And in exactly the same way everyone must know that absentees and shirkers, rolling stones and bad workmen will receive no indulgence or leniency and that nothing will shield them from the anger of their workmates.

To this side of the matter—the need for achieving a serious improvement in labour discipline and inculcating conscientiousness or, if you prefer, a worker's conscience in every person who works—the delegates to this Congress will, undoubtedly, devote due attention.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin directly associated success in socialist construction with "*iron* discipline while at work..."¹. He also named the following among the most important rules of conduct for the Soviet person: "...do not be lazy..." and "observe the strictest labour discipline..."². All breaches of discipline, either by workers or by managers, were in Lenin's view intolerable.

It is because the trade unions protect the interests of the working people that they must not and cannot give protection to those who violate socialist discipline. This is where the exacting proletarian attitude is needed. You have extensive rights and opportunities in this sphere and you should make the fullest and best use of them.

At this point it may be recalled, comrades, that Lenin's interpretation of the role of the trade unions as "schools of communism" implies, above all, the fostering of a communist consciousness that is indissolubly linked with people's production activity, with their work for the good of society. The backbone of the trade union's educational work is to

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 271.

² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

give the whole mass of workers a genuinely socialist, communist attitude to work and to public property.

Our trade unions have many other possibilities of actively helping the Party to carry out its economic policy, particularly in the important sphere of accelerating scientific and technological progress. A special importance now attaches to trade union activity in raising workers' qualifications, in the dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge, educating the working people in basic economics, and in promoting the innovators' and inventors' movement.

The trade unions should also devote more attention to the important question of mechanising labour. Not long ago the Party Central Committee passed a special decision on this question, which has currently acquired major significance. This decision lays down the main lines for tackling the problem and the ministries and economic and Party bodies must now carry them into effect. For the trade unions work in this field is directly connected with their function of the protection of labour and making working conditions easier.

Comrades, the contribution made by the trade unions to raising the working people's standard of living through taking part in the drive to raise production, has already been mentioned. It would be hard to overestimate the significance of this side of their work. But the trade unions also perform important functions that are directly connected with concern for the living and working conditions of Soviet people, for their well-being.

The competence of the trade unions covers many questions concerning wages, material incentives, and social insurance. They have considerable material facilities for organising healthy and cultural recreation, sanatorium and health-resort treatment, tourism, physical culture and sports activities. The trade unions also have wide scope in such important matters as improving the working people's everyday living conditions, public catering and services. All this affects the interests of millions of people.

This side of the trade union activity has a direct bearing on the question of how to use free time. Marx spoke of

free time as the measure of social wealth. But free time can only really be regarded as social wealth when it is used to the benefit of a person's all-round advancement, to develop his abilities and thus to further increase the material and spiritual potential of society as a whole. Socialism has created the requisite conditions for this, it has given the Soviet person enough free time to rest, to improve his education and general culture, to build up his health and physique, to educate his children and to satisfy other worthwhile interests. But can we say that the conditions created in our country, the free time that is provided for Soviet people are everywhere used for the satisfaction of such interests, interests beneficial to every working man and to society as a whole? Unfortunately, we cannot.

Quite often this free time is senselessly wasted and sometimes its results are directly harmful to the person himself and the people around him and ultimately to the public interest. We are talking about the cases of anti-social conduct that still occur. On the state and administrative level we have taken, and shall continue to take, strict measures to eradicate anti-social behaviour. But the public themselves, the work collectives and hence the trade unions have a big part to play in combating it.

A person's behaviour in everyday life is not just his own personal affair. Free time is not time that is free from any responsibility to society.

Comrades, the 15th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions is the culminating point of an important political campaign in the course of which they have reviewed their work and elected their leading bodies. At meetings, conferences and congresses many warm words were addressed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee. At these gatherings industrial and office workers, collective farmers and scientists spoke of the trade unions of the USSR being closely united around the Party of Lenin, of the Party leadership always having been and continuing to be a source of strength to the Soviet trade unions.

In its guidance of the trade unions the Party is always interested in improving their work and providing the neces-

sary conditions for the successful functioning of trade union organisations. On the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee in recent years laws have been passed that substantially extend the legal basis of trade union activity as a whole and particularly those aspects of it directly connected with safeguarding the interests of the working people. Of particular importance are the "Fundamentals of Labour Legislation in the USSR and the Union Republics" and the "Rights of Factory and Office Trade Union Committees", passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The Party is conducting a policy of increasing the active participation of industrial and office workers in the management of enterprises through the trade unions. Production conferences and workers' meetings which discuss the working plans of mills, factories and state farms, social development schemes and other matters are an important form of socialist democracy, of social control, of practical involvement of the working people in management.

The Party organisations' practical assistance to the trade unions should also show itself in their support for the trade unions' just demands upon managers, in seeing to it that the management unfailingly observes collective contracts and that every manager feels an obligation and need to consult constantly with the trade union organisations and listen attentively to the opinions of industrial and office workers.

From this platform I should like to make an appeal to the millions of Communists who are members of trade unions. The general level and effectiveness of the work of the trade union organisations to which you belong depend decisively on you and your initiative, comrades. The Party demands of every Communist who belongs to a trade union not merely formal membership of this organisation but active participation in all its work. The Party makes great demands on Communists elected to trade union bodies and teaches them to hold dear the trust of the masses and to live up to this trust.

Party policy on the trade unions, as the 24th Congress emphasised, is to go on raising the level of all trade union activity. As before, the Party will continue to see to it that

they duly fulfil their role as a school of administration, of economic management, a school of the communist attitude to work.

Comrades, as I am addressing a trade union congress I should like to dwell particularly on the role of the working class in the development of Soviet society.

The Soviet working class of today differs not only from the pre-revolutionary proletariat, but also from the working class of the 1930s, when socialism triumphed in the USSR. Its role as the leading socio-political and economic force of society has increased. Numerically, too, it is now the largest class in our country. During the years of Soviet power the working class has increased six times to a total of about 65 million people, more than two-thirds of whom are industrial workers. The workers' general educational and professional level has changed radically. Suffice it to say that since 1939 the number of workers with a complete secondary education—specialised or general—has increased more than thirty times. The working class now plays a tremendous role not only in industry but also in farm production. More than nine million machine-operators are now employed in the agrarian sector of our economy. This number will continue to grow as agricultural work becomes increasingly a form of industrial labour.

The advanced worker of today is a knowledgeable person with a broad cultural horizon and a conscious and creative attitude to work. He feels himself to be a master of production, a person with responsibility for everything that goes on in our society. Such a worker is politically active, he is intolerant of sloppiness and irresponsibility, and of any shortcomings in the organisation of production. He is an implacable enemy of philistine attitudes, of any hangover from the past in people's consciousness and conduct.

The Party's ideals, the ideals of communism, have for such a worker become the essence of his whole outlook. They determine his actions, his attitude to people, his whole course in life.

The fostering of all these qualities in the younger generation of our working class is of tremendous importance.

The schools, the Komsomol, the trade unions must organise their work in such a way that every young man and woman will be clearly aware of the role and grandeur of the working man, the historic mission of the working class and will seek to join its glorious ranks.

At the present stage of communist construction the alliance of the working class, collective farmers and the working intellectuals is assuming ever greater importance. The cementing force of this great alliance is still the working class, which plays and will continue to play a leading role in the building of communism. It is on this basis that the further ideological, political and social consolidation of Soviet society and the drawing closer together of all the nations and nationalities of our country are taking place.

The fact that one of the basic principles of our life is proletarian internationalism is also connected with the position of the working class in Soviet society.

The working class of our country has always regarded the cause for which it is fighting as an inseparable part of the international struggle of the proletarians of all countries. From the very beginning, when it emerged as a class, it has acted as an international force. To honour the principles of internationalism, to fulfil its lofty duty towards its own people and the working people of the whole world, as it is called upon to do by history, the working class of our country has borne numerous sacrifices and displayed the greatest heroism, clarity of mind and firmness of will.

The Soviet working class has rendered generally acknowledged services to the world revolutionary movement. Of course, in the class struggle in the international field—against imperialism and for the freedom of the peoples and for socialism—its role is different from that of the working class in the capitalist countries. Nevertheless, its role in this struggle is enormous. The hands, the minds, the energies of the working class, of all the working people of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have created the mighty economic and defence potential of socialism, which plays a vital role in strengthening peace and in the struggle for the social progress of mankind.

A great part in the development of the international working-class movement has always been played by the force of example generated by socialism. There is no denying the fact that the achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of social security and protection of the working people's rights have provided a stimulus and an inspiration to the workers abroad in their class struggle against exploitation and capitalist oppression.

The force of our example in the sphere of production and scientific and technical progress acquires a special significance at the present stage. In this field the Soviet working class along with our scientists and engineers is called upon to play the foremost role, because it is operating in the conditions of an advanced and mature socialist society and dealing with the problems involved in creating the material and technical base of communism. And it is understandable that people should judge from the example of the Soviet working class what the working man can achieve under socialism, what are the possibilities of the socialist system. This is both a high honour and a source of great historical responsibility.

Thus the might of the "great, world army of labour", the speed of its irresistible movement towards socialism largely depend on the productive, political, and social activity of the Soviet workers, and of the working class of the other socialist countries.

The ranks of the international working class, the most advanced revolutionary class of modern times, and its role as the main productive and socio-political force in the world, will continue to grow. Despite the fashionable anti-Marxist theories which allege that the scientific and technological revolution is narrowing the scope of the working class and even eliminating it altogether, the facts testify to the contrary: scientific and technological progress everywhere leads to the growth of the working class, due among other things to the new occupations introduced by the modern methods of production.

A powerful upswing of the working-class movement is occurring in the capitalist world. In a number of countries

this movement has become a major factor in socio-political life. In the widening sweep of class battles one sees more and more clearly a tendency which was noted in good time by the Communists, the tendency for the economic struggle to grow into action against the whole system of state-monopoly domination. Sufficiently clear evidence of this is the recent successful strike of the British coal miners, the great strike actions by the Italian workers and the large-scale strikes in a number of other countries. We hail the successes of the working-class movement in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Our Communist Party, the workers, all Soviet working people, solidly support the struggle of our class brothers. We send them our militant proletarian greetings. The growing unity and trade union solidarity of the working people of the capitalist countries, the persistence with which they fight for their demands, their proletarian firmness in upholding their rights and their class dignity evoke our admiration.

Our Party attaches great significance to the international ties of the trade unions, particularly as this is one of the important forms of the Soviet people's direct participation in the world working-class movement, in strengthening the unity and practical co-operation of the working people of the socialist countries, in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Allow me to convey greetings through the representatives of the foreign trade unions attending this Congress to all sections of the world working-class and trade union movement.

The Communist parties are always in the van of the working people's class struggle. Allow me, on behalf of our Party, the Soviet working class and all the working people of our country, to express to the fraternal parties from this platform our enthusiastic internationalist solidarity and to wish them success in the struggle.

Comrade delegates, questions of foreign policy, as you know, constitute an integral and essential part of the activity of our Party and state.

The basic directions and aims of our foreign policy at the present stage were laid down by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The Programme endorsed by the Congress, which has become known as the Soviet Peace Programme, is being consistently put into effect and has become a powerful factor in world politics.

Our fundamental policy is active defence of peace, freedom and the security of nations. We are pursuing this policy together with our friends and allies, co-ordinating our steps in the international sphere. The countries of the socialist community have a common co-ordinated policy on practically all the fundamental issues of world politics. Experience has shown this to be of invaluable significance for the successful conduct of our foreign affairs.

You know, comrades, that the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member Countries, held in Prague in January this year, was devoted to a consideration of the problems of Europe. Important decisions were taken, their essential aim being to actively promote European security, to give specific substance to the idea of co-operation between the European countries, and to help in the practical settlement of outstanding European problems.

Europe is as it were entering a new stage. The ideas of peace, security and the development of broad and varied co-operation are gaining acknowledgement and support by a growing number of countries. The peace initiatives of the socialist countries have helped to create a situation in which it has become possible to consider the questions of security and co-operation in Europe in practical terms. The solution of these problems is a task of historic magnitude. The European working class and its trade unions are destined to play an important role in this work. In the interests of European security we have, as you know, proposed holding a general European conference.

There is probably not a single country in Europe now which does not express support in some form or another for the holding of a conference on questions of security and co-operation. Canada is in agreement with this proposal. As

may be inferred from President Nixon's address to Congress, the United States also supports the holding of such a conference. Now we must decide when it is to be held and agree on the main lines of its work.

The socialist countries have put forward their proposals on this subject in the Declaration on Peace, Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member Countries in Prague.

The socialist countries consistently advocate the development of mutually advantageous relations with the capitalist countries of Europe. Notable results have been achieved in this field. This is particularly true of relations with France, Finland and the Scandinavian countries.

Substantial positive developments are occurring in our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. They have been made possible by the signing of the treaties between the USSR and the FRG, and between Poland and the FRG.

These treaties are now in the process of being ratified and the appropriate debates are being held in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, and in the legislative bodies of the FRG.

There can be no doubt that the ratification of the Treaty between the USSR and the FRG will lead to an essentially new and more fruitful stage in the development of USSR-FRG relations in the most diverse fields. This, we believe, would be not only in the interests of the USSR and the FRG; it would also be of great significance in strengthening European peace.

A rather sharp struggle has developed around the question of the ratification of the treaties in the Federal Republic of Germany. Some politicians oppose the treaties and even seek to cast doubt on the very possibility of a real reconciliation and development of normal relations between the FRG and the socialist countries.

What do the opponents of the treaties want? They make no secret of their plans. In their opinion, the treaties are no good because they establish the inviolability of the European frontiers. These politicians talk about "revising" these clauses

in the treaties. But surely it is quite clear that the opponents of the treaties cannot and will not find anybody to talk to on the subject of revising frontiers. This is no matter for discussion either now or in the future. The frontiers of the socialist countries are inviolable and on this point the treaties simply reflect reality.

The opponents of the treaties do not hide the fact that they would like to weaken the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. Here, too, they would like to set the clock back. For nearly a quarter of a century the German Democratic Republic has been advancing confidently along the socialist path. It takes an active part in international life. Those who refuse to see this, who refuse to draw the appropriate conclusions, can only steer their policy into a blind alley. It is high time to realise that the situation in Europe cannot be normalised without taking into full account the position of the GDR as an independent and sovereign socialist country.

The FRG today is facing a crucial choice, which will determine the destinies of its people and the attitude of other countries towards it for many years to come. The choice is between co-operation and confrontation, between relaxing and building up tensions; in the final analysis it is a choice between a policy of peace and a policy of war.

As for the Soviet Union, we are sincerely and seriously interested in improving relations with the FRG, although for obvious reasons this is not a simple question for our country. The disasters of the past war and the sufferings that Hitler's aggression brought upon our people are still alive in the memory of the Soviet people. We believe, however, that the grim events of the past should not remain forever an insuperable obstacle to the development of our relations with West Germany. We also take into consideration the fact that the majority of the West German population are in favour of improving relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Comrades, in the great and diversified work that is being done at present by the governments and social groups of

many countries to lay the foundations of lasting peace in Europe the resistance of certain forces in the West that are against the relaxation of tension in Europe and are doing their utmost to prevent it has to be overcome. It is these forces that are trying to complicate preparations for a European conference and inventing various pretexts to delay its convocation. For example, the absurd idea is being spread that the proposal to hold the conference and our European policy in general are aimed at undermining the European Economic Community, or, as it is usually called, the Common Market. It would seem that a few words need to be said on this matter.

The Soviet Union is by no means inclined to ignore the actual situation that has taken shape in Western Europe, which includes the existence of such an economic grouping of capitalist countries as the Common Market. We keep a close eye on the activity of the Common Market and its evolution. Our relations with its members will, of course, depend on the extent to which they, for their part, recognise the realities that have emerged in the socialist part of Europe, specifically, the interests of the countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We stand for equality in economic relations and we are against discrimination.

Comrades, the main objective of Soviet foreign policy is to eliminate breeding grounds of war and to resist imperialist encroachments upon the freedom and independence of nations.

The war in Indochina which, as the President of the United States has acknowledged, is "the longest and hardest war in American history", has fully exposed the bankruptcy of the imperialist policy of aggression and national oppression. The United States now relies primarily on the help of local mercenaries to stifle the national liberation movement in Indochina and to hold on to its political and strategic positions in this area. In Washington this is called "Vietnamisation" of the war. The idea is to replace the American uniforms that have been pretty badly knocked about by the patriots of Indochina with the uniforms of

puppet troops, but the political inner lining is still the same—American.

The patriots of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia see through these manoeuvres. With the assistance and support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the peoples of Indochina continue their struggle against the aggressor on the military, diplomatic and political fronts.

In this conflict the Soviet people are wholly on the side of the peoples of Indochina. It is our internationalist duty to help them, and we shall fulfil that duty. The Soviet Union resolutely condemns the gangster-like bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the US Air Force and demands its cessation. We fully support the just proposals of the DRV and the Republic of South Vietnam. We demand withdrawal of the forces of intervention from Indochina, we demand that the peoples of this area become independent and have the opportunity of deciding their own destinies without any intervention or pressure from outside.

The Middle East is becoming a more and more dangerous seat of tension. Israel's stubborn refusal to withdraw from the Arab territories that she invaded, and the incessant provocations by the Israeli military against the Arab states are aggravating the situation, and threaten an outbreak of hostilities.

The Arab countries have demonstrated their readiness to arrive at a political settlement of the conflict and to establish firm and lasting peace in the Middle East. Israel, with the connivance and support of the United States, stubbornly refuses to renounce its aggressive policy of annexation. But this cannot go on forever. No sober-minded statesman is likely to believe that the Arab countries will reconcile themselves to the occupation of their lands.

The Arab world today is a different place from what it was a few years ago. The progressive regimes have built up their strength; inter-Arab co-operation is expanding and the military-defence potential of the Arab countries has considerably increased. All these are long-term factors and in the final analysis they will determine the balance of forces in the Middle East.

Friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the progressive Arab countries are making steady progress. Co-operation in the economic and defence spheres is also expanding and political co-ordination is gaining ground. It may be definitely stated that our relations with our Arab friends have never been so deep-going and comprehensive as they are now. We shall continue to strengthen and develop these relations in the mutual interests of the peoples of our countries, in the name of justice, in the name of freedom and progress of the Arab peoples, in the name of lasting peace in the Middle East.

Comrades, you have probably noticed that questions of relations with the countries of Asia have recently begun to figure more and more prominently in our policy. This is quite understandable. Nearly two-thirds of the territory of the Soviet Union is situated on the continent of Asia. And the role of Asia in world politics is rapidly growing thanks to the successes gained in the national and social emancipation of the peoples of Asia and the economic development of the Asian countries.

The Soviet Union has always advocated the development of the very best relations with the Asian countries. Our goal is to promote peace in Asia, and to help the progressive forces of Asia in their resistance to imperialism and all varieties of colonialism.

We have fraternal relations and all-round co-operation with such socialist countries of Asia as the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and these relations are developing successfully.

We are satisfied that with many countries of Asia—for example, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Iran and Turkey—we have acquired good relations, although with some of these countries these relations could be better than they are at present. For our part we shall do our utmost to promote these relations.

We attach particularly great importance to our growing friendship with India and her great people, who are traversing the road of freedom, independence and progress. Our

relations with India have developed steadily throughout the years of India's existence as an independent country. The Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation was born of this development.

In our desire to strengthen friendship with India we encounter complete understanding and mutuality on the part of the Indian Government headed by Indira Gandhi, the outstanding leader of the Indian people.

As you know, a new situation has taken shape today on the Indian subcontinent. The liberation struggle of the East Bengal people has resulted in the formation of a new independent country—the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Here 75 million people have acquired the right to independence and national development and from the bottom of our hearts we congratulate them upon their great victory.

Our policy of support for, and co-operation with, the Republic of Bangladesh stems from the fundamental policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. The Prime Minister of Bangladesh Shaikh Mujibur Rahman visited our country recently. It is our hope that this visit will become an important landmark in the relations between our countries. For our part we shall continue to do everything in our power to develop and strengthen our relations with the Republic of Bangladesh.

I should like to stress at the same time that we also stand for good relations with Pakistan; there are no conflicts or conflicting interests between our two countries. President Bhutto's visit to the USSR, which ended not long ago, showed that the necessary prerequisites for the development of good relations between our countries exist.

We are also consistent supporters of the establishment of durable peace and good-neighbour relations between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. To achieve this would be a substantial contribution to improving the political climate throughout Asia.

In recent times there has been a notable turn for the better in our relations with Japan. Not long ago the USSR and Japan agreed to hold talks on the conclusion of a peace treaty. We regard this as an important positive fact. We

are convinced that complete normalisation of Soviet-Japanese relations would fully accord not only with the interests of both our peoples but also with the interests of peace and security in the Far East and in the Pacific Basin in general. For our part we are ready to establish and develop extensive and mutually advantageous co-operation with Japan both in the economic and political spheres, bearing in mind that such co-operation will serve the cause of peace.

In many Asian countries there is increasing interest in the idea of ensuring security in Asia on a collective basis. It is becoming increasingly clear that the real path to security in Asia is not the path of military blocs and groupings, not the path of confrontation of some states with others, but the path of good-neighbour co-operation between all countries that are interested in such co-operation.

Collective security in Asia must, in our view, be based on such principles as repudiation of the use of force in relations between states, respect for the sovereignty and inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, and broad development of economic and other co-operation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit. We advocate and shall continue to advocate such collective security in Asia and are ready to co-operate with all countries to make this idea a reality.

Not long ago the visit to China of President Nixon of the United States and his talks with the Peking leaders attracted much public attention. What do we have to say on this subject?

First of all, the restoration of contacts between two countries, the normalisation of relations between them is quite natural. The Soviet Union has always opposed the imperialist policy of isolating the People's Republic of China and advocated due acknowledgement of its role in international life. Any assessment of the present contacts between Peking and Washington must depend, however, on what basis these contacts are being made.

The parties to the Peking meetings have told their own peoples and the world at large little about the substance

of their negotiations and the essence of the agreement that has been achieved. Moreover, they have let it be understood that everything beyond the terms of the official communique is to be kept secret and "not discussed". Thus the significance of the Peking talks will finally be revealed by the facts, by the subsequent actions of the United States and the People's Republic of China.

One cannot fail to note, however, certain statements by the parties to the Peking negotiations, statements that give grounds for thinking that the dialogue has extended beyond the framework of bilateral relations between the United States and China. How else, for example, is one to understand the statement made during the banquet in Shanghai that "today our two peoples [i.e., the American and the Chinese] hold the future of the whole world in their hands"?

It is known that the consistent struggle for peaceful coexistence which the Land of Soviets has pursued ever since the time of Lenin was only recently referred to in Peking as "revisionism" and "betrayal of the revolution". The principles of peaceful coexistence have now been confirmed in the Sino-American communique. This, of course, is only to be welcomed. It is important, however, not just to write these principles down on paper, but to pursue them in practice.

In general, it must be said that many opinions and conjectures of all kinds have been expressed concerning the Peking meeting. Opinions are one thing, however, but the decisive word, I repeat, will lie with the facts, with practical actions. So we are in no hurry to make any final assessments. The future, possibly the near future, will show how matters really stand, and we shall draw from this the appropriate practical conclusions.

As regards our relations with the People's Republic of China, the fundamental position of our Party and the Soviet state was clearly expressed in the documents of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The Congress Resolution points out that our Party maintains the position of consistent adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, all-round consoli-

dation of the unity of the world communist movement, and defence of the interests of our socialist Motherland. It goes on to state: "The Congress resolutely rejects the slanderous inventions of Chinese propaganda concerning the policy of our Party and state. At the same time, our Party stands for normalisation of relations between the USSR and the PRC, and restoration of good-neighbourliness and friendship between the Soviet and the Chinese peoples. Improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would meet the vital, long-term interests of both countries, the interests of world socialism, the interests of intensifying the struggle against imperialism."¹ This position of ours remains fully in force today.

The official Chinese representatives tell us that relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China should be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Well, if in Peking it is not regarded as possible to go any further than that in relations with a socialist country, we are ready to build Soviet-Chinese relations on this basis today. I can tell you, comrades, that we not only proclaim such readiness, but are also translating it into the language of quite specific and constructive proposals on non-aggression, on regulation of frontier questions, and on improvement of relations on a mutually advantageous basis. These proposals have for long been known to the Chinese leaders. The next step rests with China.

Comrades, every step towards reduction of international tension and in defence of the inalienable rights of the peoples is achieved in the face of unrelenting resistance from the forces of militarism and reaction.

To the dangerous centre of crisis in the Middle East some people apparently intend to add a new source of friction, now in the Mediterranean. No other assessment can be made of the agreement between the United States and the present regime in Greece on granting the US 6th Fleet a base in the Greek port of Piraeus. No other assessment can be made of the crude attempts to intervene in the internal affairs of

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 212-13.

the Republic of Cyprus, of the ultimatum-like demands for government changes there, all of which is ultimately aimed at destroying the independence and territorial integrity of the State of Cyprus. The shameless pressure exerted by NATO on the youngest Mediterranean country—Malta—means the same thing.

We and our friends are keeping a vigilant eye on imperialist manoeuvres in the area immediately adjoining the southern borders of the countries of the socialist community and are taking action to counteract them.

In our foreign and defence policy we cannot fail to take into account the fact that the arms build-up still continues in a number of imperialist countries. The new budget at present being debated in Washington envisages a considerable increase in military expenditure, particularly on long-term strategic arms programmes. The United States is demanding increased military allocations from its NATO allies as well.

Calm and vigilant, the Soviet Union is pursuing a resolute anti-imperialist policy and consistently and firmly upholding the interests of socialism and freedom of the peoples, the cause of universal peace. One of the major components of this policy is the campaign for disarmament.

The proposals put forward by the 24th Congress of the CPSU in the field of disarmament have already proved their viability in practice.

Our initiative for the convening of a world disarmament conference has evoked a wide and favourable international response. In a special resolution the UN General Assembly has approved this idea and decided that the question of the holding of a world conference should be further studied.

On the initiative of the socialist countries a convention has been drawn up banning bacteriological weapons and providing for total destruction of all stocks of these weapons. This convention will soon be endorsed.

We regard as useful the agreement concluded last autumn between the USSR and the USA on reducing the danger of a nuclear war. The Soviet Union is in favour of the other

nuclear powers becoming in some form or another parties to such an agreement.

We attach considerable importance to the Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation of strategic armaments. The key to their success is acknowledgement by both sides of the principle of equal security for the sides and readiness to observe this principle in practice. We are for reaching a mutually acceptable agreement. This would correspond to the interests of both the Soviet and the American peoples, and the interests of international security.

In Soviet foreign policy a firm rebuff to the aggressive inclinations of imperialism is combined with a constructive approach to pressing international problems, and irreconcilability in the ideological struggle is combined with readiness to develop mutually beneficial relations with countries belonging to the opposing social system. Among the contacts, visits and meetings that we undertake for the purpose of developing such relations the forthcoming talks in Moscow with the President of the United States of America Richard Nixon may hold an important place. These talks, as you know, are due to begin on May 22.

Our approach to the forthcoming Soviet-American negotiations is businesslike and realistic. We fully understand how much the state of Soviet-American relations means both for the life of the peoples of our two countries and for the whole international situation, for its further development in the direction of lasting peace or mounting tension.

We therefore consider it worthwhile in the relations between the USSR and the USA to expand any areas that allow us, while not departing from the principles of our policy, to establish mutually beneficial co-operation in the interests of the peoples of both countries and the strengthening of universal peace.

We have said before and we reaffirm it today that an improvement in relations between the USSR and the USA is possible. What is more, it is desirable, but not, of course, at the expense of any third countries or peoples, to the detriment of their legitimate rights and interests. We stand firm by this.

Comrades, each new stage in the building of communism confronts the Soviet people and its communist vanguard with more and more complex and large-scale problems, demanding of them even more awareness, even more knowledge and political activity.

The Soviet trade unions have come to their 15th Congress as a great and influential force in Soviet society, acknowledged by all and toughened in the struggle for socialism. By their practical achievements the trade unions have proved that they always were, are and will be a reliable support for the Party, the respected and competent organisers of the masses in the building of communism.

This year the Soviet people will be celebrating a significant date—the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Party calls upon the working class, the collective farmers, the intellectuals, all Soviet working people, to mark the jubilee of this great historical event with a fresh upswing of socialist competition, and new triumphs of labour.

It is a pleasure for me to inform you, comrade delegates, that for the great services of the Soviet trade unions in socialist and communist construction, in the successful fulfilment of the plans of development of the national economy the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has awarded the trade unions of the USSR the Order of Lenin.

This means that the working class, the working intelligentsia and the great army of farm workers, have been awarded the highest decoration of our Motherland for their services to the country during the eighth five-year plan period. In informing you of the award of the Order of Lenin to the trade unions of the USSR allow me to quote the words with which Vladimir Ilyich Lenin concluded his letter to the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions, the last in his lifetime: "...To make every effort to intensify and improve our work in all fields."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 371.

The Central Committee is deeply convinced that this high award of the Motherland will inspire the Soviet trade unions to perform new feats for the sake of realising the great plans of communist construction drawn up by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Allow me to hand to the Presidium greetings from the Central Committee of the Party to the 15th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR.

**SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION
OF THE ORDER OF LENIN TO COMRADE
JÁNOS KÁDÁR, FIRST SECRETARY
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY,
IN BUDAPEST**

November 27, 1972

Dear Comrade János Kádár,

Dear comrades and friends,

This spring the Hungarian Communists, the public and all the working masses of people's Hungary celebrated Comrade János Kádár's sixtieth birthday.

Those in other countries who share the views of the Hungarian Communists, all true friends of the Hungarian people, expressed their profound respect and feelings of fraternal friendship towards Comrade Kádár on this jubilee.

You know that this date was worthily celebrated in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Communists, all Soviet people know you well and profoundly respect you, Comrade Kádár, as a true son of the Hungarian working class, a consistent fighter for the triumph of communist ideals, an outstanding Party and state leader of your country, and a prominent figure in the international communist movement.

Highly appreciating the outstanding part you have played in developing fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples, your great services in strengthening peace and socialism, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has passed a Decree conferring upon János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, our country's highest award—the Order of Lenin.

The fundamentally new direction that has been taken in the thousand-year history of the Hungarian people—the victory of the socialist revolution on Hungarian soil, Hungary's successes achieved along the road to the complete building of socialism—constitutes a great service rendered by the Hungarian Communists, with whose activities your life has been connected for more than forty years.

The Communists of the Soviet Union, all Soviet people, know as well as every Hungarian that at all stages of the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, the establishment and development of socialism in your country, at all moments, including the most difficult, you, Comrade Kádár, have acted as a consistent Leninist revolutionary. During the grim years of struggle against the Horthy regime and German fascism, in the struggle against counter-revolution in 1956, in the tremendous work of the Hungarian Communists to defend and consolidate the socialist gains of the working people, your steadfastness, adherence to principle, courage and dedication have played an exceptional role.

We in the Soviet Union set great store by the efforts of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Government and people of Hungary, to foster Hungarian-Soviet friendship. Today, thanks to the joint labours of both our parties, the communist solidarity and unity of the CPSU and the HSWP, the political alliance of our two states, the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples have become our common achievement and an important factor in international life, and here too, you have undoubtedly made a considerable contribution as a leader and as a Communist-internationalist. The internationalist policy conducted by the HSWP Central Committee under your leadership substantially contributes to the solidarity of our socialist community and the world communist movement. This policy has earned Hungary great prestige in the eyes of the working people of many countries.

We all know you well as a leader with a strong sense of responsibility to the people, close ties with the people, and understanding of their needs and aspirations.

All this, Comrade Kádár, forms the basis of the respect which you enjoy in your own country and among all sincere friends of socialist Hungary.

The Hungarian People's Republic is accomplishing the great tasks of its development set by the 10th Congress of the HSWP. We believe that the Hungarian people, possessing such an experienced leader as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its Central Committee, such outstanding statesman as Comrade Kádár, will cope successfully with these tasks and take a new major step forward towards the complete building of socialism in Hungary.

In your struggle for the cause of socialism and peace, for the happiness of the Hungarian working people, we are always with you, dear Hungarian friends.

Dear Comrade János Kádár,

I have been entrusted with the honourable task of presenting you with the Order of Lenin, and it is a great satisfaction to me to perform this mission.

Please accept in this connection the most cordial, fraternal congratulations of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government. On your sixtieth birthday you are full of creative plans, cheerfulness and energy. On behalf of our Party, all Soviet people and myself personally, I wish you, our militant friend and comrade, good health for many years to come and fresh successes in your work for the benefit of socialist Hungary and in the name of the further strengthening of Soviet-Hungarian friendship.

**SPEECH AT A MEETING OF SOVIET-HUNGARIAN
FRIENDSHIP AT THE
CSEPEL INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN BUDAPEST**

November 30, 1972

Dear comrades,
Friends!

We are sincerely moved by the warm welcome accorded us at your Works, the cordiality and hospitality the Soviet Party and Government delegation has enjoyed from their very first minutes on Hungarian soil.

I should like to thank you from the bottom of my heart for this unforgettable meeting, for the warm words uttered by Comrade Kádár and other comrades, and to convey to you, comrades, all residents of Budapest, all working people of socialist Hungary, fraternal greetings from the Communists of the Soviet Union, from the Soviet workers, from all Soviet men and women.

We rejoice at the opportunity of addressing words of friendship to the Hungarian people here, at this Works, in the citadel of the Hungarian working class. There is no need to explain the meaning of Csepel to Soviet men and women. From their school days our people know that a workers' demonstration in support of the 1905 revolution in Russia was held here, at "Red Csepel". It is still remembered in our country that it was the Csepel radio station which received Lenin's message to the heroic Hungarian Soviet Republic in March 1919.

Today, too, your collective makes an outstanding contribution to the accomplishment of the great and important tasks which the Party, its 10th Congress, has set your country.

It is a great pleasure for me today personally to convey warm gratitude to you, dear friends, for the gift which for us is priceless—the commemorative Csepel Red Banner you have presented to the Central Committee of the CPSU. This banner, presented in connection with the 10th Congress of the HSWP, we shall cherish. Our Political Bureau, the CPSU Central Committee, all Soviet Communists regard this gift as a token of proletarian solidarity, as a symbol of the strong ties linking the workers of the Soviet Union and Hungary, the inviolable unity of our Parties and peoples in the struggle for the cause of socialism and communism, for lasting peace, for the happiness of the working people.

The peoples of the Soviet Union remember that the Hungarian working class established Soviet power here, on the banks of the Danube, soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution, just at the time when our proletariat was fighting against the imperialists of many countries. This was another breach in the capitalist system, a breach in the centre of Europe. And though the local bourgeoisie and foreign invaders at that time succeeded in strangling the workers' power, the 1919 Revolution in Hungary became a great school for all following generations of revolutionaries of your country.

The Hungarian Communists, the Hungarian workers reverently preserve their loyalty to proletarian internationalism. The finest sons and daughters of the Hungarian working class fought in the ranks of the Red Army for the cause of the October Revolution, they fought against fascism in Spain, in the darkest years of the Horthy regime they told the people the truth about the Soviet Union. At the same time it was a struggle for a future socialist Hungary. And when the Hungarian working class assumed power as a result of liberation from the yoke of fascist invaders, its first step in foreign affairs was the establishment of an inviol-

able, fraternal alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries.

For almost three decades already the working class and its Party have been playing the decisive role in Hungarian politics, the economy, in all spheres of life. By its devoted labour, its political consciousness, discipline, and allegiance to the lofty ideals of socialism, by strengthening its alliance with the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, the working class influences and leads the whole of society.

Relying on the working class, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has opened up really inspiring prospects for the country, united all the people, the entire nation. A society of free people has been created, where every individual can reveal his abilities, his gifts, all his creative possibilities.

This is not the first time I have been in Hungary. I remember your country in the days of the battles for its liberation from the fascist yoke. I remember how the construction of socialism began on Hungarian soil, I remember the difficult time of struggle against counter-revolution, for the consolidation of the socialist order. In recent years I have had the good fortune to visit Hungary very often. Comparing yesterday and today, one can better appreciate what a great historic road your country has traversed, how Soviet-Hungarian friendship has deepened.

We, Soviet people, Soviet Communists, highly appreciate this friendship, which has passed all trials, has grown stronger in our common struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. Today it permeates the entire life of our countries. Its highest expression is the fraternal cooperation of our Parties, the broad interrelations between Party organisations, the constant contacts between the Central Committees of the HSWP and CPSU. We have established the friendliest of relations with Comrade Kádár and the other Hungarian leaders. And a particularly good thing is that we have become accustomed to systematic close, comradely contacts between tens and hundreds of thousands of Soviet and Hungarian working people—workers, peasants, scientists and cultural workers. To put it in a nutshell—our

friendship is indeed a friendship of all the people. This is friendship for today, for tomorrow, for all time!

Dear comrades, your Works is the brother of our Magnitogorsk Plant, of Uralmash, of the Kirov Works and other giants of Soviet industry. Essentially, they are accomplishing the same tasks: raising the efficiency of social production, combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, improving management. We all have definite experience in solving these problems. And concern for the creative application of this experience is one of the factors prompting the constant deepening of our co-operation. Once again we have seen for ourselves that whenever we pool our efforts, the result is not just an addition, but a multiplication of strength.

That is why, whenever Hungary, the Soviet Union or other socialist countries are mentioned, not only the national potential of each country but also the common, joint potential, the great advantages we all derive from our co-operation, our internationalist alliance, are taken into consideration. Of course, we all have our own plans, our successes and joys. We also have our problems, our difficulties, which make themselves felt sometimes in industry, sometimes in agriculture. But our development is not determined by this. It is determined by the dynamism of our onward movement, the steady growth of the economy of each of our countries and the entire community as a whole. Suffice it to say that industrial output of the CMEA member-countries this year will probably top the level of 1950 by almost eight times. On the other hand, industrial output in the developed capitalist countries, according to preliminary data, will increase about threefold in the same period.

It is difficult for the individual when he is alone. It is also difficult for a country when it has no allies, no peoples with which it shares the same views, no friendly countries at its side. We have learned this from our own experience, comrades, when for many years we were encircled by imperialist countries. This is why we rejoice at having today friendly countries throughout the world. What we particularly cherish is that we have brother-nations building so-

cialism. And we know that this fact is cherished by all members of the great socialist family. Our strength lies in unity, this is the decisive factor of the successful accomplishment of all the internal, national, and also common, internationalist tasks confronting us!

In recent years contacts between the fraternal countries have become more meaningful and fruitful than ever before.

Our economic co-operation is becoming ever deeper and more varied. This is also clearly demonstrated by the example of our two countries. The Soviet Union and Hungary are pooling their efforts in the production of aluminium and automobiles, in the refining of oil products and in the development of electronic computers. A wide field of activity still lies ahead. We will continue to do our utmost to further strengthen our economic contacts.

Political co-operation between the socialist states is becoming ever closer. It can be said without any reservations that there is scarcely a single major action in the international sphere on which we are not united. This is precisely why our common foreign policies produce ever more effective results.

Our military co-operation is improving from year to year. The socialist countries make no secret of this. As long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists, we shall exert efforts in this sphere too. Everything in this field proceeds according to plan, and I think that Comrade Kádár and I can assure you that the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation reliably protect the peaceful labour of the peoples of our countries.

Less than three decades have passed since the emergence of the world socialist system. This is a relatively short period but what an important and, in many respects, decisive place, has this new community of peoples assumed in the world.

The world socialist system is an example of new, historically unprecedented relations among countries, relations of complete equality, mutual assistance and collective co-operation in the name of common goals.

Taking a joint stand in the world, the socialist states promote social progress. Their actions meet the vital interests of the working class, of all working people, of all the peoples of the world. We must say outright: the fact that the imperialists have not dared to unleash a new world war is, above all, the historic service rendered by the world socialist system. Without it the planet would have looked different.

It would be difficult to enumerate all that has been done by the socialist countries in the interests of peace and progress. Suffice it to mention some of the main trends of our international policy in the most recent years.

These trends are as follows:

—the tangible, unquestionable consolidation of peace in Europe;

—the great, all-round assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people in their successful struggle against imperialist aggression;

—support for the progressive regimes in the Arab countries, for their just cause;

—effective solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America in their legitimate striving to be masters in their own countries;

—active assistance towards the establishing of good-neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan, towards restoring peace in the area;

—and, finally, the successful struggle for consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations as a whole, for durable peace, for the turn from tensions to relaxation, from distrust and animosity to wider mutually advantageous co-operation.

And all this, comrades, is not backstage diplomatic moves, or deals made behind the backs of the peoples, but an open, consistent, honest policy. These are not promises, not mere theory, but practical actions.

In this connection, I should like to touch upon some questions of European policy.

It is known that parliamentary elections were held in the FRG a few days ago. Naturally, I am not going to give a

detailed analysis of these elections here. But, perhaps, it would be relevant to make one conclusion. Those who try to block the advance to detente, who would like to turn Europe back to the days of the cold war cannot win the support of the electorate who vote for a further advance towards peace, for relaxation, for a realistic policy. This fact applies not only to West Germany, but has wider significance.

Thus, the situation in Europe continues to change for the better. We believe that this makes it possible to take in the immediate future new useful steps to improve the political climate on our continent. I have in mind such steps as, for instance, the signing and the coming into force of the treaty on the basic principles of relations between the GDR and the FRG, complete and all-round inclusion of the German Democratic Republic in all forms of international relations, the admission of the GDR and the FRG to the United Nations, settlement of the question of the Munich *diktat* that affects the important state interests of Czechoslovakia and all the socialist countries. Further normalisation of relations between the countries of the socialist community and the FRG would naturally result from this development. And we all regard this as welcome and useful. It is known that we have long been pressing for a solution of these tasks, have been doing it jointly, for we realise their great importance for durable peace in Europe.

We stand for clearing European soil of the debris of the past. The holding of an all-European conference should effectively promote this. As Comrade Kádár already mentioned, all-round practical preparations for the conference have started in Helsinki.

In the declaration adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague, the socialist countries stated clearly the essence of our common stand. We expect the all-European conference to consolidate the principles of equal and genuine security for all European states. We are against discrimination in European trade, and for the wide development of equal, businesslike co-operation between European states in different fields. This is our prin-

cipled approach and we have firmly maintained and will continue to maintain it.

If we look further ahead, the process of improvement of the political climate in Europe also offers the opportunity to tackle such an important task as the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe. Until recently, there was no real possibility even of raising this problem, let alone solving it. Now this opportunity has emerged as the natural consequence of the overall political development in Europe. We approach this task seriously and responsibly and we consult each other. It stands to reason that this problem is not a simple one. It is necessary to take into account many factors, to show due respect for the sovereign rights and interests of different states. I do not want to predict the concrete forms it may assume. But we believe that given the goodwill of the parties concerned it will be possible to find a useful constructive solution to this problem, too.

Comrades, the foreign policies of the socialist states now receive ever greater recognition and support. The peoples see that we, Communists, have no self-seeking foreign policy calculations. The goals we strive for are in line with the interests of peace, with the interests of all working people. It is no accident that wherever oppression and violence still reign and working people are exploited, the peoples regard socialism as the banner and hope of all mankind.

We are aware of this historical responsibility and we shall intensify our efforts to bring about the triumph of the cause of peace, freedom and socialism. But struggle is struggle, and we should not forget that the old world is also striving to influence us in its interests.

The methods used by imperialism to exert influence on the socialist world are multiform, ranging from direct aggression, such as the aggression against the DRV, to subtle flattery aimed at reviving nationalistic prejudices and encouraging any departure from the international solidarity of the socialist countries. At times, one or another socialist country is promised economic advantages. But even when the imperialists write something truthful about us, which they cannot avoid doing now, they are sure to add some

poison. And this is understandable. We hold opposing class positions and our enemies go to any length to prevent the successful development of our countries and to weaken our unity.

All these attempts of the imperialists and their henchmen have been and will be resolutely rebuffed by the socialist countries, will be countered by the all-out building of our cohesion, of our fraternal unity.

The imperialists pin great hopes on the openly hostile position of the leadership of China with regard to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The actions of the Chinese leaders in the international arena contradict the interests of peace and socialism, which suits imperialist reaction perfectly.

Peking has reached the point of absurdity in its anti-Soviet fabrications, alleging that the Soviet Union intends to attack China. But it is difficult to imagine that those who fabricate these allegations believe them in earnest. The Chinese leaders would do well to search more attentively for the real source of the bad relations of the PRC with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They would then surely discover that this source lies in the very capital of China, in their own policy aimed at aggravating relations among states, at splitting the socialist system and disuniting the anti-imperialist forces. This policy of China's cannot promote good accord with the socialist countries.

The Soviet Union stands for normalisation of relations with the People's Republic of China. We have stated this many times. Our principled course in our relations with China is clearly determined by the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. We note with satisfaction that we have complete identity of views on this important question with the Hungarian People's Republic and other fraternal socialist countries.

Comrades, the present visit of the Soviet Party and Government delegation to the Hungarian People's Republic and the talks we have had are another sound contribution to the overall process of consolidation of the forces of world socialism, a sound contribution to the consolidation of peace.

A new important step has been made in the development of Soviet-Hungarian co-operation. Sincerity, trust and mutual understanding that are so typical of our relations have once again been reaffirmed. Good prospects are opening up in all the most important fields of our co-operation and, undoubtedly, our relations in the years to come will be even closer and more fruitful. In a word, comrades, we have every reason to be pleased with the results of this visit. This has been said here by the Hungarian comrades, and we fully share their view.

Dear friends, during this visit, the members of our delegation have been to several Hungarian regions, had meetings with the production teams at industrial and agricultural enterprises, with representatives of the people's intelligentsia. We were truly aware of the atmosphere of your creative labour, of your persistent quest for the best solutions to the problems of the construction of a developed socialist society. And, together with you, we firmly believe that under the guidance of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the working people of your country will succeed in accomplishing the tasks set by the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The Communists and the working class of Hungary enjoy well-deserved prestige in the world communist and working-class movement. Marching in the front ranks of fighters for the consolidation of the joint anti-imperialist front, they take an active part in the great work to implement the conclusions and ideas of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist Parties, in the preparations for which they played a generally recognised role.

Comrades, in my speech I have not yet described the internal development of our country. This year the Soviet people and our Party are living and working under the watchword of preparations for the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia are striving to mark this great holiday with new labour achievements in order to ensure the successful implementation of the plans set forth by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Allow me, comrades, on the pleasant occasion of this meeting, to express our gratitude to the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, to all the working people of fraternal Hungary for their desire worthily to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the USSR. The Soviet people highly appreciate this manifestation of fraternal feelings.

In conclusion, comrades, we express once again our cordial gratitude to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, to all of you, dear friends, for your fraternal welcome. We wish the workers of Csepel, the residents of Budapest and all the working people of Hungary new successes in the construction of socialism, as well as happiness, health and prosperity to every Hungarian family.

Long live the Hungarian people building a socialist society under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party!

Long live the Hungarian working class—the leading force of socialist Hungary!

Long live its tested militant vanguard—the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party!

Long live Soviet-Hungarian friendship and the international unity of socialist states!

Long live peace and communism!

Allow me, comrades, to make you a gift, as a token of our solidarity and our unbreakable unity—the sculpture "Worker with Banner" by the outstanding Soviet sculptor Ivan Shadr.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

*Report at a Joint Meeting
of the CPSU Central Committee,
the USSR Supreme Soviet
and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses*

December 21, 1972

Dear comrades,
Esteemed 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 festive 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 idea of our great leader, Lenin—the 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 united within the framework of the Soviet socialist state. It is the history of the unprecedented growth and all-round development of the state which was born of the socialist revolution and which is now one of the mightiest powers in the world. It is the history of the growing to maturity of all the Republics that have united under the banner of the Soviet state, of all the na-

tions, big and small, which inhabit the country, and their attainment of true prosperity—economic, political and cultural.

Dear compatriots,
Comrades,

On the occasion of 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 dedicated labour, those who heroically defended its freedom, independence and honour in its hour of danger in the hardest-fought war in history, and those who have carried the Soviet Union to its present powerful, glorious and thriving state, and who are now blazing the trail for all mankind into the communist future.

We have feelings of the most profound respect and gratitude to all those who are wholeheartedly dedicated to the Leninist union of free nations, to those whose labour and enthusiasm are making our beloved country stronger and more beautiful every day—we mean the great working class and the working people on the collective farms, our intelligentsia, the valorous men of the Soviet Army, our wonderful women. We address greetings to our young people, who are taking over from the older generations in a fitting manner and on whom largely depends what the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be like when it enters the third millennium of our era.

Dear comrades, to all of you we extend our congratulations on this great occasion.

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

I. THE FORMATION OF THE USSR—A TRIUMPH OF THE LENINIST POLICY ON NATIONALITIES

Comrades, in these anniversary days 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 more clearly does one see the wisdom of the Leninist Party, which consolidated the success of the October Revolution and the subsequent radical social changes by establishing the unbreakable 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 exploitative 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 strength of proletarian solidarity born of the Revolution. The sons of all the peoples of our country fought 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 deserts 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. Already in those early years after the October Revolution all the Soviet Republics then in existence formed a close political, military, economic and diplomatic alliance that was formalised in a number of treaties.

The Civil War and the defeat of the enemies of the Revolution were followed by a period of peaceful construction. Each Soviet Republic naturally faced these questions: What

was to be the next step? 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 good fruit in the earlier period.

In order to advance along the path of building socialism, all the Soviet Republics had first to cope with the dislocation, to rehabilitate the productive forces undermined by the wars, to overcome their backwardness and to improve the working people's living standards. These tasks could best and soonest be carried out by developing the economies under a common plan, and making rational use of the possibilities for division of labour 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 independence of the country, 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, and the very logic of the struggle for socialism in this country demanded the formation of a united multinational socialist state. But to establish such a state there had to be the organising role of the Party, its correct policy and purposeful activity.

The Communist Party had 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.

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 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 struggle against every type of oppression, and for a new social system which rules 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."¹

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. "We want a *voluntary* union of nations," he emphasised, "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."²

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."³

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 favourable conditions for the development of each nation.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 195.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

³ K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

The national question was an especially acute one in Russia because of her 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 co-operation—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 which boast of their democracy have always been 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 one week after the birth of the Soviet state its famous Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia put on record the following principles of the policy on nationalities 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 peoples of Russia and their complete mutual trust.

In the early years after the October Revolution, the Party, headed by Lenin, did tremendous work among the masses, explaining to the working people its policy in the sphere of national-state development. 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. Shahumyan, G. I. Petrovsky and A. G. Chervyakov, N. Narimanov and A. T. Dzhangildin, P. I. Stucka and M. G. Tskhakaya, and many other comrades.

The Party put its revolutionary energy, its great effort and determination into the historic work 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, overcame the old national hostility, destroyed the basis of 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. . . ."¹

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.

It was necessary, however, to find the forms of union, a correlation of the rights of the all-Union bodies and of the Republics that would best ensure unity.

During the discussion of these questions, which began in the autumn of 1922, different tendencies emerged. Some believed that it was possible merely to establish some sort of confederation of the Republics, without setting up common federative bodies vested with extensive powers. Others proposed "autonomisation", that is, the entry of all the

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences and CC Plenary Meetings*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1970, p. 249 (in Russian).

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

Lenin put forward the plan of establishing 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 viable 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."¹

The First All-Union Congress of Soviets opened in Moscow on December 30 and, in response to the proposals put forward by the 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 storms, misfortunes and dangers, but also welded the working people of our multinational country together into the mighty and united 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 a good idea subsequently to combine 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!

¹ Ibid., p. 401.

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 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 battle.... I see flying above us the Red Banner with the five letters which are sacred to us—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 visualise 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 this banner higher for all the working and oppressed peoples of the world to see."¹

For half a century now the victorious Red Banner of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been proudly flying, symbolising the greatness of the communist ideals—the ideals of social justice, peace, friendship, and the fraternal co-operation of nations. This banner has inspired us in labour and in battle, in days of great jubilation and at times of gravest trial. 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!

¹ M. I. Kalinin, *Selected Works* in four volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1960, p. 358 (in Russian).

II. THE UNBREAKABLE UNITY AND FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR CONSTITUTE ONE OF THE GREAT GAINS OF SOCIALISM

Comrades, the joining of all the peoples of the country into a single union, the formation of one multinational socialist state, 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 the industrial output of the country has increased 320-fold. Some may say, of course, that any comparison with 1922 is not a fair indication, because it was a year of postwar ruin and famine. That is true. So let us compare 1972 with the prewar year of 1940, the year by which our country had far surpassed the pre-revolutionary level. In that period alone, the Soviet Union's industrial output increased 14-fold. And now Soviet industry 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 a steady rise in the standard of living and in the cultural level 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 or secondary (complete or incomplete) education, by 550 per cent.

Behind these figures lie fundamental changes in the economy, in socio-political relations, ideology and culture, which have transformed the whole face of our society. The new, socialist relations that prevail among all the peoples of our country figure prominently among these changes.

Our Party was well aware that overcoming the consequences of national oppression and inequality would require more than the adoption of even the best and the most

equitable laws. The economic and cultural backwardness of the once oppressed nations and nationalities also had to be eliminated. In other words, it was not enough to abolish the legal inequality of nations; it was also necessary 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 may rightly be ranked with such victories in building the new society in the USSR as industrialisation, collectivisation and the cultural revolution.

A great brotherhood of working people, united, irrespective of their national origins, by common 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 our precious birthright, one of the most important gains of socialism and most dear to the heart of every Soviet citizen. We Soviet people will always guard this friendship as our most cherished possession!

At present, on this fiftieth anniversary of the Union, the solution of the nationalities 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. We have to 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 consistent effort 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 there was essentially feudal.

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

Yes, 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, furthermore, we were 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.

These were 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 task could be successfully carried out only if massive, all-round assistance were given to the once oppressed nations and nationalities by the more advanced parts of the country, above all, by the Russian people and its working class.

Such assistance, the readiness to put in a great effort and even, putting it plainly, to make sacrifices so as to overcome the backwardness of the outlying national areas and help them to develop faster was the behest that Lenin required the proletariat of Russia to perform as a prime internationalist duty. The Russian working class and the Russian people have fulfilled this duty with honour. 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 mil-

lions of rubles for irrigation works in Turkestan. While the Civil War was still being fought, decisions were taken to send food supplies and to extend financial and technical aid to Azerbaijan; substantial funds were remitted to the railwaymen of Kharkov and the miners of the Donets coal-fields, and important assistance was given 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 masses of the non-Russian peoples to catch up with the more advanced Central Russia."¹ 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".² 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 the Union Republics were covered mainly by subsidies from the all-Union budget. For instance, in 1924 and 1925 only a little over 10 per cent of the revenues in the budget of the Turkmen Republic was contributed by that republic itself. 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

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions. . .*, Vol. 2, p. 252.

² *Ibid.*, p. 253.

same time, the purchasing prices of farm produce were set at a level designed to promote the economic development of the once backward regions.

Tremendous assistance was given to the fraternal Union Republics in cultural development, in education and in the training of personnel. Large contingents of young men and women from the national Republics, regions and areas were enrolled at institutions of higher learning in the country's major centres. 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 have yielded remarkable fruit. Look at Central Asia and Kazakhstan today! You will find more than first-class cotton fields in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, the once fallow lands of the Kazakhs under crop, and flowering orchards and new livestock farms in Kirghizia and Tajikistan. Today, these Republics are famed for a host of large, modern, beautiful cities, such as Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Dushanbe, Frunze and Ashkhabad. There you will find large centres of metallurgy, mining and heavy industry, such as Jezkazgan and Karaganda, Pavlodar and Navoi and first-rate hydraulic engineering, such as the Nurek hydroelectric power station 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 over 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 cultural development of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian Republics is equally striking. They have achieved virtually 100 per cent literacy. Almost half the population in each Republic are men and women with a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education. In Uzbeki-

stan 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, and in their national academies there are thousands of scientists engaged in valuable research.

In the capitalist world much more modest achievements are frequently labelled as "miracles". But we Communists do not regard 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 the context of the friendship and brotherhood of nations that have been established in this country.

Evidence of this comes not only from Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In Soviet times the Transcaucasian Republics—Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia—have also made enormous economic progress. Today they all have sophisticated modern industries, and have achieved great successes in their subtropical agriculture. The ancient culture and art of the Transcaucasian peoples have flourished and have been enriched. They have their own large research centres, which are known all over the country.

Byelorussia, which suffered enormous losses in its terrible ordeal during the Great Patriotic War, has flourished in the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples. Fine cities and villages have risen again and major industrial construction projects have been completed on the soil of Byelorussia that burned under the invaders' feet during the war. Today, Byelorussia's industries make excellent computers, heavy-duty lorries, modern radio equipment, mineral fertilisers and synthetic fibre. The Republic has a large contingent of scientists and workers in the cultural sphere.

Not long ago Moldavia was also a backward outlying area. If we do not count the war years and the early post-war 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 principal centres of horticulture and wine-making. Its industrial output has increased 31-fold.

In short, on the basis of the Leninist policy on nationalities, as a result of the intense efforts of the whole Soviet people we have achieved a state in which the term "backward national outlying area", a common one for old Russia, has disappeared. Comrades, this is a splendid achievement of our Party, an achievement of socialism and 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 more powerful and more firmly united, because it has made the unity of the fraternal Republics truly unbreakable.

The socialist system and the relations of friendship and brotherhood between the nations also revealed vast possibilities of accelerated rapid development for the republics and regions which by the time of the Revolution were already at a relatively high level of economic development.

Among these is the Ukraine. Even in the old days it was 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 coalfields. 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 miner before the Revolution and the horrible conditions in which he lived and worked. Compare this with the life of the Donets or Krivoy Rog miner today, a man who takes pride in his trade, commanding the respect of the whole country, who is properly paid for his fine labour and enjoys all the benefits of modern culture. Similar comparisons are suggested everywhere: in Zaporozhye, Kharkov and

Dnepropetrovsk, in the Kherson and the Transcarpathian areas.

Since the formation of the USSR, industrial output in the Ukraine has increased 176-fold. The present-day Ukraine has a powerful metallurgical industry, a diversified engineering industry, a large-scale ship-building industry and well-developed chemical and food industries and light industry. The Soviet Ukraine also has a large-scale and highly mechanised agriculture. On top of all this there are splendid research centres 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 co-operation 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 have been able to rise to their full stature and to give full scope to their 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, having shaken off the fetters of provincialism and stagnation in the backwoods of capitalist Europe has flourished. 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 rightfully called by all the peoples of our multinational country.

This Republic has had a special historical role to play. On the one hand, as the largest and most developed Re-

public, 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. There are scores of peoples on the territory of the Russian Federation, including many which were threatened with extinction under tsarism.

Moreover, together with the large industrial and cultural centres, 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 efforts in various directions were required to promote the development of the Russian Federation. There was the need for rapid progress in the most advanced centres and regions which played the role of the main base, and continue to do so, ensuring the advance of the whole of Soviet society. At the same time it was necessary to overcome 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 honour. Hundreds of new modern cities and industrial centres 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 deposits of oil, gas, coal, metallic ores, gold and diamonds have been discovered and placed at the service of society.

The Federation's industry has made giant strides: in 50 years its output has increased by more than 300-fold, going up by more than 11 times 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, centralised 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 a Union scale have made it possible to effect a rational distribution of the productive forces; they afford scope for economic manoeuvre, and have helped to enhance co-operation and specialisation, which yield an overall benefit well in excess of a mere arithmetical addition of the individual 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 profound and comprehensive socio-political changes that have taken place over the past half-century our society has risen to a qualitatively new level, thereby realising the prediction of our great leader, Lenin, who held that socialism "creates new and superior forms of human society".¹ Indeed, as the 24th Congress of the CPSU noted, *a new historical community—the Soviet people—* has been established and has become a reality in this country.

This community 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 which have established a new type of relations among themselves.

The economy of the Soviet Union is not the sum total of the economies of the individual republics and regions. It has long since become one economic organism, formed on

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 38-39.

the basis of the common economic aims and interests of all our nations and nationalities.

The state of economic affairs in, 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, 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 success of the work done there, but also on the results achieved in the oil industry of Tataria and Bashkiria, the timber industry in the Komi Autonomous Republic, the engineering industry in Moscow, Gorky and Kuibyshev. There are hundreds and thousands of similar examples. The scale of our work reaches beyond the boundaries not only of economic regions but also of the Union Republics.

In the past fifty 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 entire 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.

There have been marked changes in 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.

All the Republics, Union and Autonomous, and all the national regions and areas now have large contingents of the working class. 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, belonging to close-knit production collectives, that are putting up industrial projects regardless of where they may be located, building the railways, and digging the canals, laying the oil pipelines and erecting the

electric-power transmission lines linking the various parts of the country, the Union and the Autonomous Republics, and the territories and regions into one 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 neighbours and working together. Throughout the country there is a growing number of mixed marriages, which now run into millions.

As the economic and social development of each national Republic is intensified, the internationalisation of every aspect of our life in these Republics becomes more pronounced. Take Soviet Kazakhstan, which has been growing so rapidly. Besides the Kazakhs, millions of Russians, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Byelorussians and people of other nationalities live there. 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 existence of the USSR, a Soviet socialist culture has emerged and flourished in this country, a culture that is identical in spirit and basic content, embodying the most valuable features and traditions of the culture and life of each Soviet nation. At the same time, not a single Soviet national culture draws only on its own resources: it draws also upon the spiritual riches of the other fraternal nations and, in turn, contributes to these cultures and enriches them.

Common, internationalist features are becoming ever more pronounced in the varied national forms of Soviet socialist culture. The national culture is increasingly enriched by the achievements of the other fraternal nations. This is a progressive process. It is in the spirit of socialism and in the interest of all the nations of our country. This is how the foundation is laid for the new, communist culture that knows no national barriers and equally serves all men of labour.

We already have good reason to say that Soviet culture is socialist in content, in its main trend of development,

is varied in national form and internationalist in spirit and character. It is thus an organic fusion 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, tens and hundreds of thousands 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 Lasis, Abai Kunanbayev, and Chinghiz Aitmatov, and the splendid poetry of Yanka Kupala, Samed Vurgun, Rasul Gamzatov, Eduardas Mieželaitis, Mustai Karim, and many, many others.

The rapid growth of ties and co-operation 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 materially and culturally we have a breaking down of national barriers, the importance of which Lenin often pointed out, a preparation of the ground for a further drawing together of the Soviet nations. The powerful source of their unity lies in the common history of the Soviet people as a whole 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 labour.

The most convincing expression of the Soviet people's unity was the heroic exploits in defence of the socialist Motherland. The union and friendship of all its nations and nationalities withstood the grim trials of the Great Patriotic War, during which the sons and daughters of the Soviet Motherland not only succeeded in safeguarding with honour their socialist gains, but also saved world civilisation 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 endure through the ages.

Today, our Armed Forces provide reliable protection for the socialist Motherland, safeguarding its people's peaceful labour in building communism. The Soviet people deeply respect and love their army, because they know that they need a well-equipped army as 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.

Besides being united by their glorious military record, Soviet people of every nationality are also brought together by the legendary feats of the shock workers in the period of the first five-year-plans, the heroic labour 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 labour 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, the Soviet people, is our great accomplishment, comrades. We are justified in regarding it as the epitome of the economic and socio-political changes that have taken place in this country in the past fifty years.

Lenin's Party, its collective reason and unbending will, its organising 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 for half a 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 organisations in

which workers of different nationalities formed a single fighting force. As far back as 1905, Lenin wrote: "To dispel any idea of its being national in character, the Party called itself '*Rossiiskaya*' and not '*Russkaya*'."¹ Upon the formation of the Soviet Union, the Party emphasised 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 Soviet working people's friendship and militant comradeship, the inviolable unity of the entire Soviet people. All Communists in this country, regardless of nationality, are members of the single Leninist Party. All of them enjoy equal rights, have equal duties, and bear equal responsibility for the country's destiny.

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

As we know, Lenin repeatedly emphasised 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 the spirit of internationalism. But Lenin always demanded that the *Communists* of any nationality should take a clear and principled stand on the question of nationalities, and never made any allowances or conces-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 496. The adjective *russkaya* (Russian) pertains to nationality, *rossiiskaya* (Russian) pertains to Russia as a country.—*Ed.*

sions in this matter. He always waged a relentless struggle against any manifestations of nationalism or great-power chauvinism among Communists.

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

As I have already mentioned, we have successfully dealt with those aspects of the problem of nationalities 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 posing new tasks and problems. The Party never loses sight of these questions, tackling them in good time in the interests 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 tendencies are often interwoven with parochial attitudes, which are akin to nationalism.

Neither can we afford to overlook the fact that the vestiges of nationalism are being encouraged in every way from outside the country—by politicians and propagandists of the bourgeois world. Our class adversaries largely seize on all cases of this kind, inflaming and encouraging them in the hope of undermining, if only to a small extent, 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 ways 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 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 hastening the process: there is no need for that, since it is dictated by the entire course of our Soviet life. At the same time, the Party rules out 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 been more explicit 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."¹

As the Party resolves the problems of the country's further development along the course charted 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 indivisible whole. Needless to say, they are fostered in the people by the Soviet way of life, by all its realities. But there must also be conscious effort by the Party, by everyone working on the politico-ideological front. Our work in this direction 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, giving us firm confidence in the future of our great Motherland.

The path traversed in this half-century inspires us with 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

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 35.

can block our path now that the Soviet Union has scaled such heights. All the goals 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 indomitably our ship is sailing farther and farther ahead to the radiant horizons of communism.

III. THE SOVIET UNION IS A DEPENDABLE BULWARK 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 has triumphed in a number of countries of Europe, Asia and America giving rise to a world socialist system. In the capitalist world, the international working-class movement has become a mighty, well-organised and politically active force. And its militant vanguard—the Communist and Workers' Parties—has emerged and consolidated in most countries of the world. Imperialism's system of colonial oppression has 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 our great leader, 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 defence against bourgeois intrigues".¹

Today, the "world communist proletariat", the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist Parties, the progressive

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 609.

revolutionary-democratic organisations, the trade unions and broadest sections of the working people on 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 people who share our beliefs 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 how important for us is our alliance with the international working class and with the communist movement, how important is the support given by upright, progressive people across the world for our peace-loving policy. We highly appreciate this support.

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

As we see it, the mission of our foreign policy is to strengthen peace, which we need for building communism, which is needed 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 mission and role of our foreign policy to help all the peoples to exercise their inalienable rights and, above all, their rights to independent and sovereign development, so that they may benefit from the fruits of modern civilisation.

As we see it, the mission and role of our policy on the international scene is 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 well-being of our people, and we want all the peoples of the world to enjoy freedom, peace and well-being.

Comrades, our foreign policy has always been and will continue to be a class policy, a socialist one in content and aim. And it is precisely its socialist character that makes it a peace policy. "We know, we know only too well, the incredible misfortunes that war brings to the workers and peasants,"¹ Lenin stressed. Lenin's conclusion was crystal clear: to safeguard peace by all means and, having started peaceful construction, to make 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 Soviet power—the Decree on Peace—to the Peace Programme of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, our Party and state have steadily adhered to the main guidelines of struggle for peace and for the freedom and security of the peoples.

For nearly a quarter of a century—nearly half the life of the federal Soviet state—we have ceased to be alone and have forged ahead together with the fraternal countries. We have repeatedly declared that we consider it our prime 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 gave them the necessary political and economic support. Joint defence against imperialism's hostile sallies, against its attempts to undermine the socialist system in one country or another has continued to be one of the important prerequisites for the successful development of the world socialist system.

As a result of collective efforts and hard-fought battles against the class enemy we have 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 way of life for each of our countries. We have learned to cope successfully with our day-to-day tasks and patiently work out fair solutions to problems that cannot be

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 148.

resolved in capitalist conditions. And in doing this, we have learned to harmonise the interests of each with the interests of all and to co-operate, sweeping aside everything that may hinder or complicate our joint progress.

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 belong to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This community was formed primarily to counter the imperialist threat, the aggressive imperialist military blocs, and to safeguard the cause of socialism and peace by our common efforts. And we have every reason to declare that never have socialism's positions been as firm as they are today, and that the cause of peace is gaining one victory after another.

But even in the present conditions, far from diminishing, the need for unity and the closest co-operation among socialist countries has become even greater. Today we require unity, co-operation 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 co-operation to achieve maximum effect in safeguarding and consolidating the peace that is so vital for all the peoples, to further the international detente, and to effectively repulse all aggressive sallies by the imperialists, all attempts to encroach on the interests of socialism.

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

Comrades, today one feels impelled to make special mention of our relations with that fraternal socialist state which has become for the whole world the symbol of heroic strug-

gle 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 wars in American history.

Now the world has witnessed new American imperialist crimes in Vietnam. Apart from the fact that by resorting to various unsavoury manoeuvres, the United States is artificially delaying the conclusion of an agreement on terminating the war, some days ago it resumed bombing cities and mining harbours in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Grave responsibility falls on the US Government for these barbaric acts and for the blood of the Vietnamese people that it continues to shed. 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 US military venture in Vietnam has failed. And no new outrages can break the will of the heroic people of Vietnam or shake their friends' determination to give them every possible support and aid in their just liberation struggle.

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

We could say a great deal about 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, do so much more convincingly.

One other point needs to be stressed. We have always regarded it as a cardinal objective of the Soviet Union's foreign policy to seek to eliminate the seat of war in In-

dochina. This is why we give our Vietnamese friends active assistance in their efforts for a just peace settlement.

In short, we are showing our internationalist solidarity with the people of Vietnam by specific action 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 took the line of opposing 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 is Peking's foreign policy today? It consists of absurd claims to Soviet territory and malicious slander of the Soviet social and political system, of our peaceable foreign policy. It consists of outright sabotage of the efforts to limit the arms race, of the efforts to bring about disarmament and a relaxation of international tension. It consists of constant attempts to split the socialist camp and the communist movement, to stir up discord among the fighters for national liberation, to range the developing countries against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Lastly, it consists of unprincipled alignments on anti-Soviet grounds with any, even the most reactionary forces—the most rabid haters of the Soviet Union from among the British Tories or the revenge-seeking elements in the FRG, the Portuguese colonialists or the racists of South Africa.

In substance, the purpose of doing the greatest possible harm 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 runs counter to the interests not only of the Soviet, but also of the Chinese people, it runs

counter to the interests of world socialism, of the liberation and anti-imperialist struggle, of peace and international security.

It is therefore understandable why we categorically reject this policy.

The Chinese leaders claim to be disturbed about some threat emanating from the Soviet Union. If these statements are not hypocritical, it is impossible to understand why China has not replied to our proposal, repeatedly made since 1969, to undertake 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 towards China is well known. It is clearly expressed in the decisions of the 24th Party Congress. We are pursuing this policy consistently, and shall continue to do so, 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 no means 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's defeat of 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 Friend-

ship, 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 defence potential, and training the nation's specialists.

Those were good times in Soviet-Chinese relations, relations that were natural for socialist states. And we trust that the objective interests of the peoples of our two countries and 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 and against imperialism. But when this will come about depends on China herself. Nothing, of course, will make us depart from our principled Marxist-Leninist line, from our firm defence 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 wish to stress that in present conditions, as we see it, a policy is progressive if it firmly repulses neocolonialism and promotes the sovereignty and independence of the young states, and their economic liberation from imperialism, and if it is for peace, for social progress and closer solidarity with the other progressive forces of our time, and particularly with the socialist countries.

The Soviet Union is promoting friendly ties and all-round co-operation with the countries that share this view.

Friendship between the Soviet Union and India, one of the biggest peace-loving countries on our planet, is exerting a strong, positive influence on the international situation as a whole. By now, the Soviet Union and India have had considerable experience in fruitful co-operation. Now that our relations are based on the Treaty of Peace, Friend-

ship and Co-operation 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 can say with satisfaction that we have good relations with many peace-loving countries in Asia and Africa, and, first and foremost, with our immediate neighbours—Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. We feel there are good prospects for the promotion of good relations with Bangladesh and Pakistan.

We have broad, many-sided relations with a number of Arab countries. The entire course of events has shown that friendship with the Soviet Union ensures the progressive Arab countries the necessary support and aid in their most difficult hour. This is well known in Egypt, Syria, 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 with Syria, Algeria and other Arab countries, too.

The present international situation is such that all who desire to consolidate world peace should multiply their efforts to extinguish the hotbed of war in the Middle East and overcome the consequences of the Israeli aggression against the Arab states. Many countries have come out in favour 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 recognise the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples. As for the Soviet Union, our readiness to contribute to this is well known.

Our co-operation with many Latin American countries has been making considerable headway of late. Beyond question, this is a result of the consolidation of their independence and of far-reaching anti-imperialist and democratic changes in those countries. 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. We regard the results of our talks with the head of that state, which has firmly taken the path of anti-imperialist policy and social progress, as a new important step in the development of our relations. We are in profound sympathy with the freedom struggle of the people of Chile, and with the struggle of the peoples of other Latin American countries. We are convinced that this struggle will be successful!

Comrades, it is common knowledge that in many developing countries an acute struggle is under way between the new, progressive forces and internal reaction, which is receiving outside imperialist support. And one of the issues in this struggle is the development of relations with world socialism. Both past experience and current developments show that socio-political conflict in such countries may have all kinds of twists and turns. We are well aware of this.

However, patriots in former colonies and semi-colonies have passed through a hard political school of national liberation revolutions. And one of the lessons they have learnt is that friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries helps to ensure the success of the struggle against imperialism and to consolidate the genuine independence of the liberated countries.

Comrades, the Peace Programme of the 24th CPSU Congress has proclaimed the Soviet Union's readiness to expand mutually beneficial co-operation in every sphere with countries also seeking such co-operation. As regards Europe, this point is stated even more explicitly: to bring about a radical turn towards detente and peace on that continent.

This completely accords with the common platform of the world communist movement. It is clearly stated in the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist

Parties that struggle for world peace is the main aspect of the joint action of Communists.

Only a little over eighteen months have passed since the 24th Congress. But we can confidently say that our Party and the Soviet state have gone a long way in implementing the most important propositions of the Peace Programme.

Together with our friends and allies we have made great efforts to settle problems inherited from the Second World War, and to create a healthier political climate in the world. Our relations with many bourgeois countries, including most countries of capitalist Europe have shifted towards detente and mutually beneficial co-operation.

Elements of realism in the policy of many capitalist countries are becoming ever more pronounced as the might and influence of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries increase, as our peaceable policy becomes more active, and as other important progressive processes successfully unfold in the modern world. First and foremost, this applies to France, whose leaders—General de Gaulle and later, President Pompidou—some years ago took a definite course of mutually advantageous co-operation 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 had a considerable influence on the situation in Europe. This also applies to the United States of America in so far as 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 making the capitalist world recognise the necessity of dealing with the socialist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

The treaties between the USSR and the FRG, and between Poland and the FRG, which formalised the inviolability of the existing European frontiers, the set of agreements on West Berlin, and the treaty on the principles governing relations between the GDR and the FRG, which

is being signed today in the GDR capital, the final breaking of the diplomatic blockade of the GDR—all these are important steps in Europe's progress towards peace and security. Nor are they the gain of any one country alone; they are a big victory for reason and realism in international relations.

To be sure, there remain international problems in Europe which still await a solution. Take problems like the invalidation of the Munich *diktat*, and the admission of the GDR and the FRG to the United Nations. The solution of these problems would help bring to a successful conclusion the process of freeing 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 the memory of the 20 million compatriots who laid down their lives in the Great Patriotic War. We remember all this well as we complete the historic work of guaranteeing the immutability of the postwar European settlement. And we may rightly say today that none of the results of the peoples' anti-fascist liberation struggle have been forfeited; the fruits of the great victory have been preserved and consolidated!

The Soviet Union will persevere in its policy of securing a durable peace in Europe, the policy which we have pursued 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 things that are becoming, or have already become, part of the practice of our relations with countries like Finland, our good neighbour, Italy, the Scandinavian nations and a number of other countries. We are also prepared to improve relations with those European countries with which relations are as yet unsmooth—pro-

vided, of course, they show in practice a willingness to do the same.

The all-European conference on security and co-operation, for which the socialist countries have worked for many years, should open a new chapter in European history. According to all indications the conference will begin not later than the middle of 1973.

The peoples attach great hopes to the holding of this 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 relations between the European countries and the non-European participants in the conference—the United States and Canada.

We shall strive to achieve imposing results at the conference, which would be 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 ensuring the security of the European nations. They are: inviolability of state frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, independence, equality, and renunciation of the threat or use of force.

The time has come, we believe, to include on the agenda the elaboration of a European programme of economic and cultural co-operation. This leads to the following question: is it possible to find a basis for some forms of businesslike relations between Europe's two inter-state trade and economic organisations—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Common Market? Such a basis could probably be found, if the Common Market countries refrain from all attempts at discrimination against the other side, and if they help to develop natural bilateral ties and all-European co-operation.

One often hears that the West attaches importance to co-operation in the cultural domain and, especially, to exchange of ideas, extension of information, and to contacts between nations. Permit us to declare here in all earnest:

we, too, are in favour of this if, of course, such co-operation 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 trust between them, and the ideas of peace and good-neighbourliness. We are for broader tourist exchanges. We are for broad public contacts, for meetings between young people, people of related professions, for travel on a collective or individual basis. In short, 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.

As is known, negotiations are also to be held on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe, and, first and foremost, in the area of Central Europe. The Soviet Union favours serious preparations for, and effective conduct of, these negotiations.

The consolidation of European peace is an issue of great importance for the future of all mankind. We are doing our utmost, with all energy and determination, to make it impossible for Europe, which has long been a dangerous volcano, to generate another war. We are well aware that reaction, militarism, revanchists of all shades, have not abandoned attempts to reverse the course of events in Europe. But their efforts will fail. The balance of forces on the continent is in favour of peace and peaceful co-operation. And we believe that wars can 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 al-

ways firmly oppose the aggressive actions of the United States and the policy of force.”¹

As you see, the objectives are quite clear. This is the class line of the socialist state’s policy of peace. The Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government follow this line consistently.

The negotiations we had 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 the two sides have jointly defined the principles that are to govern the relations between the USSR and the USA, and that they did so out of a conviction that no foundation other than peaceful coexistence is possible for the relations between the two countries in the nuclear age. This, then, is the principal meaning of the pertinent Soviet-American document signed last May.

The readiness expressed by the two sides to co-operate in different fields was accompanied by practical measures. Here I have in mind 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, for the first time in history putting a limit in physical terms on these modern and most powerful types of weapons. But we do not intend to stop there. The understanding reached in Moscow should be consolidated and developed. One of the aims of the continuing negotiations on this subject 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 go over 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 could create

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, pp. 217-18.

the basis for large-scale and long-term co-operation in this field. At the same time, this could promote a healthier 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 believe, it might be possible during further contacts to take new substantial steps in developing Soviet-American relations for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries and for universal peace. However—and this should be emphatically stressed—much will depend on the course of events in the immediate future, and, in particular, on what turn is taken in the question of ending the war in Vietnam.

Comrades, in conformance with the fundamental principles of our policy of peace, good-neighbourliness 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 see it, the People’s Republic of China would become an equal partner in such a system.

Important Soviet-Japanese negotiations are to take place next year. Their purpose is to settle matters pending since 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 all issues under discussion in their entirety. 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 favour of truly good-neighbourly 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 participation 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 merely 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 formalise 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 started, and which is a threat to peace, is still continuing. Naturally, we and our allies cannot but draw the necessary conclusions. However our peace-oriented foreign policy remains unchanged 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 detente and for consolidation of peace, persevering in its efforts to untie the knots of international tension, and working for stable good relations with countries with a differing social system. And if our policy evokes the appropriate response from them, then we shall say confidently that the detente will become stable, and peaceful co-existence, the 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 directed towards this goal.

The CPSU has always assumed, and still assumes, 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 to be expected since 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 an 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 co-operate in safeguarding peace with all governments willing to do so, the Soviet Union has been steadily expanding co-operation with the peace-loving public, with the peoples of all countries. Ever new opportunities of promoting peace arise for public organisations 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, on this glorious jubilee of our state it is with a feeling of great pride for the Soviet people, for our Leninist Party, that we read the following evaluation of the country's foreign policy, which was formulated in the early period of the existence of the USSR: "The federal state thus created on the basis of the fraternal co-operation of the peoples of the Soviet Republics sets itself the aim of preserving peace with all nations." This was stated in the Address of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR entitled "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 co-operation 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 labour, striving at the same time to facilitate friendly co-operation among the peoples of the whole world."

Half a century has passed. The whole world has seen that they were not simply high-sounding words. The Soviet Union is faithful to the cause 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 and securely the banner of its Leninist foreign policy, a policy of peace and friendship among the peoples!

IV. THE SOVIET UNION FOLLOWS THE PATH CHARTED BY THE TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

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 programme for our country's economic and social progress. The tasks that were set by the Congress are immense in scale and extremely complex. We Communists are not ones to sit quietly. 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 clearly one of our Party's distinguishing characteristics.

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

During these pre-anniversary months there have been innumerable and diverse examples of socio-political and labour initiatives. These wonderful initiatives have come to the fore in various spheres of industry, construction, transport and agriculture in all parts of the country during the competition 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 raising labour productivity, to bring

enterprises and plant units up to their rated capacities ahead of schedule and to step up output without increasing the number of workers. Agricultural workers have undertaken to exceed the planned deliveries of grain and cotton to the state. Among the forms of labour emulation that have emerged are the "contract of thousands" movement in light industry, the movement which has as its motto "15 Republics—15 Shock Work-Shifts", and many, many others. All this, comrades, is the true source of popular initiative, the inexhaustible spring of our society's vitality.

Communist construction produces real heroes of labour, who personify our Soviet way of life. They set magnificent examples of remarkable conscientiousness, of a communist attitude to work. 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 into 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 organisations have done much to popularise on a nationwide scale the fine initiatives displayed by the working people. For 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 great battle. Various contingents of working people from all parts of the country have reported on the fulfilment of their commitments and on their achievements in labour emulation.

The results of the nationwide emulation movement in honour of the 50th anniversary of the USSR show that the working people of the Soviet Union have fulfilled their

pledges, that they have come to the glorious jubilee with fine labour achievements. The successes of the winners in the movement have been acclaimed 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 in the work for the well-being 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 Hydroelectric Power Station on the Yenisei, the largest in the world, is already operating at full capacity with a high degree of efficiency. This station's capacity is three times that of the largest hydroelectric power station abroad. Meanwhile, near Moscow, on the ancient soil of Tver, the Konakovo State District Power Plant has been brought to its full capacity. This 2,400,000-kw station and the over 4,000,000 kw combined capacity of the Ladyzhinka State District Power Plant, the Saratov Hydropower Station and the Estonian State District Power Plant, which came into operation in recent years, represent a considerable contribution to the power economy of the European part of the Soviet Union.

In the town of Togliatti the second section of the Volzhsky Motor Works, named in honour of the 50th Anniversary of the USSR, was put into operation in January 1972. The third section has just been completed, on the eve of the anniversary. Today this modern enterprise, which employs tens of thousands of skilled workers, technicians and en-

gineers, has a production capacity of 660,000 cars annually. This is a major achievement of our automobile industry.

The building of another giant—the heavy-duty lorry 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 more and more confidently opening up the underground treasure stores of Western Siberia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and drawing ever greater wealth from them. The increment alone in the oil output during the past two years has 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 making every effort to ensure a steady growth of agricultural output. Much was achieved in the eighth five-year plan period 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. Collective and state farms now have greater material and technical resources and a stronger economy, and a noteworthy growth in crop yields and in the productivity of livestock farming 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 standard of living of the rural population, who make up a considerable proportion of the Soviet people.

The three main components of the Party's present policy in agriculture are: comprehensive mechanisation, chemisation and large-scale land improvement. For these purposes we have allocated more funds than ever before for agriculture. The targets are being successfully realised all along the line. Almost all the tractor and other farm machine factories are now being reconstructed and new,

more powerful and more efficient farm machinery is being manufactured. Under the present five-year plan the country's output of mineral fertilisers is to be increased by 60 per cent. Irrigation and drainage schemes have been launched in many parts of the Soviet Union and this work is proceeding on an ever-growing scale.

As you are all aware, the weather this year 1972 was exceptionally unfavourable. The cold and snowless winter was followed by an unprecedented drought over a considerable area of the country. In the European part of the USSR there were large areas where the grain and other crops were destroyed.

In this difficult situation the Party took all the necessary steps. To the havoc wrought by the elements was opposed the conscious will of millions of Soviet people, who, organised by the Party, gave battle to nature with powerful modern machines. All forces were mobilised in order to bring in the grain harvest quickly, to avoid losses, and to ensure feed for the livestock.

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 or snowfall would have threatened loss of the harvest. A movement under the stirring slogan "Not an hour lost, not a gramme wasted" was launched by the agricultural workers in the eastern regions. A real battle was begun to bring in the grain.

The working people of Siberia, the Urals and Kazakhstan did not let the country down. They fully 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 good organisation 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 Centre 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 total grain harvest came to 168 million tons—over 10,300 million poods. This is somewhat above the annual average grain crop achieved in the eighth five-year plan period. State purchases amounted to 60 million tons—the volume fixed in the plan, but this figure, of course, is less than what we expected to obtain under more or less normal conditions.

We must make special mention, too, of our fine cotton-growers. Their work this year was not at all easy. The weather was unfavourable for cotton as well. But this did not intimidate the producers of this "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 demanding commitments. They pledged to give the people 7,135,000 tons of cotton, that is, more cotton than last year, when there was 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 our 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 practical action and feats of labour. These feats are highly appreciated by the Party and the Soviet people. It is very satisfying to note that a large number of foremost agricultural workers have recently been decorated with orders and medals, and that many of them have been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. Honour and glory to these outstanding workers!

Comrades, the experience of this year, which was extremely unfavourable for 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 in the early years of Soviet power such a severe winter and such a long drought would inevitably have had the most grievous consequences, bringing disaster 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 the technology of our agriculture 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 obtained 168 million tons is a considerable achievement in itself. It is an indication of the increased efficiency of our crop farming and of better organisation of the work of collective farmers, state-farm workers and agronomists, and is 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 certain 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 the material and technical base of agriculture. Moreover, it has convincingly shown that the measures planned must be more rapidly implemented, and that the efforts in this direction must be multiplied.

This year's experience has shown that the smallest losses from the vagaries of the weather were suffered by farms that observe all the rules of good agricultural practice, have an efficient seed-growing department, correctly apply fer-

tilisers and use irrigation facilities. In short, where the work was well organised, the consequences of the drought were not so severe. Therefore, comrades, nature is nature, but work is work, and the best weapon against the vicissitudes of the weather is efficient management and active, selfless labour.

The aim set by the Party is to raise our agriculture to a level where it will fully correspond to the potentialities of modern machinery and the requirements of communist construction. We will achieve this goal by the concerted labour 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 labour of Soviet people in industry and agriculture and their labour achievements that make it possible to consistently carry out the programme approved by the Party Congress for raising the people's standard of living. You are well aware, comrades, of the many measures that have been taken in this direction. Let me quote only two examples: in 1971 and 1972 nearly 34 million people received increases in wages, pensions and scholarship grants. In the same two years some 23 million people received new flats.

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 give full voice to our achievements. But on great holidays and on routine work days we see not only our achievements but also our weak points and shortcomings, and we call these to the people's attention and direct their efforts towards removing 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 seriously and specifically of these shortcomings. The main shortcoming is that to this day our vast internal reserves and intensive and qualitative factors are being inadequately and to some extent inefficiently utilised in the country's economic development. Labour outlays and

also outlays of raw and other materials are being reduced only slowly in some industries, at many factories, building projects, and collective and state farms.

The central task today is to effect a radical change in orientation, to switch the accent to intensive methods of economic management and thereby substantially raise economic efficiency. The point there is that economic growth should be achieved increasingly by raising labour productivity and accelerating scientific and technological progress, by fuller utilisation of operating production capacities, by increasing the return on every ruble invested in the economy, and by more rational use of every ton of metal, fuel, cement or fertiliser.

This is the substance of the switch in economic policy required by the 24th Congress of the Party. It is only on this foundation that the huge tasks set for the country's economic development 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 a considerable rise in living standards and at the same time, rapid economic advance in the future and maintenance of the country's defence 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, a high level of organisation, a creative approach and daring in the solution of any problems that might 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 greater economic efficiency it would be difficult to carry out the tasks set. Further, everybody knows the main directions in which we must move. These are to improve planning and the entire system of management, and to create economic conditions that will compel ministries and enterprises to adopt the maximum plan, mobilise reserves and work more efficiently. There is a wide field here to engage for our State Planning Committee, ministries and other state organisations.

The people to whom the Party has entrusted the leadership of the various sectors of our economic activity are called upon to steadily improve the methods and style of this leadership. They must, in the full sense of the word, acquire a feeling for what is new, display initiative and make prompt use of all the possibilities revealed by scientific and technological progress. The implacable Bolshevik attitude to shortcomings and to indifference in work, and a deep sense of Party responsibility for obtaining the highest economic return with the least outlay of resources must become essential qualities 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 create the necessary reserves 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 done by observing strict economy, by concentrating our efforts and material resources on projects nearing completion and by strengthening labour discipline and improving the organisation of work.

But this is still not all. The best plans will not be fulfilled if those who work with machine-tools or in the fields, on livestock farms, in research institutes or the service industries do not throw themselves into their work. The energy of highly organised labour, multiplied by love of one's country, of the socialist Motherland, can work wonders. This is how it was in our country during the first five-year plans, the Great Patriotic War and in the years of postwar rehabilitation and peaceful construction, years marked by the mass heroism and labour enthusiasm of the people.

Today, too, a powerful tide of socialist emulation is sweeping the country. The workers of foremost collectives, livestock farms, teams and collective and state farms have

undertaken to increase the output and sale to the state 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 to achieve high indices 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 active creative initiative of the people, socialist emulation requires not only that foremost workers be given every support and encouragement but also that the identity of those who lag behind or work less than conscientiously be made known. This must be done publicly so that people will 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 actual labour competition, of actual labour rivalry, in other words, the factors to which Lenin attached special significance.

Matters must be organised in such a way as to make the drive for a high level of labour productivity, for the best indices in production and for high quality, a nationwide 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, farmers and intellectuals will respond to the Party's call with further labour achievements and that they will spare no effort to secure the successful fulfilment of the assignments for the third, decisive year of the five-year plan.

Dear comrades, while concentrating attention on our immediate, current tasks, we do not lose sight of the pros-

pects of our future progress. This the Bolsheviks have never lost sight of. In April 1918, when Soviet power had only just been established, when the fires of the Civil War were raging and everywhere there was devastation, Lenin appealed "for the speediest possible compilation of a plan for the reorganisation of industry and the economic progress of Russia".¹ This was both natural and essential, for the October Revolution had been accomplished in order to build socialism, and socialism is inseparable from scientific economic planning.

All the more essential, then, 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 planning is a matter of vital 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 CPSU Central Committee 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 continue 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 programme. It seems to me that this is how we must approach the issue also in this case.

Today it is difficult, of course, to be specific about the details of a long-term plan, to give precise figures. That is for the thorough scientific elaboration of the plan to achieve. Our planning bodies 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 approximations are not only useless but even dangerous. However, the main directions, the historical contours of a long-term plan are clear. They are determined by the socio-political and economic tasks laid down in the Party

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 320.

Programme and in the decisions of the latest Party Congress, by the task of creating the material and technical basis of communism and substantially raising the standard of living of the Soviet people.

It is obvious that our long-term plan will, furthermore, provide for the widest utilisation of the latest achievements of science and technology in all spheres of the national economy for the benefit of the whole people and for a further very considerable rise in labour productivity, because this, as Lenin emphasised, "in the last analysis ... is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system."¹

It is also obvious that thorough consideration 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 efficiency of the entire national economy of the USSR, with due consideration, naturally, for the specific interests of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

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

These are some of the considerations involved in compiling the plan for the USSR's economic development up to the year 1990. In carrying out this plan we must raise the standard of living of the Soviet people to a level that will vividly demonstrate to all, even the most diehard sceptics, the possibilities and advantages of our system in all spheres of social life. In this period the Soviet Union will without doubt make further substantial advances in science and in the field of culture, in the all-round devel-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 427.

opment of the individual and in the protection of the people's health. This cannot be otherwise, for in the compilation of all our plans the guiding principle of the Party and the Soviet Government has been and continues to be: Everything in the name of man, everything 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 forward march of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose 50th anniversary we are celebrating today.

Comrades, as progress is made in building the material and technical basis of communism and raising the people's standard of living, increasing importance attaches to the task of shaping men's consciousness, of fostering in every Soviet citizen the qualities needed in the builders of communism.

During the years of Soviet power the lives of the people have been immeasurably enriched and there has been an equally great rise in the cultural level and in the level of their political consciousness. The entire course of our history since the October Revolution has demonstrated the high moral and political qualities that have been developed in Soviet people, and the great deeds which the Soviet citizen, the free, conscientious worker, patriot and internationalist is capable of accomplishing. This is one of the most valuable achievements of socialism.

However, all this does not mean that all the political, educational and ideological tasks facing our socialist society have been carried out. It is no secret that to this day social ulcers, inherited from the past and essentially alien to socialism, such as an unconscientious attitude to work, slackness, indiscipline, greed and various violations of the standards 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 things, to mobilise the people for a determined struggle against them, and to eradicate them, for unless we do this we shall not be able to build communism.

The very essence of communism lies in the high degree of political consciousness, the sense of responsibility to society and other high moral qualities possessed by citizens. That is why the education of all citizens in a spirit of social awareness is one of the fundamental components of the building of communism.

Today this kind of education is also imperatively demanded by economic factors. The present level of our socialist economic development and the level achieved by scientific and technological progress demand not only a high level of purely professional skill but also labour discipline, precision and organisation. Without these things we simply will not be able to cope with the extremely complex tasks posed by modern life.

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

The Party is conducting this work on an increasingly broad front and will continue to do so. In this sphere practically everything is important—the right atmosphere in family life, competent organisation of the educational process, a healthy atmosphere at the place of work, efficient everyday services, and much else. An important part is played, of course, by people working in the field of culture, in art and in the mass information media. The trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass public organisations 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 possessed by Communists and generally by 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 honour for these advanced members of our society to share with every Soviet citizen this understanding, their ideological conviction and their fervour.

Success in the building of communism depends in many ways on the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is our unerring scientific compass. The decisions of the congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee of our Party and major Party documents are an example 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 aspects of life. These words of 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."¹

As in industry and agriculture not a single advance can now be made without the aid of the latest achievements of science, so, in the life of our society the development of science is the indispensable basis for the adoption of decisions and 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 develop social theory and creatively analyse reality.

We are confronted with extensive work, comrades, in our 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 means that there must be a still more active, mass participation of the people in management, fuller implementation by the Soviets of their diverse functions in the administration of social life; a more consistent application of the principle of the accountability of executive bodies to representative bodies; further strength-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 298.

ening of socialist legality; an improvement in the work of the bodies of people's control.

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 a further step forward in the development of the socialist Soviet state, a new phase in the development 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 formalised 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 the class forces on the international scene. What is the main substance of these changes? Briefly speaking it consists in the following.

Instead of only the foundations of a socialist economy we now have a mature and technically well-equipped economic system in both town and countryside. This system has been developed 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 is constantly gaining ground. The considerable distinctions between manual and non-manual work and between working and living conditions in town and countryside are being rapidly erased.

Since the war, our society has made tremendous progress in its cultural development. Today there is total literacy in the Soviet Union and two-thirds of the working population have 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 dedicated labour of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Leninist Party. Having completed its great historical 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. There have also been far-reaching changes 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 should be reflected in the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We have spoken of this before, and the appropriate preparatory work is now being done. 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 certainly be a great, historical event in the life of the Soviet Union. It will not only help Soviet people and the world to get a better understanding of what we have achieved and sum up the results of what we have accomplished, but will 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 250 million free and equal people belonging to over 100 nationalities. Soviet people have every reason to love their great Motherland and to be proud of her. This noble 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 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 countered the unbridled chauvinism fanned by the exploiting ruling classes with a proletarian, communist understanding of national pride. He wrote about the national pride of the Great Russians, i.e., of the Russians, who could 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".¹

Today, half a century after the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we can justifiably speak of a broader concept, of the great sense of patriotism of all our people, *of the national pride of the Soviet man.*

The arrogant idea of one nation being superior to another, let alone the madness of the notion 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, which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. They are proud of the inspired labour of millions, who, under the leadership of the Communists,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 106.

have built a new, truly just and free society and created a fraternal, unbreakable union of many peoples. They are proud of the feat of arms of the millions of heroes—sons and daughters of these peoples—who laid down their lives in the common struggle for these gains. They are proud of the great achievements of emancipated labour, 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 sentiment that is great, all-embracing and immensely rich in content. It is more far-reaching and profound than the natural national feelings of each of the peoples making up our country. It has absorbed all the finest accomplishments of the labour, courage and creative genius of millions of Soviet people.

The whole country takes pride in the labour 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 since been our common property, comrades. All this and so much more 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 and the more diverse and stronger the economic, cultural and other ties linking all the peoples of the USSR become, the stronger and deeper will be this noble sentiment of a great community—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 to the history of mankind in the course of half a century 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 demonstrate in practice the real meaning of equal fraternal relations between peoples, will undoubtedly be remembered and valued by all peoples for all time to come.

Today the Soviet Union is forging further ahead.

The Soviet Union is moving towards communism.

We know that the road there will not be easy. Utmost exertion on the part of each of the peoples of our country and all of them together will be needed. We know that great and inspired labour, organisation 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 goals that have been set. The guarantee of this is the firm determination we all share to complete the work started under Lenin's leadership in the legendary days of the October Revolution. The guarantee 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 continue to 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!

**SPEECH AT A DINNER
IN THE GRAND PALACE OF THE KREMLIN
GIVEN IN HONOUR OF LE DUC THO,
MEMBER OF THE POLITBUREAU
AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY,
AND NGUYEN DUY TRINH,
MEMBER OF THE POLITBUREAU
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY,
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN
MINISTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIETNAM**

January 30, 1973

Dear Comrade Le Duc Tho,
Dear Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh,
Esteemed comrades and friends,

It is with profound satisfaction that our Party, the Soviet people, all our country have hailed the signing of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. This is a great victory for the Vietnamese people rallied around the Vietnam Workers' Party, a great victory for the forces of peace, a victory of realism and common sense in international affairs.

During these days the Soviet people's thoughts and feelings are very much with the heroic Vietnamese people. We think of the Vietnamese—the men and women, the old and the young, we think of the living and the dead, of all those who upheld the righteous cause of the freedom and independence of their country through the long dedicated struggle against barbarous aggression.

During these days our thoughts and feelings are turned to the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist and

Workers' parties, to the international working class, the national liberation movement, to all progressive people of the world. Their vigorous actions against the American aggression and effective support for the Vietnamese people hastened the hour of victory.

We Soviet people, who went through the grim trials of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), fully appreciate and hold dear the feelings of the Vietnamese. Together with you, dear friends, we rejoice that bombs are no longer being dropped on your towns and villages, that for the first time in many years the sky is clear over Vietnam!

The victory of Vietnam shows that it is impossible to conquer a people who fight for their freedom and independence with the powerful support of their class brothers, of all revolutionary and progressive forces of the planet. Such a people is invincible.

The victory of Vietnam is indicative of the tremendous vital force of socialism. Protecting their socialist gains and upholding the right to run their own affairs, our Vietnamese brothers displayed great dedication, staunchness and courage.

The victory of Vietnam is graphic proof of the effectiveness of the internationalist policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We have rendered our Vietnamese friends active assistance in their struggle on all fronts—military, political and diplomatic.

Another important conclusion: the victory of Vietnam shows how the possibilities of imperialism have shrunk in our time. Today there are no means by which it could reverse the course of history.

A decisive step has been made towards the complete restoration of peace on Vietnamese soil. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is returning to creative work. It is now able to focus all its efforts on building socialism, and there are new prospects for the carrying out of President Ho Chi Minh's behest—to build a peaceful, reunited democratic Vietnam.

The way to peaceful democratic development, establishment of genuine independence and pursuit of a policy of

national concord and unity is now opening up for South Vietnam.

More favourable conditions are appearing for stopping the bloodshed in Laos and Cambodia.

The struggle for ending the war in Vietnam has been one of the most important points in our foreign policy, in the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress. An end has now been put to the war. A very dangerous or, to be precise, the most dangerous, hotbed of war on our planet is being eliminated.

For many years the forces of aggression and reaction have been using this war to aggravate international tension and step up the arms drive. This war greatly impeded the establishment of broad international co-operation.

New possibilities are now being opened up for promoting detente and strengthening security and world peace. It is to be expected that the political settlement in Vietnam will exert a positive effect on relations between the states which, in one way or another, were drawn into the events in Indochina. Moreover, this example shows that a peaceful and just solution may be found to other conflict situations, and that the remaining hotbeds of war may be done away with, particularly in the Middle East where the situation is fraught with great danger to peace.

Everybody is aware of the significant improvement that has come about of late in the political climate in Europe. The beginning has been made to the changeover from tension and confrontation to businesslike co-operation between states with differing social systems. The policy of our country, the common policy of the fraternal socialist countries did much to make this possible.

Detente in Europe will no doubt be followed by a relaxation of tension in another vast area of the world, Asia, where the fires of war have not ceased for several decades.

Working for a lasting peace, we attach decisive significance to the further strengthening of the unity, solidarity and co-ordination of the actions of socialist countries. It was important yesterday, in the conditions of war in Vietnam, and it is no less important today when peace has to

be stabilised and further progress made in realising the peoples' hopes.

Our principled line is to strengthen the unity and solidarity of socialist countries. This line has nothing in common with the policy of blocs, with building up restricted military groupings directed against the interests of other states. Our unity, as before, is wholly dedicated to co-operation among all nations, to peace and progress for mankind.

Comrades, the Paris Agreement has come into force. The Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the DRV Government, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam have solemnly declared that they will strictly abide by all its clauses. The peoples expect that the other participants in the agreement will respect and fully carry out their commitments. The forthcoming international conference, in which the Soviet Union will actively participate, will play an important role in this regard.

We know that Vietnamese workers, farmers and intellectuals will have to do a great deal to raise their cities and villages from the ruins, to rehabilitate industry and to score new successes in building socialism. Soviet people fully support the resolve expressed in the Address of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the DRV to turn the Democratic Republic of Vietnam into a mighty and prosperous socialist country and still further enhance its international role.

Dear Vietnamese comrades, in peace-time, just as in war-time, we shall be at your side. Support for Vietnam is our internationalist duty. It is the common cause of all socialist countries.

Trials which no other nation has experienced since World War II fell to the lot of Vietnam. Assistance to Vietnam can and must become an act of solidarity by peoples and states regardless of their social system.

Comrades, allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government and on behalf of all the

Soviet people to congratulate once again our comrades-in-arms—the Vietnamese Communists, the working people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, all the progressive and democratic forces of Vietnam—on their victory.

We wish our Vietnamese brothers great successes and happiness.

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!

Long live the glorious Vietnam Workers' Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Le Duan!

Let peace, freedom and socialism triumph!

**SPEECH IN PRAGUE
ON BEING PRESENTED WITH THE ORDER
OF THE WHITE LION**

February 23, 1973

Dear Comrade Husak,
Dear Comrade Svoboda,
Dear Comrade Strougal,

Please accept my sincere thanks for the high award conferred upon me by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

I relate this award to the whole of our Leninist Communist Party, to the whole Soviet people, who are linked with the Communists and the whole people of Czechoslovakia by a strong and long-standing friendship. This friendship has roots that go back for many centuries. It was tempered in the fires of the common struggle against fascism; it acquired new and deeper meaning when the people of Czechoslovakia chose for themselves the path of socialism, when common ideals, comradely mutual assistance and mutual support in the great work of building the new society united both our countries with the new indissoluble ties of socialist internationalism.

Today the relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the Communists of the USSR and Czechoslovakia are so deep and varied, so natural, one might say, for our whole way of life that in many respects we are moved by the same thoughts, the same joys, the same anxieties.

That is why I am very deeply moved by the honour conferred on me by our Czechoslovak friends. I must say that I also feel a close personal association with Czechoslovakia

in many respects. Many pages of my life are bound up with your wonderful country. My acquaintance with Czechoslovakia began in the difficult war years, when Soviet people side by side with the Czech and Slovak patriots were fighting fiercely to defeat the fascist enslavers, for the honour, freedom and independence of our countries. At that time our comrades-in-arms were the fighting men of the Czechoslovak Corps under the command of Ludvik Svoboda. The glorious deeds of those heroic years will never be erased from my memory.

In the post-war years, too, my contacts with Czechoslovakia have continued practically without a break. I well remember, for example, how, as Secretary of the Dniepropetrovsk Party Regional Committee in the Ukraine, I had the opportunity of meeting that outstanding leader of the Czechoslovak Communists Comrade Klement Gottwald and spending several hours with him in a comradely atmosphere. This was soon after the historic February victory of 1948. Comrade Gottwald was full of ideas and plans for the country's socialist development and the further deepening of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship.

The new stages in our co-operation took place before our eyes. New problems had to be dealt with jointly with the Czechoslovak comrades in subsequent years, during which I had occasion to visit Czechoslovakia fairly often to attend congresses of your Party and for other reasons, and also to chat with Czechoslovak friends in the Soviet Union.

And, of course, I shall not be giving away any great secret when I say that at the present time, too, in my capacity as Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, I and my comrades in the Politbureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee quite often have to consider questions connected with Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, the further deepening of our friendship and co-operation, and our joint struggle in the international sphere for the cause of peace and socialism.

We conduct all our joint affairs in the most cordial and friendly contact with comrades Husak, Svoboda, Štrougal

and other leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak state.

An now, in accepting from the hands of close friends the Order of the White Lion, first class, as a symbol of our friendship and co-operation, I naturally feel deeply moved. I promise you, comrades, always to be worthy of this honourable award conferred on me by fraternal Czechoslovakia. Once again heartfelt thanks, dear friends.

Long live the great brotherhood of the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, the militant solidarity of the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communists!

**SPEECH AT THE MEETING IN
STARÉ MĚSTO SQUARE, PRAGUE,
TO COMMEMORATE THE TWENTY-FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE FEBRUARY VICTORY**

February 23, 1973

Esteemed citizens of Prague,
Dear comrades and friends,

On the occasion of this great national holiday—the 25th anniversary of the historic February victory—the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government cordially congratulate all Communists and working people of socialist Czechoslovakia on the glorious jubilee. Ardent greetings to you, Czechoslovak brothers, from the entire Soviet people!

I fully share the thoughts and feelings expressed by Comrade Gustav Husak in connection with this anniversary. Now, a quarter of a century since those days, it has become especially clear that February 1948 was one of the turning points in postwar history. It was a great class battle fought in the world arena—a battle won by socialism. It was a radical turning point in the destinies of the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

The Communist Party's impassioned appeal, which Klement Gottwald delivered from here, from Staré Město Square, evoked a ready response from the working class, the peasants, from all the working people of the country. He firmly and unambiguously declared that Czechoslovakia

would no longer be a pawn in imperialism's game. The people decided in favour of socialism, in favour of real independence, democracy and progress.

Czechoslovakia has long been famed for her skilled workers, her talented engineers and scientists, her creative writers, composers and artists. With this fine foundation, the Czechoslovak people have increased the country's economic and cultural potential many times over under the new social conditions. The successes achieved in the construction of socialism are all the more impressive in that they have been achieved in trying conditions, in face of resistance from those hostile class forces inside the country and abroad which have not abandoned the hope of carrying out an "anti-February".

Czechoslovakia today is one of the advanced and economically developed countries of the world, whose role and influence in international affairs continue to grow. This is a logical result of the 25-year struggle and efforts of the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia under the leadership of the Communist Party; it is the natural outcome of the policy based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Dear friends, each time I visit you, I recall the victorious spring of 1945 when, in the streets of Prague and other cities, we Soviet soldiers embraced Czechs and Slovaks as brothers and together celebrated the victory over the nazis. Like all Soviet soldiers who fought for the liberation of Czechoslovakia at that time I, too, will always remember this manifestation of gratitude and love for the Soviet people, the recognition of their great sacrifices and efforts in our common struggle.

Today the jubilee is doubly significant for us all. The celebration of the February victory coincides with the 55th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Army. One cannot but recall that fighting shoulder to shoulder with Soviet soldiers in the fierce battles against nazism were Czechs and Slovaks of the famed corps commanded by General Ludvik Svoboda, now the esteemed President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. That was a real brotherhood-in-arms.

Our friendship has strengthened and matured over the past years. All the basic things that form the very essence of the life and work of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia bring us closer together and unite us. We are working together to make the ideals of the working class a reality. We are bound together by a common striving for peace, a determination to exert efforts to safeguard the security of the socialist countries and guard mankind against the threat of war. This determination forms the basis of the Warsaw Treaty and the bilateral agreements that have been concluded by fraternal countries. Together, we are building and strengthening our great common asset—the socialist community.

A close and voluntary union of sovereign, independent states in the name of socialism and communism, profound mutual respect, full equality and fraternal mutual assistance—such is our community!

The broadest co-operation in all spheres of politics, economics and culture in the interests of each fraternal country and of the cause of socialism as a whole—such is our community!

Unity in the struggle against imperialism, a firm rebuff to the policy of aggression, solidarity with all those upholding the cause of freedom, independence and social progress—such is our community!

Today the whole world recognises that much, indeed most of the credit for the favourable development of international relations in the people's interest is due to the fraternal socialist countries, to our common energetic policy.

Of course, much has still to be done to consolidate the trend for peace, security and co-operation. In Europe we still have to solve a number of complex problems to drive out the very spirit of the cold war from the continent. Relationships between European states should not be marred by hangovers from the fascist policy of *diktat* and violence. It is from this standpoint that we consider the just demand of the Czechoslovak people that the so-called Munich agreement be proclaimed null and void. A constructive solution can and must be found to this problem.

Our joint policy, founded on the principles of socialist internationalism, has been tested not only in Europe. It has also played an important role in the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people. We firmly believe that the joint efforts of the socialist countries and progressive peace-loving forces the world over will also help other peoples in their struggle against aggression, for their freedom and independence.

Dear comrades, in February 1948, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia led the working people in the struggle against reaction under the slogan: "Forward, not a step back! Forward to socialism!" This militant call still lives on. It lives in the minds and deeds of the working class, working peasantry and people's intelligentsia. It lives in all your efforts to implement the decisions of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

We wish you every success in your struggle for the growing prosperity of socialist Czechoslovakia!

Long live the eternal friendship and fraternal alliance between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples!

May the great community of socialist countries strengthen and develop!

Long live world peace!

**SPEECH IN RED SQUARE AT A MEETING
TO CELEBRATE THE DAY OF THE WORKING
PEOPLE'S INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY**

May 1, 1973

Dear comrades,

Dear Muscovites and guests of Moscow,

Dear friends,

We have again gathered here beneath the red stars of the Kremlin to celebrate May Day, the day of brotherhood and militant unity of the working people of all countries, the festival of spring, the festival of labour and peace.

From time immemorial the emancipation of labour and lasting peace have been the ideal of all peoples. We Soviet people are legitimately proud that the emancipation of labour was started on our soil in the days of the Great October Revolution, and that our country has firmly upheld the cause of lasting peace and friendship among all the peoples of the earth for 55 years.

Comrades, two years have passed since the 24th Congress of our Party. These have been years of work by the Party and the entire Soviet people to implement the historic decisions of the Congress both in domestic life and in international affairs.

We have entered the third, decisive year of the five-year plan. The year has begun as a year of dedicated work. Workers and peasants, scientists and people working in the sphere of culture, all the working people of our country,

are making every effort to fulfil and overfulfil the annual plans and thereby lay a firm foundation for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the five-year plan as a whole.

The Leninist communist Subbotnik, held on April 21, was a striking expression of nationwide labour enthusiasm. A hundred and thirty-two million people, virtually the entire able-bodied population, reported for work that day. They worked with enthusiasm, in a genuinely communist spirit. If the remaining months see a similar level of activity, there is no doubt at all that the targets for our country's development which have been set for this year will be reached.

Dedicated communist work is the surest way of strengthening our country and of improving the life of our people. At the same time it is also a great contribution to the cause of lasting peace.

Substantial results have been achieved since the Party Congress in strengthening the position of socialism and consolidating peace, tasks which were given priority by our Party. The Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee, held a few days ago, summed up the results of our work in this field. Those participating noted with profound satisfaction that we have gone a long way along the road of putting the Peace Programme adopted by the Congress into effect.

The voice of Lenin's land, the voice of the entire socialist community, a voice calling for lasting peace and friendship among the peoples, rings out ever more powerfully and authoritatively across the world. With every year and with every month that passes, even with every day, the active peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism gives the peoples of the earth ever new convincing proof that the concepts of socialism and peace are indivisible.

The war in Vietnam, for the ending of which the Soviet Union worked firmly and consistently, has ended. Relying on the powerful moral and material support of the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism and on the solidarity of all the progressive forces of the world, the patriots of

Vietnam have successfully upheld the just cause of freedom and independence.

Important positive changes have been achieved in Europe thanks to the persistent and constructive policy of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies, and with the support of all peaceful and realistically-minded forces. A turn from the cold war and dangerous tension towards rational joint efforts to strengthen peace and develop mutually advantageous co-operation is taking place.

We say that Europe's bloody past must be overcome, not so that it may be forgotten, but so that it may never be repeated. This has become a perfectly realistic task now when socialism has become a mighty, irresistible force in the life of Europe. Our aims are clear, constructive and noble. They are worthy of the Leninist Party, they are worthy of the world's first country of victorious socialism.

Lenin's idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is scoring ever new victories in people's minds and in the practice of international relations.

The policy of the Soviet Union in Europe, as in other parts of the world, is first of all a policy of peace. This determines both the development of our relations with France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other European states and our vigorous activities to prepare an all-European conference.

We also approach relations with countries like the United States of America from the same position. We shall continue to work for the favourable development of Soviet-American relations on the principles of mutual respect and mutual advantage. Our country's approach to relations with Japan is similar.

Our sincere friendship and fruitful co-operation with India, the Arab states and with all the independent freedom-loving countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America are growing stronger and deeper. The CPSU and the Soviet state are always true to this friendship; we see it as a mighty source of strength for the forces of peace and progress.

Comrades, the Soviet Union's international position has never been stronger. The Soviet people's security is more

reliably ensured than ever before. Our people are working in the name of peace and fighting for peace in the name of the emancipation of labour. Under the red banner of peace and labour we have scored outstanding successes which are admired by all honest people throughout the world. Under this banner we shall score great new victories.

On the occasion of May Day, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, I warmly greet you all, dear comrades, on this holiday.

Representatives of Moscow's working people have gathered here, in the country's principal square, a place which has become a symbol of the motherland for all Soviet people. Muscovites have launched many bold initiatives in socialist competition. May Moscow continue to be a striking example of heroic labour and of the struggle for communism!

Together with us on this May Day, millions of Soviet people have come out into the squares and streets of their towns and settlements, communities and villages. Permit me from the bottom of my heart to wish all citizens of our great country, all builders of communism, every Soviet family, every Soviet person, the greatest success in their noble work and the greatest happiness.

While struggling for lasting peace, we do not forget that forces hostile to peace have not laid down their arms. We remember the machinations of aggressive circles and are maintaining a high level of vigilance. On this May Day holiday we send warm greetings to the glorious men of our armed forces who firmly stand guard over peace.

We address words of friendly greetings today to the foreign guests of the capital. Your presence here, dear comrades, is evidence of the bonds of friendship linking the Soviet Union with the champions of freedom and security throughout the world. In the May Day demonstrations we see a living link between the generations of the international working class and its loyalty to its internationalist traditions.

On this day we send our greetings and fraternal congra-

tulations to all friends and comrades abroad. We send our greetings to the working people of the socialist countries and to the working class and Communist and Workers' parties in the capitalist countries and to all fighters for national and social liberation. As genuine internationalists, the Soviet people are wholeheartedly with them in their struggle for the emancipation of labour and for lasting peace.

Long live the First of May, the holiday of proletarian internationalism, the day of the militant solidarity of the working people of the world!

Glory to our great Leninist Party!

Glory to the Soviet people who are building communism!

**SPEECH IN WARSAW
ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION
OF THE ORDER OF LENIN TO COMRADE
EDWARD GIEREK, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY**

May 11, 1973

Dear Comrade Gierek,
Dear comrades,

We are meeting here today on a pleasant, festive occasion. As you know, in recognition of his outstanding services in developing friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the USSR and Poland, and his great contribution to the consolidation of peace and socialism, the Order of Lenin has been conferred on Comrade Edward Gierek. I have the honour of presenting this honourable award to our comrade-in-arms.

Edward Gierek's life is the life of a revolutionary, staunchly loyal to the working class, to the ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. It is the life of a patriot fully dedicated to the interests of his homeland and to the happiness and prosperity of Poland's working people. It is the life of an internationalist fully intent on the noble goal of the triumph of socialism and peace, on the noble cause of the struggle for the unity and fresh successes of the socialist countries and of the world communist movement.

A miner, who at an early age joined the ranks of Communists, a member of the Resistance Movement against fascism, an active builder of a new, socialist Poland, Comrade Edward Gierek has earned well-deserved prestige among the working class of Poland and the Polish working people as

a whole, whose thoughts and needs he well understands. Comrade Gierek is profoundly respected in the fraternal socialist countries and in the world communist movement.

One could say much about Edward Gierek's personal qualities: his principled attitudes and realistic approach, the breadth of his political thinking and his firm will, his modesty, comradely attitude to people, and persistence in attaining the goals set. These attributes are important for every Communist, and especially for a political leader whom the Party has chosen for such a high office.

There can be no greater reward for a Communist than the confidence of the working class and the people at large. The Polish United Workers' Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Gierek deservedly enjoy such confidence.

Next year, people's Poland will mark its 30th anniversary. These have been years of revolutionary development, difficult and glorious years. The Party of the Polish Communists is worthily playing its role as the guiding force of society, as the vanguard of the working class and all the working people of the country. The past three decades have seen the flowering of the new Poland. Now one of the advanced countries of the world, the Polish People's Republic has modern industries—power, shipbuilding, radio engineering, electronics, metallurgy, mining, and many other branches of industrial production. There has been a tremendous growth of socialist Poland's prestige in the international field. Poland is an equal participant in our fraternal community and its voice carries weight when world problems are being dealt with.

The Polish people have always made a notable contribution to world civilisation. Yet another reminder of this fact is the 500th anniversary of that great son of Poland Nicolaus Copernicus, an anniversary that is being extensively marked in all countries. And we have every reason to say that all the conditions have been provided in socialist Poland to encourage the Copernicuses of our days. The dynamic development of the productive forces, state concern for the universal education of the people, for the progress of

science and the arts—the entire social atmosphere under socialism helps every person to develop his abilities and find his place in the creative effort for the good of his socialist homeland.

Speaking briefly of the main feature which, in our opinion, characterises the present-day life of Polish society, I should say that this is social optimism, a clear understanding of what has been done and what has to be done, and the excellent prospects for the future. This can be seen from the political and labour enthusiasm displayed by the people to implement the resolutions of the Sixth PUWP Congress.

I would like to avail myself of the opportunity to wish you, dear friends, great success in your endeavours!

Dear Comrade Gierek, in presenting you today with the supreme award of the Soviet state, I should like to note in particular your contribution to the development of inviolable Soviet-Polish friendship and the all-round co-operation between our countries. The fraternal alliance between our peoples did not appear spontaneously; it is not a gift of history to us. Rather it came into being in the joint struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland for freedom and happiness. It is the result of the long and persistent efforts of the Communists of the two countries. This can rightfully be regarded by our Parties as one of their greatest gains. We consider it our duty to preserve in every way, to strengthen and to enrich with new content our close alliance. We know well that this is also the desire of the Polish Communists, that this is the will of the Polish people.

The realities of the world of today are such that the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland and all the other countries of the socialist community have rallied together to form a single big family where the law of life is proletarian internationalism. We have never regarded our community as some kind of a closed bloc with its interests opposed to the interests of other countries. On the contrary, what makes our joint policies effective is that they conform to the aspirations of all the progressive movements, to the hopes and aspirations of all nations. We firmly adhere to our class

positions. We are making efforts to ensure the right of all nations to a free and dignified existence, to achieve a political settlement of disputable issues, and to establish businesslike and equal co-operation. That is precisely why the policies of the socialist community are meeting with ever growing support from the popular masses the world over.

As we work for the consolidation of peace and security in the interests of all nations, we naturally try to provide the most favourable international conditions for the building of a new society—for the development of the economy and culture, the improvement of the working people's living standards, and the fulfilment of other constructive tasks which are now being tackled by the fraternal parties and the peoples of the socialist countries. In this context one can understand the importance of the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland, and the German Democratic Republic with the FRG. The inviolability of the European frontiers, a lasting peace, mutually advantageous co-operation between all European countries—such are the noble goals for which we are jointly working in the international arena.

At present, the final stage is under way, in Helsinki, of preparations for a political forum possessing a significance yet unknown in the history of the continent. It is our deep conviction that the conference of European states can and must open a new page in the annals of relations between the peoples of Europe. And we shall go to this important meeting with a constructive and clear-cut attitude, with a sincere desire to do everything for its success.

Signs of a detente or at least significant changes in that direction can at present be observed in other parts of the world as well. We are deeply convinced that these trends can be consolidated and a universal, just peace made more secure through the joint efforts of the socialist countries and of all the progressive forces.

Please allow me, comrades, once again to congratulate from the bottom of my heart our dear friend Edward Gierek and to wish him good health and fresh successes in his work for the good of the Polish people and Soviet-Polish friendship, for the great cause of peace and socialism.

**SPEECH IN BERLIN
ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION
OF THE ORDER OF LENIN TO COMRADE
ERICH HONECKER, FIRST SECRETARY
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY**

May 13, 1973

Dear Comrade Erich Honecker,
Dear comrades,

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has entrusted me with the honourable mission of presenting the Order of Lenin to Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This Order, the highest award of the Soviet state, has been conferred on Comrade Honecker for his outstanding role in promoting fraternal friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR, for his great contribution to the cause of consolidating peace and socialism.

Comrade Honecker is well known and sincerely respected in our country as a staunch Communist who has been through the tough schooling of struggle against fascism, as a patriot and internationalist, a prominent leader of the socialist community and the international communist movement.

Comrade Honecker's entire life and revolutionary activity have been bound up with the struggle of the German Communists for the interests of the working class and all working people. The building and consolidation of the Ger-

man Democratic Republic, the triumph of socialist principles in all spheres of social life, the all-round development of the Republic's economy, science and culture, the fostering of a communist spirit in its citizens—these are all historical services of the SUPG and its collective leadership to which Comrade Honecker has now belonged for almost a quarter of a century.

For many years, Comrade Honecker has been closely connected in his work with such outstanding figures in the German and international working-class movement as Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl and Comrade Walter Ulbricht, whom we all deeply respect. In his responsible post as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG, Comrade Honecker honourably carries on the Thaelmann internationalist traditions of the older generation of German Communists.

In carrying out the tasks set by the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, to bring about a developed socialist society in their country, the working people of the GDR, together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, are building the highroad to the future which, by virtue of the logic of their internal development and the objective laws of history, will be taken by other peoples and eventually by all mankind.

The people of the GDR are confident of their present and future; with each passing year they are enjoying a fuller life materially and culturally. We rejoice over your achievements, and we wholeheartedly wish you new successes, comrades!

Special mention must be made of the role of the German Democratic Republic as an influential factor with regard to European peace and security, as a state carrying great weight in international affairs.

Today the political barometer in Europe more and more definitely indicates "fair weather"; the atmosphere of détente is ever more reliably established, there is growing feeling of the security of peace and of a good outlook for the future. And this, without a doubt, is connected above all with the active peace policy of the countries of the so-

cialist community, to which the German Democratic Republic belongs. Everybody knows the considerable contribution the GDR has made to achieving a detente, the selfless efforts it has put into attaining a practical settlement of complicated problems.

We Communists are fighting for a relaxation of tension not just in order to bring about a state of tranquility in Europe for a limited time. Our ideal in international politics—and today we can say more—our practical aim—is an inviolable peace, that is the only way to ensure genuinely equal co-operation between sovereign European states, regardless of their social system, size and other differences. The establishment of a lasting peace will be a fitting tribute to the feat of all who, in the years of World War II, fought selflessly on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition for the freedom and happiness of nations, and to smash the nazi tyranny. European peace must be based on a secure and reliable foundation so that not only the present but future generations, too, may enjoy the benefits of peaceful development.

Whatever they do the socialist countries do seriously and thoroughly. This fully applies to the treaties and agreements of recent years, which have largely determined the change for the better on the European continent. If we put our signature to treaties this means that we are firmly resolved to observe strictly and fully the letter and spirit of these documents. We expect the same approach from our partners who sign these treaties. Otherwise businesslike co-operation is impossible.

Everybody remembers the feverish atmosphere in Europe when the architects of cold war were trying to build up an atmosphere of confrontation and enmity between the two German states. The coming into force of the Treaty on the Principles of Relations Between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which was endorsed by the West German Bundestag the other day, is to put an end to this abnormal situation. I trust that all of us agree this Treaty is highly important not only for normalising relations between the GDR and the FRG as two inde-

pendent sovereign states, but also for the further relaxation of tension in Europe and consolidation of international peace.

The aim that we have set of establishing relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation between the East and West of Europe demands, of course, reciprocal efforts on the part of the other side. This cannot be achieved without political courage, without an awareness of the real interests of one's own country and of the broader interests of peace in Europe. Anyone who wants a lasting peace must necessarily give due credit to all the steps which have been made in this direction.

The dynamic process of recognition of the GDR by dozens of states which we are witnessing is the logical outcome of the persevering efforts of the Republic's workers, peasants and intellectuals to build their socialist state, the outcome of the policy, including the foreign policy, pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its Central Committee. It is also the outcome of co-ordinated efforts by all the fraternal socialist countries bound together by ties of unbreakable alliance and socialist solidarity. And we are happy to say that what the countries of the socialist community, the fraternal Communist Parties and all progressive forces have for many years regarded as a pressing task can now be considered accomplished.

Dear friends, the Soviet Communists, the Soviet Union have invariably been at your side ever since the inception of the socialist state of German workers and peasants. We consider the relations of all-round co-operation and fraternal friendship that have been established between our countries as one of the greatest achievements of the postwar period, as added weighty proof that it is the socialist system that is able to establish genuine fraternity of the peoples. There is no doubt that the unbreakable alliance of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic will continue to develop. And we highly appreciate the contribution that the Central Committee of your Party, its Political Bureau and Comrade Honecker personally are making to this noble historic cause.

Once again, our dear friend, accept the most cordial congratulations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government.

It gives me great pleasure to present you with the Order of Lenin, our country's highest award.

We wish you good health and further successes in your work for the good of the German Democratic Republic and friendship between our Parties and peoples, for the cause of peace and socialism.

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS BY THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
OF THE *STERN* MAGAZINE

May 13, 1973

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Henry Nannen, Editor-in-Chief of the West German magazine "Stern", and granted him an interview in the Kremlin on May 13, 1973. Below are L. I. Brezhnev's replies to the magazine's questions.

Q. Mr. General Secretary, in a few days you will be going to the Federal Republic of Germany on an official visit. Would you say something about the purpose of this visit?

A. I am going to Bonn to continue what was started in August 1970, when the Moscow Treaty was signed. Although not much time has passed since then, it can already be said with every justification that the Treaty marks a turning point in the entire course of development of relations between the USSR and the FRG.

If I were to start talking about the really tremendous significance of this Treaty from the standpoint of international law, I should be saying what is already generally known. I should like to emphasise something else here, namely, the special moral and political significance of this Treaty. Its coming into force has made it possible to start work on building up a truly new atmosphere in the relations between our countries and between our peoples.

As I see it, in the forthcoming talks with Chancellor Willy Brandt, we shall try not only to sum up what has already

been done. First of all, we shall have to think together and define the prospects for the future. This concerns the further development of relations between our countries in all spheres—political, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural. And what is no less important, it also concerns the strengthening of mutual trust. Of course, discussion of major international problems in which the USSR and the FRG may have a say will also be of much interest both to Chancellor Brandt and myself. This refers, above all, of course, to European affairs.

We attach much importance, in particular, to an exchange of views with the Federal Chancellor on questions relating to the all-European conference and its results. Agreement on a common approach to these questions would undoubtedly have a positive influence on the further development of relations between our countries and, I believe, on the situation in Europe as a whole.

I should like to think that the talks with Chancellor Willy Brandt, with whom we have established good relations in the course of the meetings in Moscow and Oreanda, will this time, too, be useful and serve the interests of peace and international co-operation.

Q. Mr. General Secretary, you will be visiting the Federal Republic of Germany for the first time. What are your feelings concerning this trip?

A. I shall be going to the FRG with much interest, with goodwill, and without any prejudice whatsoever.

My interest in your country is not simply the interest of a man who knows about its achievements in many fields of industry, science and culture. No, it is, first of all, a political interest. We seriously intend to further develop relations with the FRG, and it is therefore very important to get first-hand impressions, to learn about and to have a better understanding of the views and concepts of your statesmen and politicians, the frame of mind of citizens, of the general public.

Q. There is much interest in our country in the recent Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of your Party, which dealt with questions of international politics. Could

you say something about the Plenary Meeting for our readers?

A. The Resolution of the Plenary Meeting has been published and is being widely commented on, and there is presumably no need for me to repeat what has been said.

The Plenary Meeting covered the entire range of questions concerning our foreign policy. Quite naturally, much attention was given to the question of strengthening and extending all-round co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries—Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and others.

As regards Europe, special attention was paid to major questions of security on the continent, and to questions concerning the preparation for and successful holding of the all-European conference. The Soviet Union is fully resolved to do everything in its power for the results of this conference to give the peoples of our continent greater confidence in a peaceful future.

Our principled line and the positive practical steps we have taken to develop relations with your country—all this was unanimously approved. Thus we are going to the Federal Republic of Germany with the knowledge that we have the full support of our Party and the entire Soviet people.

Q. Do you believe that there are favourable prospects for co-operation between the USSR and the FRG in the economic field and in the field of trade, science and technology?

A. The first point here is the question of the influence of political factors. I believe that the Moscow Treaty creates sufficiently favourable grounds for the all-round development of relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG in all these fields. The development of these relations is part of the general process of improving relations between our states. Furthermore, the intensity and scope of these relations is an important indicator of the sturdiness of the entire edifice of Soviet-West German relations which we are presently building up.

I believe there is every justification for a considerable expansion of co-operation between the USSR and the FRG

in the trade, economic, scientific and technological fields. Many West German firms are known in our country as reliable trade partners.

We know that there are certain objective difficulties arising from the fact that the socio-economic systems of our two states are different. However, experience shows that the business circles of your country and our trade organisations can quite successfully join their efforts on the basis of mutual advantage. I think that the forthcoming talks in Bonn and the agreements which might be signed there will help to give a new scope to co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

In conclusion, I want to emphasise once more that we in the Soviet Union approach our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany from positions of peace, goodwill and a desire for the development of mutually advantageous co-operation. We are convinced that such co-operation will be of great benefit not only to the peoples of our two countries, but also to Europe as a whole and will promote its security. It is in the spirit of all I have just said that I should like to extend my greetings and my best wishes to the readers of your magazine.

SPEECH ON WEST GERMAN TELEVISION

May 21, 1973

Esteemed citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany,

It is a pleasure for me to speak to you during my first visit to your country. My coming here at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, our talks—all this in itself indicates that relations between our countries are developing successfully.

My first immediate contacts with Chancellor Brandt were linked with a major event in the history of the relations between our countries and—this may be said boldly—in the political development of Europe. We met for the first time in Moscow in 1970 in connection with the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG. In affixing their signatures to a document containing a realistic recognition of the present situation in Europe, in adopting a solemn pledge not to resort to force or the threat of force in relation to each other, the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany embarked on a new path in their relations.

I shall tell you frankly: it was not so easy for the Soviet people, and hence for their leaders, to open this new chapter in our relations. Much too vivid yet among millions of Soviet people are recollections of the last war, of our grave sacrifices and the dreadful destruction which Hitler's ag-

gression brought us. We have been able to step over the past in relations with your country because we do not want its return.

The Soviet Union has long been bound by ties of very close, sincere and unselfish friendship with the socialist German state, our ally, the German Democratic Republic.

We approach our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany also from positions of goodwill and peaceableness. We are sincerely ready for co-operation which—we are convinced—can be very beneficial to both sides and to universal security. We desire a lasting peace, and believe that the Federal Republic of Germany is also interested in peace and needs it.

We know that it was not simple either for Chancellor Brandt's Government to arrive at this treaty. The cold war has its own inertia, which requires a certain effort to overcome. All the more so, since supporters of a dangerous confrontation of the two worlds have by no means disappeared yet from the political scene.

That is why the people in the Soviet Union appreciate the realism, will and far-sightedness displayed by the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, above all, Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, in working for the conclusion and bringing into force of the treaties with the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, which marked the beginning of your country's new relations with socialist Europe.

In this context I should like to give due credit to all supporters of good-neighbourly relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union. Many of them, having gone through the battle with fascism, spared no effort in working for peace, for friendship between our peoples. The Soviet Union highly values their contribution to this noble cause.

Our meeting with Chancellor Brandt in Oreanda in the autumn of 1971 was an important landmark in the successful development of our relations on the road charted by the Moscow treaty. In a quiet and businesslike atmosphere, free of the tyranny of diplomatic protocol, we had the possibility of mapping out further prospects for the develop-

ment of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic, as well as certain spheres of possible co-operation between our countries on an international plane.

The implementation of these plans has started. We may already say confidently that the development of peaceful and mutually beneficial relations of co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic is no longer an abstract hypothesis, a theoretical plan or emotional wish, as it appeared not very long ago, but a perfectly real thing, which exists and is gaining in scope and strength.

Of course, the possibilities of extending such relations between our countries are far from exhausted. We are at the beginning of this process. The course of our talks with Chancellor Brandt confirms that there are good possibilities for the future, including opportunities in the field of economic relations. In addition to expanding conventional trade, there are also opportunities for making long-term big transactions based on economic co-operation between our countries and aimed at carrying out important joint projects.

Such deals are not of a short-term or more or less of a chance nature, but open the way to joint activity in important sectors of the economy, designed to give both countries a guaranteed benefit for many years to come. This means, among other things, the possibility of a more rational organisation of production and, of course, steady employment for the workers of your country. And of particular importance is the fact that such co-operation helps to lay a reliable foundation for good-neighbourly relations between our two countries.

Both the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are countries with a high level of science, technology, and culture. Our scientists have something to show and tell their colleagues. The population of our two countries will, I am sure, take a great interest in each other's masterpieces of literature, music, theatre and the fine arts. This is vividly borne out by the interest shown by your public in the Days of the Soviet Union now being held in Dortmund.

As you know, our countries have signed a number of concrete agreements on economic and cultural relations and

air communications, which demonstrate both sides' mutual understanding and readiness to co-operate.

But no matter how important the good relations are for both our states and for their peoples, it is no less important that their establishment and development today form part of a broader process of radical improvement in the international life of Europe, and not only of Europe. A change is taking place from a quarter of a century of cold war to relations of peace, mutual respect and co-operation between the countries of East and West. This is precisely the objective of the peaceful coexistence policy pursued by the Soviet Union in relation to states of the opposite social system. In our days it has found its most complete expression in the now universally known Peace Programme approved by the 24th CPSU Congress, as well as in the materials of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee this April. There we find written down, among other things, that our country pursues the aim of effecting a radical turn towards relaxation and peace on the European continent. I should like to say that the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and all our people will vigorously and consistently strive for the attainment of this goal.

The Europe that has more than once been the breeding ground of aggressive wars, which brought about colossal destruction and the death of millions of people, must forever recede into the past. We want its place to be taken by a new continent—a continent of peace, mutual confidence and mutually advantageous co-operation among all states.

The positive elements of present-day European development also undoubtedly include the gradual improvement of the Federal Republic of Germany's relations with its neighbours in the East—Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist states in Europe.

We attach great importance to the businesslike, constructive co-operation we have established with the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United States and other states in such an important field as the preparation for an all-European conference on security and co-operation.

There still remain in the world quite a number of urgent and explosive problems awaiting solution. For example, the conflict has not yet been settled in the Middle East, where Arab lands remain in the hands of the invaders, and that is why dangerous tensions still exist there. Opponents of a detente and of the cessation of the arms race can be found in other areas as well. However, mankind's horizons are brightening. The war in Vietnam has ended. Soviet-American relations continue to develop favourably. On the whole, it can be said that today our planet probably stands closer to a firm and lasting peace than ever before. The Soviet Union uses all its influence to promote this beneficial trend.

Our peaceful foreign policy is an expression of the very essence of our society, an expression of its profound internal needs. The Soviet people, 250-million-strong, are working on spectacular projects of peaceful construction. In the north and south of our vast country, in Siberia and in Central Asia we are building huge power stations, hundreds of plants and factories, and developing irrigation systems in areas which could compete in magnitude with many European states. Our aim is to ensure that tomorrow the Soviet people will live even better than today. Soviet people feel tangibly the results of these collective efforts.

Naturally, all this does not mean that we in the Soviet Union have solved all the problems, and have no difficulties. There are problems that still have to be tackled and presumably there always will be. Yet, the distinguishing feature of the problems arising before us is that they are connected with the confident growth of our country, of its economic and cultural potential, and that we are looking for a solution to these problems exclusively along the lines of further peaceful construction, of boosting the cultural and living standards of the people, and developing our socialist society.

I should like to add that our plans are by no means plans with an eye to autarchy. We are not following a policy of isolating our country from the outer world. Quite the contrary, we proceed from the fact that it will develop under

the conditions of growing all-round co-operation with the outer world, and not only with the socialist countries, but, in a large measure, also with the states of the opposite social system.

Esteemed TV viewers, our stay in the Federal Republic is perforce very brief. Yet, even the few things that my comrades and I were able to see in West Germany leave a pleasant impression.

It was interesting for us to get acquainted with your dynamic capital, which is at the same time so rich in traditions, with the old Bonn, where Beethoven was born, where the great founder of the theory of scientific communism, Karl Marx, studied at the university.

We are very grateful to Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, Federal President Gustav Heinemann, Minister for Foreign Affairs Walter Scheel, and all representatives of the FRG Government for their hospitality and the excellent organisation of our joint work.

In conclusion, I should like to thank from the bottom of my heart the representatives of various public circles in your country, all those whom we had an opportunity to meet in a friendly atmosphere in the course of the visit. I wish all of you, esteemed TV viewers, and all the people of the Federal Republic of Germany a peaceful and happy life, fruitful work and prosperity.

Thank you.

**SPEECH
ON ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**

June 18, 1973

Esteemed Mr. President,
Esteemed Mrs. Nixon,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I am glad to meet you again, Mr. President, and I am grateful for the cordial words you addressed to us, representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This is my first visit to your country, my first direct acquaintance with America and the American people.

We have covered a great distance coming from Moscow to Washington. Our capitals lie about ten thousand kilometres apart.

But in politics there are notions of relativity not envisaged in Einstein's theory. Distances between our countries are growing shorter not only because we travel in modern planes along a well charted route but also because we have one great common aim, that of ensuring a lasting peace for the peoples of our countries and of strengthening world security.

A year ago in Moscow, we together made a big step in this direction. The results of our first meeting have laid a good, sound basis for building relations of peace between our countries.

Already then we agreed that we must move further ahead on this basis. A good start has been made in this respect in the past year. Now we regard our visit to the United States and the forthcoming meetings with you as an expression of our mutual determination to make a new contribution to the work we have begun together.

I and the comrades who have come here together with me are prepared to work hard so that the talks which we are going to have with you, Mr. President, and with other American statesmen will justify the hopes of our two peoples and serve the interests of a peaceful future for all people.

SPEECH AT A DINNER IN THE WHITE HOUSE

June 18, 1973

Esteemed Mr. President,
Esteemed Mrs. Nixon,
Ladies and gentlemen,

First of all, permit me to thank you, Mr. President, for the invitation to visit your country, for the kind words you have said here, and for the hospitality you have extended to us on the soil of the United States.

I should like to take this opportunity to say that it gives me great pleasure to be able to continue talks with you for the purpose of the further improvement of Soviet-American relations, which was initiated in Moscow in May last year.

I think that the time that has passed since our Moscow meeting has convincingly proved the correctness of the course which we have jointly taken towards improving relations between the USSR and the USA, towards rebuilding them in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, as laid down in the document which we signed a year ago. I think you will agree, Mr. President, that we are on the correct road, for it accords with the vital interests of the peoples of our two countries and of all mankind.

What has been and is being done to put into practice the principles agreed on in Moscow concerning relations between our countries is of no small importance.

Life is our best teacher. The results of our efforts over

the past year show in what direction we should go on. They encourage us to make new big strides during the present meeting, to give greater stability to Soviet-American relations and thereby increase the contribution of our countries to the cause of peace and international detente.

Of course, rebuilding Soviet-American relations is no simple task. This is so not only because the USSR and the USA have different social systems, but also because this requires the overcoming of the inertia of the cold war and of the marks it has left in international politics and in the minds of people.

But the development of mankind calls for positive and constructive ideas. It is, therefore, my conviction that the more persistently and the more rapidly we move towards mutually advantageous development of Soviet-American relations, the more tangible will be the great benefits for the peoples of our countries, the faster the number of supporters of such a development will increase, who, as we know, already today constitute a majority. That is why we are in favour of building relations between the Soviet Union and the United States on an appropriate scale and on a long-term basis.

We have come here with the firm desire, jointly with statesmen in the United States, to give a fresh strong impetus to such a development of Soviet-American relations. This fully conforms to the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of our Party.

In its resolution this Congress most definitely emphasised the Soviet Union's readiness to improve relations with the United States. In this it proceeded from the belief that this is in the interests of both the Soviet and American peoples, and in the interests of universal peace.

I should like our American partners in the talks to realise fully that this decision of the supreme forum of our Party—the ruling party in the Soviet Union—is an expression of the profoundly principled position of the Soviet state, of our entire people, on questions of relations with the United States of America. It is exactly this that determines the policy we are pursuing.

In my talk with the President today I spoke about the feelings of all our people who support the decisions we took at our meeting last year. Mr. President, the peoples of the world are expecting much from our new meeting. And I believe that it is our duty to justify these expectations. The first talks that we have had with you here at the White House confirm, I think, that this is the desire of the two sides. In this connection I should like to express the hope—indeed, the belief—that our present meeting will play an important role in further strengthening mutually advantageous co-operation between our countries and in improving the international climate as a whole.

And here is another point. It is well known that the process of improving Soviet-American relations which has now begun has aroused widespread interest across the world. The overwhelming majority of the opinions expressed on the subject indicate that the peoples and governments of other countries welcome this improvement. This is only natural. They regard it as a factor promoting an improvement of the international situation as a whole, as a major contribution of the Soviet Union and the United States to strengthening universal peace.

To all who are aware, if only slightly, of the actual course of events, of the nature of the development of Soviet-American relations, it is absolutely clear that the improvement of Soviet-American relations is in no way detrimental to the interests of any third countries.

Of course, the development of good relations between the USSR and the USA will have, and is already having, a considerable influence on international affairs. But this influence is of a kind that promotes the cause of strengthening peace, security and international co-operation. In building, through joint efforts, the new edifice of peaceful relations, it is not at all our intention to turn it into a secluded mansion, fenced off from the outside world. We want this spacious building to be open to all who are for peace and for the well-being of people.

Mr. President, contemporary political practice shows how difficult and strenuous at times are the tasks involved in the

implementation of the foreign policy of states. But when our thoughts and practical deeds are aimed at achieving the noble goal of peace, this is a burden that, far from being heavy, imparts strength and confidence.

The beginning of our talks, I mean both their content and the atmosphere in which they are taking place, gives grounds for hope that they will yield good results and will become a new landmark in Soviet-American relations.

May I propose a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America, Richard Nixon, and Mrs. Nixon.

To the health of the members of the American Government who are present here, to all those in the United States who support the great and noble cause of peace among nations!

SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH US SENATORS¹

June 19, 1973

In the course of a long discussion Leonid Brezhnev gave a detailed exposition of the aims of Soviet foreign policy, a policy designed to strengthen peace and international security. Assessing the development of Soviet-American relations since the Moscow meeting of the leaders of the two countries in May 1972, Leonid Brezhnev said:

"I do not at the moment intend to go into the history of our relations in the past. Today, and I am convinced of this, we are making new history in these relations. I say this with all the more conviction, because the past year has confirmed the correctness of the course of normalising Soviet-American relations which was charted in the documents signed in Moscow as a result of the meeting with President Nixon.

"This course should be strengthened and developed further," said Leonid Brezhnev. "This is the aim of the present Soviet-American talks." After commending the four new agreements, which expand the area of businesslike mutually beneficial co-operation between the USSR and the USA, Leonid Brezhnev told the Senators that new major agreements, including agreements concerning the limitation of strategic arms, were being prepared.

¹ Summarised.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that the constructive approach of the American side—the US President and Congress—had also played a great part in the process of developing the new relations.

Referring to the development of Soviet-American economic ties, Leonid Brezhnev said that co-operation in this field would open up great opportunities for both sides if it was on a large scale, on a long-term basis and was conducted without discrimination.

“Some people call our countries ‘superpowers’, attaching a special meaning to the term, implying that they have entered into a conspiracy at the expense of the interests of other countries,” the General Secretary went on to say. “But does the understanding we reached in Moscow and what we are discussing today cause any harm of other peoples? On the contrary, the positive changes in Soviet-American relations affect the general situation most favourably, improve the international climate, and strengthen peace and international security.”

Leonid Brezhnev then touched upon European problems. “Europe is a continent with a highly developed economy and rich cultural heritage,” he said. “Yet it was on that continent that the most terrible of all wars in history broke out. It is important that the peoples of Europe should live in peace, without anxiety for the fate of their children, for the future of new generations. These are the aims on which the foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is focussed. The other socialist countries are acting in the same direction. We note with satisfaction that the idea of strengthening peace in Europe is supported by the Governments of France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other West-European countries.”

Leonid Brezhnev stressed the importance of support by the US President and Senate for the idea of European security and said that this had played a positive part in the course of the consultative preparatory meeting in Helsinki for an all-European conference.

Speaking of the question of arms and troop reductions in Europe, the General Secretary recalled that this idea had

been put forward by the Soviet Union. "There is now general agreement to hold talks on this subject," he said. "These talks should be held calmly in a businesslike manner and take due account of the security interests of all countries."

Among international issues Leonid Brezhnev singled out the question of the termination of the Vietnam war. He stressed that the Soviet Union, which had signed the concluding document at the Paris conference on Vietnam, would strictly observe its provisions. "We expect the other conferees and parties to the Paris agreement to do the same," he said.

Leonid Brezhnev pointed out during the discussion that the expansion of exchanges in the cultural field, of information and tourist travel—with due regard, naturally, for the laws, traditions and customs of each country—was of great importance for strengthening mutual understanding and trust between peoples. He spoke in favour of expanding contacts between the US Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet. Establishment of contacts between the trade unions of both countries, he said, would also be of great importance, having in mind both contacts between leading officials and exchanges of delegations.

Leonid Brezhnev replied to a number of questions put by the Senators.

**SPEECH AT A DINNER GIVEN AT THE
SOVIET EMBASSY IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA IN HONOUR OF PRESIDENT
RICHARD NIXON**

June 21, 1973

Esteemed Mr. President,
Esteemed Mrs. Nixon,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Comrades,

It is my pleasant duty to welcome you, Mr. President, your wife, members of the US Government, and other esteemed American guests, here at the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

On behalf of my comrades and myself I should like, first of all, cordially to thank you personally, Mr. President, and Mrs. Patricia Nixon and other members of your family for the warmth and attention with which you have surrounded us from the very beginning of our stay in your country.

At the same time I should like to express our appreciation to all those Americans who have shown friendly feelings towards us, and a lively interest in our visit and in the talks. We view this as confirmation of the respect which the people of the United States have for Soviet people, as proof of our peoples' mutual desire to live in peace and friendship with each other.

Our entire meeting is imbued with an awareness of our lofty duty and responsibility. Our talks are proceeding at a

vigorous pace; they cover a wide range of problems, and are businesslike and constructive. All this yields tangible fruit every day, bringing us closer to our jointly set goals—to ensure a further big stride in the development of Soviet-American relations, to reduce the threat of war, and to strengthen peace and security in the world.

The contribution of both our states to the fulfilment of this paramount task will undoubtedly raise Soviet-American relations to a new level. In May last year, we agreed that in a nuclear age there is no other basis for conducting relations between our countries than peaceful coexistence. Now we can state definitely that the fundamental principle of peaceful coexistence is assuming a more and more concrete form.

We are convinced that the results of our negotiations will strengthen still more the relations of peace and mutual trust between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. At the same time further opportunities will open up for the constructive development of these relations.

One cannot but feel satisfaction over the fact that our mutual efforts have made it possible for us to take a new step forward in the solution of such a vitally important and at the same time difficult question as the limitation of strategic arms of the USSR and the USA. The agreement reached on the basic principles to be followed in further negotiations on this problem contains everything needed to give a new stimulus and a clear-cut direction to joint work on the important agreements designed not merely to curb, but to reverse the build-up of nuclear missile armaments, which are the most dangerous and costly, thereby allowing our countries to channel more funds for creative purposes, for improving the life of people.

Atomic energy, too, must increasingly serve peaceful purposes. The readiness of our countries to facilitate this through joint efforts has found expression in the agreement on cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy, also signed by President Nixon and me today.

We attach great importance to the fact that, in pursuance of the line jointly mapped out at last year's Moscow meet-

ing, a series of new agreements on co-operation between the USSR and the USA in other fields of science, technology and culture have been signed during this visit. This will make Soviet-American relations still more diversified and stable. At the same time we are certain that the development of such co-operation will serve the interests of other nations, since it is aimed at the solution of problems important to all mankind.

Of course, there are still many unsolved problems in the relations between our countries and, I would say, there are also undertakings that still await completion. This, among other things, concerns the sphere of strategic arms limitation, and also trade and economic questions.

We are optimists and believe that the course of events itself and an understanding of concrete interests will lead to the conclusion that the future of our relations lies along the road of their all-round, mutually advantageous development for the benefit of the present and coming generations.

We are convinced that, on the basis of the strengthening of our mutual trust, we shall be able to go forward with confidence. We want the further development of our relations to be as stable as possible, and indeed to assume an irreversible character.

Mr. President, in the course of our talks, whose business-like and constructive character we value, I have already had occasion to say to you, and should like to repeat it here for the benefit of the American guests present, that the Soviet Union's course towards improving relations with the USA is not something temporary. This is a firm and consistent course, reflecting the permanent principles of the Soviet state's foreign policy, which was formulated by its great founder, Lenin. This is a course which has the support of our people.

Soviet people believe that the majority of the American people, too, approve the jointly initiated work to strengthen peace and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

Regrettably, the crowded programme of our visit has left me little time to learn more about your great country, to

get better acquainted with the life of the American people. But even the little I was able to see has been very interesting. I hope I shall be able to remedy this when, at your invitation, Mr. President, we go to the West Coast of the USA, to California, which has long been famous for its natural beauty and, more recently, for its rapid industrial development.

For my part, I should like to take this opportunity to repeat the invitation I extended to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, to come for an official visit to the Soviet Union in 1974. I am confident that your visit to the Soviet Union will mark a new important stage in the successful development of relations between our countries.

We shall also be glad to reciprocate the hospitality extended to us at this time by the President, the Government and the people of the United States of America. May I express the hope that on that occasion you, Mr. President, will be able to become better acquainted with our country, its nature, and with the life of the Soviet people.

Progress is being made in the development of Soviet-American relations.

In two years' time Soviet and American cosmonauts will fly into outer space to carry out the first major joint scientific experiment in human history. They know that from there, from outer space, our planet looks still more beautiful, but also small. It is big enough for us to live on it in peace, but too small for us to threaten it with nuclear war.

I do not think I should be wrong in saying that what determines the spirit of our talks and the basic direction of our joint efforts is the realisation that everything must be done so that the peoples of the world may live free of war, so that they may live in security and co-operate and have contact with one another. This is the imperative demand of our time. To the achievement of this goal we must devote our concerted efforts.

May I propose a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America, Richard Nixon, and Mrs.

Patricia Nixon. To the further success of the great undertaking in which we have been able to achieve progress during our present meeting.

To the link-up, both in space and on earth, of human efforts and talents designed to benefit the peoples!

To peace, friendship and co-operation between the Soviet and American peoples!

To world peace!

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN WASHINGTON WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF US BUSINESS CIRCLES¹

June 22, 1973

Having thanked the organisers of the reception for the opportunity to meet a large group of prominent representatives of the US business world, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said:

“Everyone present here has studied history—ancient, medieval, modern and present-day. And history shows that from ancient times trade has supplemented politics as an important part of normal relations between peoples and states. This is all the more true of today. Could the situation be considered normal if we signed an agreement to build relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence but failed at the same time to develop trade and economic ties between our countries?”

Leonid Brezhnev further dwelt on the new significance of trade and economic co-operation between countries at the present time.

“In the past few years,” he said, “all of us have begun to depart from old ideas on this important question. And this is only to be expected since the old forms of economic relations do not meet the demands of the times. The national economies of individual countries have taken on new proportions. The scientific and technological revolution is in

¹ Summarised.

full swing, and its motive force comes from the great achievements of human genius and endeavour. Big advances have been made in the development of culture and education. This irresistible progress engenders a tremendous growth of people's needs and demands and calls for increasing international division of labour, and the development of trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties among states.

"This particularly applies to big countries which have attained considerable success in their development. And I have in mind, not only the USSR and the USA, but also the socialist countries of Europe, West European countries such as France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, as well as Japan and other states.

"Have these new demands of the times found their reflection in full measure in the practice of international economic ties? I think not. And this is not because of the absence of real economic requirements and possibilities, and not only because our thinking sometimes lags behind the new realities of economic life. It is essentially because of political conditions, the political relations which were for a long time an obstacle to a wider, mutually beneficial co-operation between our countries.

"I recall the period of the Second World War. I recall it with particular emotion, because I went through the war from its very first day right up to the Victory Parade in Red Square. I experienced the bitterness of the setbacks in its initial period, and the joy of our victory, which we won together with you as allies in the struggle against the greatest of all dangers threatening mankind at that time—fascism. The Soviet people, and, surely, the American people, too, acclaimed this victory and hoped that the threat of war would never arise again, and that an epoch of lasting peace and extensive international co-operation would be firmly established.

"But, instead of this, a very long period of so-called cold war set in. I shall not recall here who started it, who invented it or gave it this name.

"Of course, whereas the real war took a heavy toll of lives and left behind it many thousands of bereaved and

destitute families, the cold war did not have such consequences. Nevertheless, it too, exacted a high price. It undermined the foundations of normal, genuinely human relations between peoples. And, of course, it hampered the development of economic, scientific and cultural ties.

"This period was called the cold war, and it was so cold that it gave rise to armaments of unheard-of destructive power—I have in mind nuclear weapons—which can wipe out millions of people and destroy a great deal of what has been created over so many years by the persevering efforts of the peoples of the world.

"I want to ask myself and all assembled here the following question: 'Was the cold war a good period, and did it serve the interests of our peoples, of all the peoples of the world?' And I answer this question: no, no, and once again, no! I think that all of you also will give the same answer."

The CPSU General Secretary further dwelt on the consequences of the cold war period for economic relations. He emphasised that tension in the political sphere had forced the Soviet Union and other countries to withdraw into themselves and had made it impossible to establish extensive co-operation. But even though this had lasted 10-20 years, it did not mean that such a situation need go on forever.

Leonid Brezhnev emphasised that the willingness, the strong desire and the ability of governments and their leaders to put an end to such a past, both in the political and in economic fields, to break loose from obsolete conceptions and traditions, had become important criteria by which the peoples would judge them and decide whether to give them support or not. It was necessary to break down boldly all that was old and obsolete, and move ahead along the path of consolidation of peace, detente, and development of co-operation. This was in accord with the peoples' fundamental interests.

"I can say with full responsibility," Leonid Brezhnev continued, "that our Party and Government see in this the great aim of their policy. And it is fully supported by the Soviet people. In this connection, I should also like to pay tribute to the American people and their favourable attitude, to

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America, and to you, representatives of the business world. Only by our joint efforts have we been able to proceed with improving the situation, removing everything that prevents us from living normally and calmly, and feeling confident of the morrow. It was with these sentiments that my comrades and I came to the United States. We came here free of all prejudices."

Leonid Brezhnev went on to speak of the major favourable changes in Soviet-American relations during the past year, which had marked the beginning of a new stage in keeping with the interests of the peoples of the USSR and the USA and other countries. "In this progress towards lasting peace, detente and co-operation," he went on, "we are still far from the finishing line. But the things that have been achieved during the past year, together with what we have managed to accomplish in the course of the present meeting, give us reason to say that at this important stage we, like good athletes, have got into our stride, have got our second wind. And this gives us reason to count on further success."

Speaking of the Soviet-American talks of the preceding days, the CPSU General Secretary said that along with political problems, and with measures to prevent nuclear war and limit strategic arms, an important place had been given to matters concerned with the development of economic relations between the two countries.

"President Nixon and I," said Leonid Brezhnev, "naturally, did not discuss exactly which company it would be better for the Soviet Union to co-operate with. Nevertheless, we were unanimous that both sides should provide new encouragement and maximum support to US business circles and the corresponding Soviet departments and establishments in their efforts to open up a new and wide road for mutually profitable co-operation and trade. There is not the slightest doubt that there are extensive opportunities in this area. The USSR and the USA are countries with immense economic potentials. We have tremendous natural wealth. We candidly acknowledge that in some things you Americans

are ahead. But there are fields in which we are ahead of you. And if we pool our efforts and take a broad approach, having in view long-range prospects of about 20 years, we shall see that great opportunities are opening up.

"I think that there are such opportunities in practically all spheres, and in all branches of the economy, greater in some, and not so great in others, but such opportunities certainly do exist.

"And we," Leonid Brezhnev continued, "are quite determined to use these opportunities. I can tell you that, when we considered not so long ago the state of affairs concerning the foreign economic ties of the USSR at such a high forum as the Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we arrived at the conclusion that we cannot be satisfied today with our achievements. The question of a substantial expansion of these ties was raised. To tell you the truth, we sharply criticised many of our departments engaged in this field for the lack of breadth of vision, for timidity, for outdated concepts, and for shortcomings in their work.

"But I should like to be equally frank in criticising also, here before you, US businessmen, whom we have respected since Lenin's time precisely for their businesslike approach; I should like to criticise them for sometimes failing to display due daring and breadth of vision, and for living by outdated concepts."

Leonid Brezhnev went on to express the hope that the prominent representatives of the US business world and the Government officials present at the gathering would give their complete support to the course of improving Soviet-American relations and of expanding economic ties between the two countries, the course which was embarked upon in Moscow last year and consolidated during the negotiations in Washington.

"There is one more point," he continued. "I should consider it impossible, not proper, for me to interfere in the domestic affairs of your country. I think that in the approach to the relations between the USSR and the USA, just as in the relations between all the other countries, it is very im-

portant to take into account the fact that every nation has its own state system, its own social system, and its own distinguishing national features, traditions, and customs. All these things should be treated with due respect.

But I have noticed that not everyone in the USA cares to take them into account. I refer to those who like to qualify every one of our joint positive achievements by making so-called amendments of their own. Naturally, everyone is free to have his own opinion and to express that opinion, to offer his own proposals and, if you like, amendments. But the important thing is what these 'amendments' stand for, what they serve. Do they serve the present policy which conforms to the interests of the peoples of the USSR and the USA, or, on the contrary, do they serve a cause detrimental to these interests?

"In conclusion, I should like to say that I have always believed in the truth that man's reason, his intellect and talents are bound to prevail over ignorance. It is reason, constructive attitudes and common sense that have made our two nations realise that it is necessary to follow the path of improving our relations, and to do away with the things that spread so dark a cloud over them."

**SPEECH IN SAN CLEMENTE AT THE CEREMONY
OF THE SIGNING OF THE JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN
COMMUNIQUE**

June 24, 1973

Esteemed Mr. President,

Winding up the official part of my visit to your country, I want to express my thanks to you, Mr. President, to the Government of the United States and to the American people for the hospitality which has been shown to me and my comrades who have accompanied me to the United States.

It was a great pleasure to visit the United States and to continue the contacts which began in Moscow in May 1972, during President Nixon's visit to Moscow.

At the start of our talks in Washington we declared our determination to work hard for the establishment of a stable peace, for the promotion of the interests of our nations, and for the great objective we have set ourselves.

In the course of our talks in Washington, at Camp David, and here at San Clemente, we did not stay strictly within protocol, but devoted nearly all of our time to business. Here in California, too, the President and I continued our talks late into the night.

And today, summing up the results of our work, we can say honestly that our efforts have not been wasted, that our expectations have been fulfilled. We have reached a number of major and important agreements which meet the interests of our people and the people of other countries.

Most important of all is the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War which the President and I signed on Friday. This is important not only for our two countries. It will help strengthen peace throughout the world. This is why all the people of the world, all the peace-loving nations welcome it.

During our stay in your country we have met and talked with American Senators and Congressmen, and a large group of representatives of the American business world. And here, in California, we have had the opportunity of meeting many well-known public figures of this state and other people in different walks of life. My comrades who have accompanied me on this trip have had many meetings with Americans. All these contacts and talks have strengthened our conviction that large sections of the American public are aware of the importance of the steps which we have taken towards further development of Soviet-American relations, and that they wholeheartedly approve of these steps.

A few days ago I met a large group of American journalists. They, too, voiced their sympathetic attitude regarding what has been done lately to make the relations between our two countries still more stable. I was pleased to hear this. For my part, I want to assure you that the Soviet people fully support the policy aimed at improving Soviet-American relations in the name of a stable peace, and that they will, without any doubt, approve of the documents signed in the past few days in Washington and San Clemente.

I have no doubt that these documents will meet with the approval of all honest and peace-loving people throughout the world.

That is why we are leaving the United States with light hearts. What has been achieved will give us added strength, and new energy to continue our work for peace.

I believe that when President Nixon comes to Moscow next year, and this we have already agreed upon, a number of new agreements will emerge, which will not only consolidate what we began in Moscow and have continued in Washington, but will promote this great cause still further.

Mr. President, now that our visit to your country is drawing to a close I wish to express, on my own behalf, and on

behalf of my colleagues in Moscow, thanks to all Americans who support the policy aimed at furthering good relations between our two countries.

We hope that the spirit that prevailed at all our meetings and talks with you, Mr. President, and with other American statesmen, will underlie all our future relations as they develop. I also believe that President Nixon and his Government will, in their pursuance of this policy in American-Soviet relations, be supported by the majority of Americans, because the improvement of our relations serves the vital interests of both our countries and all other nations as well.

In conclusion, I want again to thank you, Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon, and all your colleagues for the hospitality that has been extended to us.

Good-bye, until we meet again!

SPEECH OVER AMERICAN TELEVISION

June 24, 1973

Dear Americans,

On my visit to your country I highly value this opportunity of addressing you directly with the help of American television.

I should like first of all to convey to all of you the greetings and friendly feelings of the millions of Soviet people who have been following my journey to your country and talks with President Nixon with keen interest, and are hoping that this new Soviet-American summit meeting will be fruitful in improving relations between our countries and strengthening universal peace.

The talks with President Nixon and other members of the United States Government continued for several days in a row, and were very intensive. We travelled here knowing that these would be very responsible negotiations, devoted to crucial questions concerning the development of Soviet-American relations and a search for ways in which both countries could further improve the entire international atmosphere. We now have every reason to say that these hopes have been justified. We are satisfied with the course taken by the talks and the results that have already been achieved. The new agreements signed in Washington greatly expand the sphere of peaceful and mutually advantageous co-operation between the United States of America and the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics. A new big stride has been made along the road that we opened up together a year ago, during the meeting in Moscow.

Personally, I am also pleased that this visit has afforded me an opportunity to gain a first-hand impression of America, to become acquainted with some aspects of American realities, to meet your country's noted statesmen and public figures, and to come into contact with the life of Americans.

You are well aware of the fact that, in the past, relations between our countries have developed very unevenly. There have been periods of stagnation, and there have been ups and downs, but perhaps I will not be mistaken in saying that the most far-sighted statesmen have always clearly realised the significance of good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. We may recall in this connection that it was forty years ago when, on the initiative of President Franklin Roosevelt, our countries established diplomatic relations.

In the Second World War the Soviet Union and the United States were allies. They fought together against nazism which threatened the freedom of nations, threatened civilisation itself. The jubilant meeting of Soviet and American soldiers on the River Elbe at the hour of victory over Hitlerism is well remembered in our country.

It might have been expected that this war-time alliance would usher in a new era of broad, peaceful co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Certainly our country sought this; we wanted to consolidate and develop the good relations, the foundations of which were laid during the war.

But something different happened. Instead of peace there came the cold war—a sorry substitute for genuine peace. For a long time the relations between our countries, and international relations as a whole were poisoned. Unfortunately some of the sinister influence of the cold war survives to a certain extent to this day.

In these circumstances it was, of course, no easy matter to effect a change from mutual distrust to relaxation, normalisation and mutually advantageous co-operation. This

took courage and political foresight, and required a lot of painstaking work. We appreciate the fact that President Nixon and his Administration united their efforts with ours in order to lead Soviet-American relations onto a really new road.

I have heard that the American political vocabulary contains the expression "to win the peace". I feel that this is a historic moment when this expression can perhaps be used most appropriately. We jointly won the war. Today our concerted efforts must help mankind win lasting peace. The possibility of a new war must be excluded.

The results of the two summit meetings between the Soviet Union and the United States and all that has been accomplished in the year between these two meetings, demonstrate convincingly that important progress has already been achieved. It transpired that a reasonable approach, acceptable to both sides, could be found to many questions that had seemed unresolvable. Only recently it was perhaps difficult even to imagine that such progress was possible.

The agreements signed last year are being successfully implemented, on the whole. There is tangible progress in nearly every sphere, and this advance is ensured by our mutual efforts. The inauguration of a regular passenger shipping line between Leningrad and New York, the establishment of consulates general in Leningrad and San Francisco, the initiation of friendly ties between cities in the USSR and the USA, the further promotion of sports exchanges—all this, already today, is becoming part of the life of the peoples of our countries.

The best proof that Soviet-American relations are not standing still, but are developing, is the important document which President Nixon and I signed the other day—the Agreement Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Prevention of Nuclear War. I don't think I will be accused of exaggerating, if I say that this is a document of historic importance.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have concluded an agreement aimed at preventing the outbreak of nuclear war between them, an

agreement to do all in their power to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war in general. The tremendous importance of this for the peace and tranquility of the peoples of our two countries and for improving the prospects for a peaceful life for all humanity is obvious.

Even if this, our second meeting, had no other results than this, it can be said in all justice that it will occupy a worthy place in the history of the development of Soviet-American relations, and international life as a whole. Now the whole world can see that both our states, after signing last year the fundamental document on "The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America", regard it not as a mere declaration of good intentions, but as a programme of vigorous and consistent action—a programme which they have already started to implement and firmly intend to continue implementing.

Nor is it of small importance that our countries have agreed on basic principles for further work to prepare a new, wider agreement on limiting strategic armaments, and for a much longer term. This means that this exceptionally important work which began in May 1972 in Moscow, is moving ahead. It means that political detente is being matched by relaxation in the military sphere. This will benefit all peoples and the cause of peace generally.

Representatives of our two states have also just signed new agreements on Soviet-American co-operation in a number of specific fields. Together with the agreements signed earlier in the course of the past year, they constitute an impressive body of documents dealing with the co-operation of our two states, of two great nations, in most diverse fields—from the peaceful uses of atomic energy to agriculture, from the expanses of space to the depths of the ocean.

Of course, the Soviet Union and the United States are self-sufficient countries, so to speak. And this, in fact, has been the case up to now in our relationship. But at the same time both we and many Americans realise well that rejecting co-operation in the economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields, means a rejection of considerable addi-

tional benefits and advantages which could be derived by both sides. What is more—this would be an absolutely purposeless rejection, which could not be justified on any sensible grounds.

This particularly concerns economics. Now, I think we all agree that it isn't sufficient merely to overcome the anomaly, generated by the cold war, of the complete freezing of Soviet-American trade. Today life faces us with much bigger questions. I have in mind, first of all, such forms of economic relations as stable, large-scale ties in a number of economic branches, and long-term scientific and technological co-operation, something that in our age is of great importance. The contacts that we have had with the officials and businessmen of your country confirm that it is precisely along these lines that there is the main prospect for the further development of the economic co-operation between our two countries.

One occasionally hears the allegation that the development of such co-operation is of a one-sided nature, and is to the advantage of the Soviet Union alone. But such a thing could be said only by one who is entirely ignorant of the actual situation, or who has deliberately turned a blind eye to the truth.

The truth of the matter is that, from the development and deepening of economic co-operation in general, and the long-term, wide-scale deals over which talks between Soviet organisations and major American firms are either under way or have been successfully concluded, both sides must derive real and tangible benefits. We have had clear confirmation that this is so as far as they are concerned from representatives of US business circles with whom I happened to talk, both here in the United States, and earlier in Moscow. President Nixon and I also discussed this very point in our talks.

To this I should like to add that the leadership of the Soviet Union, just as, I understand, the Government of the United States, is attaching great importance to the fact that the development of long-term economic co-operation will also have favourable political consequences: it will consoli-

date the turn for the better that has become apparent in Soviet-American relations as a whole.

There are also good prospects, as we see it, for a broad development of Soviet-American exchanges in the cultural field. Both our countries have much to give each other in this respect. To live in peace it is necessary to trust one another, and to trust—each must know the other better. We, in any case, want Americans to know, as fully as possible and truthfully, our way of life and our way of thinking.

On the whole we can say that much has already been accomplished in the development of Soviet-American relations. But we are still standing at the very beginning of a long road. We must show constant concern to protect and nurture the fresh shoots of good relations. Tireless work is needed to determine the most necessary and most suitable forms of co-operation in various spheres. Patience is needed to understand this or that specific feature of the other side and to learn to do business with each other in a good spirit.

I think that those who support a radical improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States may look ahead with optimism, for this goal is in the interests of our two peoples and in the interests of peace-loving people throughout the world.

The general atmosphere in the world depends in great measure on the climate prevailing in the relations between our two countries. Neither economic and military might, nor international prestige confer upon our countries any additional rights, but instead invest them with special responsibility for the fate of world peace, for preventing war. In its approach to its ties and contacts with the United States, the Soviet Union is fully aware of this responsibility.

We regard the improvement of Soviet-American relations not as an isolated phenomenon, but as an integral and very important part of a wide process of a radical clearing of the international atmosphere. The world has outgrown the rigid armour of the cold war, in which attempts were made to confine it. Man wants to breathe freely and peacefully. And we shall welcome it if our efforts to improve Soviet-American relations help draw into the process of de-

tente more and more states, be they in Europe or Asia, in Africa or Latin America, in the Middle or the Far East.

We consider it a highly positive fact that the normalisation of Soviet-American relations will make it easier to carry out such a big and important task as strengthening peace and security in Europe, including the holding of an all-European conference.

The improvement of Soviet-American relations has undoubtedly played a part in helping to end the long Vietnam war. Now that the agreement on ending the Vietnam war has come into force and both our countries, together with other states, have signed the agreement reached at the Paris Conference on Vietnam, we deem it especially important that this success be consolidated, and that all the peoples of Indochina be given the opportunity to live in peace.

There are still areas of dangerous tension in the world. In our talks, President Nixon and I touched on the Middle East situation which is still very acute. We believe that justice must be ensured in the area as soon as possible and that a lasting peace settlement must be achieved—a settlement that will restore the legitimate rights of those who suffered in the war and ensure the security of all the peoples of this vast area. This is important for all the peoples of the Middle East, and it is important for ensuring universal peace.

In a word, the elimination of conflicts that have flared up, and the prevention of new crisis situations are essential for the creation of truly reliable guarantees of peace. And our two countries are called upon to make a worthy contribution to this. The President and I gave these questions much attention during our talks of the last few days.

I should like to stress here that, when discussing questions of bilateral relations and general international problems alike, we invariably took into account the fact that both the Soviet Union and the USA have allies and commitments concerning some or other countries. It should be made quite clear that both the spirit of our talks and the letter of the agreements signed take this fully into account.

The main point of our discussions and agreements in the field of international affairs is the firm resolve of both sides to make the good relations between the USSR and the USA a permanent factor of international peace.

Even today, as you of course know, there are still too many people who prefer to shout about military preparations and the arms race, rather than discuss the question of detente and peaceful co-operation in a constructive spirit.

What can be said about this? The Soviet people, perhaps better than any other people, know what war is. In the Second World War we achieved a victory of worldwide historic importance. But more than 20 million Soviet citizens died in that war, 70,000 of our towns and villages were razed to the ground. One-third of our national wealth was destroyed.

Now the wounds of war have been healed. Today the Soviet Union is stronger and more prosperous than ever before. But we remember well the lessons of the war. And it is precisely for this reason that the people of the Soviet Union so highly value peace and wholeheartedly approve of the peace-oriented policy of our Party and Government.

To us peace is the supreme achievement, for which people must strive if they want their lives to be of any worth. We believe that reason must prevail and feel sure that this belief is shared also by the people of the United States of America and other countries. If this belief were to be lost, if it were to be replaced by a blind reliance on force alone, on the might of nuclear weapons, or some other weapon, then it would be a sorry outlook for human civilisation and for humanity itself.

The historical path we have traversed has not been an easy one. Our people take pride in the fact that in a short historical period following the victory of the socialist revolution, a backward Russia was transformed into a major industrial power, which has achieved outstanding success in the scientific and cultural fields. We take pride in the fact that we have built a new society, a stable and confidently developing society, which has brought to all the citizens of our country social justice, and in which the wealth of modern civilisation is owned by the whole people. We take pride in

the fact that the many formerly oppressed nations and nationalities of our country have attained genuine equality and are living in a friendly family of peoples, successfully developing their own economies and cultures.

We have great plans for the future. We want to considerably raise the living standards of the Soviet people. We want to achieve further success in the spheres of education and medicine. We want to make our towns and villages more convenient for living in and more beautiful. We have outlined programmes for developing the remote areas of Siberia, the North and the Far East with their incalculable natural resources. And every Soviet person knows full well that the realisation of these plans requires peace above all, and peaceful co-operation with other states.

Of course, just as any other country, we have our own difficulties and problems. But the solution of all the problems facing us, just as of those facing other peoples, requires not war, or the artificial building up of tension, but peace and creative labour. We are certain that this alone can secure the well-being of our people and supply all the needs, both material and spiritual, of every member of society.

I have tried to describe here briefly the thoughts and plans of the Soviet people so as to explain the nature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Its peaceful orientation stems from the very essence of our society. The very notion of peaceful coexistence, which is these days increasingly becoming the generally recognised foundation for developing relations between states with differing social systems, was formulated by the founder of the Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

You probably know that two years ago the 24th Congress of our country's ruling party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—approved a Peace Programme which is a concrete embodiment of the policy of peaceful coexistence in modern conditions. This is a programme which provides an active contribution to international detente, to securing truly lasting peace throughout the world for many generations to come. It expresses not only the convictions and intentions of the citizens of our state, but also, we are sure,

the aspirations of millions and millions of peace-loving people all over the world. We are implementing this programme, working hand in hand with our friends and allies, the socialist countries. On the basis of this programme we seek to build relations of good will and mutually beneficial co-operation with all countries that have a similar desire. And the improvement of Soviet-American relations occupies its rightful place in that programme.

Dear friends, the importance and complexity of the problems on the agenda of my talks with President Nixon, of our meetings and discussions with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, headed by Senator Fulbright, and with prominent representatives of the American business community—all this inevitably called for a tight work schedule on this visit. As I have already mentioned, these were fruitful discussions, held in a good atmosphere, and this cannot but give us cause for satisfaction.

At the same time, I personally regret that the pressure of business has not given me and my colleagues who accompanied me and took part in our joint work, a chance to see more of your country. But in Moscow, and here in the United States, I have received many warm letters from various American cities, organisations, companies and private citizens kindly inviting me to visit towns, to see factories, farms and universities, and the private homes of Americans. I should like to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all the writers of these letters. I regret that, for the reasons just mentioned, I have been unable to take up those invitations. Of course, it would have been most interesting to visit New York and Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles, to see industrial enterprises and farms, and to talk to the American working people, for whose achievements our Soviet people have great respect. Perhaps the future will offer such an opportunity, especially since President Nixon and I have agreed that our contacts from now on should be on a regular footing. We are looking forward to President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union next year.

But, even though this brief visit has not given me the chance to see as much of America as I should have liked, I

nevertheless have every reason, when I return home, for telling my colleagues and the Soviet people both about the important political results of the visit, and about the atmosphere of goodwill and the trend in favour of peace, détente and improved relations between our two countries. This is a trend which we have felt during our stay in the United States and during our contacts with Government and public leaders of your country, and with many American citizens. I can assure you that these feelings are fully shared by the Soviet people.

I do not think I shall be giving away any secrets if I tell you that in our talks over the last few days President Nixon and I addressed ourselves not only to current political problems but also tried to look ahead and to take into account the future interests of the peoples of our two countries. In so doing we proceeded from the assumption that, in politics, those who do not look ahead inevitably find themselves left behind, among the stragglers. A year ago, in Moscow, we laid the foundations for improving Soviet-American relations. Now we have achieved a measure of success in this great and important objective. It is our hope that this trend will continue, for it meets the interests of our two great peoples and of all mankind.

In conclusion, I want to express my sincere thanks to the American people and to the President and the Government of the United States for their hospitality, and for their kindness and numerous expressions of warm feelings towards the Soviet people and us, their representatives.

Dear citizens of America, please accept my good wishes to each of you for your well-being and happiness.

Thank you.

**SPEECH AT A LUNCHEON
IN THE RAMBOUILLET PALACE (FRANCE)**

June 26, 1973

Esteemed Mr. President,
Esteemed ladies and gentlemen,
Comrades,

Allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for the invitation to visit your country, and for your friendly greetings and warm words about the Soviet Union and our relations.

We are glad to have had this opportunity of having another meeting with you. It continues the dialogue between us, an important element of which was our meeting in Zaslavl early this year. High-level contacts and consultations are a normal feature of the present-day relations between the Soviet Union and France, and each meeting gives a fresh impetus to the cause of mutual understanding and co-operation between our countries.

Our current meeting is taking place at a dynamic time in world developments. Relations between a number of states having different social systems have been revitalised. An active search is under way for solutions to the greatest and most important problems facing the world. This refers not only to Europe, but also to other regions of the world. It has been possible to settle one of the most acute problems—that of ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. There is growing realisation of the necessity of a settlement in the Middle East.

If we try to make a general assessment of all this, we may say that international relations are entering a new stage in their development. Whereas, only recently, the ideas and policy of the cold war formed a general background to the international situation, now the picture is different. However difficult it is to overcome the inertia of the cold war, there is every reason to regard it as something receding into the past. Quite a lot has already been done to overcome the consequences of this dangerous period in man's history. The state of tension, which the world has known, has been abolished. We have, so to speak, stepped over an area of dangerous tension. Practical possibilities now exist to begin to develop relations of peace and mutually advantageous co-operation between East and West in real earnest, to start freeing mankind from the threat of nuclear war.

The results of the visit we have just ended to the United States speak in favour of such a conclusion. It may be confidently said that the constructive and businesslike exchange of views we had with President Nixon and the agreements signed in Washington make it possible to advance further along the road of USSR-US co-operation in the interests of both peoples, security and universal peace.

I should particularly like to stress the importance of the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, concluded the other day between the Soviet Union and the USA. The purport of this agreement is not only to prevent a nuclear clash between these two powers but also to lessen to a considerable extent the threat of nuclear war for other countries. Therefore, it is our deep conviction that this agreement meets the vital interests of all nations. And this is the reason why the agreement has been met with such approval by the world public.

At such a turning point as now one sees particularly clearly how timely and fruitful were the steps taken by the Soviet Union and France who, with mutual accord, have directed their efforts towards the achievement of detente, co-operation and peace. Our relations have set a good example. I should like to stress this particularly here, in Paris,

because the growing Soviet-French co-operation, in our opinion, serves as a model of peaceful coexistence, of the promoting of relations of friendship and good-neighbourliness between big powers having different social systems. It is important, in our opinion, that constructive ideas should continue to present themselves, ideas which can inspire peoples, and open before them reliable and firm prospects for a peaceful life.

Soviet-French co-operation has been extensive in European affairs. At the present time the all-European conference which will begin in a few days is in the forefront of attention in European politics. For the first time in the history of Europe responsible representatives of the European states, the USA and Canada will gather in Helsinki. This fact in itself is of immense significance. But the main thing is that at this conference its participants will have to look at the future of our continent and map out ways for the development of mutual relations between the states concerned in conditions of peaceful co-operation. This is a problem of truly historic scope. And solving it will mean not only taking a new approach in Europe, but also providing an example having wide international importance. In our opinion, the similarity of the positions of the Soviet Union and France on the key issues of European security is an excellent promise of further co-operation between our two countries in ensuring the success of the conference. We are convinced that in the future as well the Soviet Union and France will be able to play a leading part in establishing peaceful co-operation over the entire continent, of course, taking due account of the fact that the Soviet Union and France have their own friends and allies.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people put a high value on friendly relations with France and the French people. The development of these relations in the political, economic, scientific and cultural fields is one of the major trends of Soviet foreign policy. Such was the approach of our Party's 24th Congress to the question of relations with France, an approach which was once again confirmed at the April Plenary Meeting of the

CPSU Central Committee which considered the basic issues of Soviet foreign policy.

Esteemed Mr. President,

During the present exchange of opinions we concentrated our attention on a number of key issues of contemporary international development and on assessing their importance on a European and world scale. As formerly, we found a close correspondence in our viewpoints. The meeting and the talks with you were a fresh confirmation of the viability and stability of Soviet-French co-operation. The trust between our two countries, a trust established in the difficult years of the war and further strengthened subsequently, is growing stronger to the benefit of the peoples of our two countries and European and international security.

To the health of Mr. Pompidou, President of the Republic of France!

To the development and deepening of Soviet-French co-operation, to the friendship between the peoples of the USSR and France!

**SPEECH AT A LUNCHEON
IN THE GRAND PALACE OF THE KREMLIN
IN HONOUR OF THE DELEGATION OF THE
VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY AND THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIETNAM**

July 10, 1973

Esteemed Comrade Le Duan,
Esteemed Comrade Pham Van Dong,
Dear friends,

On behalf of our Communist Party, on behalf of the entire Soviet people we welcome in your person the heroic Vietnamese people with whom the Soviet people are linked by long-standing and durable bonds of unbreakable friendship.

We welcome the Vietnam Workers' Party founded by that outstanding Marxist-Leninist Ho Chi Minh, a Party which has carried out profound revolutionary changes and in the grim years of imperialist aggression roused the entire people to the struggle for independence, a party that has carried the banner of freedom and socialism with honour through the hardest of trials.

We warmly welcome our great friends Comrades Le Duan, Pham Van Dong, other Vietnamese leaders, the dedicated followers of Ho Chi Minh, staunch fighters for the common Marxist-Leninist ideals and the goals of our Communist parties.

We have had meetings with you many times, dear Vietnamese friends. But the present meeting is a special one. It is taking place at a time when a war in which the Viet-

nameless people have won outstanding victories is over, when a new climate is being established all over the planet, when the trend towards peace and detente is gaining ground ever more distinctly.

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the Soviet people we warmly congratulate the Vietnam Workers' Party, all our Vietnamese friends on their historic victory!

The Soviet people have always stood shoulder to shoulder with their Vietnamese brothers. We have always considered the rendering of all-round assistance and support to your struggle for peace and socialism our internationalist duty. Back at the 23rd Congress of our Party we declared with conviction that "no one will ever be able to quench the torch of socialism, which has been raised high by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam". And this torch is burning now for the whole world to see.

The war in Vietnam was not and could not be a merely regional matter. It seriously affected the interests of many countries. Its consequences were felt throughout world politics. The very fact of direct aggression against a socialist country formed a substantial obstacle to improvement of the international atmosphere. It is not accidental that the struggle for the liquidation of the seat of war in Southeast Asia was one of the key points of the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress, and became the common demand of the socialist states, of all progressive forces of our time.

It seems to me fitting to recall today the important conclusion arrived at by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow four years ago. This conclusion reads: "The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war for world peace, against the menace of a thermonuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind."¹

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 31.*

Internationalist support for Vietnam from the Soviet Union and from all the fraternal socialist countries was an integral part of this struggle. The great feat of Vietnam, its victory, is a great success for the anti-imperialist forces, the common success of the cause of social progress.

The victory of the Vietnamese comrades has now been affirmed in a major political document, the Paris Agreement. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam now has a prospect of further development of socialist construction, and conditions for the advance to a peaceful reunification of the country are being created.

We express our solidarity with the position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and declare ourselves in favour of complete and strict fulfilment of the Paris Agreement by all sides. This is precisely what is meant by the signature of the Soviet Union to the concluding document of the International Conference on Vietnam.

The desire to impose their own rules on anyone is alien to the socialist countries. Revolutions are not exported. But we always fight resolutely against the export of counter-revolution, against imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the peoples. Every nation must exercise its inalienable right to choose its own social system, to decide its own destiny.

In the name of this principle the socialist countries have over many years been waging a consistent struggle for a firm and enduring peace, whose benefits could be enjoyed both by the present generation and by generations to come.

In carrying out its Peace Programme, the Soviet Union has since the 24th CPSU Congress taken a number of major steps towards the further strengthening of international security.

One of the most important steps has been the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, signed between the Soviet Union and the United States. We have no doubt that implementation of this agreement, as of the other Soviet-

American agreements, is not only in the interests of the Soviet and American peoples, but also makes for a general improvement in the political climate in the international arena, and serves the interests of the entire socialist community and the cause of social progress.

The European Conference on Security and Co-operation has successfully begun its work in Helsinki. Given the goodwill of all its participants, it can and must become a milestone in the strengthening of European peace. The Soviet Union made a big contribution to the preparations for the all-European conference and we shall strive to ensure that this important international cause reaches a completely successful culmination.

In short, the essence of the positive changes currently taking place in world politics lies in the incipient reorganisation of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, i.e., the very same principles Lenin advanced when socialism was first becoming established.

This, of course, is not a simple matter. It calls for political soberness, adherence to principle, and persistence, because relations between states with differing social systems are involved. We firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist ideology, the ideology of the working class. The capitalist states have their own, bourgeois ideology. But we consider that this should not prevent specific steps to ease tension, the taking of agreed measures to relieve mankind forever of the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

The Soviet Union deems it necessary to press step by step for practical measures towards not only political but also military detente. The extent and stability of relaxation of tension, the entire cause of strengthening peace will largely depend on the solution of these problems.

Marching shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union sees to it that the edifice of peace is erected on the firm foundation of respect for the sovereignty and independence of each country, each nation, and that the process of detente is of a global, all-embracing character.

In this respect, the complete normalisation of the situation in Southeast Asia and on the Asian continent as a whole, would be of great significance.

The struggle for profound democratic changes in South Vietnam, for the creation of conditions for the peaceful reunification of North and South is still encountering the resistance of reactionary forces. There are obstacles to carrying out the agreement on the restoration of peace and the attainment of national concord in Laos. The armed struggle is going on in Cambodia where the patriotic forces are persistently striving for real freedom and independence for their country. The successes of the consistent policy of the DRV in strengthening peace on Vietnamese soil inspire all the peoples of the Indochinese Peninsula in the struggle for their national aspirations.

It is our conviction that the restoration of peace throughout the Indochinese Peninsula will create sound prerequisites for further specific measures to consolidate security on the huge continent of Asia, will give a further impetus to the establishment of equal good-neighbourly co-operation between all Asian states, without exception.

Guided by the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, our country supports, as it always has done, the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression. The Israeli troops must be withdrawn from all the occupied Arab lands, the frontiers of the states in that part of the world must be restored so that the security of all countries and peoples of the Middle East be reliably protected in conformity with the well-known resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The successes in strengthening international security obligate all of us to wage the struggle for our common lofty aim, a lasting peace on earth, with increasing energy and growing persistence. This is the central feature of the diplomacy of the socialist states, which fully accords with the vital aspirations of all peoples.

Comrades,

Our meeting takes place at an important, one may say

crucial, moment as regards both the development of the situation in Southeast Asia and international development as a whole. We seek to consolidate the positive changes in international affairs, to make them irreversible. This will be facilitated tremendously by further growth in the cohesion of the socialist states, by close alliance between world socialism and the national liberation forces, and the development of unity and co-operation of Communist and Workers' parties, of all anti-imperialist forces.

Looking in this light at the visit of the Vietnamese Party and Government delegation and the talks which have been opened today, we can definitely say right now that our joint work will make it possible to raise Soviet-Vietnamese friendship to a new level, will extend the scope of our co-operation in all major fields, and will make a good contribution to the strengthening of our common great revolutionary heritage—the world socialist system.

The efficacy and strength of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship were convincingly proved in the days of war. Now, in the days of peace, we are fully resolved to work with our Vietnamese comrades to further fortify the brotherhood of our peoples.

We favour extensive, fruitful and systematic contacts between our Parties on the basis of the tried and tested principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, close contacts between mass organisations and full-scale economic co-operation. The Soviet people well understand the concern of their friends for the rehabilitation of the war-devastated economy, the improvement in the living standard of the working people and the advancement of culture and education.

Over many years, the Soviet Union has been giving extensive and disinterested assistance to the Vietnamese people in building up their defences, in the struggle against aggression. We have also rendered considerable assistance in the development of the DRV's economy. I am pleased to tell the Vietnamese comrades that the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have decided to regard all the assistance given as non-returnable. We are confi-

dent that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, relying on internationalist support from all socialist states, will successfully accomplish the tasks confronting it.

May I, comrades, express our profound satisfaction with the visit of the Vietnamese Party and Government delegation and propose a toast:

To the heroic Vietnamese people!

To their fighting vanguard, the Vietnam Workers' Party!

To inviolable Soviet-Vietnamese friendship!

To our dear friends, Comrade Le Duan, Comrade Pham Van Dong, and all the Vietnamese comrades.

TO THE PARTICIPANTS AND GUESTS OF THE EIGHTH MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

On the opening day of the 8th International Film Festival in Moscow I cordially welcome the participants and guests of this worldwide review of cinema art.

The festival's traditional motto "For Humanism in Cinema Art, for Peace and Friendship among the Peoples!" is particularly relevant today, when in the international sphere the urge for peaceful co-operation is more and more obviously overcoming the cold war. New opportunities are opening up for strengthening ties and sharing experience in all fields, including the field of art.

The cinema can make a considerable contribution to world peace, mutual understanding and trust between the peoples of different countries. The film-makers' art has tremendous power to influence the minds and hearts of millions. It is very important that this power should serve the great cause of humanism and social progress, the intellectual and moral enrichment of man.

Experience testifies to the fact that the artist's talent reveals itself most fully, that it grows and becomes stronger when his works serve the people, truthfully reflect reality, when he draws inspiration from the historic accomplishments of his time.

One would like to think that your gathering at the Moscow Film Festival will give fresh impulses to creative work

developing democratic artistic traditions and imbued with the noble ideas of friendship and mutual respect.

Progressive films made by the artists of various countries help us to picture the everyday life and work of the peoples, their desires and aspirations, their struggle for a better future for mankind. In their works Soviet film-makers strive to give a true account of the socialist way of life, the historic activities of the builders of the new society, and their lofty ideals.

Allow me to express the hope that the festival will promote a further expansion of cultural relations, and help to bring the peoples closer together in their common desire for peace and co-operation.

From the bottom of my heart I wish all participants in the Moscow International Film Festival great success in their creative work.

L. Brezhnev

July 10, 1973

**SPEECH IN THE GRAND PALACE OF THE KREMLIN
ON RECEIVING THE LENIN
INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZE**

July 11, 1973

Esteemed members of the International Committee,
Dear comrades and friends,

I am deeply moved in accepting today the Lenin Prize for Strengthening Peace Among Peoples.

For me, a Communist, there can be no higher assessment of one's work than an award bearing the name of the great Lenin, our teacher, a brilliant theorist, and a skilful and far-sighted statesman. Allow me to express my sincere gratitude to the International Committee for conferring such a high honour on me.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is the fruit of collective thinking and effort on the part of our Communist Party. I therefore regard my being awarded the Lenin Prize as an honour conferred on the entire Party for its work, as international recognition that the policy pursued by its Central Committee is correct. And I am happy that, as a member of the Party and as one who has been reared and steeled by the Party, I can participate in the struggle for the great goals of a durable peace and lasting security of nations—goals which working people everywhere are striving to achieve.

For us Soviet people the active struggle for peace is not a temporary task dictated by the moment. It is our

principled, deliberate and consistent policy, which we pursue in fraternal unity with all the countries of the socialist community.

With great insight into the future of social development Marx wrote that when the working class builds its own, socialist society, its "international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour*".¹

The Soviet people has built a socialist society and today is building communism, a system that will most fully reveal man's creative potentialities. It is therefore understandable why our Party, which is leading an effort, unparalleled in history, to build the future, and why our people, who have utter trust in the Party and are carrying out that constructive work with their own hands, consistently denounce war and aggression and call for a reliable, lasting peace for all people in the world.

It is entirely understandable that for Soviet people the concept of a just peace and of a policy of peace is inseparably linked with the name of our great leader and teacher, the founder of our Party and state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Lenin was the first in history to unite the theory of scientific communism with the conduct of state foreign policy. This union of Leninist theories and Leninist practice gave rise to the principles and methods underlying the socialist policy in the international arena by which we, his pupils and followers, are and shall always be guided.

Today the principles of Soviet foreign policy are known to the whole world. It is a policy of promoting the fraternal unity of the countries of the socialist community, a policy of consolidating the alliance with peoples fighting for national and social liberation, a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and a policy of resolute action against aggression. It is a policy of active, straightforward diplomacy, of strict and unflinching fulfilment of commitments. This policy is consistent with

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1973, pp. 193-94.

the interests of socialism, and it fully accords with the interests of all peoples, with their aims and vital requirements.

In fulfilment of the behests of the great Lenin the 24th Congress of our Party put forward a realistic and, as developments have shown, fruitful Peace Programme. This programme is inspired by a lofty aim—to keep the skies always clear, to make guns silent forever and to use rockets solely for peaceful purposes, and to employ the inexhaustible forces of nuclear energy to promote only constructive efforts, only goodness and the happiness of the working people. That is why our Peace Programme enjoys great esteem and recognition among workers and peasants, among all who are engaged in peaceful work, and is winning their growing and increasingly more effective support.

It has always been the position of Communists that the masses and their political parties and organisations should be active in solving questions relating to war and peace, and that in world politics they should be an active force and not passive onlookers. The voice of the people can trouble only those who want to preserve international tension. And at the same time the authority of public opinion and its active support can only help those governments which consistently pursue a policy of peace.

I should like to take this opportunity, in the presence here of people prominent in public life—representatives of peace-loving forces—to point out that the Soviet Union wholeheartedly welcomes the increasing participation of these forces in the struggle for international security. We are confident that the World Congress of Peace Forces to be held in Moscow this year, will mark an important stage in the public movement in defence of peace. As regards us, you may be certain, dear friends, that the Congress and its noble aims and tasks will have our full support.

The ranks of those who are resolutely and consistently working for peace among nations and peaceful co-operation between all countries and peoples have been steadily growing every year. This is a very good sign and it fills us

with optimism. Today I should like to extend my sincere congratulations to my colleagues in the struggle for peace, to our friends who have also been awarded the Lenin Peace Prize this year. I refer to the President of Chile, Salvador Allende, the well-known English writer, James Aldridge, and the prominent leader of the Uruguayan and international working-class movement and Chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Enrique Pastorino. We wish all of them, all the winners of the Peace Prize that bears the name of Lenin, further successes in their work for humanity.

It has been correctly said that experience is, above all, memory, the memory of generations. Our experience teaches us that peace does not come of itself. It has to be fought for. Sometimes the heaviest sacrifices have to be made in order to uphold a country's independence and honour, to defend the very right to live and to be the complete master of one's own land and destiny.

Fifty-five years ago the first generation of Soviet people started the revolutionary transformation of Russia. Today the Soviet Union is a powerful and free country confidently advancing towards communism. But can one ever forget that for every eighteen months of peaceful construction in our history there was one year of war or of postwar rehabilitation?

It is now midsummer, a time when blossoming nature reveals all her wealth, her inexhaustible creative power. And together with nature we rejoice in life and feel the fullness of happiness in work. But Soviet people have not forgotten, nor will they ever forget, that on a summer's day just like this, thirty-two years ago, the explosions of nazi bombs and shells darkened the sunrise.

From the very first to the very last day of the war I, like millions of my compatriots, passed over many roads of the front, or, to be more exact, over the roadless battlefields. My heart swells with great pride for the immortal feats of the courageous Soviet people during the Patriotic War. At the same time, I grieve over the memory of those who died the death of the brave on the battlefield, of those who were

killed in nazi prison camps or perished under enemy bombs in their own homes.

It was not only the destiny of our people and the future of our country that were at stake in those years, but also the destiny of many countries and hundreds of millions of people in those countries. Nobody has the right to forget that our contemporaries largely owe their very existence and their freedom to the valiant Soviet people, to the Soviet state, and to the great socialist system.

Last year I visited many parts of the country: the Novosibirsk region, the Altai, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. This was a business trip connected with current tasks of the national economy. It had to do with the harvest, the fulfilment of plans and how to resolve various economic problems better and more effectively. But wherever and whatever the talk was about—whether at meetings of people holding executive positions in the economy, at research institutes, in the fields or at factories—one short, meaningful word, peace, figured prominently.

The Soviet citizen associates many things with this word: his love of life and his Motherland, and his achievements in creative labour for the building of a communist society in his country, and for the common ideals of the working people of the whole world. The struggle against aggression and the defence of peace are the people's injunction to our Party, and in faithfully fulfilling it the Party is aware of its responsibility to the present and future generations of Soviet people.

Dear comrades, today we are witnesses to—and not only witnesses to but active participants in—the most momentous event in the whole of postwar history. This is the transition from the period of hostile confrontation in international life, when the dangerous tension could break and plunge the world into the holocaust of war, to a period of a more stable peaceful coexistence, of reasonable, peaceful co-operation between socialist and capitalist states on a basis of mutual benefit and equal security.

The road from confrontation to co-operation is not an easy one. It requires both effort and time. The major land-

marks along this road were the treaties signed in recent years in Europe between the USSR and the FRG, between Poland and the FRG, between the German Democratic Republic and the FRG, and between socialist Czechoslovakia and the FRG, and the series of agreements on West Berlin. It is not possible to overestimate the importance of the Paris Agreements on the restoration of peace in Vietnam which record the triumph of the just cause of the heroic Vietnamese people. Important international acts, such as the convention banning bacteriological (biological) weapons, or last year's Soviet-American agreements on limiting strategic arms, have likewise played their role.

As you all know, we have recently had talks with representatives of leading capitalist countries such as the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and France. We devoted these talks to exploring ways for settling extremely important matters—the consolidation of the favourable changes that have taken place in world affairs and the establishment of inter-state relations based on the principles for which we have struggled since the October Revolution, since the days of Lenin. It must be said that the work that was done has yielded real, tangible results that are valuable both for our people and for all the peoples of the world.

Comrades, let us consider the following. For almost 30 years since the nuclear explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki mankind has been living with the awareness that somewhere, beyond the horizon, or perhaps somewhere rather close, there lurks the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. All these years peace-loving people have been demanding the removal of that threat from the life of mankind. Today, at last, we have made real progress in that direction.

Indeed, is it possible to overestimate the fact that the USSR and the USA, the two powers holding most of the world's stocks of nuclear weapons, have agreed to refrain from the threat or use of force against each other, against each other's allies and against other countries, and that they have agreed to act in such a way as to exclude the possibility of a nuclear war breaking out between them or be-

tween either of them and other countries? It is really impossible to overestimate this!

I have already said that if we had limited ourselves only to one agreement with the USA, the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, we should, even in that case, have accomplished a great deal.

Imperialism's forces of aggression will probably not lay down their arms for a long time yet. There are still adventurists who are capable of kindling another military conflagration in order to further their own mercenary interests. We therefore consider that it is our sacred duty to conduct our policy in such a way as to avoid being caught unawares by any emergency and to firmly counter any attempt at returning the world to the cold war days.

The best way of defending peace is to continue actively pursuing our policy of peace, to continue our—as people now call it—peace offensive.

At its plenary meeting in April, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union instructed the Political Bureau to carry on its vigorous efforts to implement the Peace Programme in its entirety and to make irreversible the favourable changes that are now being increasingly felt in the international situation. On behalf of all my comrades in the Political Bureau and in the Central Committee I should like to state: We shall spare no effort to carry out this “peace mandate” given to us by the Party and by the entire Soviet people.

A feature of the present situation is that some provisions of the Peace Programme have been, in effect, carried out, and the fulfilment of others is proceeding at a fairly rapid pace. This compels us to take a new view of some issues. We are now working to determine new objectives and new horizons of our policy, and, by advancing towards them, we can more effectively secure the main goal—the consolidation of peace and the establishment of peaceful coexistence as an indispensable norm of inter-state relations.

Of course, comrades, as has been the case hitherto, our main concern is to strengthen our friendly relations with the socialist countries.

Our Party and all our people derive profound satisfaction from the fact that the fraternal Parties and peoples of the countries of the socialist community are working actively side by side with us to strengthen the present turn in world affairs.

Our militant co-operation and our combined support have helped the heroic Vietnamese people to achieve victory. Our joint action provided conditions for the dynamic developments in Europe which have led to the holding of the all-European conference. We are convinced that the strengthening of our unity is a major prerequisite for further progress along the entire front of international relations. We are currently working out concrete steps to further strengthen the unity of the socialist countries.

Moreover, as we have done in past years, we shall pay great attention to promoting our relations with the national liberation forces, and with the new states of Asia and Africa which, having taken the path of freedom, are now endeavouring to consolidate their independence and promote their economic and social development.

As we see it, one of the most important tasks at the present time is to eradicate the hotbed of aggression in the Middle East. The aggressors, the adventurists, can no longer be permitted to continue holding that huge region in a state of explosive tension. The rights of the Arab peoples, who have been made the victims of aggression, must be fully secured. Israeli troops must be withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories. Peace, security and the state frontiers of all the countries of the Middle East must be guaranteed. For our part, we shall continue to adhere firmly to precisely this policy.

We consider it important that new steps should also be taken to strengthen friendly relations with the Latin American states, notably with those of them that are actively working for peace and the freedom of peoples.

We know full well and always bear in mind that, together with the peoples of the socialist countries, the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American states form an important contingent, so to speak, of the standing army of

peace in international relations. Together we have accomplished a great deal, and we are convinced that our ways will not part. The Soviet Union, for its part, is prepared to take all the measures necessary to strengthen and develop our co-operation.

In the immediate future there is much that we shall have to do to promote relations with the USA, France, the FRG, Japan and other countries of the capitalist world. It is necessary to consolidate what has been achieved in the sphere of improving our relations and to take new effective measures to deepen and widen the framework of our mutually beneficial co-operation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Of course, first and foremost, we shall have to occupy ourselves with the practical and full implementation of all the treaties and agreements that have now come into force. Actually this is both the condition and prerequisite of further progress.

In Europe the truly immediate task is to bring to a conclusion the work of the all-European conference, which has got off to a successful start. We consider that this must be done within the shortest possible time, without any unjustified delays. Moreover, we are convinced that the draft "General Declaration on the Foundations of European Security and the Principles of Relations Between States in Europe" submitted in Helsinki by the Soviet Union in agreement with the fraternal countries, and the proposals made by our friends and allies in agreement with us can become an effective vehicle for the achievement of the historic aim of turning Europe into a continent of lasting peace.

We are devoting due attention, comrades, also to questions linked with various aspects of the policy of disarmament. We are firmly convinced that political detente in Europe must be augmented with military relaxation. The Soviet-American talks on limiting and then reducing strategic arms are to be continued. We hope that progress will be achieved also at the United Nations talks in Geneva over a wide spectrum of disarmament issues.

In short, there is a great deal of work, important work,

to be done, important not only for the Soviet people but also for all mankind.

Dear comrades, as Soviet people, we cannot help feeling proud that it was our Soviet country which, translating Lenin's behests into reality, has become the state that is showing all mankind the road to lasting peace.

This feeling rests on a deep and solid foundation. The CPSU's foreign policy of peace is, after all, the expression of the will, and the result of the efforts, of the millions whose name is the Soviet people. A contribution to the historic successes of that policy has been made by all Soviet people—men and women, old and young; those who make steel and those who grow grain; those who work in laboratories and those who wear army greatcoats; those who teach our children and those who look after the health of our people. Each one of these people is a dedicated toiler devoted to his work and merits the most profound gratitude for his accomplishments in labour and battle.

Our work on the international scene is creating the peaceful conditions needed for the constructive labour of Soviet people. In turn, the results of this labour are embodied in the multiplication of the country's wealth and might, in the rise in the standard of living and in the cultural level of the Soviet people, and they serve as a firm foundation for the Party's foreign policy activities.

Marching with us in the same rank are our true friends—the peoples of the socialist countries, our class brothers—the Communists of the whole world, those who are fighting for freedom and independence, and all who uphold the ideals of peace and progress on earth. We are sincerely grateful to all our friends for their solidarity and support, for this gives us strength and the confidence that we have chosen the right road.

We should like to assure our friends that our policy will always consistently combine the national interests of the Soviet country with the interests of the working people of all countries, and with the interests of all who champion freedom, independence, democracy and socialism. Today, as in the past, we consider that it is our sacred duty, a duty

springing from our communist convictions, from our socialist morality, to give all possible support to the peoples fighting for the just cause of freedom. This has always been so, and it will remain so in future.

Dear comrades and friends, this day is an important and joyous occasion in my personal life. It is true, as you have seen, that I have spoken today not of my personal feelings but of our common affairs, of our common past and future. I could not do otherwise, because my whole life, from my early youth, has been dedicated to the Party, to its work, and to its concerns.

After I was awarded the Lenin Prize I received congratulations from many people. With all my heart I thank everyone who sent me those greetings. With all my heart I say thank you for the kind wishes and the warm words spoken here in this hall. I am deeply touched and encouraged by the sincerity of the feelings expressed in them.

In accepting the Lenin Peace Prize I should like to assure our Party, Soviet people and people of goodwill everywhere that I shall continue to do everything in my power to achieve the most wonderful and most human objective—the objective implicit in the very name of the award conferred upon me, namely, that of strengthening peace among nations.

A GREAT PATH OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY

*Speech in the Grand Palace of the Kremlin
at a Meeting in Celebration
of the Seventieth Anniversary
of the Second Congress
of the Russian Social
Democratic Labour Party*

July 13, 1973

Dear comrades,

Our Party and with it the entire Soviet people, our friends and like-minded people all over the world are currently celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

At this Congress the Party of Bolsheviks, our glorious Leninist Party, was founded and this, briefly speaking, is what makes the Second Congress so outstandingly important in the history of the great struggle for the victory of the revolution and socialism.

Looking back today at a past which though remote, is still so close to us, we cannot but admire the deeds of Lenin and his comrades-in-arms who created our Party, the first party of the new type, and who led it in defiance of hostile whirlwinds through the barricades of 1905 to February 1917, and from February 1917 to the victory of the Great October Revolution.

One involuntarily recalls today the words of Lenin himself, who wrote at the turn of the century: "We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire."¹ Yes, only really

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 355.

courageous and principled people, people who were not afraid either of selfless hard work, or of police persecution, people who placed the happiness of the working people above all, only such people were capable of the feat accomplished by the first generation, Lenin's generation, of our country's Communists.

Lenin and those who fought and won the victory together with him have been and remain for us, Bolsheviks of the epoch of the construction of socialism and communism, an inspiring, unfading ideal. And now when Party membership cards are being exchanged in our Party, every Communist must ask himself once again: have I done everything to be worthy of the title of member of the Leninist Party? Have I done everything to live up to the demands made on every member of the CPSU by its history and traditions, by creative revolutionary Soviet reality?

It is an honour to be in the ranks of the Leninist Party, and it carries a great responsibility. And we are convinced that the members of our almost 15-million-strong Party will continue to carry high the red banner of October, the red banner of communism, which we took, like a torch, from Lenin.

Comrades, our Party has traversed a long and glorious historic path. This path was not an easy and not a simple one. We had to overcome tremendous difficulties. It was not always easy to find immediate correct solutions to the problems that arise. We lost many prominent Leninist-Communists in the struggle for the victory of the Revolution and the cause of socialism. Their memory is sacred to our people!

Our Party has proved equal to its task. It has succeeded in opening up hitherto unknown routes from capitalism to socialism. It has won the boundless confidence of the working class, of all the working people, and succeeded in creating a developed socialist society, a state of and for the whole people, and in steering the world's largest country on to the highroad of communist construction.

Our Party has achieved all this primarily owing to its unshakeable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

Ever since Lenin's time, the CPSU has regarded the thorough assimilation of revolutionary theory, its creative development and consistent defence from all enemies, as one of its most important and urgent tasks. It is precisely such an approach to theory that has enabled the Party to score the victories of which we are rightly proud. Such an approach guarantees us remarkable new successes in the years to come!

Comrades, a little over two years ago, the 24th Congress of the CPSU passed decisions whose correctness has been convincingly proved by life itself.

The line laid down by the Congress, of improving the effectiveness of our economy and achieving, on this basis, a rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people, is being successfully implemented. In the period since the Congress, the wealth and might of our homeland have considerably increased. The internal unity of Soviet society, the cohesion of our people around the Party and its Central Committee is going from strength to strength.

The successes of the international policy of the CPSU are truly impressive. The implementation of the course approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU is having a beneficial effect on the entire world situation. The prestige and influence of our socialist state in the international arena are steadily growing.

Our policy is giving further depth to the fraternal relations between the USSR and other socialist countries, and strengthening the unity of the communist movement and of all anti-imperialist forces.

The realisation of the Soviet Peace Programme is bringing mankind towards frontiers whose attainment will lessen the danger of a fresh outbreak of war and secure the possibility of genuinely peaceful development for the peoples.

Convinced of the correctness of our course, we shall continue resolutely to uphold the cause of peace, freedom and security of all peoples.

While noting all these advances, which arouse our legitimate satisfaction, we do not forget, and never shall for-

get, that the beginning of the road, which has led us to the summits we have reached today, was the Second Congress of the RSDLP, and the first Leninist Programme of our Party which it adopted. This first Programme was fully implemented, as was the second, which was approved after the October Revolution by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Our present achievements indicate that the third Programme of the CPSU, the programme of construction of communist society in our country, is also being steadily implemented.

Bright prospects—prospects of communism—lie open before us. We are confident of our strength. The working class of the world, and all working mankind is on our side.

The cause initiated by Lenin will triumph!

Comrades, I declare the meeting of Party, Government and public organisations, and representatives of the working people of Moscow, in celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, now open.

FORWARD, UNITED, TO NEW VICTORIES

*Speech in the Ukraina Palace of Culture, Kiev,
at a Meeting Held Jointly
by the Central Committee
of the Ukrainian Communist Party
and the Supreme Soviet
of the Ukrainian
Soviet Socialist Republic
to Mark the Presentation to the Republic
of the Order of Friendship Among Peoples*

July 26, 1973

Dear comrades, friends,

In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the great historic event of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we instituted a new order: the Order of Friendship Among Peoples. And all fifteen Union Republics in the fraternal family of our Soviet state were awarded this Order at the time of the jubilee.

I am happy to have the honour of presenting this Order to the Ukraine. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Soviet Government, I warmly and cordially congratulate you, the participants in this meeting of celebration, and, through you, all the working people of the Republic on this high award!

The Order of Friendship Among Peoples will now shine forth from the banner of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a banner made glorious by labour achievements and feats of arms, along with the two Orders of Lenin and the Order of the October Revolution. This is a stirring and joyous event, not only for the Ukrainian people,

but also for all the citizens of our great multinational country.

I will not conceal, dear friends, that for me personally it is a great pleasure to share this joy with you here. I worked for many years in the Ukraine; I fought on her soil during the war and, like all Russian people, I am well aware of the wonderful qualities of the Ukrainian people whom I have come to love with sincere, filial love.

For over half a century the numerous nations and nationalities of our country have been living, working and building the new, communist society in the one powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. During this period they have become fully convinced of the immense opportunities which fraternal friendship brings to all of them, individually and collectively.

It is worth recalling, comrades, the great importance which Lenin attached to the efforts made by the Ukrainian Communists, workers and peasants to achieve a correct solution of the nationalities problem, to strengthen the bonds of friendship between nations. Even before the formation of the Soviet Union—in December 1919—he sent a letter to the workers and peasants of the Ukraine. In that letter, stressing the importance of the joint struggle of the various national contingents for Soviet power and the achievement of other objectives of the Revolution, Lenin said: “The Communists of Russia and the Ukraine must therefore by patient, persistent, stubborn and concerted effort foil the nationalist machinations of the bourgeoisie and vanquish nationalist prejudices of every kind, and set the working people of the world an example of a really solid alliance of the workers and peasants of different nations. . . .”¹

Today, the Communists, the workers, the peasants and all the working people not only of Russia and the Ukraine, but also of Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, the Baltic Republics, the Transcaucasian and Central Asian Republics, in a word, all fifteen Union Republics, can say with legitimate pride: Lenin’s behest has been fully translated into

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 297.

reality in the Soviet Union! The unbreakable alliance of the workers and farmers of different nations has become the nucleus of a great national brotherhood of all the working people, of all the Republics of the Soviet Union.

The present successes of the socialist Ukraine are, of course, primarily the fruit of the work of the Ukrainian people, of their sons and daughters. Every Union Republic knows from its own experience that the Ukraine is also doing much for our common cause.

On the other hand, the Ukraine's successes are also, to a substantial degree, the fruit of the friendship of the fraternal peoples of the entire Soviet Union, the fruit of their joint labours.

The life-giving strength of the fraternity of Soviet nations is also graphically manifested in their labour achievements. Is this not illustrated, for example, by the emulation movement and the systematic exchanges of know-how between the working people of the Ukraine and the working collectives of the enterprises, districts and regions of the other Republics of our Union, the strong professional friendship connecting the miners of Donetsk and Kemerovo, the metallurgists of the Dnieper area and Kazakhstan, the collective farmers of the Kherson area and their Georgian counterparts? The constant and steadily growing co-operation of the nations has become a vital factor, an important condition for the establishment of a new society in our country.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which Lenin created, is the leader and organiser of all this great construction, of all our vigorous and eventful life.

One can see behind the great labour achievements of your people the organisational and political work of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, a large and glorious contingent of the Communists of the whole country. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wishes all the Communists of the Republic, regional, town, and district Party organisations, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and the members of its Politbureau, whom we all know very well and deeply

respect, great success, further achievements in the great cause of building communist society.

Comrades, the Order which your Republic receives today is a high appraisal of the contribution which the people of the Ukraine are making to the economic, socio-political and cultural development of the Soviet state, to the strengthening of the internationalist friendship of the peoples of our country. And, of course, it is, to a considerable extent, an appraisal of the feat of labour performed by the Ukrainian working class.

The experience of the past and the successes of today show that the Ukrainian working class is capable of tackling the most difficult tasks on any scale. The whole of our country knows and respects the miners of the Donbas and Krivoi Rog, the steelworkers and power workers of the Dnieper area, and the machine builders of Kiev and Kharkov—the glorious Labour Guards of the Soviet Ukraine. Their selfless efforts form, together with the efforts of the workers of Moscow and Leningrad, the Urals and Karaganda, all our Republics from the Black Sea to the White Sea, from the Baltic to the Pacific, one powerful current which constantly increases the strength and wealth of our great Motherland.

The Soviet people are at present engaged in an intensive labour drive for successful fulfilment of the ninth five-year plan. The Party has appealed to the working people of our country to make the year 1973—the decisive year of the five-year plan—a year of intensive work. And the Soviet people have responded to this appeal with practical action.

The results of plan fulfilment for the first six months of the year cannot but gladden us. The country's industrial production has increased by 7 per cent instead of the 5.8 per cent envisaged in the approved plan for the year. It is especially gratifying to see a considerable growth in labour productivity, which is the main indicator of the effectiveness of the people's labour efforts. Four-fifths of the entire increment in industrial production has resulted from higher labour productivity.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was one of the first to cope, ahead of schedule, with the tasks of the preceding five-year plan. And we all note with satisfaction that it is successfully coping with the tasks of the current five-year plan as well. The drive for the fulfilment of the tasks of the third, decisive year of the five-year plan in the Republic has brought to the fore hundreds, thousands of front-rankers of socialist emulation, such as coal miner Ivan Strelchenko, ore miner Iosif Galenko, steel worker Yegor Proskurin and machine builder Mikhail Vakhula. They increase the labour glory of the working class, continue and enrich the traditions of Alexei Stakhanov, Makar Mazai, Nikolai Mamai and other heroic workers of the first five-year plans.

While acknowledging what has been achieved, it should not be forgotten that not less, but more is still to be done in the remaining years of the five-year plan. Big, very big efforts are needed to reach the targets which the Party set for 1975 and ensure conditions for further advance. And the main problem to be solved is that of further raising the effectiveness and quality standards of the work of our entire industry. At the 24th Congress it was stated most emphatically that in the present-day conditions this task is to be given priority.

This is a general economic problem. It concerns all sectors, and its solution requires not only the persistent daily efforts of Party, government and economic bodies, but also the active participation of all the working people of the Land of Soviets, of our entire people.

The Soviet Ukraine, with its highly developed industry, good production traditions and the wealth of experience accumulated by the working class, by engineers and technicians, can and must do much in the drive to fulfil the Congress decisions on increased effectiveness of production. Our Party, its Central Committee urges you, comrades, to do this.

Of tremendous importance in this respect is the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. Only a short while ago, we said that science *would become* a direct pro-

ductive force. We even entered a thesis to this effect in our Party Programme. Today we can, probably, say that science *has* actually *become* a direct productive force, a productive force whose importance keeps growing every day.

If we want to move forward successfully—and we as a country building communism must keep moving forward—we must adopt genuinely revolutionary methods and achieve a sound and reliable fusion of science and production.

The Central Committee of the Party constantly keeps the problems of technological progress in its field of vision. We intend to make a special examination of them at a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

Already the Ukraine is doing much to solve the problems that have currently arisen in the field of scientific and technological progress. The Republic has good scientific personnel. For instance, the works of Academicians Boris Yevgenyevich Paton, Viktor Mikhailovich Glushkov, Alexander Petrovich Chekmaryov, Zot Ilyich Nekrasov, Vasily Nikolayevich Remeslo and many other outstanding scientists of the Ukraine are known throughout our Union and far beyond its borders. Large research centres, whose work is of importance to the whole country, have been set up and are successfully functioning here. The state is ungrudging in its support for the further development of science.

But, as they say, from those to whom much is given much is expected. We hope that the scientists and engineers and the working class of the Ukraine will in this five-year period score decisive successes in introducing and applying the achievements of science in production. We are confident, comrades, that the socialist pledges made by the working people of the Republic to accelerate scientific and technological progress in the national economy will be fulfilled and overfulfilled!

Another key issue in raising the effectiveness of the national economy is the improvement of matters in capital construction. State spending on what statisticians call fixed assets, that is to say, building new industrial enterprises, production shops, dwelling houses, schools, hospitals, clubs

and other projects, was 13 per cent higher in the first six months of this year than in the same period of last year. This is a noticeable increase, and yet at the same time it is insufficient. The country as a whole has not fully achieved the targets for realisation of allocated capital investments and the commissioning of new production capacities. They have not been fully achieved here, in the Ukraine, either.

However, the figure for new fixed assets put into operation is a highly important indicator on which our future largely depends, on which not only the results of the ninth five-year plan, but also the prospects for the tenth five-year plan depend. If one or another capital construction project is not completed today, it means that tomorrow our country will not receive its full quota of metal or machines, textiles, footwear, and other material values.

The Ukrainian comrades have undertaken good commitments to improve the organisation of construction work, intensify the drive for the rational use of material and technical resources, cut down the time spent on construction, and speed up the commissioning of new production capacities. I should like to express confidence that the Ukraine will carry out these important commitments. You, dear comrades, have everything you need to achieve this.

Comrades, the Order of Friendship Among Peoples on the banner of the Ukraine is, of course, to a great extent, an appraisal of the successes of the rural workers.

The busy season has arrived now over almost the entire territory of the country; grain harvesting is in progress. In all the Republics, including the country's principal granaries—the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine—much has been done to ensure a bumper harvest. Of course, we shall judge the results of this work later, when the grain is stored away. This is an old rule among farmers, and, I should say, it ought not to be broken.

However, it can already be said that developments in the countryside are proceeding far better this year than last year, better even than the year before that. On the whole, we can expect quite good results.

This morning a meeting of activists of the Republic's Party and economic bodies discussed pledge fulfilment by the industrial and agricultural workers of the Ukraine for 1973, and also the tasks for the second half of the year. Those taking part in the discussion emphasised that the socialist pledges adopted by the grain growers of the Republic will enable them this year to reach an unprecedented target. This means selling a *thousand million poods of grain* to the state this year, comrades. It was a pleasure for me to see how unanimously this decision was adopted by the Republican Party activists.

This is very good. It is a wonderful target. Its achievement would really be a major success of which our entire Soviet people would be justly proud. Permit me to warmly and wholeheartedly congratulate the working people of the Dniepropetrovsk, Crimea and Zaporozhye regions, who have already fulfilled the state national economic plan for the sale of grain, and who have fulfilled it exclusively with cereals! Permit me to wish you all, dear friends, that you may successfully fulfil the pledges you have made, and bring in your Ukrainian thousand million poods of grain!

I want to wish you more than this, namely, that the sale of a thousand million poods of grain to the state will become, in the future, the minimum target for the farmers of the Ukraine.

The fact that last year we coped effectively with the difficulties caused by the whims of nature, and that we are making good progress this year speaks, above all, of the great feat of labour performed by our collective-farm peasantry and state-farm workers—and for all this we thank them heartily.

But, comrades, their efforts would not have been so highly effective, if they had not been reinforced by the efforts of the Party and the entire Soviet people.

The line that our Party has been pursuing in agriculture since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting and subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, devoted to the problems of agriculture, is the primary source of all our farming successes. Pursuing this line, we shall continue to

allocate considerable funds in future to the development of agricultural production, provide it with increasing quantities of machinery and fertilisers, and carry out land improvement work on a wide scale. The interests of the Motherland, the interests of the Soviet people demand fulfilment of the task of reducing agriculture's dependence on natural forces, set by the 24th Party Congress. And we shall fulfil this task, comrades, there can be no doubt about that! We only have to work hard.

I should also like to say a few words about the following. The efforts we are making to develop agriculture on a nationwide scale are a great undertaking. But this must not obscure the need to be increasingly active in discovering and mobilising the internal resources of the Republics, regions and districts. And these resources are still far from being fully utilised.

Competent management, skilful placing of personnel and efficient use of the equipment available—all this must become a hard and fast rule of life for each Party and government worker in the countryside, and each worker of our collective and state farms. And who else if not the Ukraine, the Republic that produced Maria Demchenko, Mark Ozerny, Alexander Gitalov, Olga Diptan and Stepanida Vishtak, thousands upon thousands of growers of abundant harvests, can show a really good example in this field!

Comrades, side by side with the workers and peasants, the Soviet intelligentsia is working fruitfully on all fronts of our communist construction.

The high award that the Ukraine has received today is an award also to its intelligentsia—its scientists, engineers, artists, administrative workers, doctors, teachers, agronomists and librarians—in a word, to all who work fruitfully in the field of science, technology and culture.

All credit is due to the intelligentsia of the Ukraine, which keeps abreast of life and its demands and copes effectively with the complex tasks facing it. It is very important that it makes a large and valuable contribution to the Party cause of the internationalist education of the people.

Our Party has always paid, and continues to pay, great attention to the development of the culture of each of the Soviet peoples, which is socialist in content, national in form and internationalist in spirit. The Party's Central Committee is confident that the glorious contingent of the Ukrainian intelligentsia will continue to make a worthy contribution to the development of Soviet culture and the further strengthening of the friendship and brotherhood of all the peoples of the Soviet Union!

Comrades, the successful fulfilment of the plans in industry and agriculture, and the development of science and culture, provide the necessary basis for the further raising of the living standards and welfare of the Soviet people.

We are accustomed to the idea of the programme for raising living standards being carried out consistently, year after year. But sometimes we seem to forget how much persistent work is needed to carry it out. For example, we often talk about things being "free": free education, free medical treatment, free holiday vouchers, and so on. In a certain sense, this is undoubtedly correct. A Soviet citizen really does not need to spend his money if he falls ill, for example, or if he sends a child to school. But someone has to pay for the work of teachers and doctors, meet the expenses involved in the maintenance of schools, hospitals, and so on. Nothing is "free" in this sense. The cost is borne by the state, that is, the entire people, everyone in the country who works. Only our untiring combined efforts provide us with the good things of life, only these efforts can bring the country further prosperity. In a word, comrades, if we work better, we shall live better, too.

The Party will continue to do everything possible to carry out the programme for improving the life of the people, for providing for their social and everyday needs. This is our firm line, it was laid down by the 24th Congress of the Party, and, relying on the labour efforts of the people, we shall consistently put it into effect.

The fulfilment of all our plans ultimately depends on people. Unless people have a conscientious attitude to their work, unless they have a high level of training and a sense

of social responsibility it is impossible to advance our social production, to further the entire development of our society.

At the dawn of his revolutionary activity V. I. Lenin spoke with respect about "intellectual workers" who formed the vanguard of their class. There were few of them at the time. Now they number millions, and this is quite natural. This is one of the great achievements of our Party, of socialism. The nearer we get to communism, the closer the ties between physical and mental labour. Nowadays a worker often operates big and sophisticated sets of machinery which not every engineer could cope with before.

We are proud to say that 66 per cent of the Soviet working class today have a secondary (complete or incomplete) or even higher education. This is indeed something to be proud of, especially if we recall that before the war only 8 per cent of the workers could be put in this category.

But there is also something to ponder over. The same statistics say that 34 per cent of the working class have still only a primary education or less. This creates certain problems for us, which we must solve and which we are now solving.

The current phase in the development of Soviet society lends particular urgency to the tasks of raising the educational and professional level of workers and improving the entire system of training the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

This was the approach taken by the 24th Party Congress, which set the goal of further improving the system of public education, including completion of the transition to universal compulsory ten-year education and appreciable improvement in the work of higher educational establishments and vocational training schools.

The decisions of the latest session of the USSR Supreme Soviet are designed to implement the directives of the Congress. The Fundamentals of the USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Public Education, approved by the session, mark a very important step towards further raising cultural and educational standards.

But even the most progressive system of public education will fail to solve personnel training problems in the absence of proper educational work. Concern for the political maturity, social consciousness and high professional skills of workers should be in the centre of attention in every Party organisation. Unfortunately, we have quite a few omissions to make good in this sphere. There still are cases of violation of labour discipline, laxity and technical conservatism.

Party organisations must not tolerate such violations. Socialist society gives much to its members, and it has the right to ask every one of them: what do you give in return for the care that is taken of you, how do you use the knowledge you receive, what contribution do you make to the great cause of building communism? Such things are worth remembering a little more often, when appraising this or that worker.

The level of work of our managerial personnel must also be raised. Much is being done in this direction already. We need, and need badly, efficient people moulded by our socialist society, who would combine competence and enterprise with great dedication to Party principles, with concern for national interests. The economic executive of today must have a good grasp of Party economic policies, be able to think on a big scale, with state interests in mind and use production reserves to the full.

We have many excellent production organisers, designers, technologists and engineers, people who lead the drive for higher attainments in socialist economic development. The whole country should know how these people work, and those coming into industry from secondary schools or institutes should emulate them. In improving the work of producing trained personnel, the Party sees not only the current tasks facing our country, but also those which will arise tomorrow.

Tomorrow, comrades... A great and bright future is in store for our country, our people. This future will come through the Soviet people's efforts led by the Party of Lenin.

But just what this future will be like depends in no small measure on what the Soviet younger generation of today will be able to create and build! Our Party and our socialist society devote maximum attention to the young people, generously providing them with all that is needed for their further mental and physical development, for their civic, political activity. And it must be acknowledged that our young people respond to this care with fine work at the factories, in the fields, in scientific laboratories, in institutes, and in the military units, standing guard over the people's peaceful labour.

It is very good that the Soviet youth of today has, in response to the Komsomol's initiative, established such new traditions as trips to places of revolutionary, combat and labour renown; the competition for the challenge banners of the heroes of the first five-year plans; the tutorship movement, where veteran workers lead young workers' teams; rallies of working-class dynasties, and many, many other things. All this helps the young people to widen their experience, and gain a better understanding and appreciation of what has been done in our country, what has been achieved through the decades of struggle by the Party and the people.

A few days ago in Moscow I was present at the parade of young people taking part in the All-Union Youth Festival, and it occurred to me that we, people of the older generation, have the opportunity to compare the past and the present on the basis of our own experience. Young people are unable to do this. They know of the contrasts between past and present only from books and films, and find it hard to picture the misery and poverty that we witnessed. That is why it is important to educate our young people so that they will really understand and feel everything that we, older people, saw and experienced—the hard life the working people led under tsarism, the by no means easy but enthusiasm-filled years of the first five-year plans, the hardships and selfless heroism of the war years. Youth should know this from veterans, from heroes of labour and heroes of war.

The youth of the Soviet Ukraine has shown some good examples of a communist attitude to work and communist education. The honourable award bestowed upon the Ukraine is also an appraisal of the achievements of the young workers of the Republic.

The young people of the Soviet Land and their leader—the Komsomol, millions strong, our Party's reliable reserve, are honourably justifying the hopes of the Party and the people. We, people of the older generation, say with confidence: the future of the country is in good hands and this means that we have not worked and fought in vain.

Comrades, much has been said of late about international affairs and I do not want to indulge in repetition. I shall confine myself to only a few remarks on the subject.

The international situation today is characterised by the important achievements of the Leninist peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

We all see how the major foreign policy directives elaborated by the socialist states and the international communist movement in the past few years, including the Peace Programme approved by the 24th CPSU Congress, are being realised in practice. The 25-year period of the cold war is giving way to a period of the growing assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between countries with differing social systems.

The treaties concluded by the Soviet Union and Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany, the GDR-FRG Treaty, the initialed Czechoslovak-FRG Treaty and the complex of multilateral and bilateral agreements on West Berlin—all these documents virtually conclude the post-war period in Europe and usher in a new epoch, an epoch of normal peaceful relations.

The principles of relations worked out by the Soviet Union with France and the United States of America chart the main contours of the development of inter-state relations on the firm basis of peaceful coexistence. Finally, the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, and espe-

cially the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, concluded by the Soviet Union and the United States in 1972 and 1973, are the first concrete steps towards curbing the international arms race and attenuating the greatest threat hovering over mankind in recent decades—the threat of a world thermonuclear war.

Other documents of recent years testify to the fruitful development of the Soviet Union's relations with the progressive independent states in Africa and Asia. These are the treaties of friendship and co-operation with Egypt, India and Iraq, treaties which we value highly and to which we attach great importance from the point of view of both principle and practice.

All this, comrades, is a concrete and convincing result of the peace policy of socialism. It benefits all peoples, and understandably, it is warmly welcomed by broad sections of world public opinion.

The climate in the world has noticeably changed. It has become warmer, and life is calmer for the peoples nowadays.

It is easier in such an atmosphere to concentrate on the accomplishment of peaceful and constructive tasks, on deeds that are really worthy of man.

Such changes, taking place on the initiative and with the active participation of the socialist countries, are fully in line with the ideals of socialism, the ideals of the Communists in the field of international relations, of which Marx and Engels, and later Lenin, vividly and convincingly wrote in their day. And we, comrades, may take pride in the fact that it is our good fortune to contribute in some measure, through our work, through our efforts, to bringing about such a situation where these noble ideals have begun to be put into effect.

All this, of course, does not mean, comrades, that the difference between the two social systems—socialism and capitalism—has vanished. The bourgeois states remain bourgeois, while the socialist states continue to be socialist. We must not forget that there are states where influential circles wish to see the world continue to live in a state of fever

and tension, to see inflated military budgets, and to see the arms race go on. We have been and remain principled opponents of imperialism. We stand firm for an end to the arms race, we want political detente to be backed by a military one.

Competition, rivalry between the two systems in the world arena continue. The whole point is that this process should not develop into armed clashes and wars between countries, into the use of force or threat of force in relations between them, and that it should not interfere with the development of mutually advantageous co-operation between countries with differing social systems.

One of the recent developments in international life is the launching of the work of an all-European conference on security and co-operation.

The idea of convening such a conference was put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist states, which made detailed proposals concerning its aims and programme.

Our approach to European security is simple and clear. The experience of history convincingly shows what bloodshed wars—the two world wars in particular, which broke out in Europe—cost the peoples of this continent. Not much need be said about that here, in the Ukraine, whose people together with other peoples of our great homeland experienced the full weight and bitterness of the invasion, and passed through the fire of the sacred struggle to defeat the fascist aggressors. However, another war in Europe, now with the use of modern nuclear-missile weapons of an unprecedented destructive force, might result in the annihilation of a number of European states.

We Communists, and all other citizens of the countries of the socialist community, proceed from the firm conviction that international issues, including the most complex, arising between states with the same or differing social systems, can and must be resolved only by peaceful means, without the use of force or threat of force, without wars. We believe that the more the influence of the socialist countries—peace-loving by the very nature of their social system—

takes effect in international affairs, the more realistic such a course in the development of inter-state relations becomes.

The six months of preliminary consultations among 34 states in the Finnish capital have made it possible to draw up an agenda for the all-European conference that is acceptable to all, and to define the basic principles of approach to the questions to be discussed at the conference. It may, perhaps, be said that these consultations were in themselves the first experience of political co-operation on a continental scale in order to pave the way to a lasting peace. This alone may be regarded as a considerable achievement. I should like to say that we appreciate the constructive participation in this work, together with the European countries, of the United States and Canada, countries of the Western hemisphere.

Now that the first stage of the work of the all-European conference itself is over, one can, perhaps, mention some first, if not results, then at least impressions. The Foreign Ministers of the participating countries, large and small, on the basis of absolute equality stated at the conference the fundamental views of their governments concerning the ways of achieving lasting peace and security in Europe, of promoting peaceful co-operation in the political, economic, scientific and cultural fields. These views, naturally, were not completely identical and on some points they were very different. And in the future, too, so it would appear, there will still be discussions and arguments on a number of problems. Attempts may also be made to misuse this noble initiative, to use the all-European forum for the promotion of certain narrow interests or not quite proper political manoeuvres.

However, on the whole, I think, one can say with confidence that there is a common denominator. It lies in the common desire that there should be no more wars in Europe and that reasonable conditions should be created for the development of peaceful co-operation among European states, co-operation beneficial to all nations. And since that is so, there is a hope that this great cause, on which a start has been made, may prove successful without unnecessary

delay. In any case, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will bend every effort towards the achievement of such success.

Comrades, in practice it has turned out that the great and beneficial turning point in the international situation of which I spoke earlier began largely from an improvement in relations between such big states of the socialist and capitalist worlds as the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America, on the other. That was natural; in fact, it was essential. If one takes, for example, the USA and the FRG, it was in these countries' relations with the Soviet Union above all that the main lines of tensions existed in the period of the cold war, affecting the world situation as a whole. From this point of view, as from many others, incidentally, the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG, between the Soviet Union and the USA is of great positive significance not only directly for the peoples of these countries, but also for every country, every people that needs peace, and that is interested in easing international tension.

One cannot fail to note also that now that the international climate has begun to improve, dozens of states, big, medium-size and small, are becoming more active in their policies and striving to make their own contribution to the common cause of consolidating peace. There are many illustrations of this in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. And it needs no argument to prove that the constructive contributions of any state merit equal respect, attentive and cordial response. Any attempts in this respect to contrast the "great" or even the "super" powers (as some have put it) with medium-size or small countries are absolutely unjustified, unnecessary and even harmful. We, socialist countries, are for equal co-operation of all countries, based on complete mutual respect, on the strict observance of the sovereign rights and the inviolability of the territory of every state, and on non-interference in its domestic affairs. We are for ridding all countries, big and small, of the menace of war. Incidentally, in the course of previous

world wars, small countries often became involved against their will.

Dear comrades,

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our Soviet state are closely following the course of international events and steadily pursuing a policy of strengthening peace and the security of the peoples. We all draw strength from realising that this policy is ardently approved and supported by the entire Soviet people, who are united around our Leninist Party. With their achievements and their work the Soviet people help to increase the strength of the Soviet Union and the prestige and influence of its peace policies.

We tread confidently along the path illuminated by the immortal ideas of the great Lenin. The Party calls upon the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the working intelligentsia to win more victories on this path, to march on towards fresh successes in communist construction.

The Party and the people know how to appreciate those who achieve such success. Further evidence of this is the Order of Friendship Among Peoples being presented today to the Ukraine.

Allow me to read out the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

*“Decree of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
Conferring the Order of Friendship Among Peoples
on the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic*

“For the great services rendered by the working people of the Ukrainian SSR in the formation and consolidation of the USSR, in strengthening friendship and fraternal cooperation between the socialist nations and nationalities, for their great contribution to the economic, socio-political, and cultural development of the Soviet state, and in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics, the *Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic* shall be awarded the *Order of Friendship Among Peoples*.

N. PODGORNÝ

*President of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR*

M. GEORGADZE

*Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR"*

Comrades, we Communists and all the Soviet people have an excellent tradition of regarding every award not only as a recognition of the progress achieved, but also as an advance on those of the future. And now, presenting to you this high award and once again heartily congratulating all of you, I should like to express confidence that the working people of the Soviet Ukraine will respond with fresh achievements for the good of the entire Soviet people.

Long live the Soviet Ukraine!

May the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics live on and grow stronger!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Glory to the Communist Party leading the Soviet people along Lenin's path!

IN THE UNITED RANKS OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS

*Speech in the Lenin Palace, Alma Ata,
at a Meeting Held Jointly
by the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan
and the Supreme Soviet
of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic
to Mark the Presentation to the Republic
of the Order of Friendship Among Peoples*

August 15, 1973

Dear comrades,

It was with a feeling of great joy that I mounted this rostrum to greet you on the occasion of the presentation of the Order of Friendship Among Peoples to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. This is an award to the Republic as a whole, to its every citizen, Communists and non-Party people, the workers of industry and agriculture, the men of science and culture. It worthily crowns the glorious road covered by Kazakhstan in the fraternal union of the Soviet peoples.

Please accept, comrades, the most cordial congratulations of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government. I can say with confidence that all Soviet people are congratulating you and wishing you fresh successes at this moment.

The Order you are receiving today personifies the 50 years of our Party's work on the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy—a policy of renaissance and prosperity for all our peoples, their close cohesion and inviolable friendship. Its remarkable fruits are seen here in Kazakhstan.

In the past it was a remote expanse of steppe country, a land of nomadic herdsmen who lived a life of stagnation under a semi-feudal system. The generation which remem-

bers those times is still living. What can be said about the Kazakhstan of today, its people and their accomplishments?

It is a Republic bubbling over with creative socialist life, where workers and scientists are transforming nature, reviving deserts and building big modern industrial centres.

It is a Republic which supplies the country with tremendous amounts of grain, milk, meat, wool and other farm products.

It is a Republic which provides the country with ferrous and non-ferrous metals, coal, oil, gas and many up-to-date machines.

Briefly speaking, Kazakhstan holds a noted and honourable place in the serried ranks of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

Three years ago I visited Alma Ata for the 50th anniversary of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. At that time our country was gathering strength to tackle the big and important tasks of the ninth five-year plan. Our meeting today takes place when half of the five-year plan period is behind us, and when the entire Party and all our people are exerting every effort to bring it to a successful conclusion. We now have the opportunity to make a properly objective appraisal of what has been done.

In the past two and a half years we have noticeably increased the country's economic potential. Labour productivity has grown considerably. Increases in the people's living standards have been registered on all the main counts, including real incomes, social security and housing conditions. Briefly speaking, comrades, in all fields of our social development headway and, it must be said, substantial headway has been made. This is the direct result of the energetic activities of Party organisations, the labour and political activities of our working class, collective farmers and people's intelligentsia.

Kazakhstan, together with the country as a whole, has successfully coped with the first half of the five-year plan. The volume of the Republic's industrial production has increased by nearly 25 per cent, with 75 per cent of the in-

crement resulting from higher labour productivity. Some five million tons of coal, 150,000 tons of cement and large amounts of other products have been produced over and above plan. More than 160 industrial projects have been put into operation. These include a blast furnace, a converter and a rolling mill at the Karaganda Metallurgical Works, the Mangyshlak-Kuibyshev trunk oil pipeline, new quarries, mines, oil fields, concentration plants, and the first big unit of a fast-neutron nuclear power station. As you see, these are big and up-to-date enterprises which are of the utmost importance for the whole of our national economy.

The main objective of our plans, as laid down by the 24th Congress of the Party, is to increase the effectiveness of all social production and on this basis to secure a steady rise in the people's standard of living. In this field, too, your Republic has achieved heartening changes. In the past two and a half years 1,600,000 persons, or every eighth citizen of the Republic, received new flats or improved their housing conditions. New hospitals and holiday homes, clubs and cinemas, stadiums and gymnasiums have been opened. Real incomes this year will rise by about 14 per cent, as compared with 1970.

Generally speaking, you have every reason to feel satisfied with the results of your work and we all share this feeling with you.

If we think over what has made possible the dynamic development of our country's economy and culture, the rise in the people's standard of living and the highly impressive progress in all spheres of our life, we can, perhaps, enumerate many factors. These factors include the favourable international conditions—more than 25 years of peaceful life, which have enabled us to apply increased energies and resources for creative purposes. There is also the continual growth of our national wealth, which makes it possible to tackle, at every new stage of development, ever larger and more important tasks. There is also our country's growing scientific and technical potential, the improvement of the economic management system, and many other things.

The chief factor, however, is the socialist social and state system and the new people brought up by our Party—builders, innovators, creators. All that we have today and hope to achieve tomorrow depends on their ability to work in a communist way, on their dedication to the job in hand, on the high level of their moral make-up, education and professional skills, on their sense of responsibility, activity and initiative.

One of the most characteristic features of the current five-year plan is that we are building many large enterprises—industrial complexes, in fact—which are advanced enterprises by all modern standards. They are the Kama Auto Works, the West Siberian Iron and Steel Plant, the Ust-Ilimsk Hydropower Station, new phosphorus factories in South Kazakhstan and other industrial giants which are at work in all Republics and which will have a favourable effect on the entire further development of the economy.

If one asks what distinguishes such advanced enterprises, the answers may be different, perhaps. Some will give priority to the advanced equipment and technology, others to the economic effect, and still others will emphasise the organisation of labour and management. All these conclusions will be correct, of course. But the most important thing, without which there is no, neither could there be truly advanced enterprise, is the high professional skill of the people who are successfully mastering modern machinery and who are themselves the vehicles of scientific and technological progress; it is the creative concerted effort of the entire working collective.

It is gratifying that today we have such highly efficient, I should say, such high-class production collectives not only in the historically established industrial centres like Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, the Donbass, Sverdlovsk, Dniepropetrovsk and Baku. There are a great many of them all over the country, and here in Kazakhstan as well. I have in mind the glorious miners and steelmakers of Karaganda, Balkhash and Jezkazgan, the power-engineering workers in the city of Shevchenko and the Mangyshlak oilmen.

The following examples show what can be achieved by people who constantly seek new and original solutions and tackle their job in a creative way. The development and introduction of progressive methods of integrated use of raw materials at the Ust-Kamenogorsk lead and zinc complex, for instance, yields an annual increase in production to the value of over 50 million rubles. Without this we would, probably, have to build a new large enterprise.

Or take the achievement of the miners' team of Section No. 3 at the Mikhailovskaya pit who managed to surpass by several times the labour productivity of their workmates in the same coalfield. And this was achieved not by over-strenuous physical effort, but above all by proper organisation of labour and a fuller and more effective use of equipment.

These are record achievements, of course, which cannot be repeated everywhere and at once. But they can and must serve as an example to be followed. Such initiative should be displayed at all enterprises. This will bring the country thousands of millions of rubles' worth of additional output. It is along these lines, the lines of technological progress and the spread of advanced know-how that we must solve the problems of communist construction.

I should like to draw your attention to yet another aspect. Every working collective, be it at a factory, a state farm or research establishment, is composed of individuals united by common goals and tasks. But even in our conditions, in the conditions of collective socialist labour, the significance of individual creative endeavour, far from being reduced, continues to increase. In fact, the general performance of the collective largely depends on the people in it who set the tone, inspiring others by their example. They may be called, using a navy term, the look-outs.

Your Republic has fostered many such people who are her pride and glory. We pay due tribute to the exploits of rice grower Ibrai Zhakhayev and sheep breeder Zhazylbek Kuanyshbayev, twice Heroes of Socialist Labour; virgin land veterans Mikhail Dovzhik and Zhansultan Demeyev, Heroes of Socialist Labour; miners Ivan Suslyakov and

Askar Serikov; excavator operator Yevgeni Antoshkin; sugar-beet grower Feodosya Gaivoronskaya; teacher Rafika Nurtazina, and very many other front-ranking workers in the diversified Kazakh economy and culture.

On this gala day we recall with a feeling of great respect those who are no longer with us: Kanysh Satpayev, an outstanding Soviet geologist, and Mukhtar Auezov, a writer of world fame.

Naturally, comrades, I am sorry that I cannot mention here many other famous people of your Republic, and that I cannot do more than enumerate some of their names, although they have all led remarkable and edifying lives, and whole books could be written about every one of them. Take, for instance, Ulbala Altaibayeva, a team leader at the Kommunizm Collective Farm. Last year this wonderful woman, a Mother-Heroine, harvested 109 centners of rice per hectare from 20 hectares of land and for this was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. And this means that Comrade Altaibayeva is twice a Hero.

Glory and honour to the advanced workers of Kazakhstan, factory workers, collective farmers, specialists, scientists, and cultural workers!

Comrades, people of practically every nationality of our country are building socialist Kazakhstan side by side with the indigenous population of the Republic. The achievements of your Republic are very much the result of the joint effort of all the Union Republics, a graphic embodiment of the friendship of peoples.

We spoke specifically of the significance of that friendship during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the USSR. I dealt with the same topic quite recently in Kiev as well. This is a topic that fears no repetition. It is inexhaustible, one can say, because the friendship of our peoples is the greatest strength of our society and our tremendous gain. It was born in the class battles against autocracy, in the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution; it gained strength at the construction projects of the five-year plans and was tempered in the flames of the Great Patriotic War. It was fostered by the working people

of all the nationalities and especially by the Russian working class, the Russian people, who held aloft the banner of internationalism and offered, in deeds, a model of loyalty to that banner.

The Soviet people call themselves internationalists, and they have every right to do so, for practical experience has shown the world how much can be achieved by peoples that have united on the principles of socialism, on the principles of genuine equality, fraternity and liberty. These principles, which the Communist Party has affirmed since the first days of Soviet power, have become a norm of the people's life. We have been and remain irreconcilable to any manifestation of national strife, chauvinism and nationalism.

At its 24th Congress our Party drew the important conclusion that, as a result of the profound and all-round socio-political changes, which had taken place in half a century, there had been established in this country a new historical entity of people, namely, the Soviet people. The history of the establishment and development of Soviet Kazakhstan is graphic confirmation of this.

In speaking of a new historical entity of people, we certainly do not mean that all distinctions between nationalities have disappeared in our country, let alone that all its nations have merged into one. All the nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union retain their distinguishing features, national traits, language, and their best traditions. They have every opportunity to achieve a still greater advancement of their national culture.

At the same time, the Soviet people is not just the sum total of a number of nations living side by side in the same state, under the same roof, so to speak. Our people, irrespective of their nationality, have many common features which help to unite them into a monolithic entity. These features are identity of ideology and identity of historical destinies. They are identity of the conditions of their socio-economic life, of their basic interests and goals. They are the developing communion of Soviet socialist culture which assimilates all the real values of every national culture.

Several days ago, an event occurred which cannot but be a source of joy to us: the 250,000,000th citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was born. This means that we now have more than 207 million like him, born since the October Revolution. These people are Soviet from the day of birth, and since childhood have been growing up in our Soviet environment. They do not know any other way of life, and theirs is the nature of the Soviet man.

Comrades, mutual assistance, readiness to help each other has become a law of life of Soviet peoples. This fact was graphically illustrated last year, when our country was hit hard by a natural disaster—by drought. At that time, the working people of Kazakhstan did everything they could to provide the country with 1,000 million poods of grain. And they managed it. Valuable in itself, this grain had perhaps far greater weight than 1,000 million poods because it was supplied to the country at a time of stress.

Just as in any major undertaking in our country, many fraternal Republics joined in the efforts to secure last year's thousand million. A helping hand to the grain farmers in Kazakhstan was extended by the contingents from Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia and other Republics. We appreciate the contribution they made at the busy time of harvesting. And, of course, our heartfelt thanks go to our servicemen. They must be given due credit: they did a lot to help the Republic gather in the grain and were able to combine valiant labour on Kazakhstan's fields with their military training.

The situation in the country is more favourable now. Recently, as you may remember, I paid a visit to the Ukraine. The grain farmers of that Republic have raised a bumper crop of cereals and decided to sell not less than a thousand million poods of grain to the state. We are confident that the Ukrainian farmers will cope with this task and do their best to consolidate their hold on the thousand million figure.

Good crops of grain have been grown in the North Caucasus, in the Voronezh, Lipetsk, Tambov and other regions of the Central black soil area, in the Volgograd and

Saratov regions, in Byelorussia, Moldavia and the Baltic Republics.

The drive to gather in a big grain harvest on the collective and state farm fields is now in full swing. Harvest time has also come to Kazakhstan. We highly appreciate the work of every person engaged in bringing in the harvest. Today I should like to emphasise the great role which is played here by secretaries of the local Party organisations, workers of district Party committees and district executive committees, regional Party and regional executive committees, which under the direction of the Republic's energetic headquarters—the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan—carry on the day-to-day organisational work to get the grain to the Motherland's corn bins quickly and without loss. Many thanks to them for that!

Today I attended a meeting of the activists of the Republic's Party and economic bodies and it gives me pleasure to welcome from this rostrum the decision it adopted, to sell not less than a thousand million poods of grain to the state this year. I am sure that this pledge taken by the workers engaged in Kazakhstan's agriculture will be hailed by the whole country with great satisfaction.

Just as they did last year, combine-harvester operators, tractor and lorry drivers and machine operators from other Republics and regions long since linked with Kazakhstan by firm labour friendship will help you with the harvesting, adding their efforts to the massive efforts of the grain growers of Kazakhstan. Our glorious army will again take its due part in that work.

Permit me to wish you, as I did the Ukrainian comrades, that the thousand million poods of grain should become the starting point from which you could advance further and further from year to year. Every success to you, dear friends, in this noble work!

There is one more thing. By contributing a thousand million poods of grain to the country's corn bins you, comrades, will have marked the twentieth harvesting season on the new lands in a fitting manner.

The developing of the virgin lands was an outstanding feat performed by the Soviet people. Among those present in this hall are quite a few people who, in response to the Party's will, the Komsomol's call and the dictate of their own hearts, arrived in the Kazakh steppes to breathe life into them and linked their lives with the virgin lands for years. They remember the difficulties they had to overcome at the time: there was no housing, equipment was short, everything had to be made anew. But those who have developed the new lands, who live and work there are people of the heroic mould. As they did then, now too they enjoy the support of the whole people and have won well-deserved fame in our country.

Kazakhstan also has another branch of agriculture as important as the virgin lands. This is cattle raising. In the first half of this year the Republic's cattle breeders fulfilled the pledges they had made. The winners of the socialist emulation will undoubtedly receive the recognition they deserve from the Motherland.

On instructions from the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, the Republic is working out measures designed to achieve further progress in sheep breeding in order to raise the sheep population to about 50 or 60 million head. This task is of great national significance. Of course, it will require time and help to accomplish. But it must be tackled at once with all persistence, in the same way as you set about developing the virgin lands in the past.

Speaking of the possibilities of the Republic's agriculture, I should like to stress particularly the part of the discussion at today's meeting of Party and economic activists which dealt with the training of agricultural personnel—tractor drivers, combine operators and mechanics. This urgent task should be tackled on a big scale by establishing agricultural vocational schools and teaching a second trade to rural residents who, at the busy time of harvest, could sit at the wheel of the combine harvester or operate a tractor or a grain-cleaning machine. It must be said that this question has been raised repeatedly but so far progress

towards its solution has been slow. Both the leaders of the Republic and the bodies responsible for the land should draw the appropriate conclusions.

Comrades, the March 1965 and subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee, the 23rd and 24th Congresses of the Party worked out a fundamental political line for boosting agriculture. This is a long-term and economically substantiated course, and a great deal has already been done towards implementing it. As you know, we are modernising agricultural machinery factories in order to increase the output and improve the quality of tractors, combine harvesters and other agricultural machines and implements. Large-scale land improvement work is under way in all the Republics. Suffice it to say that the irrigated lands with their stable crops are already yielding one-fifth of the crop-farming produce. More capacities are being introduced in the mineral fertiliser industry.

But we must look to the future. In leadership, the main thing is not to state the facts, but to foresee. We have covered only part of the way outlined by the Party. Ahead lies a great amount of work on further mechanisation of agriculture and cattle raising, application of industrial methods to agricultural production, and bringing amenities to our countryside. In short, the task of advancing agriculture was and remains a major nationwide cause. The Politbureau, the Central Committee of the Party will therefore continue to hold this question in the centre of their attention.

The Party is confident that the working people in the countryside will do everything to see that returns from this major branch of the economy are bigger and bigger every year.

Comrades, you know that the development of the Soviet economy is determined by rapid and all-round progress both in farming and in industry in their indissoluble connection and interdependence. At a number of plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Party we made a keen and principled analysis of the problems of further developing industrial production, increasing its effective-

ness and radically improving the quality of output. The measures we outlined are yielding fairly good results, but there are no grounds for complacency, and this applies particularly to capital construction.

We have to our credit vast, one could say, unique experience in construction. Relying on this experience, we are fully entitled to set ourselves ever more complex and important tasks. We must build not only more—the volume of construction will grow from year to year, which is quite natural—but also more economically, with a maximum return on capital and, needless to say, on the most up-to-date level. We have, in fact, quite a number of examples of precisely such an approach to construction. But the task is not only to obtain excellent results at individual though important construction projects, but to see that every project envisaged by the five-year plan is built and put into operation on time and that it meets progressive scientific and technical requirements. Our Party, government and economic bodies should do all they can to organise things in capital construction in just this way.

In order to reach the five-year plan targets, and we are obliged to reach them, we must, in the remaining period, do more than we did in the first part, and in every sector: intensive utilisation of existing capacities and timely introduction of new ones, raising the productivity of labour and improving the quality of output. This is the measure of how responsible and how exacting Party organisations are today. Allow me to express confidence that the Communists, Komsomol members and all working people of Kazakhstan will make a worthy contribution to the accomplishment of this nationwide task.

Comrades, allow me to dwell on some issues of world politics.

You know that a situation which is new in many respects is taking shape in the world. We have grounds to say that the process of relaxation of tensions and normalisation of relations continues developing, and the threat of a direct confrontation between the two world systems is receding. We shall continue to work for complete elimination of the

danger of a world war, for the triumph of the policy of peaceful coexistence on earth.

Such prospects are quite realistic. The easing of tensions has already led to the emergence of a whole system of treaties, agreements and arrangements laying foundations for peaceful and, I would say, constructive relations between the socialist and capitalist countries. All this offers hope that the present detente is not a temporary phenomenon, but the beginning of a fundamental reconstruction of international relations.

The question of how to deepen the process of detente and of how to make it irreversible was, in fact, one of the central issues at the recent meeting of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries in the Crimea.

The participants in that meeting expressed the unanimous conviction that the struggle for a radical improvement in the international climate would call for consistent efforts in many fields. In the light of the exchange of opinions with our friends, our Party regards the following as the immediate objectives:

- to facilitate the complete success of the all-European conference;

- to strive for the extension of detente beyond the continent of Europe, for spreading it throughout the world;

- to work for supplementing the political detente by military detente, for ending the arms race, and, subsequently, for practical steps towards arms reduction;

- to contribute in every way possible to the complete restoration of peace in the whole of Indochina and to a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the resolutions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly, which provide for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories;

- to promote large-scale and mutually advantageous economic ties with the capitalist world, which would be an important way of consolidating the favourable political shifts now taking place;

—to continue unswervingly the course for further developing and strengthening co-operation with the developing Asian, African and Latin American countries.

In short, what is needed is not to slacken our efforts towards implementing the Peace Programme.

Goodwill and a realistic approach will be needed to accomplish these tasks not only on our part. We see that in the capitalist world the struggle still continues over the prospect of developing relations with the socialist countries, and this is no surprise to us. We know that there are forces there which still think in terms of the cold war. These are people advocating the unrestrained inflation of military budgets and the building-up of the nuclear potential. These are people who turn away from realities and spread false fears, who do not stop at slander. These are also people who would like to undermine the treaties and agreements that have been concluded. I have in mind, specifically, certain West German circles striving to impose on the FRG the former policy towards the GDR, a policy which has no prospects whatever. All these zealots of the cold war have a common platform—resistance to any step towards peace and the development of international co-operation. And we should continue to be vigilant in the face of their intrigues.

At the same time, the far-sighted politicians in bourgeois countries, influential business circles, let alone broad sections of the public, are becoming increasingly aware of the need for peaceful coexistence of the two social systems. One can say quite definitely: a trend towards reasonable co-operation with the socialist countries has come into being and is gaining strength in the capitalist world.

The ruling bourgeois circles are now ready to conclude agreements with us on key problems, too. True, they are doing so against a background of certain differences in their midst. As far as we are concerned, we do not intend to stop halfway. We stand for stable relations, for honest, mutually advantageous, businesslike co-operation and for the establishment of a really durable peace on earth.

The successful development of our socialist community as a whole and of each socialist country individually is, of

course, the main prerequisite for the effectiveness of our class international policy. The cohesion of the socialist countries and our close co-operation form the bedrock of everything that we have achieved in the field of easing tensions.

Concern for the development of friendship and co-operation with the fraternal countries has been a permanent, organic part of all the activities of our Party. As was reaffirmed by the Crimea meeting, this is the approach of all the fraternal Parties. We stated that in all fields—political, economic and ideological—there are substantial reserves for expanding our co-operation.

The participants in the meeting were unanimous in their view that what is needed at the present stage is to considerably raise the level of ideological co-operation among the fraternal Parties. The profound study of each other's experience, joint creative work on the pressing problems of socialist and communist construction, co-ordination of efforts in the struggle against bourgeois ideology—all this, undoubtedly, has been and will be conducive to our success on the road of progress.

We are convinced of the correctness of our path, of our Marxist-Leninist ideology, and we do not doubt that the expansion of contacts, exchanges of cultural values and information, development of ties between the publics of various countries—all this being natural in the conditions of detente—will help greatly to spread the truth about socialism and win more and more supporters to the side of the ideas of scientific communism.

At the same time, and this must be mentioned, what is required now is a more thorough approach to questions of the communist education of the working people in our country. I should like to wish our propagandists, people working in the press, TV, radio, all the ideological institutions to be more prompt in responding to events, to considerably improve the entire work of information, to give a well-substantiated explanation of the Party's policy, to take more fully into account the higher cultural level and the wide-ranging character of the Soviet people's require-

ments, in short, to master the Leninist skill of politically educating the masses. The Central Committee of the Party attaches paramount importance to all this.

Comrades, the development of ever more extensive economic contacts with the fraternal countries conforms to the interests of the Soviet Union and the whole of world socialism. The accelerated growth of trade turnover, promotion of scientific and technical co-operation, advancement of production co-operation with the socialist countries—all this was regarded at the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee as a matter of concern for the Party and the state. Local Party organisations have a big role to play in this respect. Your Republic contributes substantially to economic co-operation with the socialist countries. And it is a point of honour for the Communists of Kazakhstan, for all working people in the Republic to carry out all their foreign-trade commitments efficiently and on time, to ensure that the produce they supply to the fraternal countries is flawless in quality and meets the highest of demands. One should be bolder and more active in backing every constructive initiative to advance economic and scientific and technical ties with our friends.

In the opinion of the Central Committee Politbureau, the conclusions drawn at the friendly meeting in the Crimea provide a good incentive to our work and to the activities of all the fraternal Parties in improving and deepening contacts in every sphere.

I want specially to emphasise that all the participants in the meeting gave a high appraisal of our Party's principled Leninist foreign policy, the latest important foreign-policy moves towards the implementation of the Peace Programme, our talks with representatives of the major capitalist states, and the treaties and agreements signed with these countries. We cherish this support from our allies, our comrades in the common struggle.

Comrades, in setting the goal of extending the zone of detente to the whole world, we think it is important that Asia should join this process on a broad scale.

Here we proceed not only from the interests of our own country, two-thirds of whose territory is in Asia. We take into account the place this continent holds in the life of mankind, the role of Asian states in world politics, and the interests of Asia itself and its peoples.

For many decades, and even centuries, Asia was a province for colonial plunder. But even when colonial rule seemed unshakeable, Lenin confidently predicted its inevitable collapse and the liberation of the Asian peoples. No power on earth, wrote Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, shall wipe out the heroic democratic spirit of the masses in the Asian countries.

We have a right to be proud that from its inception Soviet power proclaimed a policy of peace, friendship and equal co-operation with Asian countries. One of the first documents of the Council of People's Commissars was the appeal "To All Working Moslems of Russia and the East", which set forth the noble principles underlying this new, socialist state policy. One of the first diplomatic representatives received by Lenin was the Ambassador of Afghanistan. The young Soviet Republic signed its first treaties of friendship with such Asian countries as Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and Mongolia.

Through all subsequent years our Party unswervingly followed the Leninist tradition of friendship and solidarity with the peoples of Asia. Every page in the annals of Asian liberation struggles records effective support and solidarity on the part of the Soviet Union, on the part of our people and on the part of our Party.

Present-day Asia is a continent renovated in many respects, a continent which has broken the fetters of colonialism. The peoples of Asia are fully resolved to uphold their independence, to march along the road of national and social progress, along the path of fundamental revolutionary changes.

In short, Asia is a continent in development. But this process of development is bound to be extremely difficult, owing to the tenacity of the reactionary forces and the opposition encountered from imperialism and reaction. It is

plain that stable peace, detente and good-neighbourly relations provide favourable conditions for the successful development of the process.

We have all witnessed momentous changes for the better in Asia. The long and difficult war in Vietnam has ended in victory for the Vietnamese people. Agreement has been reached on the restoration of peace and national accord in Laos. Conditions have been established for relations between the countries of the Indian subcontinent to return to normal. New positive factors have developed in the situation on the Korean Peninsula, thanks to the important initiative of the Korean People's Democratic Republic concerning peaceful, democratic reunification of the country.

Lastly, and this is very important, the policy of peace-loving nations exercises an increasing influence over the situation in Asia. An outstanding place among those nations is held by such a great country as India, which today is celebrating the 26th anniversary of her independence. India spoke in support of the principles of peaceful coexistence at a time when many in the West repudiated the very notion.

I speak now only of the positive factors not, of course, because there are no negative ones. They exist and operate, as you well know. But as everywhere, a sound tendency which we support is making itself felt in Asia.

The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that Asia can and must live according to the laws of peace, and collective security is a real way towards this. Of course, both time and considerable effort will be required to achieve this aim. But we believe that the peoples of Asia will come to this.

Why do we advocate collective security in Asia? We do so because we seek to exclude wars and armed conflicts, imperialist aggression on the Asian continent; we want every country and people to be guaranteed conditions for free development and national revival, the spirit of trust and mutual understanding to reign in relations among Asian countries.

We have said many times and we repeat again: the Soviet Union stands for equal participation of all Asian

states without exception in a system of collective security. The system we are advocating does not and must not give anybody unilateral advantages; every Asian state is called upon to make a contribution to its establishment.

We propose the building of a collective security system not on unprepared ground. Many principles on which it could be based have been proclaimed in the historic decisions of the Bandung Conference, others are reflected in a number of international documents concerning Asia.

Our policy is aimed at the development of normal, good-neighbourly relations with all Asian countries that for their part desire this. In this respect we attach great importance to developing broad many-sided co-operation on a mutually advantageous basis with such an important Asian country as Japan.

Speaking here, in Alma Ata, three years ago, I stressed that the Soviet Union wanted good relations also with the People's Republic of China. During these years we have done everything we could to normalise Soviet-Chinese relations. Unfortunately, however, we have not succeeded in making an appreciable advance in this respect. The reason is one—the policy of the Chinese leadership, based on rabid anti-Sovietism, on subversive activity against socialist countries.

We must say plainly that a turn for the better in the relations of the PRC with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is possible only if the Chinese leadership observes the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs, if it gives up attempts to encroach on the interests of socialist countries.

Our fundamental policy, which combines a resolute struggle against the theory and practice of Maoism, as a trend inimical to Leninism, with readiness to normalise interstate relations with the PRC, the policy of the 24th CPSU Congress, remains invariable.

Today the ideas of peace and friendship of peoples are penetrating ever deeper into the consciousness of the world public. Behind these ideas stand the prestige and growing might of our country, the increasing unity of the socialist

community, the solidarity of all fighters for national freedom and social progress.

We shall continue to work actively for international detente, for elimination of hotbeds of war danger, and putting a stop to the arms race. We shall continue to resolutely rebuff those forces which would like to reverse world development. And we are convinced that our just cause of struggle for peace and social progress will triumph!

Dear comrades and friends,

Allow me to read out the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Awarding your Republic the Order of Friendship Among Peoples.

*“Decree of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
on Awarding the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic
the Order of Friendship Among Peoples*”

“For the great services rendered by the working people of the Kazakh SSR in developing and strengthening the USSR, in strengthening friendship and fraternal co-operation among the socialist nations and nationalities, for their great contribution to the economic, socio-political and cultural development of the Soviet state, and in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the *Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic* shall be awarded the *Order of Friendship Among Peoples*.”

*N. PODGORNÝ
President of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
M. GEORGADZE
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR”*

Dear comrades,

May I once more congratulate from the bottom of my heart the workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, all working people of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic on a

great, honourable and well-deserved award and wish you fresh successes in your economic and cultural construction.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses firm confidence that in response to this high award the working people of Kazakhstan will, with the scope and efficiency characteristic of Soviet people, work for putting into effect the historic decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, for implementing the economic and social programme of the Party. We are confident of this, because we are well aware of the strength and potentialities of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the organising abilities of its Central Committee and the Bureau of the Central Committee. We are also well aware of the efficiency and initiative of the Council of Ministers of the Republic, of the regional Party committees and regional executive committees, the district Party committees and the district executive committees, of all Party and government activists of Kazakhstan.

In Kazakhstan, and indeed throughout the country, a generation of people have been born and grown up, who are destined to celebrate the centenary of the Great October Revolution, who will mark the centenaries of the Union Republics, of our entire Union. The things we are accomplishing now will be history to them. From the heights of their knowledge and their achievements, they will be assessing our activities, too. Let us, then, comrades, work in such a way that we may face the judgement of our descendants with a clear conscience, that we may feel we have done our duty.

Long live socialist Kazakhstan!

May friendship among the Soviet peoples gain strength and develop!

Long live our Communist Party, the Party of Lenin—the organiser and inspirer of all our victories!

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEWSPAPER
UNITA

Dear comrades and friends,

I should like to offer you, the Italian Communists, and the working people of Italy my cordial congratulations on the traditional *Unita* holiday.

A press that writes from the positions of the working class, against exploitation and oppression, against racialism and the fanning of hatred among peoples, that advocates peace and opposes war—only such a press has the right to call itself free, to call itself the voice of the broad masses of the working people. It is to such a press that your *Unita* belongs.

We Communists, no matter what corner of the globe we live in, are bound by a truly fraternal friendship which, it may be said, increases tenfold the strength of each Marxist-Leninist party, of our whole movement. The Soviet Communists, all Soviet people have great respect for the glorious Italian Communist Party, for its leadership headed by our dear comrades Luigi Longo and Enrico Berlinguer. Six months ago in Moscow important and fruitful talks were held between the delegations of the CPSU and the ICP. We once again emphasised our unanimity on the important questions of the struggle for peace and international security. It stands to reason that each of our two parties determines its positions and works out its political line in-

dependently. At the same time we do this on a common basis which unites us—the basis of Marxism-Leninism. We share experience, we help each other, we work together in seeking and finding answers to the international problems of the day. This is proletarian internationalism in action!

When our Party was working out the now universally known Peace Programme which was passed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, it treated it as a document expressing the interests of the Soviet people, the Soviet Communists. At the same time we strove to take into consideration the interests of all the peoples, the opinions of the other fraternal parties, the conclusions which they had reached at their meetings in Karlovy Vary in 1967 and at the Moscow Meeting in 1969. We based ourselves on the experience of the broad anti-imperialist movements working actively for peace. I think I shall not be mistaken if I say that it was largely for this reason that the Peace Programme gained such wide international support.

Some deep and very promising changes have indeed taken place in international relations in the last two or three years. And this year is especially remarkable in this respect. It may boldly be called a year of big decisions which open the way to big changes.

Thanks to the heroic, selfless efforts of the patriots of Vietnam, who were supported by millions of people all over the planet and who were actively helped by the CPSU, the Communist parties of the socialist countries, the French, the Italian Communist Parties and other fraternal parties, the aggression in that country has been brought to an end. A historic step has been taken towards reducing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. I have in mind the permanent agreement between our country and the United States on the prevention of nuclear war. The process of relaxation of international tension continues to develop and gain momentum. Real prospects are being created for the world-wide realisation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and successful struggle against the arms race.

The Conference on European Security and Co-operation has begun its work. What do we expect of this conference?

We hope that the participating states will agree to seal with their signatures and, subsequently, with their policies the will of the European peoples to lay the foundations of lasting peace and security on the continent. We expect the conference to open up new prospects for mutually advantageous large-scale economic co-operation between all the states of Europe. And finally, we believe that the conference will exert a beneficial influence in extending cultural relations, the exchange of spiritual values, the development of tourism, and contacts in general between Europeans. We believe that given goodwill, there is every possibility of completing the work of the conference this year.

There are, of course, many obstacles in the world that stand in the way of lasting peace, many unsolved problems. The danger spot in the Middle East has not yet been made safe. The arms race continues. There are still large numbers of people in the world suffering from starvation, disease and economic backwardness. Some peoples have to wage an armed struggle against colonialists for the right to be the masters of their own destinies.

But today we have better grounds than we ever had previously for looking to the future with confidence. Not so long ago some politicians were trying to impose on mankind a peace based on fear of nuclear war; they talked of the "balance of fear". This is a precarious position and a dangerous policy. We Communists have chosen a different course: relations between states should be built on the basis of peaceful coexistence, mutual understanding, trust, and constructive co-operation. All countries, large and small, can and should make their contribution to such a peace. And it is this course that is gaining ground on the international scene. It is a course that benefits everyone, but above all it benefits the working people, who regard their struggle for peace and security as part of the struggle for social progress.

Dear friends, our country has long since cherished feelings of great affection for your beautiful country, its extremely rich culture, its highly gifted people, who have made an outstanding contribution to world civilisation. The

Soviet Union attaches great importance to the development of relations with Italy, the strengthening of friendship between our peoples. There are no grounds for discord between our peoples or our countries.

On the whole, Soviet-Italian relations are not going badly. But, to be quite frank, against the background of the intensive development of our co-operation with many countries, even those with which we have fairly serious problems to solve, the relations between the Soviet Union and Italy have not yet, in our view, reached the desired level. There are many unused opportunities and reserves in this sphere. In a word, we have something to work on together to give full realisation to these possibilities.

Allow me, in conclusion, to wish all the participants in the *Unita* holiday, all its readers new successes in the noble struggle for the vital interests of the working people, for world peace, and for socialism. I should also like to ask the directors of *Unita* to convey to all Italian working men and women wishes of happiness and success in achieving their aims.

L. Brezhnev

August 31, 1973

**TO THE PARTICIPANTS
IN THE FIFTH CONFERENCE OF THE WRITERS
OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

Alma Ata

I cordially welcome the writers of the Asian and African countries who have gathered in the capital of Soviet Kazakhstan for their fifth conference.

The fruitful work of the Association of Writers of Asian and African Countries, which has existed for more than fifteen years, furthers the growth of mutual understanding between the peoples, and the struggle for the ideals of peace, freedom, national independence and social progress. Those who take part in this movement are united by a belief in the high social predestination of literature, in its dedication to the principles of peace, humanism and progress.

Today, when positive changes stemming from the reorganisation of international relations on the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are taking place, the expansion of contacts and the fruitful exchange of cultural values reveal to the creative intelligentsia of the Asian and African countries new opportunities for actively helping to strengthen the unity of all the forces fighting for peace, national liberation and social justice. It is the lofty and noble task of men of letters to facilitate the process of relaxation of tension, which accords with the vital interests of the peoples, to embrace the whole world.

Soviet people are constant in their support of the Asian and African peoples' freedom struggle against imperialism,

and colonial and racial oppression. The war in Vietnam has ended in the victory of the patriotic forces; we firmly believe in the success of the just struggle of all the peoples of Indochina for the right to arrange their own lives without any outside interference. Our support is on the side of the Arab peoples fighting for a just peace in the Middle East, against Israeli aggression, for the withdrawal of the aggressor's forces from the occupied Arab territories, and for ensuring the legitimate interests of the Arab people of Palestine. We constantly support the struggle of the peoples of Africa to eliminate the colonial and racist regimes.

Soviet people take a deep interest in the creative work and social activity of progressive Afro-Asian writers who truthfully and vividly describe the national liberation struggle and actively participate in building the new life of the young national states. Developing the best folk traditions, the writers of these countries produce works of art imbued with faith in human reason, in the inexhaustible creative resources of the peoples who take the path of social progress, free development and national regeneration, genuine good-neighbourliness and mutual enrichment of cultures.

A spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, of living and fruitful contacts has always been a feature of the writers' conferences of the Asian and African countries. May this spirit triumph also at the Alma Ata conference. May it go down in the history of the writers' movement of the Afro-Asian countries as an important stage in the consolidation of the fraternal co-operation of cultural workers, whose calling is to defend peace, and to protect and develop civilisation for their contemporaries and for the generations to come!

With all my heart I wish the participants in the fifth conference of the writers of Asian and African countries successful work and major creative achievements in the name of peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

L. Brezhnev

September 4, 1973

**SPEECH IN SOFIA
ON RECEIVING THE GOLD STAR OF HERO
OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

September 18, 1973

Dear Comrade Zhivkov,
Dear Comrade Todorov,
Dear comrades, friends and brothers,

I am deeply moved by your conferring on me the title of Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and by the kind fraternal words expressed here by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

This happy event in my life takes my thoughts back to the glorious days of September 1944 when the victorious offensive of the Soviet Army, which was routing the Hitlerite troops, merged with the uprising of the Bulgarian people, which crowned the struggle of the guerillas and anti-fascists of Bulgaria. This heroic and legendary period will forever remain in the memories, particularly of those who personally participated in the difficult battles of the last war.

I recall the early postwar years, the grim years of healing the wounds of war. Together with you, dear Bulgarian brothers, together with the working people of our entire socialist family, overcoming all the manoeuvring of our enemies, we succeeded then not only in defending, consolidating and increasing the revolutionary gains of our peoples, but also in transforming them into a most powerful factor of social progress and peace.

Looking back at the road traversed, we, Communists and all who bound their lives, thoughts and cares with the strug-

gle for socialism and communism, cannot but experience the deepest satisfaction and happiness. In this struggle, which called for every bit of mental and physical effort, fighting courage and hard work, we did not seek fame and rewards. We obeyed the call of our hearts, conscious of our duty. We were led onwards by the great, unfading ideals which Marx and Lenin gave to us, by those noble aims which were indicated to us by the Communist Party and our people. At the same time, if recognition and rewards, after all, do come your way, then, I say in all frankness: you feel doubly happy. It means that you have not fought and worked in vain. It means that you succeeded in some degree in living up to the trust confided in you by your fellow Party members, class brothers, and the people.

I realise that the great honour and high appreciation shown me by the bestowal of the highest decoration of the socialist Bulgarian state, belong in full measure to the Party of which I am a member—the Party of Lenin. They wholly belong to the Soviet people and their working class.

The working class and its Communist Party, the people—these are the real heroes of history.

The title of Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a wonderful symbol of those profound fraternal sentiments and that unbreakable alliance that bind our peoples. This is a high appraisal of our fruitful co-operation in the building of socialism and communism and in the strengthening of peace.

Such a high and honourable award is also a token of great responsibility. Such an award commits one. Accepting it, I wish to assure you, dear Comrade Zhivkov, and all of you, dear Bulgarian brothers, that our Party, the Soviet Union, will continue to do everything necessary for all-round drawing together, for the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, in the name of socialism and communism, for the consolidation of our entire socialist community, for the cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of modern times.

You may rest assured that the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government will continue pursuing just as

perseveringly and firmly the policy of strengthening peace and international security, and will work to make those positive changes achieved in international relations in recent years irreversible.

As for myself, I assure you that I shall spare no effort in working for these noble aims.

I wholeheartedly thank the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the great honour accorded me, and all those Bulgarian comrades who congratulated me for their kind words and warm friendly feelings.

May the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples develop and prosper!

ETERNAL, INDISSOLUBLE FRATERNITY

Speech at a Meeting of Working People in Sofia

September 19, 1973

Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov,
Dear Comrade Stanko Todorov,
Dear Bulgarian friends and brothers,

It is a great joy to be with you again, to feel the warmth of the meeting, the sincerity of your heartfelt fraternal feelings. It is at such moments that one becomes especially clearly aware of the unbreakable ties that link us, of the purity and depth of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and its great importance for our Parties and peoples.

I wholeheartedly thank all comrades who spoke here for the respect and love they expressed for the Party of Soviet Communists, for our country and the Soviet people. Every Soviet Communist, every Soviet man and woman responds in kind, Bulgarian brothers and sisters. Loyalty for loyalty, friendship for friendship!

I must also express my heartfelt gratitude to Comrade Zhivkov, and to other people who spoke from this rostrum, and to all of you, my dear friends, for the kind words and warm feelings you expressed on the occasion of my being awarded the honourable title of Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. As I said yesterday, I attribute this high honour accorded me to the policy of our Leninist Party and its Central Committee, a policy which constantly aims at

strengthening universal peace, at consolidating the great friendship of the fraternal countries of socialism. I assure you, comrades, that to the end of my days I shall be true to these lofty ideals and will try by my deeds to justify your high trust.

Dear friends,

From this rostrum, I should like to address my warmest greetings to all the inhabitants of your beautiful capital, Sofia, to all citizens of socialist Bulgaria, and to wish every Bulgarian family happiness and well-being. Availing myself of this opportunity, I also want to fulfil a pleasant duty and convey my best wishes to the peoples of Stara-Zagora and Varna who have honoured me by bestowing on me the freedom of these cities.

I want to say that it was with particular pleasure that I accepted the invitation from the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and personally from Comrade T. Zhivkov to come to Sofia for a friendly visit at this time, in the revolutionary month of September which is of such significance for your country. A few days ago you celebrated the anniversary of the establishment of people's power, and in a few days' time it will be half a century since the anti-fascist uprising of 1923. Our Party and the Soviet people, the Communists and revolutionaries of the whole world celebrate this glorious date with you.

The September uprising was the first resolute battle against fascism. In the vanguard of the struggle was the revolutionary Party which had been trained and led in class battles by such outstanding leaders as Dimitr Blagoyev, Vasil Kolarov and by one of the most prominent theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism, one of the members of the international communist movement, the great son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov.

There is a direct and most immediate connection between September 1923 and the victorious September of 1944. The experience of the Bulgarian revolution, like the entire experience of mankind since October 1917, demonstrates the irresistibility of the laws of history, the inevitable triumph of socialism.

Together with you, dear friends, we honour those who continued the cause of the heroes of September 1923 and translated into reality the Bulgarians' centuries-old dream of seeing their Motherland free and prospering, their people strong and happy. Bulgaria has become such a country due to socialism, due to the Communist Party's guidance, due to the strong alliance between workers and peasants, epitomised by the close co-operation between the Communists and the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, due to the unity and cohesion with the fraternal socialist states.

A real revolutionary transformation has occurred on Bulgarian soil, a transformation which has had an immense constructive effect on the whole life of the country. That is probably the most exact way of describing what you have accomplished. The transformation manifests itself in everything—in industry, agriculture, social relations, culture, in the living and working conditions of the people, in their thinking. It is a transformation which has preserved and greatly multiplied the Bulgarian people's intellectual values. A transformation which laid solid foundations for confident and rapid advance towards developed socialism, towards communism.

We, Soviet Communists, are proud of the achievements of the fraternal Bulgarian people and wish them new successes in their striving for the further development and prosperity of your beautiful Motherland!

We take pride in the fact that it was a fraternal Party of Communists, a Party enjoying the confidence and support of the popular masses, which secured the historic turn from backwardness to progress in the life of the Bulgarian people, and confidently leads it to ever new heights!

We take pride in the fact that we have marched with you all these years, and that all-round co-operation between our countries has contributed to Bulgaria's remarkable achievements.

Bulgarian soil bears many monuments symbolising the centuries-long friendship between our peoples, a friendship which has never been darkened. Beside these monuments, which are dear to the hearts of every Bulgarian and every

Soviet person, there have arisen symbols of contemporary Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, the results of fraternal co-operation between our two socialist countries—new industrial plants, factories, power stations, new power transmission lines, and much else.

One tangible result of Soviet-Bulgarian co-operation was the construction of 180 major enterprises and projects that constituted the backbone of Bulgaria's young industry. Another 150 will be added to them in the current five-year period. Last year Bulgaria's power grid was linked to that of the Soviet Union. A gas pipeline is under construction and gas from the USSR will soon flow through it to Bulgaria. Thousands of Bulgarian workers and specialists are working on Soviet soil, shoulder to shoulder with their Soviet brothers, at enterprises whose produce is of great importance for the national economy of Bulgaria. The produce of Bulgarian industry and agriculture have long enjoyed great popularity in our country. All this, comrades and friends, offers vivid examples of how closely the arteries of the Soviet and Bulgarian economies are at present intertwined.

The range of Soviet-Bulgarian co-operation has become truly boundless. One can say without exaggeration that there is no sphere of social life that does not reflect the fraternal union of our peoples. This union is cemented by the relations between our Communist Parties. Their unity and brotherhood is the truly unbreakable foundation of our political alliance, the core of the varied relations between our peoples, our countries. And the present new broad development of our friendship, the continuous process of our rapprochement is a natural and legitimate continuation of the consistent and steadfast course of our two Parties. Ever closer, all-round co-operation and unity of action with the Soviet Union—such is the course of the Bulgarian Communist Party, forcefully reaffirmed at the July Plenary Meeting of its Central Committee. Ever closer, all-round co-operation and unity of action is also the course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with regard to socialist Bulgaria.

Dear comrades, the Central Committee of the CPSU highly appreciates the truly fraternal relations of confidence

that we have with the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, with its distinguished leader, a true son of the Bulgarian people, an outstanding figure in the international communist movement, and our good friend and comrade-in-arms, Todor Zhivkov. I should like to specially stress in this connection the great importance of the Soviet-Bulgarian talks held during the visit of the Bulgarian Party and Government delegation led by Comrade Zhivkov to the Soviet Union last November. Such meetings help us to see more clearly the horizons of our co-operation, to advance more confidently. Such has been the case so far, comrades, such it will be in the future, too!

Dear friends, permit me to dwell briefly on life as it is today in the Soviet Union.

A short while ago the results of the operation of Soviet industry in the eight months of this year were published. Let us look at what may seem dry statistics: it was planned this year to raise industrial output by 5.8 per cent. Actually, the increment in these eight months was 7.4 per cent. This is how the working class responded to the appeal of the Party to turn this year, the third year of the five-year plan, into a year of particularly good work.

At present, our production teams are busily working out plans for next year 1974. And the significant thing is that the workers' reciprocal plans and proposals exceed the initial figures set by our ministerial departments. The energy, initiative, the labour enthusiasm of the working masses in their millions—this, comrades, is the main source of our successes. In every initiative we Communists, as Lenin taught us, rely on the most wonderful force—the strength of the workers and peasants. This is a force that can make the boldest of our dreams and plans come true.

You know what very harsh trials fell to the lot of our agriculture last year. The fact that we came through them successfully is a great victory for the Soviet collective- and state-farm system. It confirms the correctness of the Party's policy of consolidating the material and technical basis of agriculture, of its deep-going intensification. It is the result of a great feat of labour on the part of collective farmers

and state-farm workers, of the workers in the town and the soldiers of the Soviet Army, who won a veritable battle with the elements.

We may say that this year a good harvest has been grown on the vast expanses of our country. Admittedly, nature is still springing surprises upon us. In many areas harvesting is attended by long spells of rain. It is too early at this moment, of course, to quote the final figures. Much has still to be done, particularly in the eastern parts of the country, to bring in the crops without losses. It would be no exaggeration to say that in respect of strain and effort the peaceful field in the harvesting season resembles a field of battle. People spare no effort in order to do their duty, whatever the caprices of the weather.

You know that the farmers of the regions, territories and autonomous republics of the Russian Federation have promised this year to sell the state not less than three thousand million poods of grain, and the Ukraine and Kazakhstan—not less than one thousand million poods each. All the other republics have also set themselves high targets. We hope that the gross grain harvest will considerably exceed the level of past years. A bigger harvest of cotton, sugar-beet, and a number of other crops is also expected.

An extensive programme is being systematically carried out to improve our people's standard of living. We are confident that everything that has been mapped out by the 24th Congress of the Party will be accomplished. The Party will do its best to ensure that every Soviet family lives in good material conditions, has well-appointed modern apartment, gets more and more good-quality and varied consumer goods, and enjoys all the benefits of culture.

We have much work to do in this field, and we shall persevere in it. It would be wrong to say that we are already satisfied with everything and have solved all the problems.

You know that Communists are accustomed to make critical appraisals of the results achieved, and not rest content with what has already been done. We are all well aware that our plans, the growth of the country's might, the improvement of the people's living standard ultimately depend

on the general working efforts of the people and specially on increasing the productivity of labour.

Following Lenin's behest, our Party has always found strength in turning to the people, to their intelligence, knowledge, and high civic consciousness. And this always yields remarkable results. This is the guarantee of all our successes and victories both in domestic affairs, in the field of communist construction, and in foreign affairs, in the struggle for peace and security of the peoples.

Comrades, it is hardly necessary to go over again all the major acts, the treaties and agreements which embody the great successes achieved in the cause of detente in recent times. We have good reason to be proud of the fact that these successes are largely the result of our joint active work and struggle.

Here I refer not only to the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community, but to all activities of our peoples, our Parties aimed at further developing and strengthening the socialist system, advancing the economy and raising the defensive capacity of our countries, and consolidating fraternal friendship between them. We are convinced that in the future, too, the successes in building socialism and communism, in consolidating the socialist community will be the soundest and most reliable guarantee of new achievements in the struggle for durable and lasting peace on our planet.

At the recent meeting in the Crimea, the leaders of the fraternal parties of socialist countries concentrated on ways of further developing the socialist community, advancing economic integration, and co-ordinating our joint actions in the international arena. It is hardly necessary to speak of the importance of the work which is being done in this direction, since the alliance of the socialist states is a decisive factor in the achievement of new successes by world socialism, new triumphs by the revolutionary movement, and in the maintenance of lasting peace.

In the struggle for peace the countries of socialism have many allies among peaceable states on all continents. No small role in ensuring further relaxation is played by our

co-operation on the problems of peace with those governments of capitalist countries which have adopted realistic positions and show a readiness to settle international problems at the negotiating table.

It goes without saying that class struggle in the international arena—the struggle between socialism and capitalism—continues. As before, the social order of states belonging to differing social systems and the ideologies dominating them are diametrically opposed. Differences still persist in the approach to major political questions. Nor have the forces opposed to relaxation laid down their arms; they still hope to take mankind back to the ice age of the cold war.

We and our allies firmly believe in the existing opportunities for a radical, stable improvement of the international climate. We believe that a new system of international relations can and must be built by honestly and consistently observing the principles of sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, by unswervingly implementing the treaties and agreements signed, without any double-dealing and ambiguous manoeuvres. But, of course, this requires an absolutely different approach, different methods and, perhaps, a different psychology from that which existed before.

For our part, we are making every effort to consolidate and develop the positive tendencies that have emerged in the international situation, and we advocate the settling of outstanding international problems through negotiations.

Nevertheless, comrades, our foreign policy has always been and remains a class, socialist policy. Our Party, our Soviet country, like the other fraternal parties and socialist countries, resolutely oppose aggression and the suppression of the peoples' liberation struggle, invariably manifesting ardent solidarity with this struggle, be it, for example, the struggle of the Arab peoples for liberating the lands seized by the aggressor, the struggle of the peoples of Indochina against foreign intervention, or that of the peoples of Latin America for the complete independence of their countries, for economic and social progress.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, addressing you from this rostrum, spoke quite correctly, vividly, with deep conviction

about the wrathful attitude of the Bulgarian Communists to the events in Chile. I also want to say a few words about these events. We hold identical positions in this respect, and this is one more expression of our common unbreakable unity on all issues.

At this time Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people are giving especially forceful expression to their feelings of class solidarity with the working people of Chile and their profound indignation over the bloody crimes committed by the Chilean reactionaries.

The Popular Unity Government of Chile set itself a noble goal of great historic importance: to carry out by peaceful means, within the strict framework of legality, the transformation of society in the interests of the working people, with the active participation of the working people themselves, i.e., the overwhelming majority of the nation. But the exploiter classes and the reactionary military upper crust acting in their interests would not abide by this, and ignored the interests and the will of the people. Blinded by class hatred, aided and abetted by imperialist forces abroad, they did everything to disrupt normal life in the country, and took openly to the road of violence, military dictatorship and terror. Reaction did not stop at the forcible overthrow of the legitimate government. The democratically elected president of the country, supreme commander of the armed forces, was killed. The counter-revolutionaries hurled tanks and artillery against the workers, and are brutally dealing with progressive figures loyal to the people's cause.

Soviet people are indignant over these atrocities and demand that they be stopped. We mourn the death of Chile's true sons and daughters who fell victim to imperialist terror. We bow our heads to the memory of President Salvador Allende of the Republic of Chile, International Lenin Peace Prize winner, who died the death of a hero. He was one of the finest and noblest figures in contemporary political life. He was totally dedicated to the people's cause and gave his life for it. His feat will inspire the working people of Chile and many other countries to new glorious exploits in the struggle for freedom, peace and progress. And we are firmly

convinced that no savagery by the reactionaries will crush the proud spirit of the freedom-loving people of Chile, or halt the irrepressible urge towards freedom, democracy and progress in other countries of Latin America.

I suggest, dear comrades, that we all rise in tribute to the memory of the President of the Republic of Chile, Salvador Allende, who died in the course of duty, and of all sons and daughters of the Chilean people who have fallen victim to the terror unleashed by reaction.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, just as of all countries of the socialist community, is permeated with loyalty to the Leninist behest—to rebuff the forces of imperialism, war and reaction, to act jointly with those who are prepared to defend peace among the peoples. And along these lines, as you know, dear friends, much has already been achieved through our joint efforts, and much still has to be done on the European continent.

The second stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has started at Geneva. It is important that after the pretty good start made in Helsinki by the foreign ministers there should be a businesslike and constructive atmosphere at Geneva too. The purpose of the work ahead, as we see it, is to prepare without unnecessary delays the drafts of the documents for the concluding stage of the conference which, in our view, it would be quite possible and advisable to hold already this year.

In the West one occasionally hears it said that since the Soviet Union and other socialist countries express great interest in solving the problems of European security, in developing political and economic co-operation, why not pressure them and bargain for some concessions?

What can one say on this point?

This is a naive and at the same time what I should call a rather unseemly, mercantile approach to the question. Relaxation of tension in Europe is the common achievement of all the peoples, peace is needed by all the peoples of the continent and its preservation and consolidation should, therefore, be the common concern of all the participants of the conference. We believe that this should not be a matter

of diplomatic "trading", but of joint, multilateral efforts towards eventually working out an effective system that would ensure the security of all European countries and peoples and mutually advantageous co-operation among them.

We are against narrow, selfish calculations, against the artificial boosting of particular questions to the detriment of the principal aims of the conference. We want questions pertaining both to European security and to co-operation in the fields of economy, science, technology, culture and in the humanitarian field to be given an appropriate place in the work of the conference. But we always remember, and believe others should remember this too, that broad and fruitful development of economic and cultural relations, and the effective solution of humanitarian problems are possible only on condition that the threat of war is removed. The paramount importance of strengthening peace for all the peoples, for their progress, for their future—that alone is the historical scale by which in our time one can assess world politics. And this fully applies to the forthcoming discussions at the conference in Geneva.

Of course, the way discussions will proceed at the conference proper is not the only important thing. It is also important that an atmosphere favourable to its work be maintained and built up around it. And yet, in recent days one may hear calls in a number of major capitalist countries for further boosting of the arms drive and inflating military budgets. Here and there in Western Europe forces are becoming active which seek to cast doubt on various elements in the system of treaties and agreements created here in recent times. Far-fetched propaganda campaigns are also launched with a view to sowing mistrust in the policy of the USSR and other socialist countries. It is difficult to avoid the impression that all this is being done with but one goal in view: to hinder by every possible means the success of the great work so much needed by the peoples which has now been begun.

We believe it would be an unforgivable mistake to miss the historic opportunity afforded by the very fact of the

convening and work of the all-European conference. The peoples are expecting it to produce major and authoritative decisions conducive to the further strengthening of peace. And we hope that such solutions will be found and this will be a great thing not only for the peoples of Europe, but for all the peoples of the planet as well.

Dear comrades,

Dear friends and brothers,

The loyal friendship of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, their growing affinity, our all-round co-operation—this is our common and treasured possession. At the same time it is the possession of the entire socialist community. It is a contribution to the cause of peace and social progress of all mankind.

Strengthening Soviet-Bulgarian friendship means facilitating the further prosperity of our two countries.

Strengthening Soviet-Bulgarian friendship means helping to strengthen the positions of world socialism.

Strengthening Soviet-Bulgarian friendship means promoting stronger peace.

I should like to assure you, dear friends, that Soviet people, Soviet Communists, are fully resolved to go on making every effort that our fraternal relations may grow stronger from day to day.

Long live Soviet-Bulgarian fraternity!

May our invincible socialist community live and grow stronger!

Long live peace!

LOYALTY TO THE GREAT UNION OF FRATERNAL REPUBLICS

*Speech in the Tashkent Art Centre
at a Joint Ceremonial Meeting
of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan
and the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR
Marking the Presentation to the Republic
of the Order of Friendship Among Peoples*

September 24, 1973

Dear members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

Dear members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan,

Dear Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,

Dear comrades and friends,

I have visited your Republic quite frequently in the past few years. But it is with a feeling of special satisfaction that I have come to you once again to fulfil a pleasant and honourable mission—to present the Order of Friendship Among Peoples to the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

Behind this award—the third on the banner of your Republic—lie the great work of the people, the organising and inspiring activity of Communists, and loyal service to the Motherland. This is a worthy acknowledgement of the services of Soviet Uzbekistan in building the unbreakable fraternal union of the peoples of the Soviet state, in our common communist cause.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, I warmly congratulate the working class, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia, the Communists, the Komsomols, the young people and all the working people of

Uzbekistan on this great award from the Motherland! On this joyous day, dear friends, all Soviet people send you their greetings and congratulations.

As you know, I have arrived here this time from Bulgaria, where we, the comrades who accompanied me and myself, had cordial and very useful talks with the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party and met the working people of Bulgaria. I consider it my pleasant duty to inform you that when I was leaving Sofia Comrade Todor Zhivkov and other Politbureau members and secretaries of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgarian Government leaders, who knew where I was going and why, pressed me to convey to you their warm congratulations on the high award to Uzbekistan and the best fraternal wishes from the Bulgarian Communists, from all people of Bulgaria.

Comrades, next year our country will officially celebrate the 50th anniversary of Soviet Uzbekistan and the other Union republics of Central Asia. Looking back over the path traversed, we have good reason to speak of the historic leap which the peoples of Central Asia have made in their social development as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the victory of socialism.

The striking contrast to the past which the present life of Uzbekistan and of the neighbouring fraternal republics offers today impels the many public men who visit you from abroad describe what has taken place in Central Asia during the years of Soviet power as a miracle.

Miracles do not happen, of course, but we understand the emotional character of this definition, which vividly reflects the scale of our common accomplishments.

The flourishing of Soviet Central Asia and its impetuous progress are the immediate result of the Leninist nationalities policy pursued by our glorious Communist Party. This policy is based on the principles of internationalism, it is a vivid example of concrete realisation of the historic mission of the working class which, by emancipating itself, emancipates all the oppressed masses of the people. This policy has invariably proceeded, and continues to proceed, from

an awareness of the tremendous potentialities for independent historical creativity possessed by the revolutionary masses of the East, and it does everything to enable these potentialities to be used to the full.

Since the days immediately following the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks' nationalities policy has organically combined ardent solidarity and moral support with real and wide-ranging fraternal aid. All parts of our country, including the central regions, hit by economic dislocation in the years of intervention and Civil War, needed big capital investments, educated and skilled personnel, but Soviet power took pains to ensure accelerated progress of the so-called national borderlands, and a tremendous contribution to this was made by the Russian people who selflessly shared everything they had with their Central Asian brothers.

In the years of socialist construction, the all-round progress of Central Asia became the common concern of the entire Soviet state. The first all-Union projects—the Turksib Railway, the Great Ferghana Canal, the Tashkent Textile Mills and many others—were built there. Big financial allocations, machines and equipment in short supply, and whole factories were shipped to Central Asia from the centre.

The Party invested in the cause of socialist construction in Central Asia its most valuable capital—the labour, talent and enthusiasm of its best workers. Our Party drew from its ranks, from the midst of the working masses thousands upon thousands of able organisers, people with a sense of the new. The masses awakened from medieval slumber, grew aware of the need for change, and became masters of their destinies.

Today we recall with gratitude and respect the first fighters for Soviet power, the initiators of socialist reforms in your country, people trained by Lenin's Party, such as Comrades N. Turakulov, K. Atabayev, A. Ikramov, F. Khodzhayev, Y. Akhunbabayev and many others. Side by side with them in Central Asia worked Comrades M. V. Frunze, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, V. V. Kuibyshev, J. E. Rudzutak, I. M. Vareikis, names which the people recall with love and gratitude. They led the great urge of the masses to create new social relations and establish socialism in their land.

The Communists set up schools on Uzbek land, launched publication of books, magazines and newspapers in the Uzbek language, opened first-aid posts and hospitals, armed the dehkans, the farmhands and all working people with a new world outlook, inspired them to struggle for socialist ideals. It was extremely difficult, I should even say subtle, delicate work, and involved overcoming quite a few prejudices and preconceived notions left over from the past. It called for persistence, courage and firmness, because it was also a matter of breaking the resistance offered by alien class forces. In the past decades the Party carried out a cultural revolution in the Leninist sense of the word on Uzbek land.

In the blossoming Uzbekistan of today we proudly see the results of the Party's titanic work, the selfless endeavour of millions of workers and collective farmers, scientists and intellectuals. It is a joy to see your splendid cities, your modern factories and mills, your well-cultivated fields and your blossoming orchards.

More than a hundred industries, including machine building, mining, metallurgy, gas, oil and coal, chemicals, radio engineering, electronics, cotton and silk fabrics, and now even gold—such is industrial Uzbekistan today. Your agriculture—a multibranch economic complex meeting your Republic's requirements and the interests of the Soviet Union as a whole—is developing intensively and dynamically.

The regeneration of Uzbekistan under socialism has been of tremendous social and political importance. An army of skilled industrial workers, 1,500,000-strong, has taken shape in the Republic. The working class is the backbone of socialist Uzbekistan, the active conductor of the Party's policy in communist construction, the staunch ally and support of the collective-farm peasantry. The successes achieved by Uzbekistan's foremost workers, who include representatives of various nationalities, are known all over the country. The names of metallurgist Said Nuritdinov, scraper-operator Mirzaraim Dzhumabayev, excavator operators' team leader Khadji Alikulov, boring-machine operator Boris Yefremov,

excavator operator Mikhail Narushev, weavers Aishi Abdurakhmanova, Lidiya Kazantseva, Yevgenia Gubina, Bella Stadnichenko and many, many others are widely known. Their achievements are a model for thousands upon thousands of the Republic's working people. The heights they have attained set the standards which the entire Uzbek working class has to—and certainly will—achieve.

Each Soviet republic has its own special place in the development of the Soviet economy. Cotton production is Uzbekistan's main contribution to the common cause. I am not in the least belittling the significance of other branches of the economy, but Uzbek cotton plays the key role on the Republican and all-Union scale.

In assessing the labour of Uzbekistan, the Soviet people always speak highly of its diligent and skilful cotton growers. We know how much effort and love for his job the cotton grower puts into growing and gathering a big crop. Today there was a meeting of Party and managerial activists. And when cotton was referred to as "white gold" there, I added that this "white gold" had been made by hands of gold! The great work of master cotton growers—Khafiz Palvanov, Mamadjan Dadadjanov, Tursunoi Akhunova, Shaimardan Kudratov, Svetlana Prodan, Maria Kovalyova, Enver Aliyev, Djavat Kuchiyev and many others—enjoys well-earned renown in our country.

Last year, your Republic grew an average of 28 centners of raw cotton per hectare and delivered to the state 4.7 million tons, which was far in excess of the planned target and of your own socialist pledges. This means that you contributed two-thirds of the cotton delivered to the state. It was the contribution of Uzbekistan, the Soviet Union's biggest cotton producer, that enabled us, already in 1970, to take the lead in world cotton output. What can be said on this score? It is a spectacular achievement, dear comrades!

Present in this hall are your neighbours and friends—representatives of other cotton-growing republics—Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Kazakhstan. Also present here are the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Republican Communist Parties, government

and economic executives, well-known cotton growers of these republics. All have today taken part in the work of the meeting of the Party and managerial activists of our country's cotton-growing regions, where the results of the fulfilment of the national economic development plan and of socialist emulation were summed up.

The CPSU Central Committee highly appreciates the work of Soviet cotton growers. In the past few years the working people of Uzbekistan and other cotton-growing republics have done a tremendous amount to improve farming efficiency, boost crop yields and stabilise bumper crops. They undertook higher production norms last year and fulfilled them with honour. But as people who love their work and are aware of their responsibility to the entire Soviet people, they have not stopped at that.

Today, as I have already said, I took part in a meeting of the Party and managerial activists of the country's six cotton-growing republics. At this meeting, representatives of Uzbekistan and other republics supplying the country with "white gold" sized up their potentialities once again and took on new and higher socialist commitments. Uzbekistan undertook to sell the state 4,850 thousand tons of cotton. I am very glad, Comrade Rashidov, that the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, the Deputies of the Supreme Soviet and other leaders of the Republic support this pledge with such enthusiasm. Turkmenia, 945,000 tons, Tajikistan, 775,000, Azerbaijan, where, until recently, the former leaders were decidedly anti-cotton, rose to the occasion and took on the big commitment of selling 450,000 tons, while my dear Kazakhstan undertook to sell 300,000 tons. And you should remember that the people of Kazakhstan have promised to supply the state with no less than one thousand million poods of grain, too! Neighbouring Kirghizia has also taken on a good commitment—to sell 200,000 tons! This means, comrades, that this year our country will obtain a record 7,520,000 tons. The Central Committee of our Party welcomes these pledges. These figures are convincing evidence of the fact that the Party's policy, determined by the decisions of the Plenary Meetings

of the Central Committee and subsequently consolidated and developed by the decisions of the 23rd and 24th Party Congresses, is yielding fruit in the shape of stable and steadily growing crops. Life itself confirms, comrades, that this is the only correct line, the only correct policy. Soviet cotton growing is on the upgrade. It is making confident progress. Every year our country will be getting more and more of this valuable raw material, which is so essential to the people.

Allow me to express my assurance that the cotton growers of Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Kirghizia will do their utmost to fulfil their commitments. Honour and glory to the workers of our cotton fields!

Uzbekistan's culture has blossomed unprecedentedly in the years of Soviet power. The glorious humanistic traditions of ancient Uzbek culture have received a new lease of life through enrichment with socialist ideals and aspirations.

Today it would be appropriate to remind you of an episode from the rather distant past. In 1920, when the Civil War was still on, a "science train" was dispatched from Moscow to Tashkent on Lenin's initiative. A big group of Russian scientists brought with them a library, instruments and reagents for laboratories. Here in Tashkent they helped establish Central Asia's first university, which today bears a name that is dear to all of us, that of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

What a glorious road Soviet Uzbekistan's culture and science have travelled since then! On this festive day I should like to pay a tribute of respect to your scientists—Academicians Vladimir Petrovich Shcheglov, Vladimir Ivanovich Popov, Abid Sadykov, Sabir Yunusov, writer Kamil Yashen, poetess Zulfiya, composer Mukhtar Ashrafi, film director Kamil Yarmatov, People's Artists of the USSR Sara Ishanturayeva, Galina Zagurskaya, Shukur Burkhanov and many, many others. The work of these prominent representatives of our socialist science and culture has won national acclaim.

In assessing the profound and many-sided social achievements of Uzbekistan the emancipation of women must be

given special attention. Charles Fourier, one of the early ideologists of the socialist trend, rightly noted that the extent of the development of civilisation is determined by the position which woman occupies in society. It is common knowledge that here, in the East, women were especially oppressed and rightless. That is why we all note with pride, as a great achievement, the fact that today Uzbek women are taking an active part in the construction of communism, that hundreds of labour heroes, schoolteachers, doctors, prominent scientists and cultural figures have emerged from their midst.

We extend our warm gratitude to you, our dear sisters and friends, for your work, for your maternal care of the children, for everything pure and noble that you bring to life in our society!

Comrades, all Soviet people are now working hard to carry out the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The creation of reliable preconditions for the fulfilment of the 1974 and 1975 plans depends on the successful accomplishment of the assignments of the third, decisive year of the five-year plan. And it will probably be right to concentrate not on summing up our achievements—they exist and are quite impressive—but on removing the shortcomings and setbacks, in a word, everything that in one way or another retards our advance.

Allow me, in this connection, to dwell on the problem which is vitally important to the successful work of our entire national economy. I mean the problem of attitude to work, of labour discipline.

Socialism is the most humane and democratic social system of all systems that history has known. It generously places all the material and cultural values at man's service, for his development and his benefit. The concern for man shown by society and the state, a great social achievement of which we, Soviet people, are rightly proud, and steady improvement of the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people—such are the main goals of the policy pursued by our Party, as laid down by the 24th CPSU Congress.

Work, work and work again, the inspired, skilful and well-organised work of Soviet people building a happy life with their own hands, is the sure way to the achievement of these goals. Man gives to society and society gives to man. Such is the relationship between the individual and society under socialism. Work is a duty and this is the basic law of our life, the cardinal condition for the well-being of each Soviet family and each Soviet citizen.

In society based on exploitation the people who enjoy prestige are those who have inherited their pompous titles of princes and barons, the greedy landlords, bais and squires, the money-bags, bankers and manufacturers, who grow rich on the labour of others. In our country prestige is enjoyed by advanced workers, innovators in production and all who are masters of their trade, regardless of where they work. Honour and respect for the heroes of labour, and emulation of their achievements—these features are the norm in Soviet life.

Comrades, back in the very early stage of socialist construction in our country, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin formulated the central task of our Party's internal policy in the preliminary thesis of his report at a trade union congress, as follows: "Work discipline, higher labour productivity, work organisation, increased output, relentless fight against slipshod work and red tape."¹ This, Lenin stressed, was the guarantee of victory.

It can definitely be said that these words of Lenin's have lost none of their importance to this day, comrades. We cannot fail to see that we have done far from everything possible and necessary to ensure the organisation of work and the required standard of labour discipline. We have no right to tolerate poor labour discipline at some of the factories, on some collective and state farms and in offices, or to put up with situations where people neglect their responsibilities at work. Such conduct must be resolutely combated. We must cherish our working man's honour and make those who disregard it answerable for such behaviour.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 308.

It is the duty of the Party organisations, government bodies, trade unions and the Komsomol to see that this is done.

Comrades, we must keep constantly within our field of vision all the problems connected with building up labour discipline and must not permit even a shade of any formal attitude to this most important problem. In modern production, fitted out with up-to-date equipment, the importance of labour discipline has soared. The cost of wasted time, negligence and mistakes is now totally different. A man with a spade wasting half an hour in idleness is one thing and an operator of a powerful excavator, combine harvester or tower crane wasting the same half hour is quite another matter. These are totally different things.

It is a fact that capitalist labour discipline is based on the fear of unemployment and on lack of social rights. We put an end to this long ago. Our ideal is conscious discipline which implies a thrifty attitude, creative resourcefulness and wide scope for the working people's initiative.

At the same time we must see to it that the very working conditions contribute to the strengthening of discipline. This calls for steady improvement of planning, management and labour organisation. It is necessary to develop and improve the system of material and moral incentives for raising the standards of discipline and labour productivity, to conduct systematic ideological and political work for instilling a conscientious and creative attitude to labour. In cases when measures of persuasion fail to produce the desired results, decisive measures must be taken against these persistent loafers, bad workmen, drunkards and violators of labour discipline. This line is justified, it is dictated by the interests of our society, of all our people. It will meet with the approval of all honest workers.

Here, comrades, we must not forget the role which the working collective plays in accomplishing these tasks. The opinion and influence of the collective in which a man works every day can quite often achieve much more than any official measures.

During the second half of the five-year plan period we have even more to do than in the first two and a half

years. Improvement in labour discipline is precisely that reserve for increasing social wealth which requires no capital investment, but can quickly produce big results.

Comrades, the working people of Uzbekistan share the pride which our whole country takes in the great accomplishments of the Soviet people in the work of carrying out the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party. Our Union is developing, economically, culturally and socially, as a single and integrated entity, and the friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance of the Soviet peoples have become a mighty factor in the general progress of our splendid country.

Allow me to express my firm confidence that in the forthcoming period Uzbekistan will further multiply its contribution to the might of the Soviet state and to the unity and fraternity of all the republics, all nations and nationalities of our Motherland.

Today we can say that thanks to the growing might and international influence of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist camp, thanks to our active foreign policy and to the actions of the peace forces, the cause of detente has been advanced and international security has become more reliable. As a result, international conditions for communist and socialist construction and for the people's social progress have become more favourable. This enables us to concentrate, to a still greater extent, on peaceful, creative work, and we are naturally gratified by this course of events.

We stand for lasting peace. And this presupposes not merely the renunciation of war as a means of settling disputable inter-state issues, but also the establishment of definite mutual understanding and trust between states, the development of co-operation on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage.

It is from this angle that we approach the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries, including such major countries as the USA, France, the FRG, and Japan. Speaking of our relations with the United States, for instance, we regard their improve-

ment as an organic part of the overall process of a radical change in the international climate on our planet. And this part is very important, but by no means because these two countries possess any "exclusive" rights in international affairs or claim to joint ruling of the destinies of the world. Such conjectures contradict the very nature of the Soviet Union's policy, our whole way of thinking, and actual developments in the international arena. The gist of the matter lies elsewhere. Because of their military, economic, scientific and technical potentials, the state of the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States objectively affects the international situation as a whole, especially as regards the problems of war and peace.

The Soviet Union has of late concluded a good many fundamental treaties and major agreements with some capitalist countries and we shall not sin against the truth if we say that all of them serve one and the same noble cause—the cause of detente, peace and the development of peaceful co-operation. Indeed, does not the process of detente gain momentum when the Soviet Union and France, the Soviet Union and the United States agree on the principles of peaceful interrelations, or when we conclude with the Federal Republic of Germany an agreement which settles many issues that for years contaminated the European atmosphere? Do not the agreements on the mutual limitation of the most powerful and the most dangerous weapons, or on the prevention of nuclear war, concluded by the Soviet Union and the United States of America, serve the interests of universal peace? The answer, I think, is self-evident.

True, one sometimes hears allegations that the agreements signed are unsatisfactory because they do not completely solve the existing problems—once and for all, so to speak. It is claimed that only immediate agreement on general and complete disarmament, on the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons and on the disbandment of all military blocs can bring about a real change in world politics, and that what is being done now are only half-measures.

One can only wonder at the naivety of such an approach. It would be a good thing, of course, to have general and complete disarmament, including the solution of the problem of nuclear weapons and military blocs. The Soviet Union has long been working persistently to these ends. Unfortunately, our Western partners are not yet ready for such a solution. But do we have to sit idly and wait for the manna to drop from the sky? Not at all. The principle of "everything or nothing" is no good at all in modern world politics. In this field we must keep pushing forward all the time, making use of every possible opportunity.

Those who do nothing and miss the chance of making a real—even though small—step forward prejudice the cause of peace. Our Party and our country are guided by Lenin's principle: "We should like to see a minimum of general assurances, solemn promises and grandiloquent formulas, and the greatest possible number of the simplest and most obvious decisions and measures that would certainly lead to peace."¹

What has been done lately has already led to noticeable positive changes in the world situation. Incidentally, the experience of the development of our relations with certain capitalist countries confirms that the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence are a reliable way of broadening economic contacts. In turn, large-scale and long-term economic agreements cement peaceful relations between countries. We think that further progress is quite feasible here—proceeding, of course, from mutual advantage and the universally recognised norms of equal, non-discriminatory co-operation.

The Soviet Union has always insisted on the principles of peaceful coexistence becoming an indisputable norm of all international life on all continents.

On more than one occasion, and recently too, I have spoken about Asia. It may seem at first glance that positive trends are not as clearly pronounced here as in Europe. But Asia may be likened to a huge fly-wheel which, as it gains momentum, rotates faster and faster until there is no stopping it. The situation in Asia is gradually improving, and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386.

we are sure that this process will continue in the interests of the cause of peace and progress.

As in Europe, the constructive policy of socialist countries advocating peace, sovereignty and independence of the peoples can play a big part here. The Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic are making a great contribution to the strengthening of peace and to the development of international co-operation on the Asian continent.

India undoubtedly plays a prominent part in shaping the destinies of Asia. We have a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation with that country. We regard this Treaty as a reliable basis for lasting good and friendly relations. India has made a large and valuable contribution to world politics, and its role, we are convinced, will continue to grow. Soviet-Indian friendship is strengthening from year to year, and there can be no doubt that the future will be marked by fresh steps in this direction for the good of both our countries and the cause of universal peace.

We can state with satisfaction that our more than half-a-century-old tradition of good relations with neighbouring Afghanistan is still as strong as ever now that that ancient country has become a young republic. We wish it success in its advance along the road of national and social progress.

Mr. Tanaka, Prime Minister of Japan, will visit Moscow soon. Given goodwill on both sides and a mutual desire for understanding and respect for each other's interests, this visit, we believe, may become an important point of departure in the new development of relations between our two countries. And this will mean a general deepening of the process of political relaxation throughout the world. We, as is known, are in favour of just such a prospect.

In consistently upholding the principles of peaceful co-existence between countries with differing social systems, we base ourselves on the fact that the application of these principles cannot be "selective", so to speak. They should apply to all countries, big and small.

We consider it a very important positive fact that world politics is no longer the monopoly of a few powers, that ever more countries are being drawn into it as active participants.

Fresh evidence of this is provided by the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries just ended in Algiers.

At this Conference, which was exceptionally well attended, very dissimilar countries, big and small, ancient and quite young, situated in various parts of the world, were represented. But all of them arrived at the conclusion that it was essential to wage a resolute struggle against imperialism, against all forms of colonialism and racism, for freedom, independence and peace. There is no doubt that this position and its consistent implementation will be conducive to the further growth of the non-aligned countries' influence in the world. For our part, we have every respect for the anti-imperialist programme drawn up in Algiers, and we wish the participants of the movement of non-aligned countries success in putting it into effect.

A country's part in the development of international relations is determined primarily by the policy it conducts. The prestige and influence of one or another country in world affairs largely depends on this. In other words, the political watershed passes not between big and small countries, but along the line separating the policy of peace and progress from the policy of aggression and reaction.

Ever greater importance is gained by the countries that speak from positions of active struggle for strengthening peace, for equal international co-operation, and who are guided not by opportunist or narrow national calculations, but who consciously and in principle decide in favour of the overall strengthening of international security. Unfortunately, however, there exist countries which actually oppose the fresh wind of change in international life. Such a policy by no means enhances their prestige, and the part they play in international affairs is negative.

It must be said that this fully applies to the foreign policy of such a state as the People's Republic of China, whose leaders are still actively pursuing a line against, and

sometimes openly oppose, relaxation of international tension, the strengthening of peace and security, and the development of peaceful co-operation between states, especially in Europe and Asia.

As you know, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking recently. It is probably too early to draw any final conclusions concerning the significance of this Congress; it was held in deep secrecy and we have by no means full information about its work. But at least in one respect no changes have taken place: the Peking leaders still continue—in defiance of common sense—the line of rabid anti-Sovietism and resistance to relaxation of international tension. Peking is still making absurd, fantastic charges that the Soviet Union has some kind of aggressive intentions in respect to China, even that it intends to “swallow China”—charges, the utter falsity of which has long been obvious to the world at large. As before, we hear false allegations about the “two superpowers”, delirious inventions about our country and our socialist society, inventions the absurdity of which is obvious to all.

What ends the Chinese leaders are pursuing in continuing this line are best known to them. Some part may be played by internal motives, by the desire to frighten their country's population with the spectre of a non-existent “threat”. But one thing is clear—such a position adds nothing to China's international prestige or other countries' confidence in her, and from the viewpoint of the common interests of peace, socialism, and the liberation struggle of the peoples, it is regrettable and harmful.

At the same time, the report delivered at the Congress by Chou En-lai contains, besides a confirmation of the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist course of the Peking leadership, besides unrestrained abuse and slander against our country, the following words: “The arguments between China and the Soviet Union on problems of principle should not interfere with the normalisation of relations between the two countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The border issues between China and the So-

viet Union should be settled peacefully through negotiations, in conditions ruling out any threat."

What can one say in this connection? In itself, this statement of the Chinese side seems to sound reasonable. The Soviet Union, our Communist Party are invariably and consistently in favour of normalising our relations with China, and even more, of restoring Soviet-Chinese friendship which, we are profoundly convinced, would meet the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples alike and the broader interests of the cause of peace, socialism and progress throughout the world. The Soviet Union has no territorial claims upon the People's Republic of China and bases its relations with that country on principles of respect for sovereignty and equality, and non-interference into internal affairs.

We have already declared that we are prepared to develop our relations with the PRC now on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, if Peking does not think it possible to go further in its relations with a socialist state. The Soviet Union does not only proclaim such a readiness, but translates it into the language of specific and constructive proposals—on the non-use of force, on the settlement of border issues, on improvement of relations in various spheres on a mutually advantageous basis.

I am able to inform you, comrades, that we recently decided to take another step convincingly showing the goodwill and the constructive approach of the Soviet Union to the problem of developing relations with the PRC. In mid-June this year, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government officially proposed to the Chinese leadership to conclude a non-aggression pact between the USSR and the PRC the text of which would contain a commitment by the parties not to attack each other with any weapons on land, at sea or in the air, and also not to threaten such an attack.

How did the Chinese side react to that proposal? Characteristically, the PRC leadership, while continuing to shout for all the world to hear about the "Soviet menace"

allegedly looming over China, did not even deign to reply to this concrete proposal from the Soviet Union.

And so, the words about normalisation of relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence are all very good, but concrete deeds are the decisive factor. And such deeds do not, naturally, mean the slander of another country or attempts to interfere in its internal affairs. Our idea of the foundations of peaceful coexistence is different. If the words about normalisation of relations spoken at the 10th CPC Congress have any serious significance and are not merely a propaganda stunt or verbal camouflage, they should be followed by appropriate deeds. It is only on the basis of real facts that one can draw final conclusions.

And now, a few words about yet another aspect of the matter. It is an open secret that in some places certain politicians are showing a desire—especially lately—to profit from the present abnormal state of USSR-China relations, to capitalise on it, so to speak. Some of them openly incite the Peking leaders to a still further aggravation of anti-Sovietism, others say that they are interested in improving Soviet-Chinese relations but actually seek to fan passions and to aggravate the contradictions.

In our opinion, such a policy is short-sighted and cannot do anybody—including those who conduct it—any good. The building up of tensions between the Soviet Union and China and the creation of conflictual situations between them would damage not only the interests of these two powers, but those of other countries as well.

Such is the state of affairs in the present-day world, where everything is interconnected, where the foreign-policy actions of one country may have numerous, at times unpredictable, consequences in various parts of the world.

In a word, today, more than ever before, we have good reason to repeat the thesis upheld by the Soviet Union in its foreign policy many decades ago: peace is indivisible! One cannot proclaim oneself a champion of relaxation and co-operation in one part of the world and fan the sparks of tension and mistrust elsewhere. To put it mildly, this is

unwise and does not meet the interests of universal peace or, consequently, the interests of all nations.

Comrades, we face serious and important tasks not only in the struggle for peaceful coexistence, but in the development of new relations with other states on the basis of peaceful coexistence. These tasks have their specific features and make their demands.

As indicated at the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, they demand a new approach to a number of problems of our economic construction, taking into account the fact that our economy will be drawn into the international division of labour to an ever greater extent.

They demand that our ideological work be improved, because at the present stage of the competition between the two systems the share of the struggle on the ideological front is growing.

Finally, they call for greater activity and initiative in our foreign policy along state, Party and public lines.

Comrades, the entire development of our home life and world events convincingly show that we are on the right track and that we are firmly and unswervingly following the only correct, Leninist path. The policy of the Communist Party is a policy which reflects the vital interests, thoughts and aspirations of our people and has its full approval and unanimous support. Our Party is loyally serving the people, highly appreciates its trust and is doing everything for the good of the Soviet people.

The Communist Party of Uzbekistan is a large and militant contingent of the CPSU, like all the Parties of the Central Asian republics and of the other Union republics. All the successes, the present and the future of your Republic, are inseparably linked with its ideological, political and organisational activities. The Republic's army of Communists, almost half a million strong, has always been and will remain a faithful support for the Leninist Central Committee of our Party. The strength of our Central Committee and of our entire Party lies in the fact that the Central Committee reposes boundless trust in the Communists of

your and other Party organisations and that, for their part, all our Communists are boundlessly devoted to their Leninist Central Committee. That is where our strength lies, comrades! We are profoundly convinced that the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, its Central Committee and the CC Bureau will continue to fulfil with honour the tasks facing it and to preserve unbreakable loyalty to the great cause of Lenin.

Allow me to read out the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

*“Decree of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
on Awarding the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic
the Order of Friendship Among Peoples*

“For great services on the part of the working people of the Uzbek SSR in developing and strengthening the USSR, in strengthening friendship and fraternal co-operation between socialist nations and nationalities, for its great contribution to the economic, socio-political and cultural development of the Soviet state and on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the *Order of Friendship Among Peoples* shall be presented to the *Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic*.

N. PODGORNYY
President of the Presidium of
the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
M. GEORGADZE
Secretary of the Presidium of
the Supreme Soviet of the USSR”

Permit me, dear friends, once again to congratulate you from the bottom of my heart and, through you, all the working people of Uzbekistan on the high award of the Motherland and to wish you new labour achievements, health and happiness. Sacredly preserve and further strengthen the great friendship among Soviet peoples and be in-

variably loyal to the unbreakable union of fraternal republics.

Long live the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic!

May the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics live long and grow stronger!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, the militant vanguard of the working class, of all working people of our Motherland!

Glory to the great Soviet people!

**FOR A JUST, DEMOCRATIC PEACE,
FOR THE SECURITY OF NATIONS
AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION**

*Speech in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses
at the World Congress of Peace Forces*

October 26, 1973

Dear friends, dear guests, comrades,

I am sincerely glad of this opportunity to extend heartfelt greetings to you, representatives of the world's peace forces, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people.

Yesterday, our friend Romesh Chandra and delegates representing a number of authoritative international organisations expressed from this rostrum kind and warm sentiments about our country and its foreign policy. For this we are deeply grateful. The selection of Moscow, our capital, as the venue for the Congress will be an incentive for all Soviet people to intensify their efforts for peace, and the freedom and security of nations.

The history of the mass peace movement offers many inspiring examples. But I should like to join in the view already expressed here that there has never been an international forum on such a scale, an assembly as representative as this World Congress of Peace Forces.

Gathered in this hall are delegations of peace supporters from the socialist countries, the capitalist countries and the developing countries.

In this hall are representatives of various political trends: Communists, our brothers in the struggle for a better future for the world; Social-Democrats; representatives

of revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements. There are leaders of other political parties here. Politically unaffiliated men and women deeply concerned for the future of their nations are also present. Atheists and religious people have gathered here together.

Among those present we find workers, farmers, scientists, artists, representatives of all sections of the intelligentsia, that is, men and women whose hands and minds, and whose creative inspiration produce all the material and cultural values of the world. Peace and labour have always been linked since time immemorial. Wars have bred exploitation and oppression but peace has always ultimately depended on the working man. Peace is what man, the worker, needs most of all, whether operating a machine tool or smelting furnace, whether driving a tractor or erecting a building, whether lecturing in the university auditorium or doing research in the laboratory.

Among those taking part in the Congress there are also businessmen from the capitalist countries representing groups which advocate mutually advantageous economic co-operation by all the countries of the world. This provides fresh evidence of the broad base on which the great movement of the peace forces rests.

I should like to make special mention of a new and, in our opinion, welcome development, namely, the participation in the Congress of Peace Forces of representatives of the United Nations and also of its committees and specialised agencies. This, we believe, is a natural development, because the main purposes and tasks of the United Nations, as written into its Charter, are identical with the purposes and aspirations of this Congress: in every way to promote world peace and fruitful co-operation among states and nations.

Dear friends, for many centuries men—at least the wisest among them—have never tired of condemning and cursing war. The peoples have had visions of lasting peace, but almost every page in the history of mankind is marred by the sinister reflection of the fires of war, big and small.

Neither the lessons of history, nor what would appear to

be man's natural aversion to killing his own kind have ever prevented new bloodbaths, because the forces of war, the role of those who stood to gain from war, were too great.

In our epoch this state of affairs has changed fundamentally. Today, the struggle against war has a reliable basis in the strength of the forces of peace and the forces of democracy, and in the freedom and independence of nations.

Esteemed participants of this Congress, on behalf of the 250-million Soviet people, on behalf of their Communist Party and the Soviet Government, I assure you that it is one of the principal concerns of our state to consolidate peace.

"Peace for the peoples!" was one of the main slogans under which the working people of this country accomplished the October Revolution at the height of the First World War 56 years ago. Indeed, the Decree on Peace, written by Lenin, was the first legislative act of the world's first socialist state.

Addressing that historic document not only to the governments but also to the peoples of all countries, the workers' and peasants' government of Soviet Russia expressed our country's firm desire for a just and democratic peace. I emphasise, a peace that is just, a peace that is democratic, that is, a peace based on respect for the rights and interests of all peoples. And in the years since the Great October Revolution we have always steadily and consistently worked to bring about the triumph of just such a peace in the world.

The Soviet people, who lost more than 20 million of their fellow-citizens in the fight against fascism, are well aware of what war is like and of the incalculable suffering it entails for the people. For the Soviet people the Great Patriotic War was not only a struggle for our country's freedom and independence. It was also a battle to save world civilisation, a battle for a just peace in the future. Throughout the post-war period, the Soviet Union has tirelessly worked for lasting peace and the security of nations.

The consistently peaceable policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is epitomised at the present stage by the Peace Programme of the 24th Congress of our Communist Party.

Putting forward this Programme, we felt that it was our task to help eliminate seats of tension, to assist mankind in ridding itself of the spectre of a thermonuclear holocaust, and to promote a relaxation of tension in every possible way. And we have been working and will continue to work ceaselessly for these noble goals, for the benefit of all working people.

I

Dear friends, your Congress has met at a most important and highly responsible time in history.

In the past few years, the peoples' long and persistent struggle to prevent the outbreak of another world war, and to establish lasting peace and international security has achieved significant successes.

The most important of these is that the danger of a world-wide nuclear-missile war, which has loomed over mankind since the second half of the 1940s, began to recede, while the prospects for maintaining world peace are becoming better and more reliable than they were 10 or 12 years ago. That is something we can say quite confidently.

The principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems are winning ever broader recognition. They are becoming more and more specific in content, and are gradually becoming a generally accepted standard of international relations.

In particular, significant changes have come about of late in the relations of the socialist countries with the West European countries—with France, which was one of the first to adopt the course of constructive co-operation among countries with different social systems, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and some other countries. Among the most significant indications of the change for the better in international relations are the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany. As you all know, these treaties are based on the recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers and contain commit-

ments to refrain from the use of force in international issues.

All this has unquestionably improved the situation in Europe, the continent where both world wars broke out. And the European Security Conference is a concentrated expression of the positive changes that have taken place here. The fact that this conference, for which the progressive forces of the continent worked for so long, has met, that practically all the European countries and also the United States and Canada are taking part in it, and that matters relating to European peace and security and to peaceful co-operation are being jointly discussed, is in itself a considerable gain.

As we know, the past two years have seen positive changes in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The agreements concluded during our meetings with the President of the United States in Moscow in May 1972 and in Washington last June have opened the way for a transition in Soviet-American relations from confrontation to detente, normalisation and mutually beneficial co-operation. We are deeply convinced that this accords with the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the USA, and of all other countries, because it serves to strengthen international security.

In recent years, much has changed also in other areas that are important in terms of international security, such as Southeast Asia and the Far East. The ending of the war in Vietnam was an event of worldwide significance. It was first and foremost a victory for the heroic people of Vietnam. It was also a victory for the socialist countries, which had rendered unflinching and effective aid to Vietnam in its just struggle. Furthermore, it was a victory for all the forces of peace that had worked actively to end the imperialist aggression in Indochina. The public circles working for peace sincerely welcome the normalisation of relations in South Asia, that is, the relations between such countries as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. In many spheres good relations are developing between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and Japan, on

the other. One indication of this are the results of the recent visit to Moscow of the Prime Minister of Japan.

The elimination of some seats of war, the first steps to limit the arms drive, the series of important acts having the force of international law, and the regular political consultations between countries with different social systems are all visible features of the deep-going changes in international affairs. These changes are also highlighted by the ever larger scale of international economic, scientific, technological, and cultural co-operation. In brief, the struggle for international security has many successes to its credit, and the peoples warmly welcome this.

To be sure, we are realists and cannot help seeing facts of a different order as well. We know all too well that wars and acute international crises are by no means over. Acts of aggression are still being committed in the world, and far from all nations are able to feel secure. And we fully share the concern expressed here in this context by prominent spokesmen for world opinion.

But acts of aggression and violence have never before generated such universal indignation, protest and active resistance as they do today. Never before in such cases have such powerful governmental and public forces been set in motion to stop the aggressor, extinguish the flare-ups of war, and consolidate peace. And this, also, is a major achievement.

We are deeply convinced that the current swing from cold war to detente, from military confrontation to a more solid security and to peaceful co-operation is the main tendency in present-day international relations.

How has this become possible?

The main factor, we are certain, is the general change in the correlation of world forces—a change that is against the exponents of cold war and the building up of arms and those who fancy all kinds of military ventures, a change in favour of the forces of peace and progress.

It would be hard to exaggerate the role played by the socialist forces, the socialist community, in the positive changes now under way. The Soviet Union is working for a

better and more solid peace together with the other countries of the socialist community, its good friends and associates. The world is aware of the great contribution made by Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia to the consolidation of peace and the growth of international co-operation, and in particular to the consolidation of European security. Socialist Yugoslavia, too, is an active champion of peace.

The consistently peaceful policy of the Mongolian People's Republic is a substantial factor of peace and security in Asia. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam displayed supreme courage in combating the armed intervention of US imperialism and has made a notable political contribution towards eliminating a dangerous seat of war in Southeast Asia. The initiative of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, designed to bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea, has evoked a wide response throughout the world.

Revolutionary Cuba, the first socialist country in Latin America, is doing much to establish in international relations the principles of peace, and the freedom and independence of peoples.

From the rostrum of this Congress I should like to express the heartfelt and deep respect of the Communists of the Soviet Union, of all Soviet people, for the fraternal socialist countries and for their principled and consistent peaceful foreign policy.

Frequent dialogues between the leaders of different countries have been a typical feature of international relations in recent years. In our time, the statesman's true role and political weight depend largely on the extent to which he appreciates the importance of safeguarding and consolidating peace and on what he does in practice to solve this most crucial problem of our time.

In this sense we must give due credit to those Western statesmen who are striving to overcome the inertia of the cold war and embark on a new course, that of a peaceful dialogue with countries belonging to a different social system. We are also aware of the struggle in the Western

countries between the supporters and opponents of international detente, and of certain inconsistencies in the attitudes of some countries or others on various issues. This means that considerable efforts are still required to ensure further progress towards a more durable peace. Speaking for ourselves, we are prepared to make them.

In analysing the main causes and reasons for the present turn in the world situation it is necessary to stress the major role played in this process by the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke and won national independence.

The entire course of postwar development has proved convincingly that colonialism and aggression, the policy of colonial oppression and the policy of force are essentially two sides of one and the same coin. There is therefore every justification for the fact that in the very name of your Congress the struggle for peace is associated with the struggle for national liberation.

This connection is most clearly seen from the example offered by the long years of the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle for their freedom. I think that we all agree that it is this success of the people of Vietnam in rebuffing aggression and their successful defence of their freedom and independence that create a basis for just and lasting peace. We are convinced that only on the basis of respect for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of all nations in this area can peace and security in Southeast Asia be finally ensured.

Is it not obvious that the struggle of the Arab peoples to eradicate the consequences of Israeli aggression is simultaneously a struggle for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East?

The seat of tension in that region of the world has given rise to war for the fourth time. This month's hostilities reached unparalleled intensity, with heavy casualties on both sides, including loss of life among the civilian population during barbaric bombing raids on peaceful towns and villages in Egypt and Syria. The latest developments have very strikingly shown the whole world the danger of the

situation in the Middle East and the pressing need to change it.

You are, of course, well aware of the actual course of events. I should therefore like to say a few words about the essence of the issue. What are the basic causes of the military conflicts that have periodically broken out in that region, including the present war? From our point of view they are self-evident: Israel's seizure of Arab territories by means of aggression, Tel Aviv's stubborn refusal to reckon with the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, and the support this policy of aggression is getting from forces of the capitalist world that are seeking to hinder the free and independent development of progressive Arab states.

In recent years the Soviet Union has time and again, and I stress this, time and again, warned that the situation in the Middle East is explosive. Our stand on this issue has been clear and consistent from beginning to end. In keeping with the general principles of socialist foreign policy and in view of the fact that this region is in direct proximity to our frontiers, we are interested in seeing that a really durable and just peace is established in the Middle East and that the security of all the countries and peoples of that region and their right to build their life peacefully and in a manner of their own choosing are ensured. For that very reason the Soviet Union has always insisted that the territories seized by Israel should be returned to the Arab countries and that justice should triumph in respect to the Palestinian people. This has been and shall remain the policy of the Soviet Union.

From the moment hostilities resumed in the Middle East early this month the Soviet Union maintained close contact with friendly Arab countries and took all the political steps in its power to help end the war and create the conditions under which peace in the Middle East would be really lasting for all the countries of that region.

As is known, acting on the proposal of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the UN Security Council twice, on October 22 and 23, passed resolutions calling for a cease-fire. On both occasions, Israel, while proclaiming

compliance with the Security Council resolutions, in fact violated them treacherously, and continued its aggressive actions against Egypt. Capturing more and more of that country's territory, Israel completely ignored the Security Council demand that the troops be withdrawn to the positions they occupied on the evening of October 22.

It is difficult to understand what the Israeli rulers are counting on by following this adventurist course, flouting the resolutions of the UN Security Council, and defying world public opinion. Apparently, outside patronage has something to do with it. But the people of Israel are paying a heavy price for this policy of the Israeli Government. Hopes of ensuring peace and security for one's own country through the forcible seizure and retention of the lands of others are wild hopes that are doomed to inevitable failure. Such a course will yield neither peace nor security for Israel. It will only result in Israel's still greater international isolation, arousing still greater hatred for it among the neighbouring peoples. The Arabs' courageous struggle and the growing solidarity of the Arab countries show very well that they will never be reconciled to the Israeli aggression and will never give up their legitimate rights. The Soviet Union supports the Arab peoples' just demands firmly and consistently.

The collective will of those who demand the establishment of peace in the Middle East must prevail over the recklessness of those who violate the peace. The experience of the past few days compels us to be vigilant. Urgent and firm measures are required to assure implementation of the cease-fire and troop withdrawal resolutions.

President Sadat of Egypt has addressed a request to the Soviet Union and the United States of America to send their representatives to the area of military operations in order to supervise the fulfilment of the Security Council's cease-fire resolution. We have expressed our readiness to meet Egypt's request and have already sent such representatives. We hope that the US government will take similar steps. At the same time, we have also been considering other possible measures whose adoption the situation may require.

In view of the continuing violations of the cease-fire, the UN Security Council decided on October 25 forthwith to form a special United Nations force, which will be sent to the area of the hostilities. We hold that this is a useful decision and hope that it will serve its purpose in normalising the situation.

In the matter of normalising the Middle East situation, the Soviet Union is prepared to co-operate with all the interested countries. But, surely, co-operation is not benefited by moves undertaken in the past few days by certain elements in the NATO countries, such as the artificial whipping up of sentiment with all kinds of fantastic rumours about the intentions of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. As we see it, a more responsible, honest, and constructive approach would be much more appropriate in the present situation.

I should like to stress that the Security Council's resolution of October 22 envisages more than a mere cease-fire: it envisages important measures aimed at eliminating the very causes of war. And this makes it especially valuable. The parties concerned are to begin immediately the practical fulfilment of all the provisions of the Middle East resolution adopted by the Security Council on November 22, 1967.

Let me remind you that this resolution, which stresses the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war", provides for the withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from territories occupied during the 1967 conflict. It demands respect for and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all countries in the region, and their right to live in peace. It also emphasises the necessity of a fair settlement of the "refugee problem", that is, of ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

It is not difficult to see that had all these provisions adopted in 1967 been translated into reality at that time, there would by now have been six years of stable peace in the Middle East. However, this did not take place. It did not take place because of the same short-sighted and adventurist policy of Israel's ruling circles, encouraged by external forces.

In accordance with the letter and spirit of the resolution adopted by the Security Council, on Monday, October 22, the parties concerned are to start immediately, under the appropriate auspices, negotiations aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of such negotiations. A historic responsibility devolves on their participants. Let me say that the Soviet Union is prepared to make and will make a constructive contribution to this matter. Our firm stand is that all the countries and peoples in the Middle East—I repeat, all of them—must be assured of peace, security and inviolability of frontiers. The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in the relevant guarantees.

We feel that one of the most urgent tasks before all peace fighters and all peace forces in present-day conditions is to work for the immediate and full implementation of the Security Council resolution of October 22, 1973. This is necessary for the free and independent development of all countries and peoples in the Middle East. This is in the interests of many countries in Europe and Asia, Africa and America, for whom normalisation of the political and economic life in this key area of the world is of considerable importance. Finally, the acute situation which has arisen in the Middle East over the last few days and the risk of an extension of the conflict quite clearly show how important it is to settle this problem also for the sake of stronger world peace.

Esteemed participants in the Congress,

The peoples of countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke face gigantic economic and social tasks. These can only be successfully carried out on the basis of peace founded on a reliable security and the broad, mutually beneficial co-operation of all countries.

The Republic of India is setting an example of a consistent policy of peace combined with a democratic solution of internal problems. By urging a just and peaceful settlement of existing international issues, she creates favourable conditions for the solution of her own internal problems. And by gradually resolving their domestic socio-economic pro-

blems, the Indian people are substantially strengthening the foundations of their peaceable foreign policy.

The decisions of the Non-Aligned Nations' Conference in Algiers, attended by the leaders of many countries, are of great international importance. The conference reaffirmed these countries' determination to fight purposefully against imperialism, war and aggression, and for peace and the independence and freedom of nations.

In a word, the active policy of the peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is making a tangible and considerable contribution to the relaxation of international tension.

One of the key factors of current international development is the active participation of the broad public and their organisations and political parties in the settlement of issues of war and peace. This is, of course, the result of the historical experience accumulated by mankind. The memory of the bitter lessons of the First and Second World Wars and knowledge of the terrible consequences that would ensue from the use of nuclear weapons imperatively demand that the people of our planet should take vigorous action to prevent a tragedy unprecedented in the annals of mankind.

In this nuclear age the peoples are showing a new and deeper sense of solidarity in the struggle for peace and, at the same time, a keener sense of their common responsibility for the future of the world. This sense provides a powerful stimulus in the mounting struggle for the consolidation of peace, for reliable international security.

One can say with confidence that the present changes in the world situation are largely the result of the activities of public forces, of the hitherto unparalleled activity of the people, who are displaying sharp intolerance of arbitrary rule and aggression and an unbending will for peace.

This is seen also from the recent World Trade Union Congress in Bulgaria, which unequivocally expressed the will for peace of more than two hundred million organised factory and office workers and intellectuals.

Indeed, the holding of your Congress, and its breadth and representative character, are convincing and striking evi-

dence of the power of world public opinion and of the role it can play in the struggle for peace and security, and for the democratisation of international relations.

II

Dear friends, we can thus note with satisfaction that through the concerted efforts of all the peace forces the international climate has grown, on the whole, healthier in recent years, and the policy of peaceful coexistence, of peaceful co-operation between countries is yielding tangible results.

However, this is obviously only the beginning of the advance towards an objective, which, as I understand, unites all those present in this hall and all whom they represent, only the beginning of the advance towards a reliably peaceful future for humanity. We are only building up the necessary conditions for the attainment of this objective. Our common duty is to move tirelessly forward along the chosen path, to move steadily, perseveringly along a wide front, resolutely breaking down the resistance of the adversaries of detente and the proponents of cold war. As we in the Soviet Union see it, the task is to make the detente, achieved in the decisive areas of international relations, stable, durable, and, what is more, irreversible.

And in this respect, of course, much can be done, above all in Europe. The peoples of that continent, more than of any other, have suffered from past wars, including the most terrible of all, the Second World War. The present-day character of the productive forces has made a closed economic life in each of the "flats" of their "European house" too crowded and uncomfortable. Furthermore, modern means of mass destruction have made this house an acute fire risk. As a result, maintenance of peace in Europe has, in fact, become an imperative necessity, and the utmost development of diverse peaceful co-operation among the European states, the only really sensible solution. A contributing factor is that an ever more active and important role in European life is being played by the socialist countries, which are pro-

foundly and sincerely devoted to the cause of peace and international co-operation, while in the Western part of the continent there is a growing appreciation of the political realities, and the circles favouring these goals are winning ever more influence.

That is why we have faith in the ultimate success and the historic role of the European Conference, despite all the difficulties that are still to be overcome by those participating in that unique forum, which is now at a perhaps not very spectacular but extremely important stage of its work.

What do we expect from this conference and what are we hoping for? To put it in the most general terms, we want to see well-defined principles of relations between European countries formulated unanimously, sincerely, with heart and soul, as they say, without "diplomatic" equivocations and misconstructions, approved by all the participants in the conference and endorsed by all the peoples of the continent. I have in mind, for instance, such principles as the territorial integrity of all the European countries, the inviolability of their frontiers, the renunciation of the threat or use of force in relations between countries, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and the promotion, on such a basis, of mutually beneficial co-operation in diverse fields.

We should like these principles to become accepted as a sacred and indisputable part of the day-to-day fabric of European life and of the psychology of the European peoples. We should like these principles to be adopted by the governments and the peoples in order that they become reality.

We should like to see a closely interwoven all-European network of economic, scientific and cultural co-operation between countries flourishing on the basis of these principles.

Trade has linked peoples and countries from time immemorial. The same is true of our day. But today it is unprofitable and unreasonable to confine economic co-operation solely to trade. Broad international division of labour is the only basis for keeping pace with the times and abreast of the requirements and potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution. This, I should say, is now axiomatic.

Hence the need for mutually beneficial, long-term and large-scale economic co-operation, both bilateral and multilateral. Of course, this applies not only to Europe, but also to all continents, to the entire system of present-day international economic relations. Another reason why we advocate such co-operation is that we regard it as a reliable means of materially consolidating peaceful relations between states.

We hope and believe that the political foundation worked out at the European Conference and the day-to-day peaceful co-operation will be supplemented and reinforced with measures aimed at achieving a military detente on the continent. This, as you know, will be the subject of the negotiations scheduled to open in Vienna in five days' time.

These negotiations are of considerable importance for Europe and for the entire world situation. The Soviet Union's attitude to them is serious, responsible, constructive and realistic. Our stand is clear and comprehensible. We hold that agreement must be reached on a reduction, in the region of Central Europe already specified, of both foreign and national land and air forces belonging to the countries taking part in the negotiations. Moreover, the security of any of the sides must not be prejudiced and none of them should gain any unilateral advantages. It should, evidently, likewise be recognised that the reduction should also apply to units equipped with nuclear weapons.

How exactly the cut-back is to be effected and what method is to be applied—whether the reduction should be by equal percentages or by equal numbers—still remains to be settled by those participating in the talks. In our view it is important that the future reduction should not upset the existing balance of strength in Central Europe and on the European continent generally. If attempts are made to violate this principle, the entire issue will only become an apple of discord and the subject of endless debate.

How soon a start can be made to the actual reduction of armed forces and armaments also remains to be decided in Vienna. The Soviet Union would be prepared to take

practical steps in this direction as early as 1975. A specific agreement on this score could be concluded in the immediate future. Such an agreement would unquestionably be a further major step towards normalising the political situation in Europe and would help to foster an atmosphere of trust, goodwill and peaceful co-operation.

We have repeatedly stated that detente and inter-state co-operation cannot be the privilege of any particular region of the world. Peace is truly indivisible. We believe that the norms of peaceful coexistence and peaceful co-operation must prevail in Europe and in Africa, and in South and North America. And for a number of concrete historical reasons this has probably a special significance for Asia.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union is advocating the consolidation of peace on the Asian continent by collective effort. We conceive of this as the progressive development of all aspects of mutually beneficial and mutually enriching relations and peaceful co-operation between all the Asian countries, as the consolidation in these relations of the well-known principles proclaimed by the Asian countries at Bandung of peaceful coexistence with strict observance of the sovereignty and independence of each country. The peoples of Asia most certainly need lasting peace and constructive co-operation no less than, say, the peoples of Europe. It is probably safe to say that the people of Tokyo and Tashkent, of Hanoi and Teheran, Peking and Rangoon, Delhi and Colombo—all the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of the world's largest continent—have an equal stake in lasting peace and peaceful labour. This, I am convinced, is in the interest of them all.

It is often said that the idea of creating and ensuring security in Asia by collective effort is directed against China and all but pursues the perfidious aim of "surrounding" or "isolating" China. But these contentions are either the product of morbid suspicion or a reluctance to face the facts.

And the facts are that the Soviet Union and the other countries favouring collective efforts to ensure peace and

security in Asia have always maintained that all the states of the Asian continent without exception should take part in this big and important undertaking if they so desire. Nobody has ever raised the question of China's non-participation or, much less, "isolation" (not to speak of the fact that it would be ludicrous to think of "isolating" such a big country). As for the Soviet Union, it would welcome the participation of the People's Republic of China in carrying out measures aimed at strengthening Asian security.

Dear friends, of course, we would be going against the facts if we pretended that China's present actions on the international scene are consonant with the task of strengthening peace and peaceful co-operation between countries. For reasons they alone know, China's leaders refuse to halt their attempts to poison the international climate and heighten international tension. They continue to make absurd territorial claims on the Soviet Union, which, naturally, we reject categorically. They doggedly repeat the timeworn inventions of anti-communist propaganda about a "Soviet threat", about "a threat from the North", and, while dismissing all reasonable proposals for a settlement and for a treaty of non-aggression, continue to keep their people in an artificially created feverish atmosphere of war preparations. And all this is accompanied by the dissemination of preposterous, slanderous accusations against the USSR and other countries, by brazen attempts to interfere in our—and, in fact, not only our—internal affairs.

What strikes one is the total lack of principle in the foreign policy of the Chinese leaders. They say that they are working for socialism and peaceful coexistence, but in fact they go out of their way to undermine the international positions of the socialist countries and encourage the activity of the aggressive military blocs and closed economic groups of capitalist states. They style themselves proponents of disarmament, but in fact try to block all the practical steps designed to restrict and slow down the arms race and, defying world public opinion, continue to pollute the earth's atmosphere by testing nuclear weapons. They assert that they support the just struggle of the Arabs for

the return of the territories seized by the aggressor and for the establishment of a just peace in the Middle East, but at the same time are doing their utmost to discredit the real assistance rendered to the victims of aggression by their true friends, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. They call themselves revolutionaries, but cordially shake the hand of a representative of the fascist junta of Chilean reactionaries, a hand stained with the blood of thousands of heroes of the revolution, the sons and daughters of the working class, of the working people of Chile.

Of course, a policy of this kind does not help to strengthen peace and security. It injects an element of dangerous instability into international affairs. But the possibility of changing this policy depends wholly and entirely on the Chinese leaders. As regards the Soviet Union, we, I repeat, would welcome a constructive contribution by China to improving the international atmosphere and promoting true and equitable peaceful co-operation between states.

Esteemed delegates to the Congress, the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America is an important factor in solving the problems of averting another world war and ensuring universal peace, problems that are vitally important to the peoples of the world.

In the past two years these relations have been marked by the conclusion of a number of important treaties and agreements such as the Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, the treaty and agreement on the limitation of the anti-ballistic missile systems and of strategic offensive arms, and the agreement between the USSR and the USA on the prevention of nuclear war. We are faithfully fulfilling our obligations under these treaties and agreements and intend to continue to do so in future. Naturally, we expect the other side to do likewise.

In our view, the prospects for the development of peaceful mutually beneficial co-operation between the

Soviet Union and the United States in the various spheres are good, provided, of course, that this question is approached with a sense of responsibility and in good faith, that the principles of mutual benefit and mutual respect are applied in practice, and that no attempt is made to distort them and to interfere in the internal affairs of the other side by dictating one's own terms, as some irresponsible politicians in the United States are trying to do, in spite of the official policy of their own government.

As for the Soviet Union, we are convinced that the documents adopted in 1972 and 1973 have created a good basis for mutually advantageous co-operation which greatly benefits the cause of peace.

In 1974, the President of the United States, as you know, is to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. We should like it to be marked by fresh major steps in the development of peaceful relations between our two states and the improvement of the international situation.

Successful completion of the new phase of negotiations between the USSR and the USA on the further limitation and possible reduction of strategic armaments can play a considerable role. You will appreciate that this is no simple task, but we have agreed to do our utmost to carry it out.

All of us, dear friends, love peace, want a lasting peace and work to ensure peace as far as our abilities and the opportunities open to us allow. We are gladdened by the current relaxation of international tension and the growth of peaceful international co-operation. But I should like to stress most emphatically that neither peace nor detente will descend on the world in the manner of some divine blessing. Peace and detente can only be the result of persistent and tireless struggle by all peace forces—states, political parties and trends, public bodies and individuals—against everything resisting detente, imperilling peace and creating the danger of war.

We must not forget that wars still keep breaking out, people are still being killed, and cities, factories, villages and objects of cultural value are being destroyed in various parts of the world. These are what politicians have become

accustomed to calling local wars, that is, wars confined to the relatively narrow boundaries of some geographical region. Past experience shows that, as a rule, in modern conditions these break out wherever and whenever the forces of imperialism and reaction attempt to put down the liberation movements, or to obstruct the free and independent development of states that have opted for progressive internal development and the anti-imperialist line in foreign policy.

For millions of people of our planet peace has yet to come; they are forced to fight, arms in hand, against imperialist aggressors and their accomplices, against arbitrary acts by invaders. They are forced to fight for their freedom and independence, and for the elementary right to be masters in their own home. And the fighters for peace cannot but draw their own conclusions from this situation.

Nor must we forget that in an atmosphere marked by a relaxation of international tension, the process which does in fact constitute a material preparation for world war is continuing and in fact quickening.

The military budgets of the NATO countries are being increased by 2-3 thousand million dollars a year, and these are figures indicative of ever newer types of weapons of destruction: new and ever more destructive nuclear bombs and warheads, new and ever more powerful missiles, tanks and planes, warships and submarines. The qualitative improvement of weapons has assumed unprecedented proportions.

Attempts are being made to justify this kind of activity by claiming that it could allegedly help secure success at the arms limitation talks by creating "bargaining counters". Quite obviously, these "bargaining counters" will in fact yield nothing except an intensification of the arms race. As for the arms limitation talks, their success does not require any new military programmes, but a sincere desire, backed by mutual restraint, to check the arms race.

Even today, almost three decades since the Second World War, the farmer's plough and the builder's excavator frequently unearth shells and mines. These are a reminder

of war, and they jeopardise human life again today, in peace-time. But is there not a thousand times greater danger in the vast stockpiles of means of mass annihilation unequalled in all human history, which today, at this very moment stand primed on launching pads, are carried on board patrolling planes and submarines, and fill to overflowing the underground stores at military bases all over the globe? Is it possible to build a lasting and durable peace with any confidence when these modern "powder magazines" remain beneath its foundation and can blow up the entire globe?

The military preparations of the capitalist countries compel the socialist countries to allocate the necessary funds for defence, diverting them from civilian construction, to which we should like to dedicate all our efforts and all our material resources. Dozens of newly independent countries are also being drawn into the orbit of the arms race, which, of course, is prompted by the threat to their independence posed by imperialism now in one part of the world, now in another.

It goes without saying that the further extension of the arms race by the aggressive circles of imperialism, on the one hand, and the relaxation of international tension that has set in, on the other, are two processes running in opposite directions. The two cannot develop endlessly along what might be called parallel lines. If we want the detente and peace to be sound, the arms race must be stopped.

That is precisely the idea behind the numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, aimed at implementing the UN-approved programme of general and complete disarmament. The same purposes are served by the proposals for partial steps along this road, including the Soviet proposal, now under consideration by the UN General Assembly, for a 10 per cent reduction of the military budgets of the countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council, and for the use of a part of the funds so saved for assistance to developing countries.

I should like to draw your attention to yet another point. The Soviet Union and the United States have been taking

definite agreed measures to limit what government documents describe as strategic arms. But we live in a world in which everything is closely interconnected. Clearly, the struggle to avert nuclear war cannot long be confined to the efforts of only two countries, especially if in the meantime other countries—and in particular the nuclear powers—continue to build up their armaments.

We believe that, like the process of detente, the process of limiting and arresting the arms race should spread ever wider, involving new countries and areas of the globe. Equally, there should be more and more countries acceding to existing international agreements, such as the convention on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons, and the treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. It is the prime duty of all sincere peace fighters to demand that this be so, to work vigorously for this.

Some tend to regard the arms race as something habitual or even as something fatalistically inevitable. This dangerous mental inertia must be broken, and the peace-loving public forces of the world have here a big part to play.

It should be clearly seen that the threat to peace is posed by quite concrete social groups, organisations and individuals. Thus, even on the testimony of the top-ranking leaders in the major Western countries, the sinister alliance of the professional militarists and the monopolies making fortunes out of weapons of war, usually known as the military-industrial complex, has become something of a "state within the state" in these countries and has acquired self-sufficient power. Militarism cripples not only the society that has produced it. The exhaust gas emitted by the war preparation machine poisons the political atmosphere of the world with fumes of hatred, fear and violence. To justify its existence, myths are created about a "Soviet menace" and the need to defend the co-called Western democracies. But the militarist robot fosters as its cherished progeny the most reactionary, tyrannical and fascist regimes, and devours the democratic freedoms.

Previous speakers have rightly dwelt on the events in Chile. I also want to touch upon this subject. The monstrous and blatant outrage against the country's constitution, the gross contempt for the democratic traditions of a whole nation, the abuse of elementary legality, the shootings, the tortures and the barbarous terror, the bonfires of burning books—such is the junta's truly fascist snarl, such is the true face of reaction—domestic and external—which is prepared to commit any crime in order to regain its privileges in defiance of the clearly and freely expressed will of the people.

The tragedy of Chile has evoked pain and grief in the hearts of millions of people and in diverse sections of the democratic public all over the world. We shall always cherish the memory of Salvador Allende and of the other heroes of that country who gave their lives for freedom and peace. Allow me from the rostrum of this Congress to express our complete solidarity with Chile's democrats and patriots and our firm conviction that the just cause for which they have fought, and are still fighting, in such difficult conditions—the cause of independence, democracy and social progress—is invincible and indestructible! The defence of these lofty values, their realisation in life, the struggle against those who threaten them and seek to destroy them, are closely connected with the struggle to ensure lasting peace throughout the world.

When it comes to the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful co-operation between countries, regardless of their social systems, we Communists are frequently asked: is this policy compatible with the revolutionary outlook?

Let me remind you that Lenin, that greatest of revolutionaries, used to say: revolutions are not made to order or by compact. And we might add that neither can revolution, class struggle or the liberation movements be abolished to order or by agreement. No power on earth is capable of reversing the inexorable process of the resurgence of social life. Wherever there is colonialism, there is bound to be struggle for national liberation. Wherever there is exploitation, there is bound to be struggle for the emancipa-

tion of labour. Wherever there is aggression, there is bound to be a rebuff.

The popular masses are striving to change the world, and they will change it. As for the Soviet Union, it will always side with the forces of social progress. We oppose "export of revolution". At the same time, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our government and the entire Soviet people openly and unequivocally express their solidarity with their class brothers fighting in other countries and their solidarity with the liberation and anti-imperialist movements. This attitude does not contradict the struggle for peace and for peaceful co-operation between states.

By promoting the principles of peaceful coexistence we are working for something which billions of people all over the world cherish most of all: the right to life itself, and deliverance from the danger of its destruction in the flames of war. At the same time, we are thereby also working to ensure favourable international conditions for the social progress of all countries and peoples. This means recognition of each people's right to choose the social system it wants. This means simple and clear rules of intercourse between states. Breaches of these rules tend not only to undermine equality in relations between countries, but also to produce armed conflicts, for nowadays the peoples of the world refuse to tolerate any *diktat*. And they are perfectly within their rights in rebuffing aggression. With the world split into two systems, the only basis for international security is full and scrupulous observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and in particular, non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

In this connection one cannot help noting that in the recent period some Western circles have been, in effect, trying to circumvent these principles by proposing something like a new edition of the cold or, if you prefer, psychological war. I am referring to the campaign conducted under the hypocritical slogan of "defending human rights" in the socialist countries.

Some of those who have initiated this campaign claim that detente is impossible unless some changes are effected

in the internal order of the socialist countries. Others leave the impression of not actually opposing the detente, but declare with amazing frankness their intention of using the process of detente to weaken the socialist system, and, ultimately, to secure its destruction. For the public at large this tactic is presented as concern for human rights or for a so-called liberalisation of our system.

Let us call a spade a spade, dear friends. With all its talk of freedom and democracy and human rights this whole strident campaign serves only one purpose: to cover up attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, to cover up the imperialist aims of this policy. They talk of "liberalisation", but what they mean is elimination of socialism's real gains and erosion of the socio-political rights of the peoples of the socialist countries.

We have no reason to shun any serious discussion of human rights. Our revolution, the victory of socialism in our country have not only proclaimed but have secured in reality the rights of the working man whatever his nationality, the rights of millions of working people, in a way capitalism has been unable to do in any country of the world.

From the bourgeois standpoint such human rights as the right to work, education, social security, free medical care, rest and leisure, and the like, may be something secondary or even unacceptable. Just one figure: nearly a hundred million people are at present unemployed in the non-socialist countries. Many capitalist states violate the rights of national minorities and foreign workers, and the right of women to equal pay for equal work. This is probably why many Western powers have not yet subscribed to international covenants establishing the social and political rights of man.

The imposing socio-economic changes that have taken place in our country are the result of the far-reaching and conscious political creativity of the masses, and also of their will to safeguard the system they themselves have created from every possible incursion. For this reason, Soviet people will not tolerate any encroachment on the

sovereignty of our state, the protector of their socio-political gains. This sovereignty is not an obstacle to contacts and exchanges; it is a reliable guarantee of the hard-won rights and freedoms of our people.

Soviet laws afford our citizens broad political freedoms. At the same time, they protect our system and the interests of the Soviet people from any attempts to abuse these freedoms. And this is in full conformity with the International Covenants on Human Rights ratified by the Soviet Union, which say that the rights they enumerate "shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others. . .". We subscribed to this.

And what kind of freedoms are those who are attacking us talking about?

For example, we have a law banning the propaganda of war in any form. There is legislation prohibiting the dissemination of the ideas of racial or national strife and hatred, and of ideas which degrade the national dignity of any people. There are laws to prevent immoral behaviour, laws against the moral corruption of society. Are we expected, perhaps, to repudiate these laws in the name of free exchange of ideas and information? Or are we to be persuaded that this would serve the cause of detente and closer international ties?

We are being told: "Either change your way of life or be prepared for cold war." But what if we should reciprocate? What if we should demand modification of bourgeois laws and usages that go against our ideas of justice and democracy as a condition for normal inter-state relations? Such a demand, I expect, would not improve the outlook for sound development in inter-state relations.

It is impossible to fight for peace while encroaching on the sovereign rights of other peoples. It is impossible to champion human rights while torpedoing the principles of peaceful coexistence.

To put it plainly, no one is able to subvert the socialist world nowadays, but regrettably it is still possible to

subvert peace. For peace depends on multilateral efforts, and not least of all on mutual—and I stress—mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. As regards the Soviet Union, our ship of state, cutting through the ripple of propaganda campaigns directed against socialism, will continue on its course, seeking constructive solutions to the problems of international life that are facing the world today.

III

Dear friends, humanity is in need of a durable peace. But when it will come and what it will be like depends on how fully all the peace-loving forces use the already available opportunities.

I do not think that any of us would be satisfied with a peace that is based, as before, on a "balance of fear". That kind of peace would differ but little from the cold war. It would be a "cold peace" that could easily revert to a situation of tense confrontation oppressive to the consciousness and life of the peoples, and fraught with the danger of a worldwide conflict.

The peoples want a dependable and irreversible peace, based, if one may say so, on a balance of security and mutual trust, a peace that opens up possibilities for broad international co-operation in the name of progress.

Peace is a precious thing. To live in the knowledge that blood is not being shed anywhere, and to be confident that no bombs or shells will fall tomorrow on one's roof, and that children can grow up without the tragedy and suffering experienced by the older generations—this is the greatest of boons.

But peace is not only a question of security. It is also the most important prerequisite for solving the most crucial problems of modern civilisation. And here the very future of humanity is involved—yes, the future of the entire world, which it is no longer possible to ignore when tackling the problems of the present day, no matter how com-

plicated and difficult they may be. You, who represent the world public in all its diversity, must feel this very keenly.

Here it will be sufficient to mention but a few of the problems that are beginning to cause many people concern: energy supply, environmental protection, elimination of such things as famine and dangerous diseases, and development of the resources of the world ocean.

Solution of these problems requires comprehensive, sincere and effective co-operation among governments, representatives of economic and scientific circles, and, of course, the most diverse political, professional and cultural organisations. The peoples must come to know one another, and there must therefore be a lively and varied exchange between many of their representatives.

Clearly, peace is the most important condition for such co-operation. It is impossible to make a good start in resolving the problems that affect the future of all mankind or to fulfil the many urgent tasks of today without a system of international relations based on peaceful coexistence.

The concrete directions of further advance towards the kind of peace we all want are clear. I have spoken about them earlier. They are suggested by the existing international situation. And we are deeply convinced that the vital tasks which are of foremost importance today in the struggle to consolidate peace can be accomplished through joint effort.

This means, above all, taking steps to settle, on a fair and just basis, the armed conflicts that are still taking place.

This means creating a system of collective security in Europe, and then also in Asia; this would enable us gradually to eliminate the present division of the world into political-military blocs.

This means ending the race of nuclear and other armaments through faithful observance by states of the commitments which they have voluntarily accepted, and—this is especially important—involvement of the world's major powers in this process. This would mark the beginning of

a gradual reduction in the material basis for a military confrontation.

This means development of economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation based on complete equality, mutual advantage, without any discrimination and without attempts at interference in each other's internal affairs.

These we regard as the main objectives in the struggle for peace in present-day conditions. Of course, it will take time to achieve some of these objectives, while others demand prompt and immediate action right now. But persevering, energetic efforts are required on the part of states, and also of political and broad public forces interested in consolidating peace to attain both these sets of objectives.

The long years of cold war have left their imprint on the minds not only of professional politicians; they have resulted in prejudice, suspicion, and deficient knowledge—even a reluctance to acquire knowledge—of the real position held by others and their possibilities. Certainly, it is not easy to turn over a new leaf. But this has to be done; it is essential to learn to co-operate.

Our philosophy of peace is a philosophy of historical optimism. Though the present situation is complicated and contradictory, we are confident that the broad peace offensive now under way will be successful. What are the grounds for our optimism?

Our optimism is based, above all, on the fact that there exists such a permanent, powerful and dynamic factor of peace as real socialism, whose peaceable policy stems from the very nature of this social system. Our optimism rests on the unity of views and actions of the majority of the socialist countries.

Our optimism is based on the profound interest in a just and democratic peace of many of the Asian, African and Latin American states and peoples, including the non-aligned countries.

Our optimism is based on the successes already achieved by the policy of peaceful coexistence, on the fact that the

ruling circles in some of the capitalist countries are showing a growing appreciation of the real correlation of world forces and coming to realise that war is unacceptable as a means for solving international problems.

Our conviction that the cause of peace is invincible is based on our profound belief in the great life-affirming force that springs from the peace-loving nature of the working man—whether he is a worker, peasant, or an intellectual. And they constitute the vast and overwhelming majority in the world.

Finally, we associate our optimism in regard to the question of peace with the activity of all the public movements working for peace which are broadly represented here at this worldwide forum, and with the further development of joint action by Communists, Socialists, Social-Democrats and Christians.

All this is a source of hope and confidence.

However, all that has been attained on the road to peace must be tirelessly developed. Further progress will not be easy. We shall have to surmount many obstacles, and repulse many counterattacks by the enemies of peace. The complexity of the struggle also stems from the new conditions, the new phase in international relations that we have now entered. As before, it will require not only a great degree of consistency, firmness and energy, but also better forms of work, new methods, timely and precise formulation of concrete initiatives that can forestall the development of seats of tension and relapses in the process of detente. Much still remains to be done to invigorate each of the peaceable streams and, at the same time, to merge them into a single channel. The imperative of the present moment in history or, if you like, the imperative of the epoch, is to unite all the peace forces of the world and secure the peaceful development of all countries, all peoples.

Dear friends, millions of people throughout the world expect much of the World Congress of Peace Forces. They are awaiting answers to burning questions which trouble the broad masses, and guidelines for the worldwide public movement whose aim is to help solve one of the most im-

portant problems of the 20th century—the problem of ensuring a lasting peace. This is a great responsibility, and, as I see it, it is also a great and inspiring challenge.

Allow me to assure you that in your activity to consolidate peace you will have the fullest and most effective support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, of all Soviet people.

The internal life of the Soviet Union, the activities and aspirations of the Soviet people, our Party and government, are imbued with a striving for peace. Those who have been here before, and those who are on their first visit to Moscow—all can see the enthusiasm of the Soviet people engaged in peaceful constructive labour.

At present our people are completing the third year of our ninth five-year plan. And judging by the preliminary results of the first three years, we can safely say that the main socio-economic targets set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU will be reached. This is borne out first and foremost by the steady growth of the country's national income, which will have increased 16.4 per cent by the end of these three years.

Conspicuous advances have been made in all fields of the economy. With the plan for 1973 envisaging an increment of 5.8 per cent in industrial output, the actual growth in the first nine months of this year over the same period last year has been 7.3 per cent.

Thanks to the constant concern shown by the Party and the Soviet state, and the dedicated efforts of the farmers, we have had a record harvest this year. It seems likely that we shall bring in more than 215 million tons of grain, or more than 13,000 million poods, to express it in our traditional Russian measure. The annual plan for the purchase of grain by the state has already been exceeded. This year's figure for the purchase of raw cotton will be in excess of 7.5 million tons, and of sugar beet more than 82 million tons. Those, too, are big successes.

Nearly 7 million new apartments will be built in Soviet towns and villages in just the first three years of the current five-year plan.

These successes give joy to Soviet people, and are also acclaimed by our friends across the world. They know that these achievements contribute to the consolidation of world peace.

You can depend on the Soviet people, who have always—in the early years after their great revolution, in the years of building socialism, in the battle against fascism, in the postwar decades, and at the present time—stood and will continue to stand in the front line of the struggle for the interests of humanity.

To wind up, I should like to thank the organisers of the Congress and all of you, dear friends, for this opportunity of speaking from this high rostrum. Esteemed participants in this Congress, allow me, in conclusion, to wish you every success in your fruitful joint work that will, I am sure, find a ready response in the hearts of people on all continents.

INDIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP IS UNBREAKABLE

*Speech in Delhi
at a Meeting of Indian-Soviet Friendship*

November 27, 1973

Esteemed Mr. Vice-President,
Esteemed Mme. Prime Minister,
Esteemed Mr. Chairman of the Preparatory Committee,
Esteemed Mr. Mayor,
Dear friends,

It is a pleasure to us, representatives of the Soviet Union, to meet you, residents of the Indian capital, citizens of great and free India. I thank you heartily for the warm words addressed here to us, addressed to the Soviet people. The Soviet men and women respond with the same sincere and profound sentiments and convey warm fraternal greetings to the friendly Indian people.

I have had the good fortune to visit India before. Though this was 12 years ago, I still see in my mind's eye the vivid, unique pictures of the life of the free Indian people.

This was just at the time when the last islets of colonialism disappeared from the map of your country, and the national flag of India was hoisted over Goa, Daman and Diu. Those days of nationwide jubilation in India are unforgettable.

I also recall the moving atmosphere of mass meetings in Madras, Delhi, and Calcutta, and the faces of Indian youths and girls who filled the lecture halls of the Institute of Technology in Bombay. I also recall the derricks in

Anklesvar and the power plant then being built in Neyveli, and the monuments of ancient Indian architecture in Agra and Jaipur.

Imprinted deeply in my memory are meetings and long conversations with the outstanding statesman Jawaharlal Nehru, a man who seemed to embody the wisdom, the big heart and great soul of the Indian people, their striving for independence and progress.

One's first acquaintance with a country is always exciting. Another meeting with it adds new sentiments, makes it possible to appreciate the changes for the good in the life of the country and its people. Our present visit is mainly devoted to talks with the leaders of your country and a tour of the country is not envisaged. But I can honestly say: my contacts with India have never been interrupted. Throughout these years my colleagues and I have closely watched the development of India, rejoiced in your successes, and taken your problems closely to heart. And everything we know of present-day India allows us to say with full confidence: India is on the move, India looks into the future.

Our talks with the Prime Minister, Mme. Indira Gandhi, began yesterday. We agreed to consider together the new developments that concern our countries, to map out further steps which would help us to deepen and widen Soviet-Indian co-operation, to determine areas of further joint activity for the sake of our peoples, for the sake of peace. I can tell you, dear friends, that our talks with Mme. Indira Gandhi and other representatives of the Government of India are proceeding, as always, successfully and fruitfully.

Representatives of the Soviet Union and India, when defining the nature of the relations between our two countries, have for many years already described them as a model of peaceful coexistence. This is absolutely correct. It is peaceful coexistence of two neighbouring states with differing social systems, honest and loyal coexistence, permeated with love for peace and useful for both countries.

The Soviet-Indian relations which emerged on this basis are producing from year to year ever more definite material

results of co-operation and at the same time valuable spiritual results. The good seeds sown in the minds of hundreds of millions of Indians and Soviet people yield abundant shoots and deep traditions of Soviet-Indian friendship are being shaped. Our friendship was tempered in the flames of the blast furnaces of Bhilai, became filled with new content as a result of the joint efforts of the Soviet Union and India in the world arena, efforts aimed at the triumph of peace, justice and freedom of the peoples. This friendship is throwing new bridges into the future. I have in mind the growing exchange of student youth of our countries, the contacts of our children in the world of art, and much else.

The strength of the ties of goodwill which unite the peoples of the two great countries, their mutual respect, their liking and attraction for one another, have been put to the test in various situations—in fair weather and in the harsh storms that have swept the ocean of international relations. And today, I believe, we can declare confidently: our friendship has passed this test with honour. It has convincingly shown its value for our peoples, for safeguarding the common interests and, indeed, the security of our two countries. It has also confirmed its value for the cause of world peace.

In short, our friendship and co-operation have been well tested in practice. And the leaders of India and the Soviet Union have drawn the logical conclusion, which was wholeheartedly approved by the peoples. They have consolidated relations, which had already attained a high level of maturity, by concluding a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation. A new stage has begun in the development of Soviet-Indian relations: friendly, peaceful coexistence has been enriched by profound and close friendship, active and varied co-operation.

The Treaty we have concluded resembles a compass with its needle pointing to the future. We are convinced that this is the correct course. It accords with the fundamental interests of the peoples of our countries. The exchange of opinion that we have had with Mme. Indira Gandhi and

other Indian leaders in these days has reaffirmed with new force that the leaders of the two countries are fully resolved to make sure that our relations continue in an ascending line in the future.

It gives me pleasure to note a strengthening not only of the political but also of the economic relations between India and the USSR.

When the young Indian Republic was faced with the urgent task of building up modern economy and industrialising the country, the Soviet Union rendered it every possible support in this field too—by deliveries of equipment on credit, by sending its specialists, and by helping to train national personnel.

Dear friends,

Esteemed participants in the meeting,

Soviet people are glad to know that our experience, our know-how, our labour are helping you to accomplish the great tasks linked with the industrialisation of your country.

We rejoiced with you when the firstling of Soviet-Indian economic co-operation, the Bhilai plant, was put into operation. The day is not far distant when the plant in Bokaro, the biggest metallurgical giant in Southeast Asia, will begin working at full capacity. The ten million tons of steel it will produce annually, together with the steel of your other works, will help to solve the problem of supplying new projects and plants in India with your own metal, will help to achieve a faster pace in the industrialisation of your country.

Comparatively recently, Indian and Soviet specialists, working together, discovered oil in the Gujarat State. Over three million tons of this valuable fuel are already being produced there now. The new big oil refinery now under construction in Mathura is also to some extent a result of the joint efforts of Indian and Soviet people.

It is in specific joint activity of this kind that the real friendship of Soviet people and Indians, friendship of working people, is being forged as nowhere else, and there is nothing firmer and more unselfish than this friendship.

Our countries make good use of the advantages of equal

and mutually beneficial trade. The volume of Soviet-Indian trade has increased more than fourfold in the last ten years. The USSR has become one of India's main trading partners, and your country holds an important place in Soviet foreign trade. Furthermore, we are now not trading in the same way as we did before: more than half of Soviet purchases in India are the output of your young industry. Those who would like to see India remain in a dependent position are probably not very pleased with this. But we Soviet people sincerely rejoice in these changes and take pleasure in the consolidation of India's economic independence.

Trade between our countries, of course, must be developed further. Here there are still many untapped possibilities. But it is, perhaps, not just a matter of trade. It seems to us, for instance, that we could consider the establishment of mutually advantageous collaboration in production between the Soviet Union and India, collaboration that would rest on co-operation and division of labour between our countries, on a reciprocal complementing of our economic potentials.

I can tell you that this idea is being discussed at the Soviet-Indian talks which have recently begun. We are thinking of putting our co-operation in the economy, science and technology on a stable and long-term basis, of determining the main trends of its development, at least for the next 15 years. We are convinced that this will be beneficial for our two countries, beneficial both for the Soviet people and for the people of India. Purposeful, well-considered development of our economic co-operation may become one of the factors promoting the economic advance of India, and, hence, a better life for its people.

Dear friends,

Many of you, probably, remember that Yuri Gagarin, who blazed mankind's trail into outer space, made one of his first "terrestrial" voyages to India. Here, on your soil, 12 years ago, he spoke of his dreams of co-operation between our countries in exploring the boundless expanses of the Universe. This dream is now coming true: the Govern-

ments of our countries have agreed on the launching of an Indian satellite by a Soviet carrier rocket. This agreement is symbolic in many ways. It shows, above all, what a long road India has traversed in its development over a quarter of a century. It also shows how great are the prospects of our contacts. This refers not only to outer space but also to atomic power engineering, electronics and many other spheres.

Our relations are a most convincing manifestation of the great alliance between the world of socialism and the world born of the national liberation movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state have always sided with champions of national freedom and independence. This political course is prompted by our entire world outlook, which rejects the exploitation of man by man and oppression of one nation by another. This political course is rooted in the very nature of our socialist society, in which over one hundred nations and nationalities live in a close-knit family. It is sealed by the Programme of our Party which says: "The CPSU considers fraternal alliance with the peoples who have thrown off colonial or semi-colonial yoke to be a corner-stone of its international policy."

Last year India celebrated the 25th anniversary of its independence. It can be said without the slightest exaggeration that the last quarter of a century was a great period in the life not only of your country. This was a period of the victorious march of the national liberation forces on a worldwide scale. They gained state power in over 70 countries.

Different countries took different roads. But life itself shows that genuine national revival is impossible without social renovation, that with the development of national liberation revolutions their anti-imperialist democratic trend becomes intensified.

The national liberation movement, of course, has its sources in the soil of each separate country. But these movements, merging in a broad stream, have become a truly international force. And now, we have the right to speak not

only of how the national liberation movement has changed, but also how the world is changing under its influence. The liberated countries have set about the solution of such problems as liquidation of mass poverty, hunger, and backwardness. If it is remembered that this refers to areas where the majority of the world population lives, it will be clear that this is a tremendous task, and one of world-wide importance. Mankind as a whole is interested in its accomplishment.

New colours have appeared on the map of the world. The world's socio-political face has assumed new features. World social progress has received a strong impetus. The young states have brought into international life the ardour of the struggle for freedom and independence.

But, let us say outright, there are still many forces that refuse to accept this, that try to stem the powerful wave of the national liberation movement. Is this not shown by the fact that over decades the Vietnamese people has had to wage a heroic struggle for freedom and independence, against the aggression of foreign imperialism? Foreign interference in the affairs of other peoples of Indochina has not yet been stopped. Arab lands are still occupied by invaders. Attempts are still being made to drown in blood the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. The racist regimes in Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia still disgrace the map of the world. Reactionary military dictatorships are still raging in a number of Latin American countries, dictatorships that are so hated by the peoples of those countries and so dear to the hearts of foreign monopolies. What is more, reaction launches offensives in some places, depriving peoples of democratic freedoms and gains they achieved in the struggle for independence and social progress. The events in Chile are an example of this.

But we live in an age when the ideals of freedom and independence engender fighters and make them victors. Because these ideals are now upheld not by tens, or hundreds, or even thousands of people but by millions upon millions. Because these ideals are strongly supported by the socialist countries and young national states.

We must not, we simply have no right, to forget that co-operation between these forces—the greatest thing mankind has ever achieved—is one of the most vivid testimonies to change that has taken place in the entire system of relations on the international scene.

Under the influence of the constructive peaceful policy of the socialist states and the liberated independent countries, a turn towards detente is now taking place in the world, a turn which is ardently welcomed by all the peaceful peoples.

The detente has not yet completely eliminated the threat of a world nuclear disaster, but it has kept it at bay. And we regard this as a great achievement of all mankind. For is it only the European and American civilisations that run the risk of being drawn into nuclear war? Will its scorching breath bypass any other continent? All the peoples of the world breathe the same air, and the planet's atmosphere, like world peace, is indivisible.

Our country is for the widening of the zone of detente, for spreading it to the whole world. And we are well aware that to carry out this task is practically impossible unless the power, wisdom, responsibility and energy of the peoples and states of Asia, Africa and Latin America assert their full weight on the scale of world politics.

Our position is essentially this: we propose this to all the countries—let us respect the independence and sovereignty of every state, refrain from any military actions against each other, and refrain from threats of force against each other; let us not only coexist peacefully but develop all-round co-operation. We make this call to all the governments. And we make this call to the public forces which, we are convinced, can make a great contribution to rebuilding international relations.

The World Congress of Peace Forces was held in Moscow a month ago. Delegates from more than 140 countries came for the Congress. The delegation of the Indian public forces was one of the most representative among them, and we were glad to be able to give it a wholehearted welcome in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. More than one thousand

speakers addressed plenary meetings and commissions of the Congress. Never before have people of such diverse views, beliefs and social position rallied to the same cause, the lofty and noble cause of struggle for peace. Everyone who, like myself, participated in the work of the Congress must have felt the pulse-beat of the peoples of the world, their irresistible striving for peace.

The will of the peoples for peace is manifested fully by socialism. And this is natural. It is natural since our goal, the goal of the Soviet people and all the peoples of the socialist countries, is to build a communist society, a society in which the growing material and spiritual needs of every person will be fully provided for, where every personality will have full scope for development. It is clear that we need peace and reliable security to achieve these goals.

We have already achieved much on the road to this goal. We have built socialism. Exploitation of man by man, all kinds of oppression, inequality and discrimination have been banished from the life of our society forever. Factories and plants, agricultural enterprises—all this in our country belongs to the people and cannot be used against their interests. Such social evils as unemployment and poverty that the exploiter system imposes on the working people have been done away with. National strife and mistrust have been replaced by relations of friendship and brotherhood. Every Soviet citizen has access to education and culture.

We regard the formation of a new social morality as our most important achievement. Equality, collectivism and comradesly mutual assistance among people, no matter to what social or national groups they belong, a new attitude to work, true democracy and, finally, profound humanism and respect for the rights and personality of every individual—such are its characteristic features.

As for economic development, I will mention only one figure—this year, to date, the Soviet Union has turned out 113 times more industrial output than Russia's annual output before the Revolution.

I will tell you frankly: all we have achieved has not come to us easily. Tsarist Russia was a poor and backward country. The grimmest wars were imposed on the young Soviet state. Unlike colonial powers, we did not build our prosperity on exploiting other peoples. All we have achieved is the result of the selfless efforts of the Soviet people themselves.

The Soviet people had to work intensively and persistently to create the economy of developed socialism, to build a modern industry and a developed mechanised agriculture. In these years, our people often had to live under difficult conditions and deny themselves many things. But they accepted all this and worked enthusiastically, for they knew well what their goal was and what they were fighting for. The Communist Party, uniting millions of the people's most dedicated and selfless sons and daughters, has given the Soviet people a clear understanding of the ways of building a new society, has inspired them to exploits and rallied them into what one might describe as a single mighty production team.

Dear friends,

Every country has its landmark, its own reference point for the achievements it has scored. For India it is the day in August 1947 when after many decades of the Indian people's persistent, heroic struggle for liberation the country won independence. The road of independent India is marked with truly historic achievements.

We, the Soviet people, who have learned from our own experience how difficult it is to put an economically backward country on the path of progress, can fully appreciate the following weighty and impressive facts: over two decades, India's industrial output has trebled, the output of grain has more than doubled; in more than one hundred thousand Indian cities and villages smoky wicks and kerosene lamps have given way to electric light; nearly 100 million Indian children have been given the opportunity to study; qualified national cadres—specialists in various fields of science, technology and culture—have been trained.

We also know that you face many complex unsolved problems. And one cannot but feel respect for the builders of the new India, the vast historic work that they have launched with such persistence, selflessness and confidence in their powers.

The ruling party, the Indian National Congress, has set forth an important democratic programme for vast social and economic changes aimed at improving the life of the people. It has proclaimed socialism as its goal. As is known, wide political and public circles in India advocate socialism.

We have always believed that choice of the path of social development is the internal affair of each people, that it is determined by their own motives, needs, social and political practice, and the alignment of class forces. And if in India today people talk about development towards socialism, this, as we see it, is also a result of the historic experience of your country. World capitalism gave India the shackles of colonial oppression. It is not surprising, therefore, that your people have no wish to link their hopes for the future with a social system of this sort.

Our views on this score are well known. As I have already said, we know through our experience that socialism awakens great creative energy among the popular masses.

The same experience, our own and that of other countries building socialism, tells us something else as well. To build socialism it is necessary not only to rebuild social relations radically, but also to ensure the proper level of development of industry, agriculture, public education, and the training of personnel. And all this has to be achieved—achieved by persistent work on the part of the people. At the same time we are well aware that if there is clear purpose and firm will in pursuing a political course, and if this course is understood and supported by the people, then socialism is quite a realistic matter.

We believe that the fact that your country has many good friends in the world, among them your close and reliable friend, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, promotes India's development along the road of economic and social progress.

On behalf of the Soviet people I should like to express to you, dear Indian brothers and sisters, from this high rostrum, the feelings of our profound respect and solidarity, and our heartfelt wishes of happiness and prosperity to a great, free and independent India!

Dear friends,

Now that our meeting is drawing to a close, my thoughts return to what is the main theme with us these days. This is the theme of co-operation and friendship between the Soviet Union and India.

What our teacher, the founder of the Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin strove for so ardently is coming into effect. The peoples of the Soviet Union and India are linked by truly friendly relations. And this friendship is becoming an ever more important political factor in Asia and all over the world. We are proud that India is among our close friends.

We highly appreciate the efforts of the Indian Government headed by Mme. Indira Gandhi, the efforts of all the democratic progressive forces of your country who over a number of years have been consistently working to strengthen all-round Soviet-Indian co-operation.

Friendship and co-operation with India is part and parcel of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. We were with you when India was under the yoke of colonialism. We were with you when new Indian statehood was emerging. We were with you in the difficult and trying periods for India. We were with you, when various external forces tried to bring pressure on India, which was upholding its vital interests.

We shall be with you in the future also, in the days of joy and in the days of trial.

The development of our relations is on the right track and has a firm foundation. Friendship between our countries is a matter not only for governments and political leaders but also for peoples. The entire spirit of today's meeting shows clearly how deep are the roots of friendship between our peoples.

The development of our friendship may be likened to

scaling a summit: the higher we ascend, the wider the horizons that unfold before us. And we want to climb higher and higher, we want to see before us new and ever more enticing prospects.

May the unbreakable friendship of the Indian and Soviet peoples flourish in the centuries to come for the benefit of our countries, for the benefit of all the peoples of the world!

Let us work together in the name of our noble goals.

IN THE NAME OF WORLD PEACE

*Speech in the Palace of Science, Delhi,
at a Meeting with the Activists
of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society*

November 28, 1973

Esteemed Mr. Chairman,
Esteemed Mme. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi,
Dear friends,

I am very glad to be here with you, leaders and activists of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, representatives of the vast army of friends of the Soviet Union in India.

Our visit to India, stated briefly, is a visit of friendship. And here, in your hospitable land, in this atmosphere of warmth and goodwill, one is very deeply aware of the profound content of that meaningful word—friendship.

To have a true friend means a great deal to everyone. It enriches his entire life. But there is something even greater than this. I mean friendship between peoples. Such friendship is shared by millions and, where our two countries are concerned, many hundreds of millions of people. Such a friendship largely determines not only the present but also the future of whole nations and leaves an indelible imprint on their destinies.

Regarding Soviet-Indian relations from this standpoint, one can say that they develop in a particularly favourable climate, I should say, very happily. Both the relations between our states and the relations between the peoples of our countries have been developing along one channel from the very beginning, mutually complementing, as it were, and stimulating one another.

The circumstance that friendship between the great peoples of the Soviet Union and India was established by great men has played an important role.

One recalls now the words of the founder of our state Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who half a century ago stressed: "The working masses of Russia are following with unflagging attention the awakening of the Indian workers and peasants."¹ When he said this, India was under the rule of colonialists. The leader of the first victorious socialist revolution believed deeply in the inexhaustible creative resources of the Indian people, in their victory in the struggle for freedom and independence. Using Lenin's words, I can say that the Soviet working masses followed with unflagging attention the resurgence of independent India and are following with unflagging attention the advance of the Indian people along the road of economic independence and social progress.

I recall now my meetings with India's great patriot, Jawaharlal Nehru, the meetings we had in Moscow, in Kazakhstan, and here, in Delhi. Nehru always paid great attention to Indian-Soviet relations and looked far-sightedly into their future. He said in 1961 that the relations between the people of India and the people of the Soviet Union would become ever closer and more friendly. It is hardly necessary to prove to anyone today how right Nehru was.

Soviet-Indian friendship has now become a factor of great importance in the lives of the peoples of both countries and its role, we are confident, will increase with every year.

This trend in the development of relations between the Soviet Union and India is being confirmed by our current talks with the head of the Indian Government Mme. Indira Gandhi, whose part in multiplying the legacy left to India by Jawaharlal Nehru is well known throughout the world.

It was pleasing to learn that Mme. Indira Gandhi values highly the activity of your Society. I, for my part, completely subscribe to this appraisal.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 138.

Friendship between the peoples is not an abstract notion. It is created by living people who give their minds, their energy and their hearts to this noble cause. Allow me to greet through you all these people, hundreds of thousands of citizens of your country, representatives of different sections of Indian society—workers, peasants, teachers, doctors, engineers, workers in science and culture. I should like to shake hands with every one of them, to thank them for their warm feelings for our country. It is a pity that this cannot be done. But I cannot deny myself the right of mentioning the names of those who devoted many years of their life to working in the field of Indian-Soviet friendship and gave every effort to this cause. People in the Soviet Union know and remember Dr. Baliga, Saifuddin Kitchlew, General Sokhey and other active leaders who have done so much to consolidate relations between the Indian and Soviet public. I should like to make special mention of the fruitful work of the Society's President Mr. Menon, veteran of Indian-Soviet friendship, who has headed the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society for nearly ten years.

I have spoken a lot about Soviet-Indian friendship these days. I mentioned it in my speeches at the airport, upon arriving in Delhi, at the dinner that the Indian Prime Minister gave in honour of the Soviet guests, at a mass meeting with the people of your beautiful capital. But I should like to emphasise one circumstance now.

We live at a time when the peoples themselves are beginning to play an ever greater role in the establishment of a good climate in relations between states, in the development of co-operation between different countries. In this light, the activity of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society as a public organisation reflecting the thoughts and feelings of the Indian people assumes special importance. It fell to your Society to undertake a noble mission. In the words of a great Russian poet, you are sowing what is wise and kind and everlasting, you are helping to instil in the masses the feelings of friendship and brotherhood among nations. In this sense, the importance of what is being done by every

one of you and the Society as a whole can hardly be over-estimated.

Your work consolidates and cements what is being done by statesmen and politicians who champion Indian-Soviet friendship. No one will deny that the better people are acquainted with the history, traditions and culture of other peoples, the better they can understand each other's present goals, aspirations and anxieties. And this creates an atmosphere of trust, mutual understanding and goodwill. In this atmosphere the tree of friendship grows richer and fuller.

We know how great is your country's interest in the Soviet Union, in the life and work of Soviet people. We highly appreciate the fact that the Indians treasure the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that in Calcutta, for instance, a monument has been erected to this great fighter for the freedom and the rights of the peoples. We are moved by the respect and sympathy which the Indian people have for the Soviet Union, for its peaceful policy.

I can tell you, dear friends, that Soviet people, too, are doing a great deal to strengthen friendly relations with India. They take a great interest in India, not only in its long history and ancient culture, but also in its present-day life, in its contemporary reality. This is shown by the publishing of books by Indian authors in many millions of copies, by plays based on themes from Indian literature and folk epic that run at the theatres of Moscow and many other cities of the Soviet Union. Soviet scholars have written many works devoted to Indian history, economy, philosophy and art. The problems of the Indian people's national liberation struggle are very deeply studied in our country.

In the Soviet Union, enterprises and institutions in cities and villages join the Soviet-Indian Friendship Society collectively, become its collective members. But, actually, the entire Soviet people is a collective member of the Society of Friendship with India. The entire Soviet people is your friend, a loyal, disinterested and reliable friend!

Your Society and your counterparts in the Soviet Union have many important tasks ahead. The opportunities for

mutual study of the life and experience of our peoples are indeed unlimited.

Cultural exchange is the main direction of your work. This is reflected in the very name of your Society. But the contacts in the field of culture that we have today, though extensive, cannot be regarded as sufficient. The reciprocal study of the two great cultures is in the initial stage. There are vast opportunities for this, and using them can bring considerable benefit to the peoples of both our countries.

No doubt, we in the Soviet Union know by no means all that is interesting and useful in the development of the various branches of India's science, industry and agriculture. We also believe that wider acquaintance with the Soviet Union's experience in certain fields would be of interest to India.

Naturally, we should welcome all-round extension of various contacts between the working people of the Soviet Union and India, between the workers' collectives of enterprises, the trade unions, women's and youth organisations, and also the broad development of tourism.

Esteemed friends, forty years ago the great Indian writer and thinker Rabindranath Tagore visited the Soviet Union. At that time, socialist construction in the Soviet Union was only just getting under way. By that time we had been through a lot, and done a lot. But the Soviet Union was still a backward and poor country, surrounded by capitalist states, and at that time there remained a real threat of their launching a new attack. To put it simply, life was difficult then, we had colossal tasks to solve and the experience and knowledge were lacking. But the will of the people, their selflessness, their boundless loyalty to the cause that became their lifework then impressed Tagore greatly. In his "Letters from Russia" he wrote that the Soviet people had rolled up their sleeves and set to work to build on this vast area a new world.

Several decades have passed since then. We have built this new world.

Since time immemorial people have dreamt of that fairy-tale hero who has great strength and can work wonders in the name of justice, in the name of happiness for the work-

ing people. Our experience shows that it is the people that are that fairy-tale hero, and that socialism gives them a miraculous strength.

And at present, dear friends, we are still working with our sleeves rolled up because we want to advance further. We want to link the advantages of socialism with the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. We intend to achieve a new great upsurge of our productive forces and to further raise the Soviet people's material and cultural level. We set ourselves the goal of further developing social relations and socialist democracy.

The successful advance of the Soviet Union and other socialist states is largely promoted by their wide fraternal co-operation that now embraces practically every field of life and activity of our peoples. Joint actions in politics, co-ordination of the plans and division of labour in economics, exchange of experience in social life, exchange of cultural values—all this enriches everyone who participates in this co-operation.

Our co-operation with countries that have freed themselves from colonial oppression is also increasing. In this respect it would not be an overstatement to say that the results of our present visit to India, the results of our talks with Prime Minister Mme. Indira Gandhi will be very fruitful. We are sure of that. I should also like to express the conviction that these results will substantially further the development of Soviet-Indian relations to the benefit of both our peoples.

Much remains to be done before the plans are fulfilled. So let us work together in the name of Soviet-Indian friendship!

Let us work together in the name of peace throughout the world!

Thank you very much, my friends, for your noble activity in the name of Soviet-Indian friendship, in the name of peace.

I cordially thank you all for the warm words spoken here today about the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and myself personally.

FOR LASTING PEACE AND CO-OPERATION

*Speech at a Joint Session
of the Lower and Upper Chambers—
the House of the People
and the Council of States—
of the Parliament of the Republic of India, Delhi*

November 29, 1973

Esteemed Mr. Vice-President,
Esteemed Mme. Prime Minister,
Esteemed Mr. Speaker of the House of the People and
Mr. Chairman of the Council of States,
Esteemed Members of Parliament,

First of all, I should like to express gratitude for the honour of addressing the supreme legislative body of your country, the Parliament of the Republic of India. I am well aware of the important role which Parliament plays in India's political life.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I convey to you hearty greetings and best wishes from my colleagues, the Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, from all Soviet members of Parliament.

Dear friends,

We arrived in your country at the kind invitation of the Prime Minister of the Republic, Esteemed Mme. Indira Gandhi. I should like to tell you that we accepted the invitation with pleasure.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the strengthening of friendship, the all-round development of its relations with India.

A big role is played in this sphere by the long-standing historical tradition of peaceful, good-neighbourly relations between our countries. These relations have never been darkened by wars or conflicts. The feelings of mutual respect and sympathy between our peoples have grown and strengthened throughout the entire history of Soviet-Indian relations.

The Soviet people have always sided with the Indian people's struggle for their freedom and independence, sincerely supported it and rejoiced in its successes. At the dawn of our century V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, vigorously exposed the colonialists' arbitrary rule in India. He had profound faith in the forces of the Indian people and predicted the inevitable collapse of colonial domination.

We know that for their part the Indian people, their outstanding leaders, took a keen interest in our Revolution, in the building of the new society in the Land of Soviets. Jawaharlal Nehru remarked that Russia, carrying out the behests of the great Lenin, had looked into the future.

The successful development of political, economic and cultural contacts between our countries in the past few decades has led to the still further strengthening of these sentiments of mutual respect and sympathy.

The profoundly peaceful foreign policy of our countries also draws them closer together. The strengthening of Soviet-Indian friendship has today become of paramount importance both from the viewpoint of the national interests of the two countries and from the viewpoint of the consolidation of peace and improvement in the international situation throughout our planet.

Esteemed friends,

When addressing experienced political leaders, there is obviously no need to relate in detail all the specific steps of Soviet foreign policy in recent years. They are known to you. You know, of course, that we regard it as our task to do our utmost to promote a radical improvement in the world situation, an improvement which would make it pos-

sible to create firm guarantees of peace, to ensure genuine peaceful coexistence, relaxation of tension, broad development of international co-operation. This is precisely the purpose of the Peace Programme which was worked out by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and which has become the foreign policy platform of our state.

Why do we attach such great significance to carrying out these tasks, to the implementation of the Peace Programme?

It is clear that the Soviet people need peace, a tranquil international situation, the expansion of mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technical contacts with other states to carry out the huge-scale plans for building the new society. This is also needed by other peoples, all peoples on earth. If one looks at the matter more broadly and in the historical perspective, it is a question of which road the entire development of international relations and, to a great extent, the development of the history of human society, will take.

The experience of the last quarter of a century demonstrated one of the possible ways. I have in mind the cold war. Where did this war lead? It led to the splitting of the world into hostile military-political blocs, to the severance of normal relations between many states, it crippled the internal life of many countries. Its sinister offspring was a fantastic growth of mass-destruction weapons. It displayed an amazing ability to transform the most outstanding achievements of human genius from blessings into evils. We cannot but recall the words of Karl Marx who likened progress under capitalism to a cruel deity that would not drink nectar but from the skull of the slain.

Besides, the cold war was not so "cold". Now and then it alternated with real wars which the imperialists and colonialists unleashed under the slogans of anti-communist struggle. By creating rich soil for the darkest reaction it hindered social progress, hindered many countries which had freed themselves from colonialism in their pursuit of an independent policy.

Like a dark whirlwind it drew into its orbit even those who would have liked to remain aloof, and cast a sombre shadow on the entire situation in the world.

The world was more than once on the brink of nuclear war. Only at the cost of much effort has it been possible so far to stop at this brink, sometimes at the last moment. Yet a single mistake is enough to bring a great and irreparable calamity upon mankind.

We do not want to follow this road ourselves and do not want mankind to continue following it. We see another road—the road of establishing normal relations between countries, eliminating the hotbeds of war and tension created by imperialist policy, the road of developing broad and equal co-operation between all states, irrespective of their social systems. A lasting peace and peaceful co-operation between states will also create more favourable conditions for the accomplishment of many other important tasks—national liberation, social progress, the overcoming of the glaring economic inequality between various countries. Such, in our opinion, is the only alternative to a nuclear disaster, to which the maintenance and intensification of tension in the relations between states would in one way or another lead.

Today we can say with great satisfaction that this alternative is gradually becoming a reality. A turn to peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation has been emerging ever more clearly in the last few years in the relations between many states, relations which had previously been distinctly strained and tense.

What is the reason for this?

The reason lies mainly in the fact that the real might and political influence of the socialist countries and also of the countries liberated from colonialism have grown immeasurably in our time, that the influence of these profoundly peaceable states on the entire system of international relations has increased.

To eradicate the cold war it was necessary to convince its sponsors of the futility of their hopes of making short work of socialism and strangling the national liberation

revolutions of peoples by relying on force and the threat of force. There was only one way of persuading them that these hopes were vain—to turn world socialism and the national liberation movement into an irresistible force. And they have become such an irresistible force, a force bringing progress, freedom and peace to mankind!

The most far-sighted leaders of Western states, realistically assessing the international situation, are coming to realise that the continuation of the policy of pressure and threats, the aggravation of tensions, is hopeless and dangerous. The idea of peaceful coexistence which the socialist countries have invariably and consistently upheld has begun to find ever wider support in the capitalist world too. And in this, esteemed Members of Parliament, we all are proud to see the historic merit of the peaceable policy to which both of our states, the Soviet Union and India, make a big contribution, each in its own way!

The positive processes taking place in international relations in our time are perhaps most strikingly expressed on the European continent. That is why I shall permit myself to set forth in this speech our appraisal of some topical European problems.

Through the horrible experience of the two world wars, which have taught peoples and politicians much, and owing to the persistent efforts of the socialist countries' peace policy, which met with response and understanding in the realistically-minded circles of bourgeois Europe, the European states have at last come to the practically general understanding: war, especially nuclear war, must, once and for all time, be ruled out completely as a means of settling European problems.

This conviction formed the basis of the treaties and other important documents signed in the past few years by the socialist states with France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries of Western Europe.

At present, for the first time in the centuries-long history of Europe, collective efforts are being made by European states (with the participation of the USA and Canada), which at the all-European conference have set themselves

the task of jointly laying a solid foundation for new relations in Europe, relations of peaceful coexistence and active, mutually advantageous co-operation.

In view of the difference in the social systems of European states and the difference of opinion on what they consider to be their national interests in one or another sphere, it is, of course, no simple matter to work out a kind of a code of such peaceful relations and co-operation which would bind states and inspire peoples. This is the reason for the arguments, discussions and diplomatic struggle that are taking place at the all-European conference. On the whole, there is nothing surprising about this, it was to be expected.

In the future, as we believe, the edifice of European peace and co-operation built through common efforts will gradually replace the present division of the continent into opposing military-political blocs.

About a month ago, talks began in Vienna towards the working out of an agreement on Europe's first concerted multilateral reduction of armed forces and arms in the centre of the continent, at the junction of the zones of activity of the two opposing military blocs. From such a reduction, as we understand it, no side should gain any unilateral advantage, and at the same time this reduction will strengthen universal security and mutual trust. The Soviet Union does not claim any military advantage from the planned reduction, nor can it agree to the other side receiving such advantage. This must be absolutely clear.

International detente is creating favourable conditions for progress all along the front of struggle to stop the arms race and bring about disarmament. The Soviet Union has been waging this struggle for many decades. Our efforts, the efforts of the other socialist states and of all peace-loving countries are already yielding fruit. But the main thing still lies ahead. The arms race, which is fraught with serious danger for mankind, still continues. And this comes in ever greater conflict with the general trend in the development of international relations towards detente and the consolidation of peaceful coexistence.

The partial steps taken in the field of disarmament, such as a ban on some kinds of weapons, the ending of all nuclear tests by everybody and everywhere, reduction of military budgets along with further measures for the limitation of the strategic arms of the states that are most powerful in the military respect will bring the world closer to achieving the final goal in this field, that is, general and complete disarmament. The Soviet state has been working for this great goal since the first years of its existence. It has already made a considerable contribution to this cause. And I wish to assure the Parliament of friendly India that the Land of Soviets will do its utmost to hasten the day when the centuries-long dream cherished by mankind's greatest minds, the dream of destroying the means of mutual extermination, will come true.

Esteemed Members of Parliament,

The changes for the better which have taken place in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America in the last two years are undoubtedly of great importance for the steady transformation of the entire international situation towards a more durable peace and security. The essence of these changes—to mention what is of primary importance to other countries—consists in the fact that the two strongest powers, one socialist and the other capitalist, have recognised mutually and in a binding legal form the principle of peaceful coexistence as the basis of their relations. Moreover, they have promised to pursue their foreign policy in such a way as to prevent the eruption of a nuclear war.

I think there is no need to prove that all the peoples of the world interested in the prevention of a new world war stand to gain from such agreement. Taking these steps to improve relations with the USA, the Soviet Union acted in compliance with the well-known principles of its peaceful socialist foreign policy. We duly appreciate the fact that the leaders of the United States of America have in this case shown political realism, foresight and understanding of the requirements of the times.

Like all significant turns in historical development, this

turn in the relations between the USSR and the USA is not proceeding smoothly; it is proceeding amid the struggle of different forces, with some zigzags and hitches. We clearly see that certain circles in the military-political bloc of Western powers, and also within the United States itself, are against the establishment of relations of lasting peace and mutually advantageous co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States and are doing their best to prevent it. It is also known how active such circles are in the United States, although this activity, as we are deeply convinced, has nothing in common with the interests of the American people.

However, what has been achieved as a result of the Soviet-American summit talks in 1972 and 1973 as regards directing relations between the Soviet Union and the United States into a healthy normal course undoubtedly accords with the basic, long-term interests of both the Soviet and the American people and the interests of universal peace. And here, if I may, dear friends, I shall be quite plain: we in the Soviet Union are convinced that nobody will be able to cancel out the peaceful gain of this constructive policy!

The Soviet Union firmly intends to continue to advance along the same road of detente and peaceful co-operation. We, of course, proceed from the assumption that the American side will act accordingly.

Esteemed Members of Parliament,

It gives us great satisfaction to note that the great Asian continent has not stood aside from the positive changes in international life. In Asia, too, the locomotive of detente and normalisation of inter-state relations has already started out and is beginning to pick up speed.

No doubt, the situation in Asia remains complicated. Here the voice of the guns is still heard and the blood of patriots is still being shed. Here there are quite a few acute contradictions, major unsettled problems, inter-state disputes and seats of grave tension.

But still we can see changes and quite considerable ones, for that matter.

An outstanding role in this sphere has been played by the ending of the war in Vietnam, achieved as a result of the great victories of the Vietnamese people who relied on the support of the Soviet Union and all the peace forces, including India, in the struggle against imperialist aggression. As time passes, it becomes increasingly clear that this was a necessary precondition for an improvement of the situation on the Asian continent.

The other important components of the same positive process are a considerable improvement in the situation in South Asia, the emergence of the independent state of Bangladesh as a full-fledged member of the family of Asian peoples, and the expanding co-operation between Asian states. The well-known proposals of the Korean People's Democratic Republic on the peaceful democratic unification of Korea have made a useful contribution to the cause of creating a healthier atmosphere on the continent.

There is growing confidence in the countries of Asia in a lasting peace and a stable situation conducive to the concentration of the efforts of these countries on the urgent tasks of internal development. The search is being stepped up for practical ways and specific steps, both of a partial and general nature, leading to the establishment and consolidation of the security of Asian states. It is precisely these problems that the Asian public is considering now, and we regard this as a major achievement.

Many interesting initiatives, inspired by concern for the peaceful future of Asia, are emerging, such as the idea of achieving the neutrality of Southeast Asia, the search for a formula of mutual relations between the states of South Asia which would ensure good-neighbourly co-operation between them, the proposal for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, and plans for regional co-operation.

There is also growing interest in the idea of ensuring the security of Asia through collective effort. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union is a staunch supporter of this idea. This is not only because the larger part of the

territory of our country lies in Asia. We believe that the establishment of relations of peace, security and co-operation in Asia, a continent inhabited by over a half of mankind, would be an epoch-making step towards ensuring peace and security of the peoples throughout the world.

Moreover, we consider not only the political but also the economic aspect of the matter. In conditions of a lasting peace, the Asian countries will for the first time be able to concentrate on solving the economic and social problems confronting them, and on advancing culture. In these conditions it will be easier for them to consolidate their economic independence.

In the fifties the Asian countries had already worked out principles which envisaged the development of their relations in the direction of peaceful coexistence and co-operation. These are the Bandung principles and the policy of Pancha Shila, which is particularly dear to India. But for reasons which it is obviously pointless to dwell upon here, this process was later, as it were, frozen. We believe the time has come to resume its interrupted advance.

This is why it seems to be time for a thorough and all-round discussion of the idea of collective security in Asia, a discussion that would help us to discern a common approach, acceptable to all states concerned, towards the problems of peace and security on the continent. In other words, we call for an active, broad and constructive discussion which would help to deepen the understanding of urgent issues. The time has already come for this, the current situation in Asia affords adequate conditions for it. Asia can and must become a continent of peace, friendship and co-operation. And it is well worth working and struggling for the sake of this great aim.

Yes, struggling. Because the cause of peace and detente still has numerous and rather influential opponents. Above all, these are the forces in the world of capitalism which are directly connected with war preparations and are interested in the widest possible scope for the arms race and

the boosting of military expenditures. These are also the forces of extreme reaction, racialism, overt and disguised colonialism, and various modern forms of fascism, which still exist in various parts of our planet, on various continents. They all form a united front, as it were, opposing the turn towards peaceful coexistence now evident in international relations. These are the very same forces that are fighting against social progress, freedom, independence and equality of peoples.

All this is putting many obstacles in the way of mankind's advance towards a lasting peace and good-neighbourly co-operation among nations. It is no easy matter to attain these aims which, it would seem, are self-evident and so desirable for the peoples. This calls for perseverance, vigour, preparedness and ability to overcome the resistance of the opponents of detente. This calls for effective solidarity on the part of all those who are for peace and progress. The contribution of every peace-loving state is important in this matter, and so, of course, is the contribution of such countries as India and the Soviet Union, which play an important part in international affairs.

The events of the past few weeks in the Middle East form a vivid expression of the complexity of present-day international relations, a focal point, as it were, of many of the conflicting forces in the world today.

A lull has now set in there after a comparatively brief but fierce armed clash. Military operations have stopped. But the charred ruins are still smouldering, the graves of thousands of killed are still fresh, the hostile armies confront each other with their guns at the ready. It is clear that urgent steps must be taken to prevent fresh bloodshed and establish a stable peace. But to achieve this it is necessary to take into account the lessons of the past.

What conclusions can be drawn from the recent events in the Middle East and around it?

The recent war, above all, has vividly demonstrated the impermissibility of further preserving an explosive situation in the Middle East, the impermissibility of the further

presence of the aggressor on the lands he seized by force. Unless there is a peaceful settlement in the very near future, unless all consequences of Israeli aggression are eliminated, another, still more dangerous, military explosion may occur in the Middle East at any time.

The hostilities have clearly shown that the Arab world now is not the same as it was six years ago. They have shown the increased strength of the Arab states, the victims of aggression, and dispelled the myth of the invincibility of Israel's armed forces. At the same time the world has witnessed effective solidarity of Arab states both in the military sphere and in the implementation of political and economic steps to defend their common interests in the world.

The great effectiveness of the solidarity and friendly assistance extended to the Arab peoples in their just struggle by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by many states of Asia, Africa and other continents, was demonstrated in practice. Israel's political and diplomatic isolation, a result of its aggressive policy, has in these days been most vividly revealed.

At the same time the events of the past weeks once again showed the great benefit for universal peace of the work done in the past few years to normalise international relations, and to ease international tension, first and foremost, in the relations between major states with differing social systems.

I think you will agree with me, esteemed Members of Parliament, that the situation would look quite different were it not for this factor of detente in the world, which has emerged in the last two or three years. If the current conflict had flared up in a situation of universal international tension and aggravated relations, say, between the United States and the Soviet Union, the clash in the Middle East might have become much more dangerous, it might have assumed a scale threatening world peace.

It can be surely said that in such a case there would have been no possibility of a joint initiative by the USSR and the USA, which was supported by other states and led

to the well-known Security Council resolutions on the Middle East and which made the cease-fire possible.

The main task now is to achieve, at last, in the coming talks a firm peace settlement in the Middle East. It is necessary to this end to return the lands seized by Israel to their lawful owners, to ensure justice in respect of the Arab people of Palestine, and to lay on this basis the foundation of firm peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourly relations between the Arab states and the State of Israel. Otherwise there will be neither peace nor tranquility there.

The participants in the future talks will have a historic responsibility.

As for the Soviet Union, it has absolutely no selfish interest in the Middle East. Our profound interest is only that a really firm and just peace be at last established in an area of the world situated not far from the borders of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will do its utmost to promote this.

We highly appreciate the stand which the Republic of India has taken on the events in the Middle East, which was to support resolutely and unambiguously the just cause of the Arab peoples. It is no accident that India has taken this stand. On the contrary, it is indicative of her general role in present international relations as a peaceable state actively working for peace and the rights of peoples.

Since her liberation India has in many respects played a trail-blazing role, paving the way, as it were, for the independent foreign policy of the newly free states. She was one of the initiators of the historic Bandung Conference—that first major anti-imperialist forum of Afro-Asian states. India was one of the pioneers of the non-alignment movement and contributed to the formation of its progressive principles. Action against colonialism and racialism, opposition to imperialist military blocs, support for the peoples fighting for national liberation, adherence to the principles of peace and peaceful coexistence—all this has won deservedly high prestige for India's policy.

It is common knowledge that India is making a great contribution to the normalisation of the situation in South Asia. It was with her active participation that important agreements were worked out, agreements that laid the foundation for the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between all the states of that region. Now, for the first time ever, conditions are taking shape on the sub-continent for a sharp turn towards good-neighbourliness and mutually advantageous co-operation. This is a source of joy for all the sincere friends of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, for all genuinely peaceful states.

It is no secret that India's new role, her increased prestige and influence in the world are not to everybody's liking. There are some who even try to oppose this. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we welcome this historic change. In the increasing international role of India we see a convincing manifestation of the current deep-going democratisation of international relations, the transformation of peoples which for centuries were objects of colonial policy into full-fledged participants and architects of international life. We welcome India's new role also because her policy is directed towards achieving goals which are also the goals of Soviet policy—struggle against colonialism and against aggressive imperialist wars, towards consolidating peace and improving the international situation.

The years of strengthening India's independence have also been the years of strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship. We started with occasional contacts and have come to a deep and close co-operation in most diverse fields that is based on the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation.

We note with great satisfaction that the task of further developing co-operation between our countries meets with full understanding and active support from the Indian Government headed by an outstanding state leader and ardent patriot, Mme. Indira Gandhi.

The idea of the necessity and fruitfulness of Soviet-Indian friendship has penetrated deep into the minds of

millions of people in India and the Soviet Union. This is the most reliable foundation for the further successful development of our relations.

Permit me to express the hope that the Parliament of India will further contribute to the development of Soviet-Indian co-operation. I can assure you that we in the Soviet Union will also work in this direction.

Our line for all-round strengthening of friendship between the Soviet Union and India is firm and invariable.

In conclusion, esteemed Members of Parliament, allow me to greet once again in your person the great people of India, and to wish it happiness and prosperity.

Thank you.

SPEECH AT A MASS RALLY IN REVOLUTION SQUARE, HAVANA

January 29, 1974

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro,
Dear Comrade Osvaldo Dorticos,
Dear Cuban friends,

We were deeply moved as yesterday we stepped on Cuban soil, a land covered with revolutionary glory.

We are also moved by the warm welcome given us by the people of the Cuban capital and by our first meetings with the Cuban people and their leaders, heroes of the Cuban revolution.

I am in Cuba for the first time although it had long been my dream to visit your country. During our meetings in Moscow Fidel and other Cuban comrades had told me a great deal about their Homeland. But there is nothing, of course, that can replace personal impressions.

We are deeply moved by the kind words spoken here about our country, our people, our Communist Party, and we are sincerely grateful for this to Comrade Fidel and to all of you, dear friends.

Allow me to convey warm fraternal greetings to you, citizens of the first socialist state in America, from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, from the entire Soviet people.

Dear friends, Cuba is not a big country in territory and population. But in present-day international life, she holds

a great and, I should say, a prominent place. Cuba is well known throughout the world. Cuba is dearly loved by her friends, hated by her enemies; and millions upon millions of people are following your country's development with a feeling of sympathy and solidarity.

Why is this so? There is only one reason: the victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba. Cuba is the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere. Therein lies her historic role and her historic responsibility.

The revolution in Cuba, which crowned the age-old struggle of your people for freedom and independence, was an outcome of specific Cuban conditions. It was an explosion of popular protest against oppression by Cuban and foreign exploiters. At the same time the history of the victorious socialist revolution in Cuba is another strong confirmation that the laws of social development are inexorable and that they are common to all countries and peoples.

Speaking of the most brilliant hours of Cuban history today, we pay tribute to the heroic standard-bearers of your revolution. In the conditions of a ruthless dictatorial regime a handful of fighters courageously engaged the oppressors in battle, stirred up the masses with their ideas and aroused them to victorious struggle. That was a truly great feat.

Fidel and his comrades understood correctly the aspirations and needs of their people. The very fact that a comparatively small insurgent army could win a victory over a reactionary regime whose armed forces were tens of times larger than this army, shows that this was a truly people's revolution. It would have been impossible without active support on the part of the people.

The greatness of the feat of the leaders of the Cuban revolution lies also in the fact that they were able to find the correct path of development for free Cuba. This way is illumined by Lenin's teaching. The Communist Party of Cuba is creatively using the experience of the Great October Revolution, the experience of several decades of development of socialism in other countries.

The revolution in Cuba is now past its fifteenth year. This is not a short period because revolutions develop fast

and dynamically. Therefore, when referring to the new system in Cuba, one may speak, I think, not so much of youth as of maturity.

You have successfully coped with great and difficult tasks. The resistance of class enemies inside the country has been resolutely broken and outside attempts to strangle Cuba with an economic blockade have been defeated. The security of the republic against foreign aggression has been strengthened. The rout of the interventionists in 1961, the rallying of the people around their leaders, the strengthening of the defence capacity of socialist Cuba and the development of her all-round ties with the fraternal socialist countries—all this has convincingly shown to the world that the Cuban revolution is here to stay and that, to use Lenin's words, it must be worth something since it can defend itself.

The aims of your revolution are spelled out clearly. They are: genuine national liberation, elimination of domination by foreign and domestic exploiters, the establishment of the power of workers and peasants, ensuring of a free, worthy and active life for the working people, in short, the building of a socialist society.

For the Cuban people these aims have become the meaning of their lives. To achieve these aims the Cuban people are working selflessly and are undeterred by sacrifices or privations, they know full well that they are building, with their own hands, their own, their very own, happy future.

What has already been done on the Island of Freedom during these years speaks for itself.

Indeed, is it not a fact that Cuba has ceased to be a fief of foreign monopolies and is for the first time shaping her own destiny? It is a fact, comrades! Is it not a fact that there is no longer anyone in Cuba who lives by exploiting the labour of others? That is also a fact!

Is it not a fact that already now the people of Cuba enjoy social benefits which capitalism has failed to provide for working people even in developed countries? I have in mind the elimination of unemployment, free education for all, free medical services, and so on. All these are indisputable facts and very significant ones.

Your society has now reached a stage of development where the inevitable and necessary period of breaking the old and searching for new forms of development gradually passes into a phase of positive planned construction. Party, state and economic development is unfolding at a steady pace on a tried and tested socialist basis. One of the manifestations of this process is the current preparation for the first congress of the glorious Communist Party of Cuba which is to be held next year and which we Soviet Communists wish wholeheartedly every success.

Comrades, Cuba lies thousands of kilometres away from her friends in the socialist countries in Europe and Asia. But the nature of socialist internationalism is such that revolutionary Cuba has never been and will never be alone. Cuba is an active and respected participant in the busy life of a large family of countries which are linked by bonds of brotherhood, comradeship and unselfish mutual support.

Cuba is now a member country of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Her co-operation with the fraternal countries grows steadily. Meetings, contacts, exchange of experience and opinions, including those at summit level, are becoming increasingly frequent. All this, comrades, makes Cuba still stronger; all this facilitates further successes for the world socialist system.

Nor can I fail to mention that Cuba enjoys great prestige among the countries that have gained freedom from colonial domination and that are playing today an ever more important part in the struggle against imperialism and for the freedom of the peoples. The experience of the free, independent development of Cuba instills hope in the hearts of those oppressed and exploited in many countries, particularly, of course, in Latin America.

Here in Cuba one involuntarily comes to think of the destinies of this interesting, colourful, remarkable continent with its difficult and heroic past, stormy present and—it is safe to say—great future.

The history of the struggle of the Latin American peoples for freedom goes back more than a hundred years. The

19th century rendered immortal the names of the heroes of this struggle—Simon Bolivar, Bernardo O'Higgins, José Martí. The 20th century has entered in the honour book of history forever the names of Emiliano Zapata, Augusto Sandino, Che Guevara, Camilo Cienfuegos, Salvador Allende and many other outstanding fighters for the people's cause. Not only in Latin America but on other continents, too, the peoples know well the name of Comrade Fidel Castro, our friend and comrade-in-arms, the leader of the Cuban socialist revolution.

There have been remarkable triumphs of the liberation struggle, heroic feats and victories in Latin America. But there have also been defeats and bloody suppression of patriots and revolutionaries. Experience teaches us that wherever the positions of imperialism and its servants are in danger, the bourgeoisie forgets completely its propaganda talk of "democracy" and a "free world" and does not stop at any violence, any cruelty. This is clearly shown by the recent events—the bloody fascist coup in Chile and the onslaught of reaction in some other Latin American states.

But none of the lessons of the past are lost. And the experience of the advent to power of the Popular Unity parties in Chile will undoubtedly be put to use by the fighters for freedom and national independence.

Revolution does not feed on somebody's "propaganda" or "subversive activity" as the imperialist press is in the habit of asserting. Revolution feeds on realities, the unbearable conditions in which peoples have to live. Therein lie its deep and indestructible roots. And any attempts to bar the road to progress and suppress the striving for freedom by means of terror and repressions can only increase the anger of the popular masses.

The Soviet Union has always considered inadmissible—indeed, criminal—any attempts to "export counter-revolution" and any outside interference, the aim of which is to suppress the sovereign will of a revolutionary people. Nor are the Communists supporters of the idea of "export of revolution". Revolution matures on the domestic soil of this

or that country. And how and when it breaks out, and what forms and methods may be used in this revolution, are questions for the people of the country concerned to decide.

As to Latin America, we firmly believe that its historical prospects are inseparable from the development of the whole of mankind—these are prospects for freedom, independence and social progress. The Soviet Union believes that Latin American countries should take a more active part in international life and that their independent voice should ring out with ever greater confidence in the world. We are convinced that this will be good for the cause of peace and equitable co-operation among states.

The whole world is in motion today. Stormy events take place now on one continent, now on another. These events are not the same in character and are sometimes even contradictory. But the main lines of world development are clear. The world socialist system continues to gain strength, and its influence on the destinies of the whole world is steadily increasing. The peoples' liberation struggle is winning one victory after another. To an ever growing extent the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems is being acknowledged in international relations.

"The future of mankind is peace," said Cuba's glorious son, José Martí. "There was a time," he added, "when war was the first means used in settling conflicts. Today war is the last resort. Tomorrow war will become a crime."

The "morrow" of which Martí spoke is, comrades, our today, the time we are living in. Following the behests of the great Lenin, the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, other socialist countries and fraternal parties, together with all peace forces, are today waging a persistent struggle to banish forever wars of aggression from the life of mankind, a struggle for a lasting peace.

We are not pacifists. We are not for peace at any price, and we are not, of course, for any freezing of socio-political processes taking place inside countries.

Peace, as we understand it, is unconditional respect for the right of the peoples of the socialist countries to

build a new society without any interference from outside. Peace is unconditional respect for the right of every state and every people to sovereign and independent development.

Peace, as we understand it, is ensuring that the Vietnamese people, who have won a historic victory in the struggle against imperialist aggression, have an opportunity to realise their national aspirations; peace is strict implementation of the Paris Agreement, firm opposition to any attempts by reaction to thwart efforts to normalise the situation in Southeast Asia.

Peace, as we understand it, is restoration of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Arab peoples, rights that have been trampled upon by Israel's aggression; it means a constructive and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis.

This is precisely what the Soviet Union firmly and consistently advocates. The agreement between Egypt and Israel on the disengagement of troops, achieved in connection with the beginning of the Geneva Peace Conference, is a positive step, but it represents only a partial measure of a purely military character and so far affects only one of the Arab countries that were involved in the hostilities. Things must not, of course, stop here.

The Geneva Conference must carry out its main mission: to achieve a thorough political settlement and establish a lasting peace in the Middle East.

But this mission can be accomplished only provided the Israeli troops are withdrawn from all the Arab territories that were occupied in 1967 and the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are respected. The UN resolutions on the Middle East must be carried out fully, in all their aspects and in the shortest possible period of time. The Soviet Union has made and will continue to make an active contribution to this important cause.

Peace, as we understand it, is refusal to settle inter-state disputes and differences, however deep and complex, by military means. Peace is the creation of conditions for equitable and fruitful co-operation among all countries.

In other words, we are for a stable and just peace that meets the interests of all peoples, the interests of social progress.

For a long time the statesmen of the capitalist world remained deaf to the proposals of the Soviet Union for building relations between the two systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence. They tried to crush the world's first socialist state by intervention, to strangle it by an economic and political blockade. They hoped to smash the Soviet Union in a big war. They wanted to intimidate us and other socialist countries with the cold war and hoped to impose their will on us with the help of a "position-of-strength" policy. But all these hopes and attempts were in vain. The Soviet Union and the entire world socialist system have become a powerful, invincible force.

Finally the capitalist world had to face the truth. It had to recognise the impossibility of solving the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism by military means. In these conditions, the more far-sighted of the leaders of bourgeois countries found it advisable to respond to the proposals of the socialist countries for peaceful coexistence.

This has brought about, in recent years, a favourable turn in the relations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with France, the FRG, the United States and some other bourgeois countries.

The socialist countries' consistent and active peace policy is producing ever more tangible results in Europe, a continent which is of such importance for the destinies of all mankind. Much of what our countries, together with all peace forces, have been seeking to achieve for a quarter of a century has now become possible. The main thing is that the inviolability of the postwar frontiers in Europe and the independence of the socialist German state, the German Democratic Republic, have gained wide official recognition. This is very important for preventing the rise of revanchism in Europe and a new aggravation of the situation; in short, this is important for creating conditions for a really stable peace.

But the concept of peaceful coexistence is not limited to a mere recognition that war is no longer acceptable as a means of settling disputes between states, especially between the two social systems. In our day there is a growing conviction that active and fruitful co-operation among all states is essential.

It is not hard to see why this idea first struck root in Europe. It is on this continent that the powerful armed forces of the two world systems face each other. In Europe it is particularly clear, because of purely physical conditions, that a war involving the use of modern means of mass destruction would be an utterly senseless undertaking.

Recognition of all this lies at the heart of two very important initiatives in the international life of present-day Europe, initiatives that have come from the Soviet Union and its allies in the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organisation. I have in mind the all-European conference on security and co-operation (which ought to have been moving towards its final stage now), and the talks on troop and arms reductions in Central Europe which began comparatively recently.

The task of the all-European conference is to consolidate the atmosphere of political detente on the continent and the possibilities opened up by it, to lay a firm foundation for long-term co-operation of European states in the field of strengthening peace, and in the spheres of economy, science and culture. The objective of the talks started in Vienna is to ensure for the peoples of Europe the concrete fruit of detente in the sense of a certain lessening of the danger of military clashes in Europe and a certain reduction of spending on defence.

It is the sincere wish of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries participating in these important undertakings that they end in complete success. We are actively seeking constructive solutions acceptable to all sides and beneficial to the cause of peace and detente. If we are to judge by words, all the other participants in the talks in Geneva and Vienna also appear to be engaged in this. It is gradually becoming clear, however, that features of quite

another kind are coming to light in the positions of some countries.

This concerns not only the negotiations I have mentioned, but also other important matters. Under various pretexts some people are dragging out the finalising of some questions that are ripe for practical solution. Various reservations and "conditions", most often having no relation to the matter under discussion, are being brought up. Attempts are even being made to openly interfere in the domestic affairs of other states. Time and again reactionary propaganda sows slander, strives to instill suspicions in people, to confuse them in order to poison the international atmosphere. Some military leaders and politicians find it possible to call for an intensification of the arms race. At the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces some NATO countries are obviously trying to replace an equitable and just agreement by one that would actually lead to a unilateral weakening of the defence capabilities of socialist countries.

All these facts are bound to put us on the alert. It is difficult to square them with the policy of detente and strengthening peace proclaimed by the governments of the countries concerned.

What can be said on this matter? If these actions are conceived as a means of exerting pressure on the Soviet Union and other socialist states in the hope of securing unilateral advantages to the detriment of our principles and vital interests, this is a futile venture. This should be clear to all. It is much more serious if something bigger is concealed behind all this, that is, the hope of impeding the improvement of the international climate, of returning the world to the infamous times of the cold war and of giving new impetus to the arms race.

It is significant that not a single capitalist country comes out openly now as an opponent of detente and extension of peaceful co-operation. This is understandable since the ideas of peace have now struck too deep a root in the minds of the peoples. But there do exist forces that are irked by the strengthening of peaceful coexistence. These forces are still considerable and command a certain influence.

Imperialism has by no means changed its aggressive nature.

The policy of detente has scored considerable successes, but the world is far from being tranquil. The stockpiling and perfection of weapons, above all nuclear weapons, go on as before. The danger of this situation is obvious. But mankind's future can be made secure only if the threat of nuclear war is fully eliminated. It is to this end that the Soviet Union has advanced its well-known proposals in the United Nations on disarmament, on the non-use of force in international relations and on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. It can only be regretted that the position of some countries continues to prevent the implementation of these proposals.

A major step forward in solving this problem was made as a result of the Soviet-American summit talks last June. I refer to the agreement between the USSR and the United States on preventing nuclear war signed last summer. This is the first hopeful sign of a lessening of the threat of nuclear war. In effect the United States has undertaken not to use nuclear weapons and force in general against the Soviet Union, its allies and other countries. Of course, the Soviet Union, too, has assumed a similar obligation. We hold that this agreement is in the interests of all socialist countries, in the interests of their security.

This agreement is in keeping with the vital interests of all nations since a world war involving the use of modern means of mass annihilation can benefit no one.

Also indisputable is the fact that the current process of normalisation of Soviet-American relations has helped to attain some other important aims for which the countries of socialism and all people who treasure peace have long been striving for. I mean the Paris Agreement ending the war in Vietnam and the withdrawal of American troops from that country. I also mean the cease-fire in the Middle East and the beginning of talks on a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict.

It can thus be said that the current improvement of Soviet-American relations promotes universal peace. We

will further follow this principled line with respect to the United States, provided, of course, the other side reciprocates.

It can be said on the whole, comrades, that recent years have brought many positive changes in international life. As a result, mankind has breathed with relief and hopes for a lasting peace have been strengthened. We believe that this process will go further. The task is to make irreversible the achievements in the field of detente. This calls for determined, I repeat, determined and vigorous struggle by peace-loving countries, by all peace-loving forces.

The role of the popular masses in solving questions of international politics and, above all, questions of war and peace has never been as great as it is now. The peoples demand a lasting peace and genuine security. This was eloquently confirmed by the World Congress of Peace Forces held three months ago in Moscow and attended by delegates from 143 countries.

It is becoming ever clearer that the only foreign policy that can hope for success in contemporary conditions is one which takes into account the will of the peoples and really expresses the aspirations of peace-loving mankind. Such is the policy of socialist countries, an honest policy free of selfish calculations. It should be openly said that if today mankind is closer to a lasting peace than ever before in the past, this is due first of all to the resolute and consistent efforts of socialist countries.

Dear Cuban friends,

I believe that our meeting, a meeting of comrades and associates in the struggle for the common cause, obliges me, if only briefly, to tell you about the life of my country, about the work of the Soviet people and the tasks that it has set itself.

As you know, all our work, all our efforts and concerns are directed to the great cause of building communist society. This will be the first practical experience in building communism in the history of mankind. This is a huge, responsible and complex task. But we are rather well equipped for accomplishing it. We have the powerful econ-

omy of developed socialism. We rely on the life-giving strength of the Marxist-Leninist theory and on the rich experience in building socialism in our country. We rely on the political consciousness and high cultural standards of the Soviet people, on the guiding role of the Communist Party and on the unbreakable unity of the Party and the people.

The three years that have elapsed since the 24th CPSU Congress, the first three years of our ninth five-year plan, have brought much that is new in the development of the Soviet economy, in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

First of all about industry. In this field we have set a course towards a qualitative transformation of the main branches, the introduction of the latest equipment and substantially raising labour productivity. And considerable successes have already been achieved in this. I can say that increased labour productivity now accounts for more than 80 per cent of the entire growth in our industrial output. We continue to make every effort to introduce advanced technology and to apply it more skilfully, to achieve better organisation of labour and discipline, and to be more economical in the use of materials and energy.

Many big industrial complexes with the very latest equipment have been built in the Soviet Union in recent years. They are of great importance for the economy of the entire country, and also for the fraternal countries. It is impossible to list them all here. I will give only two or three examples. Working at full capacity are the Volzhsky Automobile Plant in the town of Togliatti which produces 660,000 passenger cars a year, and the Krasnoyarsk hydro-electric power station, the world's biggest, on the great Siberian river Yenisei. The discovery and development by Soviet people of the giant underground treasure-store of oil and gas in the Tyumen area in Northwestern Siberia is one of the most important achievements of recent years. New towns and settlements are springing up there, and hundreds of kilometres of new railways and thousands of kilometres of oil pipelines are being laid. Already now more oil is

being extracted in that area than the whole of our country produced in the mid-1950s.

In recent years our Party has devoted special attention to agriculture. This is so because for a number of reasons agriculture has for many years been lagging behind other sectors of our economy.

As early as 1965, proceeding from the Leninist thesis on the need to combine national interests with the personal interests of the working people, we established a more correct ratio between the labour of agricultural workers and their remuneration for it. This meant greater incentives to increasing production. As a result, there has been a sharp rise in the living standard of Soviet agricultural workers in recent years. This is an important achievement in itself since it involves a considerable part of the country's population.

At the same time large sums are being invested in agriculture so as to radically raise its technical standard, to improve the fertility of land through extensive land reclamation projects and to considerably increase the use of fertilisers.

Today we are also paying much attention to the carrying out of such a task as the specialisation of big collective and state farms and putting production at these farms on a basis approximating as far as possible to that of industrial production. This, it may be said, is the key to the further development of our socialist agriculture.

Soviet people have achieved good results in 1973. The increment of industrial output considerably exceeded the planned target, and labour productivity also increased faster than was provided for by the plan. A big harvest of grain, cotton and other agricultural crops was brought in. The population's real incomes are growing, and the living conditions of Soviet people are constantly improving. All this, naturally, evokes a feeling of great satisfaction, for the Party regards the improvement of the life of the people as the main purpose of its activity.

The Soviet Union's defence capability continues to be strengthened on the basis of the overall growth of the

country's economy. Our Party and our state see to it that the Soviet Army has everything necessary for the reliable defence of what has been created by the people. Our Army is made up of men who are deeply loyal to their Motherland and to the cause of communism; they are patriots and internationalists. The spirit of militarism and expansionism is alien to our Army, but it is ready at any day, at any hour to defend the Motherland and the gains of socialism.

Relying on our economic and defence capability, on the advantages of the socialist planned economy, on co-operation with our brothers and allies, on the successes of our peace-loving foreign policy we look with confidence into the future and calmly continue our work.

All that I have just said here, dear friends, does not mean at all that our work is going on without a hitch, that we have no difficulties, no shortcomings, that we do not make mistakes. We have all three. As regards the economy, the production of consumer goods still lags behind the planned rates of growth. At times there have been unjustified delays with the commissioning and utilisation of new production capacities. Mistakes in planning also occur. To make up for the deficiency, we must not only carry out the plan for 1974 in full but also considerably overfulfil it. We discussed all these questions in detail, in a businesslike manner at the recent Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, and outlined ways of improving the situation.

But no plans and decisions will produce the desired effect if the people do not take them closely to heart, if the struggle for their implementation does not become the vital cause of millions upon millions of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

For this reason our Party is doing everything to bring home to the working people the full meaning of the tasks facing them. The Party's words evoke an enthusiastic response among the people. A powerful movement for the pre-schedule fulfilment of this year's plan is under way throughout the country. Various production teams are

advancing what we call reciprocal plans, that is, they take on additional commitments and launch campaigns for the production of only high-quality goods.

People in socialist countries, brought up on the ideas of Lenin, the ideas of communism, are well aware of the revolutionary significance of their work. And here in Cuba, an excavator or a harvester today is as much a weapon in the struggle for the revolution as the rifle and the machine-gun were yesterday. Every ton of steel, every new machine, every centner of grain or sugar produced in a socialist country is a real contribution to the cause of peace and socialism, to the social progress of mankind.

Dear friends,

We Soviet people have always regarded solidarity with revolutionary Cuba, utmost support of Cuba as our sacred duty, the duty of Communists, of citizens of a socialist country. And we appreciate that you reciprocate with a similar fraternal friendship, that here in Cuba people know and highly value the country of Lenin, the country of the October Revolution.

We are linked by bonds that are completely different from those that usually exist in the world of capital. For the Soviet Union Cuba is not an object of exploitation and investment of capital, not a strategic base nor a so-called sphere of influence. Our friendship, our closeness is an expression of the socialist nature of our countries, a living embodiment of the lofty principles of socialist internationalism.

Millions of working people today have become the creators of Soviet-Cuban friendship. These are workers, technicians and engineers at Soviet enterprises that manufacture machine tools, equipment, harvesters and other goods for Cuba. These are *zafra* workers who know that a part of the sugar they produce will be sent to Soviet people. These are the Soviet specialists who work in Cuba and the young Cubans who come to study in our country. These are Soviet and Cuban scientists, writers, artists, all those who take part in the intensive exchange of cultural values among our peoples. For every Soviet person and, we

are sure, for every Cuban the friendship between our two nations has become a cause that is held close to the heart and treasured.

Soviet-Cuban co-operation encompasses today the most diverse spheres of life. It extends to the metal-smelting and power-generating industries, agriculture and commercial fishing, research and art. It ranges from such simple forms as trade to co-operation in production and co-ordination of national economic plans.

Soviet-Cuban ties are now being developed on a long-term basis. This gives them stability and this makes it possible to accomplish large-scale tasks. The economic agreements signed during Comrade Fidel Castro's last visit to Moscow are a good example of this.

The Soviet Union, as is known, is helping Cuba to strengthen her defence capacity. We know well, as others evidently know too, that Soviet weapons in the hands of Cubans are not weapons for attacking anybody, not a means of aggravating the international situation. They serve the just cause of upholding the revolutionary gains of your country, the cause of peace and tranquility.

We highly appreciate the attention being given by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba to questions of Cuba's relations with the Soviet Union. We know that this matter has the constant attention of Comrades Fidel Castro, Osvaldo Dorticos, Raul Castro and other Cuban leaders. I can say to you, comrades, that we, for our part, also attach prime importance to the deepening of Soviet-Cuban ties. They have the close attention of the Politbureau of our Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

As you know, our talks with Fidel and other Cuban comrades began yesterday and are being continued today. These talks give us a good opportunity to exchange information and experience, to discuss many important problems once again. Like all our meetings in the past, our new meeting is marked by sincerity, trust and complete mutual understanding. I am confident, comrades, that the present talks, along with the results of Fidel Castro's visit to the

Soviet Union, signify a new stage in Soviet-Cuban co-operation.

Comrades,

The scope that the Soviet-Cuban ties have acquired allows me to say that a strong, broad and reliable bridge has now been built between the USSR and Cuba over the boundless expanses of the ocean. Traffic over this bridge proceeds without interruption and smoothly. This, comrades, is a bridge of peace, friendship and brotherhood.

Dear friends,

In conclusion I want to thank you all once again on behalf of my comrades and myself for the hospitality and the warm welcome you have accorded us, for opening your hearts so generously to friends from the Land of Soviets.

May Soviet-Cuban friendship grow stronger and flourish!

Glory to the courageous Cuban people and their militant vanguard, the Communist Party of Cuba!

Long live peace and communism!

Viva Cuba!

SPEECH
IN THE PALACE OF THE REVOLUTION, HAVANA,
ON RECEIVING THE JOSÉ MARTÍ ORDER

January 30, 1974

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro,
Dear Comrade Osvaldo Dorticos,
Esteemed comrades and friends,

Please accept my heartfelt gratitude for conferring on me a distinguished award of socialist Cuba—the Order which bears the name of that outstanding revolutionary and thinker, that outstanding fighter for the people's freedom, José Martí.

I regard this award first and foremost as a symbol of the strong and sincere friendship and of the inviolable brotherhood that have been established between the Soviet Union and socialist Cuba.

I thank Comrade Dorticos, Comrades Fidel and Raul Castro, all of you, dear friends, for all the kind sentiments you expressed yesterday, for all the very kind words addressed to me by Comrade Dorticos.

When on such occasions one starts to think about the past, about the things one has seen, experienced and done, one finds oneself looking for the most important, the decisive features of one's life. If I am to speak about myself, I should say this—the most important thing in my life, its determining feature, has been close and constant contact with the working people—the workers and the peasants.

I come from a **working-class** family, a family where the grandfather, the father, brothers, and sister spent many decades of their lives working at a big metallurgical plant. My own working life started at the same plant. The way of life at the plant, the thoughts and hopes of the working people and their approach to life—all this had a decisive influence on the formation of my world outlook. What was established then has remained with me all my life.

Circumstances were such that there was a period in my early youth when I had to work in the countryside. I saw village life at one of the most difficult periods—in the early 1920s when the country's economy had been ravaged by the civil war. Later I was many times brought into close contact with the problems of the countryside—in the late 1920s, when I was a young land surveyor and land-reclamation worker, and again, much later, when I was Secretary of the Regional Party Committee. I have devoted much strength and energy to that great undertaking of the 1950s, the cultivation of virgin lands over the limitless expanses of Kazakhstan.

Thus, I can say without false modesty that I am familiar with the real life, the thoughts and aspirations of the workers and peasants and working intelligentsia.

It is said that nowhere does one come to know a person better than in frontline conditions. I spent the war against German fascism on the frontline roads from the first day to the last. And in those years, as a political worker, constantly dealing with people, aware of their feelings, needs and dreams, I came better to understand and appreciate the greatness of soul of the Soviet man—the man of labour, boundlessly dedicated to our great revolutionary cause, a selfless patriot, a person who takes his heroism for granted, as fulfilment of his duty.

As long as I live, I shall treasure the good principles which I have drawn from the working people's clear mind and generous soul. I shall always remember that these principles have been fortified and developed by the great Party of Lenin, which has enriched my mind and shaped my world

outlook and whose dedicated son and loyal soldier I have been for over forty years.

As a result, in all my work, and especially in the responsible posts of leadership with which the Party has entrusted me I have become accustomed to tackle any question from the standpoint of its significance for the working man, the impact it would have on his life and what it would bring him. This, of course, is not any exceptional personal quality which I alone possess. It is a feature which I share with Communists in general, including the leaders of socialist countries. I can say to you that when we in the Politbureau and the Government consider any important question, and take a decision on it, we proceed first of all from the significance that decision will have for the broad masses of the working people. Whether the question concerns the building of new factories or power stations, the irrigation of tens of thousands of hectares of land, or the production of fertilisers or consumer goods, all in the final analysis is weighed in terms of the main goal which the Communist Party has set itself—improvement of the life of the people.

It is also the goal to which our Party and our state gear all their activity in the world arena, all our foreign policy. Lasting peace, work in a tranquil atmosphere, confidence in the future—this is what millions upon millions of people, living in our towns and villages, want above all and most of all. All our endeavours in the sphere of foreign policy are aimed at ensuring a durable peace, at providing reliable protection for everything that has been created by the people, and that is yet to be created.

All this, certainly, applies not only to the Soviet Union. Your country and the other fraternal socialist countries and their Communist Parties pursue the same policy. That is why they feel so close to one another; that is why they are bound by such close, unbreakable friendship. All for one and one for all—this noble rule most fully applies to relations between socialist countries. Friendship redoubles our strength. Our friendship brings nearer the realisation of the lofty aim our Parties are fighting for. There is nothing more wonderful and more noble than this friendship. That is why I am

particularly moved at being presented with this distinguished award of fraternal revolutionary Cuba.

In accepting this Order, I should like to assure you, dear Cuban friends, that the development and deepening of the friendship which binds the Soviet Union and Cuba shall always be the subject of unremitting attention on the part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the part of our Soviet state. I, for my part, shall do my utmost to contribute to this worthy cause.

I thank you, friends, once again, for the great honour accorded to me. The José Martí Order will always remind me of this unforgettable visit to Cuba, of her courageous, proud and cheerful people, of the great and pure friendship which binds our Parties and peoples.

**SPEECH AT THE OPENING
OF THE LENIN BOARDING SCHOOL
IN HAVANA**

January 31, 1974

Dear Comrade Fidel,
Esteemed comrade teachers,
Dear children,

Comrade Fidel has invited me to the ceremonial opening of this school, and I have come with pleasure. I congratulate you, my friends. The school is a wonderful one; you have received a fine present from the People's Government.

When I entered your lecture halls I felt as if I were in a temple of science. And I thank Comrade Fidel once again for giving us the opportunity of experiencing this exciting feeling.

Your school bears the name of Lenin. This is a great honour. No other man in the world ever gave so much energy and intellect so that all people might be happy, so that no child might know starvation, so that knowledge might be within the reach of everybody. The full development of man—both spiritual and physical, the full unfolding of his talents and abilities—Lenin saw this as the most profound meaning of the revolution, socialism and communism.

Everyone treasures throughout his life the recollections of his school years and of the teachers who taught him in the

way he should go. School gives a person his start in life. I can remember the time that my contemporaries and I spent in school. Soviet Russia was ravaged by the First World War and then by the civil war against the landowners, capitalists and foreign interventionists, who tried to strangle our revolution. The country was experiencing unprecedented dislocation and starvation. In those most difficult times, when economy had to be practised in every sphere, Lenin, the Communists and the Soviet Government did everything possible, and achieved even the impossible, in order to feed and clothe the children, and to teach them how to read and write. Thanks to socialism, the workers and peasants assumed supervision of all our country's affairs; they came to the institutes and laboratories, built a mighty industry, and are now exploring space. The Soviet people's achievements in communist construction are a direct result of the October Revolution, a result of the Leninist policy of our Communist Party.

The school in which you are to study is also born of the revolution that changed the face of Cuba. Your fathers and mothers, your elder brothers and sisters fought against the landowners and capitalists, and against foreign interventionists; they fought so that you could have a happy life, so that you might be able to study today.

Great work, interesting and important tasks await you. You will be building new residential areas, factories, power stations, working in fields and laboratories. Thousands of new, sophisticated machines will be brought to Cuba, and you will have to learn to master all this equipment. It is you, dear children, who are to continue the cause for which all the Cuban people, led by the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Government, are working today.

Your generation must master all the wealth of knowledge accumulated by mankind if it is to be able to cope with this responsible task. And not only the professional knowledge needed by the worker or the agronomist, the engineer or the doctor. It is impossible to become a conscious builder of the new society without having grasped the great teachings of Marx and Lenin.

Nor can one become such a builder unless one makes communist morals one's own. Faithful service to one's socialist land, a conscientious attitude to one's work, a high degree of awareness, a readiness to help one another—this is how new, communist traits are manifested in people's character and behaviour. The law of our life is to work not for oneself alone, but for the whole of society.

In socialist society a man is valued by his work, knowledge and spiritual qualities. The decayed morality of the old world with its exploitation and national discord, its desire for personal enrichment, its egoism, is entirely alien to us. We have rejected that morality finally and completely.

While I am here in your school, which has so impressed us all, I want to give full acknowledgement to the honourable work of the teacher, the educator of the new man. I am convinced that you, dear friends—the teachers and instructors and all who will train the young builders of socialism—will succeed in conveying to them your experience, your knowledge, your devotion to the cause of the revolution. And may the success of your pupils be a worthy reward for your noble work.

Well, and as for you, dear children, young friends, your foremost duty is to study well, to acquire knowledge and a profession, to learn everything from your Communist Party, to learn from Fidel. This and this alone will enable you to serve faithfully your country, your splendid Cuba, which you, like your fathers and grandfathers, love so much.

Our delegation has discussed something which we want to propose to the pupils of the Lenin school: your obligation is to excel in your studies; to encourage you, we in the Soviet Union are prepared to invite the best pupils to our country every year during your holidays.

Do you agree, children? (*All say, "Yes!"*)

I wish you, dear friends, success, good health and happiness. I wish you to grow up to become genuine Communists—fighters for the interests of the working people.

Esteemed headmaster,

Esteemed teachers,
Friends,

We present your school with a gift from the Soviet trade unions—equipment for 72 study rooms and laboratories. Allow me to express the hope that this present will help you to study even more successfully, to acquire knowledge so as to be as useful as possible to your country and your people.

As a keepsake we want to give you a portrait of the great man who is dear to us all, whose name your school bears—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The portrait is the work of the Soviet painter Vladimir Kuznetsov.

A GREAT FEAT OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

*Speech in the Lenin Palace, Alma Ata,
at a Ceremonial Meeting
to Mark the Twentieth Anniversary
of the Opening Up of Virgin
and Long-Fallow Lands*

March 15, 1974

Dear comrades,
Dear virgin landers,
Friends,

It is a great pleasure for me to be here today among you, among those who opened up the virgin lands. Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party, to extend sincere good wishes and congratulations to you and to all the virgin landers on the 20th anniversary of the start of this great and important work.

Veteran virgin landers well remember that time—the piercing wind across the steppe, the storms and frosts, the tents pitched in the snow, the first furrows in the fields, and the first streets of new communities, the days packed with work, and the often sleepless nights. A score of years have passed since then. . . . But we shall not forget how we won the first hectares of virgin land and the first tons of grain from the virgin land. One does not forget something one has put one's heart and soul into.

The history of our socialist Motherland has been made and is being made by the working people. It has been made and is being made by those who built the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station and the Magnitogorsk Steel Works, who laid the Turkestan-Siberian Railway and the

Kara Kum Canal, who transformed the Hungry Steppe in Uzbekistan into a flourishing oasis, and who are now building the workshops of the Kama Motor Works and extracting oil in Tyumen. The labour feat of the virgin landers occupies a worthy place in a glorious series of heroic achievements.

The cultivation of virgin and long-fallow lands in Kazakhstan, the Altai and Krasnoyarsk Territories, the Novosibirsk and Omsk regions, in the Volga area, in the Urals and the Far East, and in other parts of the country, forms a bright page in the history of the creative endeavour of the Soviet people. Hundreds of state farms have sprung up, industrial enterprises have been built, and modern scientific centres have been established on land which had for centuries lain idle. This has made it possible not only to create a new big grain-growing base in the eastern part of the country, but also to bring about a radical change in the economy, culture and the entire appearance of vast regions.

A new word, *tselinnik*,¹ has been added to the Russian language and to the languages of the other peoples of the Soviet Union. This means, comrade *tselinniks*, that your work is forever inscribed in the memory of the people. There is no higher reward than this. Nor, I think, could there be.

The true significance of historical developments, of major political decisions does not, as a rule, reveal itself at once, in the immediate wake of events, but later, when it becomes possible to compare intentions with the results obtained and to assess the actual impact of these developments and decisions on one or another aspect of life. Historical distance, by rendering minor details less obtrusive, gives a better, clearer view of the main and fundamental point. The main point, comrades, about the cultivation of virgin soil is that the Party set an important and urgent task, and that Communists and our people successfully carried it out.

Let us recall the situation in the early fifties. The grain situation at that time gave rise to serious alarm. The average

¹ *Tselinnik*—virgin lander.—Ed.

grain crop yield did not exceed nine centners per hectare. In 1953, 31.1 million tons of grain were procured, as against the 32.4 million tons used as food supplies for the population and for the other needs of the state. Thus it became necessary to draw on state grain reserves.

Radical and rather urgent measures had to be taken to overcome the difficulties. In these circumstances, while not reducing attention to raising the yield of all crops, the Party gave priority to the task of quickly and considerably expanding the sowing areas.

This problem was in itself not new. Lenin had repeatedly pointed out the need for and the possibility of developing idle lands. It is common knowledge that in pre-revolutionary Russia there were immense territories, especially in the outlying areas, which were uncultivated. Bourgeois researchers asserted that, owing to the specific features of the natural surroundings, they could not be cultivated. Lenin rejected these assertions. He noted that these lands were unsuitable "... not so much because of the *natural* properties ... but because of the *social* conditions of agriculture ... which doom technical methods to stagnation and the population to a rightless status, downtroddenness, ignorance and helplessness."¹

The October Revolution fundamentally changed the "social conditions" of agriculture and thus created the conditions for the use of new lands. By 1940, the sowing area, taken as a whole in comparison with 1913, had increased by 32.4 million hectares. The next stage in the development of the reserve lands of the USSR was launched in the mid-fifties. It was in those years that the need for obtaining grain from the virgin lands combined with the real possibility of carrying out this historic task.

The meetings held in late 1953 and early 1954 in the territories and regions of the Russian Federation, in Kazakhstan, and other republics, showed that Communists endorsed and supported the Party's line of cultivating the virgin and long-fallow lands. Here the emphasis was not only on car-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 253.

rying out the task as quickly as possible and on swift return of the investments made, but also on the overall economic development of the virgin lands.

In February and March 1954, as you may remember, the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee summed up the proposals of the republics, territories and regions, and adopted a resolution "On the Further Increase of the Country's Grain Production and on the Cultivation of Virgin and Long-Fallow Lands". Although, as everybody knows, work in the virgin lands had been under way before this, the battle for the development of virgin and long-fallow lands was launched in full force after the Plenary Meeting's decision. The Party won this battle. It won it because the Soviet people responded with enthusiasm to the Central Committee's appeal.

It is no accident, comrades, that I used the word "battle". Courage, self-sacrifice, readiness to carry out difficult tasks and boundless devotion to the Party and the Motherland were required of the pioneer virgin landers, as they are required of front-line soldiers. The early years of virgin-land cultivation brought about a sharp turn in the destiny of hundreds of thousands of people, of Communists and non-Party people, old and young, of all who moved away from their old homes, denied themselves urban amenities, and parted with their near and dear ones, to put this previously untilled soil under the plough and grow grain on it. They were the ones who made a success of the project.

Here, in this hall, are many faces which are familiar to me. We met out in the fields, on construction sites, in tents and field workshops, on collective farms and state farms, and at meetings of Party activists and Party conferences. As you know, comrades, the Party sent me to work in Kazakhstan 20 years ago, in February 1954. I am proud that such an important job was entrusted to me. I warmly recall those unforgettable days—extremely difficult, but, at the same time, truly happy ones.

There were lively meetings welcoming the new settlers, new songs born of the invigorating life, the romance of pioneering, and the enthusiasm of the trail-blazers. There was

the splendid feeling of confidence which comes when difficulties are surmounted and forced to retreat. And there were plenty to be overcome. In the space of a few months, hundreds of thousands of new settlers had to be accommodated. Services needed to be organised, and the construction of state farms, grain elevators, roads and bridges had to be launched. Many things did not go well in the beginning. There was inefficiency and misunderstanding, and there were mistakes, too.

Some people may wonder why we should recall the difficulties on such a joyous occasion, particularly as they have long since receded into the past. One cannot agree with such logic. If we pass over these difficulties in silence, or belittle them in any way, we will be depreciating, wittingly or unwittingly, the significance of the feat of the virgin landers. It was a feat in the most precise meaning of the word. One of the veteran virgin landers Fyodor Trofimovich Morgun has described it well: "The age-long hardness of the soil resisted stubbornly, but stubbornness still was human firmness." True, there were cowards, too; they deserted, and fled from the hardships. What can we say about such people, though there were only a few of them? The virgin lands cleansed themselves of the faint-hearted, and the work went all the better for it.

Over a period of three years, more than 32 million hectares were ploughed in the basic areas of virgin and long-fallow land cultivation. The country's gross grain harvest rose from 82.5 million tons in 1953 to 125 million tons in 1956, while grain procurements increased from 31 to 54 million tons.

Such a rate proved possible only because the cultivation of the virgin lands truly became a matter for the entire people. In this case, as always, the working class played the leading role. It sent its finest workers to reinforce the ranks of the *tselinniks*, it introduced organisational efficiency and proletarian discipline. Under the leadership of the Party organisations and with the active participation of the trade unions and the Komsomol, a patriotic movement was launched in the industrial centres for producing ahead of

schedule the machines and equipment that were needed for the development of the new lands. The traditional farming districts sent experienced grain growers and machine operators to the virgin land areas. Representatives of the intelligentsia responded to the Party's call. A tremendous role was played by demobilised Soviet Army servicemen, higher and technical school graduates, and vocational school students. The first years of cultivation of the virgin lands saw the arrival there of almost a million volunteers.

The Komsomol sent its finest representatives to take part in this difficult project. More than 500,000 young people went there in response to the Komsomol's call and the dictate of their own hearts. For its great contribution to virgin land cultivation, the Leninist Komsomol has been awarded the country's highest decoration, the Order of Lenin.

A truly important contribution to the further development of the virgin land state farms has been made by Soviet students. For years now, many thousands of students have been working in the fields and in building teams and working to the best of their ability. What is important for us, comrades, is not only what they give to the virgin lands, but also what the virgin lands give to the young people. Here they receive schooling in labour, and physical toughening. They become involved in a real state undertaking and conduct a considerable amount of political and cultural work.

All this, comrades, will remain with them for the rest of their lives.

All the Union republics, and all the regions in our country have been taking an active part in cultivating the virgin lands. These lands have become a real school of international education, in which representatives of all the peoples of our country have combined the experience of farmers, good work habits, and the will to win. The names of many virgin land state farms—Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Dniepropetrovsk, Gorky, Kharkov—indicate, like birth certificates, the origin of the people who built them. I should particularly like to note the contribution made by the Party organisations of Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine and Byelo-

russia. In Kazakhstan alone they helped to establish hundreds of new state farms.

Comrades, today, the Moscow City Party Organisation is holding its Party conference. I hope that you will support my proposal to convey to the Communists in the capital of our Motherland every good wish for great success in their work, and to express our gratitude to them for their invaluable contribution to the cultivation of the virgin lands.

New people are settling down in the new lands. But whenever we talk about virgin landers, we have in mind not only those who have arrived in those areas from all parts of our country. We also talk, with feelings of deep respect, about the unremitting efforts of the native inhabitants, the masters and old-timers of the ancient steppes of Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals and the Volga area. They accorded the new settlers a warm and hospitable welcome, worked side by side with them, and gave their all to the common cause of creating a new wealthy grain-growing region.

The cultivation of the virgin lands was the embodiment of the Leninist policy of friendship and mutual assistance of the peoples inhabiting our country, a policy which the Party has been consistently promoting for more than half a century. The Motherland has duly acknowledged the contribution of each Soviet republic in the implementation of this policy: on the fiftieth anniversary of our great Union, they were all awarded the Order of Friendship Among Peoples. I had the honour of presenting this high award to Soviet Kazakhstan. I wish to reiterate today that the virgin lands, cultivated through the common effort of the Kazakhs and the representatives of practically all the other nations in the country, are a remarkable example of socialist internationalism.

Marking the glorious jubilee of virgin land development, we pay tribute to the working class of our country, to the collective farmers, the Soviet intelligentsia and to all those who have contributed to the development of the virgin lands. We pay tribute to all the participants in this heroic undertaking, to those who tilled the land, sowed and reaped the grain, to those who built dwellings, granaries and workshops,

who installed power transmission lines, and who educated and reared the children and looked after the health of the *tselinniks*. To all of you, the sincere thanks of the entire people.

Comrades, whenever our country, our people have been faced with new, responsible tasks, the Communists have always moved to the forefront. This was also the case in the virgin lands. The call of the Party was answered by vast numbers of people of different ages, nationalities, levels of education, qualifications and experience of life. In order to unite them, organise their work, direct their efforts towards a single goal, and rally them in hundreds of closely knit and efficient collectives, it was necessary to find the correct forms of Party, organisational and ideological work. And they were found.

The complicated conditions obtaining in those years revealed with special clarity the characteristic features of our Party, namely, its inseparable ties with the mass of the people, its ability to heed their voice constantly, to learn from them, to absorb and support progressive experience, to fight resolutely against all hindrances, and to criticise faults fearlessly and openly. The activity of the Party as a whole in the cultivation of the virgin lands is an example of great pioneering work that has had outstanding results.

It is appropriate and right, on the day of the virgin land jubilee, to pay tribute to the regional and district Party committees of the virgin land regions and areas, to the primary Party organisations of the state farms and collective farms and to all the Communists who were always in the forefront of the drive for bumper virgin land grain harvests.

Comrades, in order to give an objective, businesslike assessment of the results of any economic undertaking we should turn to statistics. I believe it will be useful to do this today. You know that, all in all, nearly 42 million hectares of land have been brought under cultivation. In the course of 20 years the virgin lands have yielded almost 31,000 million poods of grain and a large amount of other agricultural produce. It is particularly important that most of the grain is marketable. Suffice it to say that the newly cultivated

lands are now providing 27 per cent of all the grain sold to the state.

Over the past few years, the collective and state farms in all the virgin land areas have become large, efficient farms. Naturally, this applies to Kazakhstan, too. In the past three years, the collective and state farms in the Republic have sold 2,831 million poods of grain to the state. May I remind you that in the three years preceding the cultivation of the virgin lands, grain purchases in the Republic amounted to only 321 million poods. As you see, this is a big difference.

The cultivation of the new lands has accelerated the growth of all branches of the economy and culture in those areas. In Kazakhstan, for example, the past 20 years have witnessed a 7.2-fold increase in industrial production. The virgin lands now mean scores of new towns and hundreds of industrial townships with all modern amenities for their millions of residents.

Thus, the virgin lands today, comrades, do not mean only grain or milk or meat; they mean a modern, socialist way of life which has taken root in vast, previously uninhabited, territories. And, of course, this means, first and foremost, the wonderful people who have been brought up and educated there.

The virgin lands have given many people a start in life. Scores and hundreds of tractor drivers, harvester-combine operators and builders have become state farm managers, leading specialists, and Party and government officials. But when we say that the virgin lands have raised the people, we do not judge their growth only by their work records. There is another kind of growth, which is just as significant and noble. I have in mind cultural progress, enhanced skill and moral maturity.

Figuratively speaking, the virgin lands have produced a bumper crop of such people—Nikolai Semyonov of Kazakhstan, Vasily Zadoiny of the Orenburg Region, Yevgenia Kobezhikova of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, Vasily Ustyuzhanin of the Novosibirsk Region, Alexander Sokolov and Vasily Ruban of the Volgograd Region, Vasily Golovatsky of the Saratov Region, Pyotr Nuzhnov of the Rostov Region, Se-

myon Pyatnitsa, Varvara Bakholdina and Fyodor Chabanov of the Altai Territory, Pyotr Bashtovoy of the Stavropol Territory, Safa Istamgalin of Bashkiria, Pyotr Zarodysh and Ivan Kobzar of the Omsk Region, and many, many others.

I could name many more splendid people from the virgin lands. These people are of a heroic mould; they are people with the real character of the *tselinnik*. I shall take the opportunity to speak about at least three comrades who personify this type of character.

Among the first to come to the virgin lands was a Ukrainian Komsomol member, Mikhail Dovzhik. He immediately took charge of a tractor drivers' team and became a shock worker. Throughout his working career he has been the initiator behind many splendid campaigns, which found and continue to find thousands of followers. He still holds the job of a team leader, but, like many others of his age, Mikhail Dovzhik has in the course of 20 years become a man with a broad and statesmanlike outlook, a real master of his profession, and a capable teacher and organiser. Mikhail Yegorovich Dovzhik has been elected a Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The Motherland has conferred on him the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

The name of Zhansultan Demeyev, a tractor driver and harvester-combine operator, was widely known even in the first autumn of the development of the new lands. One of the most experienced machine-operators, a veteran of virgin land cultivation, and a Hero of Socialist Labour, he still holds a respected post today, he is still at the controls of his harvester-combine.

I must also mention yet another patriot of the virgin lands, Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov. He was born in Leningrad. During the war, when he was 19, he took part in defending his native city, and was seriously wounded: he lost both legs. After a long period of recuperation, he came to Kazakhstan, grew fond of the place, and has been working here now, extremely efficiently, for more than 20 years as a machine-operator. Awards for labour exploits in the virgin lands, two

Orders of Lenin and the Gold Star of a Hero, have been added to his military decorations.

The Motherland has duly appraised the selfless labour of many *tselinniks*. The honorary title of Hero of Socialist Labour has been conferred on 272 *tselinniks*. Orders and medals have been awarded to 96,965 people. The mass scale and active participation of the Soviet people in developing the virgin lands is evidenced by the 1,340,000 people who have received the medal "For Development of the Virgin Lands".

Honour and glory to the distinguished people of the Soviet Union, who have been educated and inspired by the Leninist Party!

As you know, thirty virgin land state farms, collective farms and scientific establishments have been awarded orders for spectacular successes in production and in connection with the 20th anniversary of the beginning of virgin and long-fallow land cultivation.

Allow me to offer the recipients my cordial congratulations and wish them fresh successes!

Comrades, we have a fine tradition of using every jubilee date to take stock of what has been achieved and to think over the tasks to be tackled in the future. And quite obviously the 20th anniversary of the beginning of virgin land development is a good reason for serious discussion on the general state of agriculture and its prospects.

If we consider the history of our Party, we shall see that a great deal of attention has always been paid to agrarian policy. This is only natural since agriculture is an important constituent of the Party's political policy, which ensures the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and which is directed towards the victory of the proletarian revolution, socialist transformations and the construction of a new society.

Of course, every stage in history has revealed its own specific tasks, which are determined by the peculiarities of the social and political situation and the country's requirements and possibilities. The present-day stage, too, has raised such tasks. Now that Soviet society has entered the

period of building the material and technical basis of communism the discrepancy between the rapid growth of socialist industry, culture, science and technology and the lag in agriculture is especially clear. Over a long period, partly for objective reasons and partly because of past miscalculations, many unsolved problems have accumulated in the countryside. They have acted as a brake on the progress of agriculture and have hindered the development of the national economy as a whole.

This situation placed a special responsibility on the Party and its Central Committee and required of us that we should draw up an agrarian policy to ensure the steady growth of agriculture, transform the nature of agricultural work and change the face of the village. Since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, we have been seriously engaged in working out this policy, solving the key questions step by step: the creation of the economic conditions for stimulating a growth in production, including a new procurement system; a drastic increase in capital investments; the implementation of a long-term comprehensive programme for the mechanisation and chemicalisation of agriculture and land improvement; the development of agricultural science, and the perfecting of organisational and managerial forms. Developed and endorsed by a number of Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee and by the 23rd and 24th Party Congresses, this policy has provided the foundation for the work of millions of Soviet people.

We have every ground for saying that the work of the Party and the people is bearing fruit. Production and procurement of the products of crop and livestock farming are growing systematically. Labour productivity and the general efficiency of agricultural production are increasing. The incomes of collective farmers and state-farm workers are rising. Cultural facilities, the conditions of everyday life, and social security for the rural population are being improved.

The results of recent years clearly show that we still depend upon nature but not to such an extent as we did

10 or 15 years ago. The year before last, an extremely unfavourable one as far as the weather was concerned, we succeeded in gathering a harvest which exceeded any of the average annual grain harvests over the preceding five-year period. Last year the weather was better. However, weather conditions were adverse in the Urals, Siberia and some other areas. Despite this, the country, as is common knowledge, gathered a record harvest, the highest in its history.

Of course, we are far from achieving everything we should like to achieve. Not all the requirements of society have as yet been satisfied in full. However, a breakthrough has been achieved and it is a fundamental breakthrough. This, comrades, is one of the main results of the activities of the Party and the people in the recent past, one of our most important achievements!

As we note with satisfaction the results of the work done, we, comrades, must at the same time realise that the tasks confronting us are no less important than those we have already solved.

It is sufficient just to mention one problem which has faced us and will probably continue to face us for a long time. This is the problem of increasing per-hectare yields. To be quite frank, there are many farms, I should say even districts, which still gather small harvests. It is a well-known fact that an increase in per-hectare yields means a high gross grain harvest, a growth in the purchases of farm produce and this, in turn, means a further improvement in the living standard of the people. We see the problems of raising per-hectare yields as being connected with chemicalisation, land improvement and the effective application of a whole complex of agrotechnical measures.

I should like to touch once again upon the main directions of our Party's agrarian policy at the present stage.

One is the establishment and perfection of a system of economic relations and conditions which would ensure the agricultural workers' material interest in increasing production, and the further economic strengthening of collective and state farms. The historic importance of the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee consist-

ed precisely in the fact that it laid the foundation for the solution of this problem.

Even in previous years many people had realised that increasing the material interest of agricultural workers would promote the growth of production. However, for a long time this question was left unsolved. A vicious circle emerged—production did not increase rapidly enough because adequate means were not allocated for material incentives, and there was a shortage of means because of the slow growth of production. To break out of this circle it was necessary to bring about a radical change in existing practices, and this was done by the Central Committee. The years have shown how timely and correct were the decisions taken in that period.

The essence of these decisions was to establish stable plans for purchases over a number of years ahead and to stimulate the above-plan sales of farm produce by higher purchase prices. These and other measures have strengthened the economic position of collective and state farms and created conditions for increased output and better payment for work done.

The experience of past years has fully confirmed the effectiveness of economic incentives, especially when they are rationally combined with moral stimuli. We must go on improving them. We must aim at making the earnings of individual workers and whole collectives increasingly and more directly dependent on the final results of their work. Only in this way is it possible to achieve effective utilisation of land and machinery and accelerated growth of labour productivity.

Plenty of new proposals are being advanced and interesting initiatives taken in this field. They deserve serious study. The strengthening of the economic basis of the collective and state farms and the raising of the material interest of agricultural workers continue to receive the close attention of the Party and the government.

Another important aspect of the Party's agrarian policy is the placing of agriculture on an up-to-date industrial basis and the decisive acceleration of scientific and techno-

logical progress in this sphere of the economy. The main elements of the extensive and diversified programme worked out by the Party are well known: comprehensive mechanisation, chemicalisation of agricultural production and large-scale land melioration.

Much has been done in this field over recent years. Investments in agriculture will increase in the course of the current five-year period to 129,000 million rubles as against 82,000 million rubles in the previous five years. Never before have agricultural workers been supplied with so many machines and mechanisms, such large amounts of fertilisers and pest and weed control chemicals. Never before has the country seen such large-scale irrigation, drainage and land improvement projects.

We shall continue to invest heavily in agriculture. However, the qualitative aspect of the matter is increasingly coming to the fore, i.e., what is the most efficient way of using the people's money.

For example, we need more and more machines for agriculture. What we need, however, is not just machines. We need new machinery, the very latest machinery which answers the requirements of large-scale specialised production and makes it possible to introduce progressive technologies. It is not enough to say that life is hurrying us forward. It drives us inexorably onwards without giving us an hour's respite.

Thus, not so long ago a capacity of 95 to 100 hp was regarded as more than enough for a tractor. At present the Kirov Plant in Leningrad produces 220-hp tractors and has begun organising the manufacture of 300-hp tractors, the K-701. Specialists maintain that in the near future it will be necessary to increase the capacity of the plough tractor still further. At this point I should like to say a few words about the Pavlodar Tractor Works. I should like to ask the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the Leningrad Regional Party Committee and the engineers of the Kirov Works to consider whether the Pavlodar Works could not be gradually, without loss in production, switched to the manufacture of powerful tractors of, say,

the K-700 type. Probably, this would be a change for the better.

The problem of increasing capacity also applies to many other types of agricultural machinery. I recall the words of the famous team leader Alexander Gitalov, who is known all over the country. I had the pleasure of presenting the Order of Friendship Among Peoples to the Ukrainian SSR. At the republican meeting of Party activists which had taken place in Kiev previous to the ceremony Alexander Gitalov had said that the harvester-combines produced at present were no longer capable of coping with the big harvests on advanced farms. And such harvests should be grown by all the farms in our country. Industrial enterprises and design bureaus should heed such voices. We must see to it that all agricultural machines are perfected, taking into account the diversity of their tasks and the conditions in which they are used. All this will help us to considerably raise labour productivity in agriculture. Simultaneously we must see to the training of a sufficiently large and qualified army of machine operators with skills corresponding to the new level of technology.

Comrades, we have often discussed the question of improving livestock farming. There is no need to repeat what is common knowledge. At present, it is a matter of putting this important branch of agriculture on a modern industrial basis and developing the specialisation and concentration of production. Last year, at the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, the questions of the development of machinery and equipment to meet the requirements of the big livestock farms and complexes, and of the need to considerably increase the capacities of the mixed-feed industry were seen as vitally important. The Ministry of Machine-Building for Livestock Farming and Feed Production was set up not so long ago. It must quickly learn to stand on its own feet and begin to provide livestock breeders with everything they need.

This, of course, does not mean that we may sit with our arms folded and wait until the new ministry begins working at full strength. Experience shows that good results are al-

ready being obtained in places where the Party, government and agricultural bodies are displaying initiative and making rational and effective use of their resources. The Central Committee is confident that the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the regional and territorial Party committees, and the relevant government and agricultural bodies will draw corresponding conclusions from the exchange of opinions which took place at the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and will yet again most carefully appraise the possibilities for improving livestock farming, including, naturally, the solution of the feed problem which is a very important problem and, I should even say, the main problem. Every republic and every region has reserves which should be used for this purpose.

Not long ago I had a conversation on this subject with Comrade Kunayev. What did we discuss? Kazakhstan has 32 million sheep. I asked Comrade Kunayev whether Kazakhstan had exhausted all possibilities for increasing its stock of sheep? Certainly not. Consequently we both came to the opinion that Kazakhstan could raise the sheep population to 50 million. Comrades, your applause means, as I understand it, that you are fully in agreement with this. Now our respected Dimash Akhmedovich Kunayev and the Council of Ministers of the Republic will not be able to reduce this figure even by a single sheep. Naturally, the Republic will need some help. These questions are in the developing stage and, of course, the necessary help will be given. But local Party bodies should already be taking up this matter in a big way.

Comrades, permit me to deal briefly with the chemicalisation of agriculture and land reclamation. Their importance is obvious. The long-term chemicalisation plan provides for the delivery of not less than 120 million tons of fertilisers in 1980; hence the growing importance of preventing losses in their transportation and storage, observing agrotechnical rules in the use of fertilisers, and improving the agrochemical training of personnel on collective and state farms. But it should be said that, unfortunately, there are still many

shortcomings here, and the losses of fertilisers during transportation and storage are very large.

As far as land improvement work is concerned, its scale is unparalleled throughout the world. Land improvement is being practised in nearly every part of the country. This is already yielding tangible results. Stable growth in cotton production has been achieved mainly through the expansion of irrigated land. We are proud of the workers of Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan and all the other cotton-growing republics. Last year they fulfilled their pledges. The leaders and delegations of these republics are attending the festivities here today. I should like to put the following question to them: well, comrade cotton growers, can you name higher targets this year?

The same applies to rice. Recently a decision was adopted to carry out large-scale work to drain the flood-lands of the Kuban River, with a view to expanding the area under rice. We shall constantly increase the share of farm produce obtained from the land reclaimed. If we fail to do this, droughts will continue to worry us for a long time to come, upsetting production and endangering national economic plans. The Central Committee expects that all those who are responsible for the fate of the public money being invested in land reclamation will see to it that the programme of land-improvement work is carried out fully and according to schedule.

There is also a wider problem, the problem of the rational use of land in general. We have legislation on the procedure for the use of the land. The need to observe this procedure strictly and prevent the squandering of land was stressed at a recent sitting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The land is invaluable public wealth. We must take care of it, raise its productivity and achieve ever greater yields from each hectare.

This problem, like others, has to be solved comprehensively, linking immediate and long-term needs, the interests of agriculture and the requirements of industry and taking into account the social and, in particular, the demographic aspects. A good example of such a comprehensive approach

is the resolution recently considered by the Politbureau and adopted by the Central Committee of the CPSU, "On the Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR". This is, in fact, a programme for the comprehensive development of a vast area of our country for the period up to 1990. It entails a comprehensive programme of work to improve the land over a total area of many million hectares. Implementation of this programme, for which 35,000 million rubles are to be allocated in the next five-year plan period, will transform the vast region in the central part of our country and will contribute to the further growth of our economy as a whole.

A few words on the steadily increasing role of agricultural science. Tens of thousands of research workers in our country are working devotedly and fruitfully in this field, and an extensive network of institutes and experimental stations has been set up. They have done a great deal. But the uneven distribution of research personnel, both in the various fields of this science and territorially, is increasingly beginning to show its adverse effects.

Obviously, it will be worthwhile examining the structure of scientific establishments and strengthening the weak sectors. Agriculture needs new ideas capable of revolutionising farm production, a steady inflow of fundamental knowledge of the nature of plants and animals, knowledge which biochemistry, genetics and molecular biology can give. Agriculture expects scientists to evolve new, higher-yielding and more resistant seed varieties and more productive livestock breeds.

Here, for example, is one worthwhile task for the scientists—to evolve high-yielding varieties of winter wheat for Siberia and Kazakhstan, and spring wheat for the Ukraine, the Volga area, and a number of other grain-producing regions of the country. This is our request to our scientists, to the experimental stations and plant-breeders. The sooner they respond to this request, the more successfully they cope with this important task, the more gratitude and recognition from the people will they deserve.

And now let us turn to another important task set forth

in the Party's agrarian policy, that of perfecting the forms of organisation of production and improving the management of agriculture. As was pointed out at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee held in December 1973, this task is now of great importance. With the strengthening of its material and technical basis, agriculture is entering a new stage in its development; it is being increasingly industrialised. This qualitative shift in the productive forces demands, first and foremost, improvement of production relations and intensification of the processes of socialisation and the division of labour. What does this mean? The features of the multi-branch, scattered structure of production, inherited from the past, hinder scientific and technical re-equipment and intensification of agriculture. Thus, further specialisation and concentration of production and the promotion of inter-farm co-operation are now the vital, basic problems in the development of the country's agriculture.

We well know that industrial methods are effective only when the scale of production is sufficiently large. But the growth of this scale through simple, I should say mechanical, enlargement of farms, with the multi-branch structure preserved, has its limits. The only correct thing to do here is to combine concentration of production with its specialisation, thus permitting the use of the advantages of modern science and technology.

The experience of many large state and collective farms, including those in the virgin lands, proves the advantages of specialisation based on production concentration. The productivity of labour and efficiency in the use of machinery, fertilisers, feed and other economic indicators are, as a rule, higher on such farms. Moreover, co-operation of self-supporting units within farms increases, the production ties between them grow stronger, and the management of production improves.

It is important that we should take advantage of all these possibilities. At the same time it is clear that far from all the state and collective farms have the necessary human and material resources for establishing large-scale specialised enterprises on their own. It is therefore an urgent task to

achieve inter-farm specialisation and concentration based on broad co-operation between farms. It is indeed beyond the means of each farm to build large specialised production facilities singlehanded. It is quite another matter if the resources of several farms are pooled. This enables them to build joint—large and specialised—enterprises of an industrial type. This process is now under way in all branches of agriculture. Inter-farm specialisation has become widespread in Moldavia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and a number of regions in the Russian Federation.

A noteworthy aspect of inter-farm specialisation is the fact that it allows collective and state farms to make fuller and more efficient use of their own resources. Those collective and state farms which are ready to allot funds for such undertakings should be given the go-ahead and assistance in working out projects and obtaining machinery and equipment. Greater initiative should be displayed in setting up specialised vegetable and dairy farms near cities and industrial centres, and joint mechanised enterprises for the fattening of pigs, cattle and sheep, the production of mixed feeds, and the processing of farm products. Co-operation should be established on a broad scale between farms in the service sphere in the form of building and land-reclamation organisations, enterprises for the production of building materials, forestry management, electrification, and in the use of farm machinery and the agrochemical service.

The development of specialisation leads to the emergence of higher forms of co-operation, where collective and state farms and industrial enterprises merge and form large agro-industrial complexes. Such complexes now exist in certain parts of the country, for example, Moldavia, the Rostov Region and the Krasnodar Territory. Their experience should be studied carefully, and used effectively. All the more so since this has to do not with current organisational and management problems, but with a fundamental problem, that of drawing still closer together the state form of ownership and the collective-farm and co-operative form.

All these questions call for close attention and guidance on the part of the Party, local government and agricultural

bodies, for scientific analysis, a differentiated approach and stage-by-stage solution, especially as the conditions differ greatly, not only in the various zones of the country, but even within individual regions, and sometimes districts. In particular, I should like to say to all comrades responsible for this work, and to all farm workers, that haste, artificial pushing and particularly going to extremes are impermissible here. The task should be handled in a rational, economically sound manner. Specialisation and concentration of production of the main types of marketable produce certainly do not require that each farm should curtail the branches whose products are necessary for the farm's internal consumption or, say, for supply to local markets.

In setting the task of deepening specialisation and co-operation, the Central Committee has no intention whatever of announcing a competition or even a kind of a race, to see who will get there faster. At the same time, inertia, attempts at a departmental and parochial approach to this important problem must be overcome.

Closely linked with the search for new, improved forms of organisation of production is the question of forms of management of agriculture. The present structure of management has taken shape over a period of many years and, in my view, is now too complicated, which naturally affects its efficiency. We must think about establishing a better system of management. What this should be is a question that requires profound study and testing in practice. But today we can already define the requirements and criteria it must satisfy.

First, this system of management should ensure a uniform policy on all questions of agriculture throughout the country and close co-ordination of actions between the departments in charge of this or that sector of work. Second, it should clearly define the rights and responsibilities of different levels of management. Third, it should be geared to achieve an organic combination of centralised planning guidance with independence and initiative on the part of state and collective farms in deciding the day-to-day questions of production and sale of produce. Fourth, it should be brought closer

to agricultural production and made as efficient as possible; all unnecessary elements should be removed wherever possible.

The Central Committee has received from the provinces all kinds of suggestions for improving the management of agriculture. These suggestions should be carefully weighed and discussed in detail. In any case, in altering the existing structure of management, we should not act haphazardly, by intuition, but be guided by the results of experiments, by experience, and by the modern science of management.

Such, comrades, are the main questions concerning the Party's agrarian policy. I should like to stress that we have in mind, above all, a uniform policy, a summing up of inter-related trends and measures which will enable us to go forward without hitches and delays. It is important that we should conduct this policy consistently and purposefully, without being diverted by the complex economic problems which arise from time to time, and resisting the temptation to solve these problems by drawing on funds earmarked for the advancement of agricultural production. Only in this way can we completely overcome the lag of agriculture behind the growing requirements of society.

Comrades, we have entered a crucial period in the five-year plan. The current year will in effect determine the kind of results we will achieve upon completion of the plan. The tasks which face the national economy in this connection were thoroughly discussed by the CPSU Central Committee at its Plenary Meeting last December. The Central Committee is now carrying out the decisions adopted at this Plenary Meeting and is taking steps to raise the entire system of our economic management to a new level conforming to the increased possibilities and requirements of the country.

The December Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee urgently raised the question of the style of work in all branches of the national economy and in all spheres of our activity. Increased responsibility, the encouragement of initiative, efficiency, socialist enterprise, the cultivation of conscious discipline and intolerance of shortcomings—these features of the Party style of work are acquiring decisive im-

portance. They all belong to the moral and cultural sphere of the life of society and cannot be recorded in a plan or statistical report. But we know, and we have become convinced through our own experience, that these features of the communist character and communist consciousness possess an immense material force and are embodied in the increasing strength and wealth of our great Motherland, in the improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people, and in the growing defence potential of our Motherland.

This is why the economic policy of the Party is indissolubly linked with its political and educational work. This is why we must constantly and persistently strive to raise the level of our work as a whole.

Now that the Party is carrying out the tasks of further advancing the economy and improving the system of economic management, the drawing of the working people into active management on a still wider scale and making greater use of experience and knowledge in this matter are acquiring special importance. This stems from the very nature of our social system with its intrinsic features of genuine democracy and active participation of the people in administering all state and public affairs. The 24th Congress of the Party clearly defined the policy for the further development of our socialist democracy. We have pursued this policy and will continue to pursue it consistently and undeviatingly, striving to mobilise to the full the creative energies of the people and to further enrich the various forms of administering the affairs of society, both through government bodies and through the broad network of mass public organisations. The wider and greater the participation of all the working people in these activities, the stronger our state and social system will be and the more successfully we shall carry out the tasks of communist construction.

The correct policy of the Party, the support of this policy by the people, and the dedicated labour of Soviet people are opening up further opportunities for the heroic achievements in which the history of our Motherland abounds. The virgin lands do not end at the Kazakh or Altai steppes. The Siberian taiga, the northern tundra and the Central

Asian deserts are also virgin lands. To be more specific, I shall name only one of the projects now at the preparation stage. This is the Baikal-Amur Railway, which will run right through Eastern Siberia and the Far East. The building of this railway, which will cross Siberia with its rich natural resources, is opening the way for the establishment of a new large industrial area: urban-type settlements and towns, factories and mines will appear along the railway and, naturally, new lands will be brought under the plough.

I am sure, comrades, that this will be a project of country-wide importance and that the people of all republics, our young people, above all, will take part in it.

Is this not an inspiring prospect for many thousands of our young people? We have many projects of this kind. Some of them are still only ideas or are being discussed. Others are already being worked out by planning bodies and design institutes. The new generations of virgin landers will have plenty of work to do. However, returning from the future to the present, we must always remember that the labour feats of tomorrow are made possible by the day-to-day work now, that the foundation of our future successes is being laid today. There is no more important and responsible task today than fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1974 plan. This is required by the interests of the state, the interests of the people and the interests of every working person.

Dear comrades, I think there is no need for me to discuss in detail the foreign policy of the CPSU, since a great deal has been said on this subject of late. I shall, therefore, speak very briefly about the most important things.

Over the past few years something truly great and important has been achieved. This is a turn in the development of international relations, a change from the cold war to international detente and the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. Clearly this is a victory for the Leninist foreign policy of our Party and the consistent effort to carry out the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. This is the result of our united action with the fra-

ternal countries of the socialist community, the Communist and Workers' Parties, and all progressive forces throughout the world. And, of course, this is the result of a certain realism displayed by top political leaders in a number of capitalist countries.

In undertaking a series of measures designed to improve the international situation, we were fully aware that we should meet with stubborn resistance on the part of the ultra-reactionary and aggressive circles of imperialism and all the political currents interested, for various reasons, in retaining world tension. That is why we were not taken unawares by the active attempts of the enemies of peace to hinder the establishment of a new political climate in the world.

The present period is complex and full of contradictions. Wherever possible, if only in some sectors, the reactionaries are seeking to counterattack, to slow down the process of relaxation of tension and to complicate the solution of pressing problems. To this end, wide use is being made of a number of organs of the capitalist press, radio and television which deliberately distort the essence of our policy, carry untruthful reports on events and developments, and resort to the hackneyed phraseology of anti-Sovietism. We are not surprised at these attacks on the part of the enemies of peace. We shall continue to proceed along our own path. Our foreign policy is supported by the entire Soviet people and the vast majority of people throughout the world, because it serves the noble aims of strengthening peace and security and providing conditions for the free development of all nations and the social progress of all countries.

The peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a consistently internationalist policy. We are conducting it in close co-operation with our militant friends—the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries. This was once more demonstrated with great force by our recent visit to Cuba at the invitation of Comrade Fidel Castro. Our fraternal meetings and talks with the Cuban leaders were marked by complete unity of views. My colleagues and I were profoundly impressed by the warm welcome given us by the

Cuban people. It was a truly unforgettable demonstration of the Cuban people's great feelings of respect and love for our great Motherland, and the Leninist Party and the Soviet people.

Our two-day meeting with French President Georges Pompidou has just ended in Pitsunda. The thorough-going talks with the head of the French Republic were held, as before, in a spirit of goodwill, realism and mutual respect. They undoubtedly helped the two sides to bring still closer their attitudes on a number of important questions and in this way to improve the conditions for the interaction of the Soviet Union and France in the international arena with the aim of further extending international detente and promoting co-operation between countries on an equal basis.

It was once more convincingly proved that the wider the sphere of our concerted efforts, the more effective can be the contribution of each of our countries to the solution of major problems of present-day international relations. I can say that the Pitsunda talks have led to a further rapprochement of our views on the need to complete the conference on European security as soon as possible. Our positions on the approach to the solution of the Middle East problem are also close. The closeness or coincidence of points of view were shown on some other major problems, too.

In addition to international problems, we exchanged opinions on ways of further broadening relations between our countries on a government level. As is known, the adoption of the document on the principles on which relations between the Soviet Union and France should be built, and the signing of the protocol on consultations have laid a good foundation for our relations. Today Soviet-French relations are extensive and varied. They cover different spheres, such as politics, the economy, science and culture. With every passing year something new is added to them and new possibilities are revealed.

In short, the Pitsunda meeting is fresh proof of the firmness of traditional Soviet-French friendship, which conforms to the vital interests of the peoples of our two coun-

tries and to the cause of strengthening peace and international security.

It is said that time is on the side of peace and socialism. This is true. But this is true only insofar as we ourselves work towards these goals. Our achievements in world affairs are the result of strenuous and persistent efforts, and not on the part of government leaders and diplomats alone. They are the result of the labour of the entire Soviet people, for in the final count successes of foreign policy are determined by the successes in domestic policy, by the level of our economic, scientific, technical and defence potential, and by the political and moral unity of our society. Thus, the victories in the struggle for peace are also your victories, comrades, the victories of all Soviet working people, of all those whose labour, whose hands and brains make our Motherland a mighty socialist power.

Dear comrades and friends,

We are gathered here at a time when spring—the twenty-first spring in the virgin lands—is near. The awakening land seems to be waiting for the touch of the kind and skilful hands of man. The land always rewards man for his good work by giving him blossoming orchards, lush grass and bountiful yields. I sincerely believe that the tireless labour of the grain-growers, their knowledge and experience and boundless love for the land will be worthily rewarded this year.

May I wish all the farmers in our country new brilliant achievements in their hard, but honourable and noble work.

I wish you every success, dear comrades and friends.

SPEECH AT THE SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE ALL-UNION LENINIST KOMSOMOL

April 23, 1974

Dear comrade delegates, esteemed guests,

First of all, I should like to cordially congratulate you, all Komsomol members and all Soviet young people on this major event—the opening of the 17th Congress of the Leninist Komsomol.

Your present Congress is remarkable in that it is being held on the eve of a historic date in the life of the Komsomol. The message of greetings of the CPSU Central Committee to your Congress notes that in July 1924 the Komsomol adopted the dearest name, the name of Lenin, and the delegates of the 6th Congress of the Russian Komsomol took a pledge on behalf of all Komsomol members: “No matter what barriers stand in our way and no matter what sacrifices are demanded of us . . . we shall always hold high the banner of Lenin.”

And today, reviewing the road covered by the Komsomol and its glorious deeds, we have every ground to say that it carries its lofty name of the Leninist Komsomol with the greatest dignity. Under the guidance of the Party, the Komsomol is itself learning and teaching the young generation to live, work and struggle as Lenin did for the triumph of communist ideals. Komsomol members are in the vanguard everywhere. They are to be found wherever a passionate heart, searching intellect, energy and initiative are needed.

Comrades, it was with heartfelt emotion that we, old Komsomol members, so to speak, entered the hall of your Con-

gress today. Seeing you I remembered my own Komsomol youth which gave me a charge of energy and optimism that was to last me many years. I also recalled my first mentors and first friends—those with whom I was fortunate enough to study the complex science of life, the class struggle and the construction of a new society.

I remember the 1920s especially well, and, above all, the year 1923 when I joined the Komsomol. At the time there were slightly more than 300,000 people in the Komsomol's ranks. The Komsomol members as a rule constituted a small handful of young people at industrial enterprises, in offices and villages. But they were full of revolutionary passion, courage and quite often performed heroic deeds.

I remember the subsequent generations of the Leninist Komsomol as being like that too. The enthusiasm and courage of the heroes of the first five-year plans will remain forever in the people's memory. The combat and labour feats of the Komsomol and all Soviet young people in the grim years of the Great Patriotic War are endowed with unfading glory. At a difficult time of trials the youth of our country gave its all for the sake of victory, for the sake of happiness and life on earth.

We, Communists, are proud of our young people. Not thousands, and not even millions, but tens of millions of young men and women in our country link their lives and future with the Komsomol. For many millions of Soviet people the Komsomol has become an inseparable part of their biography, while for our Motherland it has become the embodiment of her eternal youth.

Today the Komsomol counts 34,000,000 people in its ranks. Young people join the Komsomol so as to express their love of and loyalty to the Leninist Communist Party, and to give themselves in service to its ideals and the construction of communism. Soviet young people are marching along the road which the great Lenin mapped out for them.

Comrades, our Motherland now possesses a mighty economic and spiritual potential. We are setting and accomplishing tasks which we could never have shouldered ten years ago. The moral and political unity of our society, the frater-

nity and friendship of the peoples of our country have become even stronger. We are right to be proud of the truly people's socialist democracy and the Soviet way of life. All this constitutes the real features of mature socialism, the achievements of which you, young people, are called upon to multiply.

As we progress and increase the scope of our creative activity, the role of the Party and its influence on all fields of society's development grows. The Party also proceeds from the premise that the great and living cause of communist construction calls for increased activity and initiative on the part of all the country's public organisations and all working people.

The above has a direct bearing on the Leninist Komsomol. For a long time now the Komsomol has firmly occupied a worthy position in the socio-political system of Soviet society. Its role is determined by the very nature, the revolutionary essence of socialism and our striving towards the future.

The Komsomol has always been and remains the Party's militant reserve and reliable helper. This is no abstract formula, but real life, real practical activity. It is a remarkable fact that today two-thirds of the Party's replenishment, more than ever before, is supplied by the Komsomol. In the three years following the 24th CPSU Congress about 1,000,000 Komsomol members were admitted to the Party ranks. Young Communists continue to work in the Komsomol, constituting the Party nucleus of Komsomol organisations.

The vital connection between the Party and the Komsomol is also expressed in the fact that tens of thousands of youth leaders have been elected to Party leading bodies—from the bureaus and committees of the primary organisations to the CPSU Central Committee.

And take a look at the composition of the Soviets, the organs of our state power. Young people under 30 constitute one-fifth of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the share of young people in local Soviets is even greater—nearly one-third. Young people work actively in the trade unions and other mass organisations of working people. The

best Komsomol members are promoted to responsible sections of Party, economic and cultural construction.

Without exaggeration it may be said that no major problem—concerning the affairs of either the Soviet Union, a region, district, or production team—is handled without the participation of youth. In our country the Komsomol, all young men and women, enjoy unlimited opportunities to use their creative forces and initiative.

It has always been a tradition with Communists to put trust in young people, to rely on their inherent enthusiasm and noble urge to work for the common good, and at the same time to help young people find correct orientation in life and to arm them with the knowledge and experience of older generations. In the future the Party will continue to reinforce these traditions, develop youth activity and draw them into participation in managing the affairs of socialist society on an even broader scale.

The Motherland and the Party have faith in the young generation, and life has shown: the Komsomol can be relied upon in any undertaking!

Comrades,

For more than three years now the Party and the entire Soviet people have been working persistently on the fulfilment of the vast socio-economic programme elaborated by the 24th CPSU Congress. The country is living at the strenuous labour pace of the ninth five-year plan. Three glorious, but not easy years of the five-year plan are now behind us. They were a serious test for us. Especially complicated was 1972, when our country was hit by a drought, unequalled in scale and intensity in the last 100 years.

Last year was not easy, either. The fate of the entire ninth five-year plan depended in large measure on its results. It was no accident that the Party declared 1973 the decisive year of the five-year plan. And the fact that we managed to overcome the difficulties and successfully completed the five-year plan's third year is a major labour victory for the Soviet people and our Communist Party.

Together with the Party, the Leninist Komsomol, its helper, took this responsible examination and passed it, passed

it with flying colours! Komsomol members, young men and women, worked well, and brought joy to our Motherland through wonderful labour achievements. And for all that we offer a great Party thank you to the young generation!

The Decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the awarding of the Orders of the Red Banner of Labour to a number of Komsomol organisations were published today. This is a remarkable event, recognition of the Komsomol members' and youth's major service in the economic and cultural construction, and work in communist education. Allow me, dear comrades, to cordially congratulate the newly decorated organisations with their high award!

An innate feature of the Communist-Leninists is a self-critical approach to their work. As you know, the December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, besides giving a high assessment of the results of shock work, uncovered shortcomings and failings in the past years. It also set the economic and political tasks for 1974.

If we are to single out the main thing in the Party's economic policy at the present stage of our development, then it is the sharp turn towards raising the effectiveness of the country's economy on the basis of accelerated scientific and technological progress. The Party is working out and putting into practice major measures on the technological re-equipment of production, improvement of its organisation and management, planning and economic stimuli, and raising the qualifications and responsibility of the administrative personnel.

All these measures and all our efforts will not produce the desired effect if we do not drastically improve the *quality of the work done* in all sections of our economy, at each place of work. The quality of work is a very capacious concept. It is composed of many production-economic factors and at the same time takes in a broad range of moral problems.

It includes the clear-cut organisation of production, strict rhythm in the labour process and strict observance of technological processes. It also means economic utilisation of materials and a careful, thrifty and, I should say, loving

handling of machinery; and, of course, it means conscientious, comradely discipline, and an atmosphere of mutual exactingness and assistance in work. Carelessness, slackness and a negligent approach to work are incompatible with the struggle for quality.

There is hardly any need to prove the tremendous economic and social significance of high-quality work. Well-made, conscientiously produced things—be it a machine tool or a tractor, a car or a TV set—economise on social expenditures, lighten our labour and at the same time raise a man's spirits and pride in himself as a worker.

The struggle for quality must permeate all aspects of our activity—be it material production or the creation of cultural values, bringing up children or the service industry. Wherever a person works, he must be proud of the results of his labour. Since time immemorial the most honourable title among the people in our country has been that of a master or skilled craftsman. We should further raise the respect for this title, and give every encouragement to those who achieve good quality in their work.

More than 30,000,000 young workers, collective farmers and office and professional people are engaged in our country's economy. You realise how wonderful it would be if the Komsomol was to actively and militantly take part in the mass youth movement for high-quality work, craftsmanship and the honour of the factory trademark.

The history of socialist construction eloquently testifies to the fact that the entire country has more than once followed the example of young innovators. Alexei Stakhanov, whose name was given to a nationwide movement of shock workers, performed his labour feat at 30. The weavers Maria and Yevdokia Vinogradova, the steelmaker Makar Mazai, the tractor driver Pasha Angelina, and the spinner Valentina Gaganova were all under 26 when their initiatives won the recognition of the people.

Today, too, we see many young names among the heroes of the five-year plan. Present in this hall are delegates to the Congress, Heroes of Socialist Labour Anastasia Yero-feyeva, a spinner from Ivanovo; Viktor Lakomov, a team

leader from Angarstroi; sugar-beet grower Ustinya Lendyuk; cotton grower and farm machine operator Abdusattar Kurbanov, and many others. In their person we cordially greet the young shock workers of the ninth five-year plan and wish that they hold high this honourable title and be the initiators of proud deeds, youth organisers and leaders for their workmates.

Comrades, with deep gratitude the Soviet people marked the dedicated feat of labour performed by young people in the reclamation of virgin lands and the natural wealth of the North, Siberia and the Far East. And not long ago the Komsomol enthusiastically responded to the Party's call to take an active part in a new very large construction project—the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway.

This construction is of signal importance. The Baikal-Amur Railway will cut through primeval taiga and pass through places where there is tremendous wealth, which must be put to the service of the Motherland. A new large industrial area of the country will be created there and new cities and settlements built.

We are firmly convinced that the Komsomol members and young people will make a worthy contribution to this grandiose construction project. They will carry the torch of Komsomolsk-on-Amur, Magnitogorsk and Turksib, Dnieproges and the virgin lands, Bratsk and KamAZ to the new, yet untapped vastness of Siberia.

I should also like to dwell on one more extremely important project which we plan to carry out, that is the recently adopted resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the Non-Black Soil Zone of the RSFSR". It poses the task of accelerated development of agriculture in one of the country's largest regions.

Suffice it to say that 44 per cent of the Russian Federation's entire population lives in the non-black soil zone. It is an area of colossal potential, which is far from being fully utilised. Agricultural intensification in this zone will considerably boost its productive forces and will, in fact, amount to the reclamation of a new virgin land area.

Large-scale housing and cultural construction is also planned there. Many of the present-day villages will be turned into well-appointed housing estates. The zone's industry, especially the light, food and meat-and-dairy industries, will receive a mighty impetus in their development.

I shall tell you frankly that in adopting the agricultural development programme for the non-black soil zone we counted on the Komsomol's assistance in its practical implementation, and today I wish to say with satisfaction that our expectations were fulfilled. A few days ago the Komsomol Central Committee adopted a decision declaring land amelioration and development in the non-black soil zone a top-priority All-Union Komsomol project in which no less than 20,000 Komsomol members and other young people will take part every year. We cordially greet this wonderful new initiative of the Komsomol.

Comrades, our time is an age of grandiose scientific and technological revolution. It embraces all aspects of society's life, and makes great demands on each individual, his knowledge and professional training. This is of special concern to the young generation, which tomorrow will bear all the responsibilities for the further multiplication of our state's material and spiritual forces. The task of constantly adding to and deepening their knowledge and mastering the latest achievements of science and technology faces youth more urgently than ever before. And this refers not only to present-day and future engineers, technicians and other specialists, but to the working class and farm workers.

Profound changes are taking place today within our country's working class. A mere 10-15 years ago such specialists as operators of laser technological installations were only heroes out of science-fiction novels. But what was fantasy yesterday is becoming reality today. The best educated generation of the working class in history has come. Approximately 85 per cent of all young workers under 30 have a higher, incomplete higher, secondary or incomplete secondary education. That is a great achievement.

A production worker of a new type is being moulded in whom physical and mental potentialities are being more and

more harmoniously combined. He is a man with broad professional vision and skill, with a profound knowledge of the polytechnical principles of modern production, and capable of quickly mastering the latest machines and technology.

In its turn, all this poses the problem of training new workers in a new light. It is necessary, above all, that the bulk of them should be trained in vocational schools, so that these young people acquire a trade even before they go to work. The number of these training establishments is, therefore, steadily increasing. We have also decided to considerably expand the network of vocational schools which give their pupils a general secondary education along with a trade. The number of such schools in our country will be doubled by the end of the current five-year plan period.

The formation of a worthy replacement for the working class and the training of young specialists have always been the Komsomol's vital concern. The Komsomol undertook to help the first training centres at industrial enterprises, in which young men and women of the 1920s learned the ABC of education and industrial skill. Komsomol members from industrial vocational schools took over their fathers' places of work in 1941 and worked on a par with their elders.

When you think about the glorious road covered by Soviet labour reserves, many fine names come to mind. Today I should like to mention Sergei Pavlovich Korolyov and Yuri Alexeyevich Gagarin. A teacher and a pupil. The chief spaceship designer and the world's first cosmonaut. A graduate from a construction school of the 1920s, and an industrial vocational school trainee of the difficult postwar times. A country, where people who had started their labour career as a roofer's helper and a foundryman's apprentice, mastered the latest achievements in science and paved mankind's way to the stars, is a wonderful country! The destinies of Korolyov and Gagarin provide a most vivid example of the great horizons and vast possibilities which socialism opens up for the man of labour, for our young people.

The time will come when many of today's trainees at vocational schools will become front-ranking workers, produc-

tion innovators, heroes of labour and managers of enterprises and entire economic sectors. The Komsomol, above all, must help them prepare for this big life.

I think that in keeping with the wonderful old tradition, the Komsomol should undertake to help the vocational schools. Show constant concern for the replacement of the working class and lead it by working men's roads into life! The country will be grateful to you for this!

Comrades, our time, one of swift changes in technology and science, has shown the full depth of Marx's thought that no matter how perfect the machinery man is equipped with, labour will never become an amusement. "Truly free labour . . ." Marx wrote, "is a devilishly earnest affair!"

Raising young men and women in a spirit of respect and love for labour has always been and remains the most important concern of the Communist Party and one of the main tasks of the Leninist Komsomol. It is a major state problem. Everybody is interested in correctly posing and solving it—production teams, public organisations, the school and the family. It concerns the destinies of millions of people, and, what is more, the future of our country.

We have made good headway in dealing with the tasks of the labour education of children and young people. However, we also encounter certain difficulties. Take, for example, this question. All fathers and mothers want their children to live better than they themselves did. That is understandable and explicable in human terms. The raising of the Soviet people's well-being helps to implement these parental aspirations. But at times the desire to do good turns out to the child's detriment. Some parents reason in approximately this way: why hurry, he'll have plenty of work yet.

This breeds dependence, disrespect for labour, and, in the long run, the young person finds himself in a predicament when choosing a place in life, and is not suited for work. Unfortunately, such phenomena are not rare. No! It is only those parents who foster working habits in their children from a very early age that are doing a really good job.

Nor are we always attentive to young people, young workers and specialists. Those of you who are here today know

very well that one's first independent steps in life are of special significance. Yesterday's schoolchildren, vocational school trainees, and graduates from specialised secondary industrial schools and establishments of higher learning—all need an attentive approach, support and assistance.

The problems of labour education and of correctly choosing a place in life involve the solution of a wide range of tasks, and in this respect very much is being done in our country. I have in mind both state measures, especially the role of our schools, and the colossal work being done in this field by the Soviet public. As in other undertakings, our heroic working class is providing an example in this case too.

A new wonderful movement, that of young workers' mentors, has arisen within the working class. These mentors are veteran workers with great skill and rich experience of life who are, I should say, talented teachers. Of their own volition and at the call of their hearts, they teach the young people industry and skill, and bring them up in the heroic traditions of our glorious working class.

It is a pleasure for me to inform you that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has awarded the high title of Hero of Socialist Labour, for labour exploits and major work in communist education and the professional training of young people, to:

Stepan Stepanovich Vitchenko, assembly-fitters' brigade leader at the Leningrad Elektrosila Combine;

Olga Pavlovna Vakhmyanina, spinner at the Reutovo Mills in Moscow Region;

Pavel Nikitovich Pechenkin, team leader at the Frunze Collective Farm in Altai Territory, and

Alexei Leontyevich Shatilin, honoured steelmaker and veteran of the Magnitogorsk Iron-and-Steel Works.

Allow me, comrades, to cordially congratulate these wonderful people, on my own, my colleagues' and your behalf, and to wish them good health and fresh successes in the education of our country's young generation of workers!

The mentors, as it were, hand over the labour torch from the present to the future. And from the bottom of our hearts we greet the representatives of the glorious working class who,

sparing neither strength nor time, pass on their rich experience and knowledge to the young generation entering the big life of labour. It is good that the Komsomol works side by side with these mentors, giving every support to this splendid initiative. Let us wish the mentors' movement to become massive and embrace all corners of the country, all plants, factories, coal and ore mines, construction sites, and collective and state farms. This is a wonderful, noble cause, comrades! We call on you to support it.

Comrades, one of the most important tasks in the Komsomol's work is raising young people in the spirit of the new communist morality, based, as Lenin said, "...on the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism".¹

The fulfilment of Lenin's behest on fostering communist morality in young people assumes especially great importance at the present time. We are living in an era of developed socialism, an era of the construction of the material and technological basis for communist society. Along with major social and economic transformations an active process of forming the best human qualities, the qualities of a member of communist society, is taking place. We have all the conditions for this.

We have accumulated tremendous spiritual wealth unprecedented in history. The most advanced and the most humane system of ethical norms and social values has taken shape in our society. The most profound changes have taken place in the social psychology of millions of people. A wonderful atmosphere of creative labour and human trust has become established in our country.

The morality by which we are guided is an alloy of selfless loyalty to the ideals of communism and a sense of high civic responsibility, love for our socialist Motherland and fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, collectivism and intolerance of breaches of social duty.

Our communist morality inherits by right and develops the humanistic norms of ethics elaborated by mankind. Industry, honesty, modesty, personal dignity, comradeship and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 295.

mutual respect are all inseparable features of the moral image of the Soviet man.

The Komsomol has at its disposal a big range of means for making the communist upbringing of young people ever more effective.

We must pass on the best of everything accumulated by the ethical experience of the new society to the young people, each young man and woman, and at the same time persistently eliminate everything that hinders life and work. We still come across, and unfortunately quite often, manifestations of egoism, money-grubbing, and a consumer approach to life. It would be incorrect to underestimate the danger of these negative phenomena.

Not everything is as one would want it to be in the organisation of young people's free time. This is not an idle question. It is of paramount importance that young people should learn to use their free time rationally. Idleness, drinking and not so merry, I should say, "merriment", just for the sake of "killing time"—these losses in early years are not so easily rectified later on. And, on the other hand, the expansion of one's vision, raising cultural standards, political education, knowledge of one's own country, and physical fitness are all precious treasures. Achieved early in life and constantly replenished, they will serve you, dear comrades, throughout your life.

The Soviet people's spiritual world is based on the firm foundation of our revolutionary teaching. Moulding views means giving convincing answers to the questions that worry young people.

It is very important, therefore, that the study of Marxist-Leninist theory by young people should not boil down to memorising ready-made conclusions, it must help them think independently, solve urgent problems, see the laws and prospects of social development and wage a relentless struggle against bourgeois ideology. There is no need to prove that this depends first of all on how well the instructors, propagandists, teachers of social sciences and the ideological personnel themselves know revolutionary theory.

The great importance our Party ascribes to literature and

art as a means of promoting the cultural growth and ethical education of the young people is well known. The Party and the people are grateful to, and, as you know, highly value the writers, artists and theatre and cinema workers, whose works reveal the truth of life and inspire the Soviet people to selfless labour in the name of communism.

Our literature and art are one flesh and blood with the heroic Soviet people. They have grown up, matured and improved together with our country, and achieved outstanding heights.

Throughout its long history, Soviet literature and art have experienced quite a few attempts to be led away from life and divorced from our ideals. Even now some people in the West have not given up these aspirations. Certain renegades and some stray individuals in our country, too, have attempted to echo our class, ideological enemies. All their efforts, however, have proved in vain. Our soil is quite unsuited for the growth of such weeds.

Works of Soviet literature and art constitute our priceless cultural wealth and our socialist national pride. Quite a number of them have entered the treasury of world culture. Everything wonderful created by Soviet writers, artists, composers and theatre and cinema workers lives and will continue to live in the people and serve the triumph of our great ideals.

We believe that in the future, too, the people in Soviet literature and art will continue to give their talent, multiplied by boundless love for the Motherland and loyalty to their people, to the creation of new works, which will occupy a place among the best creations of Soviet and world literature and art.

From the rostrum of the Komsomol Congress, I should like to wish major successes to the young writers, artists, composers and creative workers in the theatre and cinema. We await new creations from them. And that will be their invaluable contribution to our common cause and, above all, to the cause of Soviet youth's communist upbringing.

Our Party wishes the Komsomol to further strengthen the traditional friendship and co-operation with the people in

Soviet literature and art, and to utilise their art ever more actively in the interests of youth's communist upbringing. All the means of our vast ideological front—the press, radio, TV, cultural-enlightenment institutions—must be utilised ever more fully.

The Komsomol has one more very big and very responsible section of communist education. I mean, dear friends, the school, the many millions of our Young Pioneers. Many boys and girls join the Komsomol at school, at the age of 14-15. School Komsomol organisations in our country today count more than 7,000,000 members. This is the Komsomol's youngest detachment.

The bringing up of schoolchildren and work with Young Pioneers must be constantly on the agenda of all Komsomol organisations as one of the main items. Only then will a good replacement come to the Komsomol organisations of factories, collective farms, construction sites, institutes and military units. And only in this way will the Komsomol be able to cope successfully with the Party's responsible assignment—to lead and tutor young Leninists.

Comrades, I have dwelt only on some of the cardinal issues in the Komsomol's work. They are variegated and most important. But it cannot be otherwise, for such is the historic mission of the Leninist Young Communist League.

In this context I should like to stress the following. We often say, and say correctly, that the Komsomol is a major force. At the same time we have never, under no circumstances, the right to forget that the Komsomol's strength lies first of all in the Party leadership, in our constant attention, support and concern for it.

From the rostrum of the Congress of the glorious, Order-bearing Komsomol I appeal, first of all, to the Party organs, the primary Party organisations, to exercise fatherly concern for the Komsomol, and to continue to spare neither strength nor time in bringing up the younger generation.

Our administrative personnel and public organisations have never stood and cannot stand aside from the Komsomol. From ministers and departmental heads, directors of enterprises, chief engineers and technologists, to trade unions and

other public organisations and state organs—all must be even more attentive to the Komsomol, draw it into their affairs, support its initiatives and render the necessary assistance.

The Komsomol must always and in everything feel the guiding hand, assistance and support of the Party, of all its cadres. This was the great Lenin's behest to us, and it is demanded by the supreme laws of our Communist Party.

Comrades, you in this audience, delegates of the Congress, represent the generation of Soviet people who were born and grew up under peaceful skies. We regard this as one of the most important results of the Leninist foreign policy which our Party, country and the entire socialist community are consistently pursuing.

Working for the fulfilment of the Peace Programme proclaimed by the 24th CPSU Congress and overcoming the opposition of reactionary forces, from imperialist circles to the Maoist leadership, we follow, undeviatingly, step by step, the difficult road of international detente.

The principles of peaceful coexistence are penetrating ever deeper into international relations, pushing back the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. These developments are in accord with mankind's cardinal interests and create the most favourable conditions for the struggle for social progress, and the social and national liberation of peoples.

Our state's foreign policy is called a peace offensive. One would be inclined to agree with this. An offensive presupposes vigorous action and an undeviating urge to push forward and develop successes already achieved. We shall continue this most noble offensive in the name of life on earth, of our children's happiness and mankind's present and future.

The cultural and ideological bankruptcy of modern capitalist society has been revealed at the present stage with even greater clarity. The socio-economic contradictions of imperialism manifest themselves ever more strongly. The state monopoly capitalist system intensifies social inequality, suppresses the creative possibilities of the people and especially of the younger generation, removing them from active participation in social life.

There arises in all its magnitude before the young people in the capitalist countries the problem of making a choice, of determining their stand on the most acute problems of our time: war and peace; the ways of society's development; the utilisation of scientific and technological achievements; the purpose of art and literature, and the meaning of their own life and activities. Broad sections of young working people reject bourgeois society's morals, and are acting ever more boldly within the ranks of the anti-imperialist movement, led by the working class.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the activities of the Komsomol and of your contemporaries in the socialist countries for working youth and all progressive young people around the world. You are full-fledged citizens of the country of socialism. Your active creative labour for the benefit of society, and your life, filled with profound meaning and lofty thoughts, are wonderful propaganda for the immortal cause of Lenin.

With great satisfaction we note the increase in your co-operation with the young men and women of socialist countries, and the growth of the Komsomol's prestige in the youth movement. Close ties, joint action and fraternal friendship with the Young Communist Leagues and all young people in socialist countries is, I should say, one of the most important principles in the Komsomol's work.

Young people's organisations in the socialist countries today constitute large detachments of young men and women. They are your friends, your allies, and like-minded people in struggle. The Communist Parties in socialist countries render all-round support to the youth movement and do tremendous work in bringing up the younger generation. We know this and highly appreciate it.

Youth organisations in socialist countries highly value friendship with our Komsomol and regard it as a life-giving source for their organisational and ideological growth, as well as a most important factor in the Marxist-Leninist education of the young people in their countries.

The Komsomol's relations with many progressive and democratic youth organisations in all continents of the world

have considerably expanded and strengthened over the last few years. This, of course, is of great importance for the further consolidation of anti-imperialist solidarity among the various detachments of the international youth movement, which are taking an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, national independence and social progress. It is imperative, in the future also, to find a basis for joint work with all those sincerely interested in the development of mutual understanding and co-operation among young people in different countries in the interests of a better future for them.

Allow me to wish you success in this noble activity. Always be worthy of the lofty title of young builders of communism, internationalist-Leninists, and fighters for peace, freedom and social progress!

Dear comrades and friends,

We often say: our young people are following the road of their fathers. And that is correct, comrades! Confidently marching along this road, young people follow the road started by the Great October, and enrich the experience of past generations with fresh experience.

There is no borderline, no watershed, which one could look at and say: this is the present and that is the future. Already now and by every day of one's working life one must build and affirm this future, bring it closer and make it reality. It is in the name of this that your League bears the lofty title of Leninist, Communist.

Long live the Leninist Komsomol! Long live the younger generation of the Land of Soviets!

Long live the great Soviet people—builders of communism!

Long live the Party of Communists!

May the ideas of Marxism-Leninism live and triumph!

**EVERYTHING FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE,
FOR THE SAKE OF SOVIET MAN**

*Speech at a Meeting with the Electorate
of the Baumansky Electoral District,
Moscow*

June 14, 1974

Dear comrades,
Dear Muscovites,

The election campaign is drawing to a close. Millions of voters have met their candidates and discussed what heartens the people and what causes them concern. These meetings have become an impressive demonstration of the monolithic unity of the Party and the people, the unity of all classes and social groups of our society, of all the nations and nationalities that inhabit our great country. This inspires us, comrades, it instils confidence in new victories on the way to the targets of communist construction that have been set.

Allow me wholeheartedly to thank you, all the working people of the Baumansky and Sokolniki districts of the capital for nominating me as a candidate to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

For nearly a quarter of a century I have had the honour of representing the interests of the working people in the highest organ of state power of the country. It is the seventh time that I address an election meeting of this kind.

I must say frankly that it is impossible not to feel excited on the eve of a speech. This arises from a feeling of responsibility, from profound, sincere gratitude for the trust, for the honour bestowed on me.

Many kind words have been said about me here. These words should apply, above all, to the Communist Party that reared and educated me, and which I joined 45 years ago, to its Central Committee which leads the country to communism along the Leninist course.

In keeping with a good, long-standing tradition our election meetings are of a business-like nature. These meetings always mean a serious discussion about the way the voters' mandates are being fulfilled, about the content of the Party's political platform for the elections.

On the eve of the previous elections, the CPSU Central Committee, addressing the Soviet people, emphasised that the Party would be striving to strengthen the might of our Motherland for the sake of further victories of communism, for the sake of peace on earth, for the sake of improving the life of every Soviet family, for the benefit of all Soviet people.

Yes, comrades, everything is done for the benefit of man, for the benefit of the people. These simple words sum up the most profound meaning and purpose of the activity of the Communist Party.

It was for this great goal that Karl Marx and Frederick Engels laid the foundations of scientific communism and of the mighty political movement destined to liberate man from all forms of oppression. It was for this great goal that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin built the Party of Bolsheviks under whose guidance the proletariat of Russia made the victorious socialist revolution.

From the first years of Soviet power, the Party, the state have striven to use all opportunities of improving the position of the working people. But it was difficult to establish socialism in our country. For a long time we were waging a struggle to hold out, to survive. We had to overcome age-old backwardness, to create large-scale industry, to make millions of people literate, to train qualified personnel. We had to endure the most terrible war and to raise from ruins thousands of cities and villages, factories and plants.

The labour and endurance, selflessness and enthusiasm of the Communists and non-Party people, of workers and peasants, of those who advanced in the front ranks and who

sacrificed much in order to preserve and consolidate the main thing, socialism, merit the greatest respect. Those years have long since become legendary. But it is important to remember them so as to grasp more fully and more vividly the scope of the changes.

A different situation exists now. A developed, mature socialist society has been created in our country by the persistent, heroic labour of the millions. And now, we certainly have to allocate vast funds for the accelerated development of the country's economic potential, and to ensure its defence capacity. But our resources are now immeasurably greater and this makes it possible to do what we have always been striving for, to place the emphasis of the Party's practical work on increasing the prosperity of the Soviet people.

The previous elections were held in our country at a time when the eighth five-year plan period was nearing completion and the ninth five-year plan period was to be started, in an atmosphere of preparation by the Party and the entire Soviet people for the 24th CPSU Congress. And the Congress summed up the main task of the five-year plan as follows: to raise considerably the material and cultural level of the life of the people on the basis of high rates of development of socialist production.

Reporting on the work that has been done since June 1970, we, at the same time, report on how the decisions of the Congress are being implemented. You know the specific data about the state of the national economy. They were given in the Address of the CPSU Central Committee to the voters. Many problems of our development were covered in the election speeches of Party and state leaders who spoke before me.

Sharing the views and judgements of my comrades in the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, I should like to emphasise the main, fundamental aspect of the state of affairs: the course proclaimed by the Congress for raising the working people's standard of living is being translated into tangible deeds.

In four years of the five-year plan, the state will spend 50 per cent more than in the previous five-year plan

period just on new measures to raise the people's living standard.

This will have a noticeable effect on the standard of living of teachers and doctors, railway workers and farm machine operators, students, pensioners, and other sections of the population. During this period, the wages of 47 million factory and office workers will be increased. The increase in pensions, allowances, grants and other payments will boost the incomes of 30 million people. Much has been done to improve living conditions. In four years, more than 45 million people will have moved into new flats. Such is our scope.

Vast changes are taking place in the development of agriculture whose lagging behind in the past seriously restricted the possibilities for improving the life of the people.

The Party has succeeded in finding and applying levers which, taken as a whole, ensure steady progress in this important branch of the economy. Economic conditions stimulating its development have been created. Comprehensive mechanisation, electrification and chemicalisation are being carried out; land improvement schemes are being implemented on a large scale. Large-scale work for specialisation and concentration of agricultural production is being conducted. All this will enable the working people of the rural areas to make effective use of the achievements of contemporary science and technology.

I wish to confirm once again that the Party will firmly and consistently continue to implement the course for further raising the level of agriculture in order to fully satisfy the country's growing needs.

The 24th Congress pointed to a certain gap between the output of consumer goods and consumer demand. In recent years, this gap has been narrowed. Industry has considerably increased the output and improved the quality of many consumer goods, including household appliances, furniture, cars and other durable goods.

All this attests to the steady growth of the country's economic, scientific and technical potential. We have a right to be proud of the remarkable successes in the economic development of our Motherland. Thousands of new enterprises, of

agricultural complexes operated on an industrial basis have been put into operation. You know that a number of new electric power stations, including such giants as the Krasnoyarsk hydroelectric power station, and new thermal and atomic stations, have been commissioned. A number of absolutely new industries have come into being in the course of scientific and technological progress.

But the Party never rests content with what has been achieved. It always draws the attention and the efforts of the Communists, of all the working people to the problems that have not yet been solved. This approach is typical of the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, including the latest Plenary Meeting of December 1973.

Noting the great achievements of the third year of the five-year plan in all the branches of the economy, the plenary meeting concentrated on the "bottle-necks", on the need for fuller use of existing reserves. This refers, specifically, to the food industry, light industry and other branches of the "B" group, whose rates of growth do not as yet satisfy us.

It was stressed at the plenary meeting that the targets for the years 1974 and 1975 were very challenging, but they must be reached. And the way to do this is by mobilisation of all forces, improvement of economic management, high labour productivity, and improvement of discipline and organisation. Not one working day, not one working hour must be wasted.

The Central Committee of the Party notes with satisfaction that the decisions of the December Plenary Meeting evoked the widest response and support among the Party and the people. A new wave of socialist emulation swept the country. Over five thousand million rubles, such is the sum total of commitments over and above the plan for 1974. And in a period of just five months our industry turned out more than three thousand million rubles' worth of products over and above the plan. This is what thorough-going work by our people means, comrades.

The task now is to bring the year 1974 and the five-year plan as a whole to a worthy conclusion. Allow me to express with you, dear Muscovites, and with the entire Soviet people, the firm conviction that we can and shall do this.

Comrades, when charting the roads of social development, the Party proceeds both from current needs and from long-term goals, from what we wish our country to be like by the end of this century.

Every five-year plan is an important step in the development of our society. But the tenth, so to say, jubilee, five-year plan will hold a special place, and not only as regards the scale of planned targets which is, naturally, growing. The point is that in accordance with the Directives of the 24th Party Congress, the new five-year plan is being drawn up together with the general long-term scheme for national economic development for 1976-1990 and will be an integral part of this overall scheme.

This means that the next, 25th CPSU Congress and the new USSR Supreme Soviet will be discussing and adopting not merely another five-year plan but documents that truly have the significance of a programme, that will become important milestones on the road of communist construction.

At present, when these plans are being drawn up, it is still early to give specific figures for the growth of the national income, of the output of this or that product. But since these plans are drawn up on the sound basis of the Party policy, the Party decisions, their orientation is obvious and it is possible to speak about it in very definite terms.

The 24th Party Congress stressed that the long-term orientation of the country's economic development would be determined by the course for attaining a further marked increase in the well-being of the working people. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I can assure you, comrades, and through you all the Soviet people that this principled stand of the Party will be strictly maintained.

The long-range plans will include solution of many challenging problems of communist construction which will make it possible to advance far along the road of creating the material and technical basis of communism and raising the people's standard of living to a qualitatively new level.

What is meant is the all-round development of the productive forces, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the enhancement on this basis of the effective-

ness of the entire economy. Work will be started on the building of new large economic complexes.

We have already embarked upon this road. Rich deposits of oil and gas are being developed in Western Siberia. A giant motor works is being built on the Kama. The Baikal-Amur Railway is under construction. This will be important for the development of vast areas east of Lake Baikal and in the Far East. A major achievement of the five-year plans to come will be development of the economy of the non-black soil zone of Russia, which has a population of about 60 million. It can be said with confidence that transformations on such a scale, and I have mentioned only a few of them, are unprecedented in history. They are destined to change and enrich the face of our country in many ways.

The rapid development of the national economy will create new opportunities for carrying out highly important social and economic tasks.

During the three coming five-year plan periods we must provide a full abundance of high-quality food products and consumer goods, and ensure the broad development of services and a corresponding growth in the real incomes of the population.

In our long-range plans we shall be able to provide for reconstruction of most of the towns and villages of our vast country. At the same time the complex task of providing a well-appointed apartment for every family will be solved. Not a single country in the world has been able to carry out such a task so far. But we are tackling it and shall cope with it.

Certainly, all these are not easy problems. The rates of advance will depend directly on how we work, on the successes of industry, agriculture, science and technology. The labour, brains and hands of those who make steel, who extract oil, who design machinery, who build factories and power stations, who sow and harvest grain, have been and remain the only source of our prosperity. And it is you alone, comrades, the working people, who can bring into being all we plan and all we hope for, looking into the future.

High labour productivity, economic effectiveness—this is

what determines in the most direct way the size of the share of the national wealth which society can allocate for improving the life of the people. This is precisely why the Party has inferred the great importance of going over to intensive methods of running the economy, placing the emphasis on quality factors of growth. The first estimates made in connection with the preparation of the long-term plans have confirmed that this is becoming an essential condition for successful economic development.

The present national economy, which is developing at a far greater rate than the growth of manpower resources, requires the utmost economy of living labour. This requirement will become even more pronounced in future, both because economic development will acquire even greater scope, and because more and more people will be engaged in science, education, medical care and services. This means that rapid growth of the national economy must be achieved without greatly increasing the number of people engaged in material production, that it must be achieved by raising labour productivity. Hence, in order to fulfil our plans, the workers and collective farmers must be equipped with more efficient machines, new automatic lines, powerful tractors, harvesters, other agricultural machines, the latest technology.

The Party regards scientific and technical progress as the core of its entire economic policy. It must penetrate all fields of production, encompassing daring scientific discoveries, hundreds and thousands of improvements in technology, new mechanisms and instruments—all that saves and facilitates work, that makes it more productive and interesting.

In the final analysis, said Lenin, labour productivity is the most important, the most essential thing for the victory of the new social system. This Leninist injunction has assumed particular importance in the present epoch, an epoch of scientific and technological revolution. And our Party never forgets about this.

The turn towards intensive methods of economic development raises quite a few important and complex problems of economic management. It requires improved planning, more efficient use of economic levers and strict economic account-

ing. The Party has worked and will continue working on all these problems.

In a word, we are faced with huge tasks with regard to the economy and improving the people's well-being. What is necessary to solve them is to see to it that improvements in the work of all levels of economic management combine with a widespread movement of millions and millions of working people, with their increased activity, with their thrifty and responsible attitude to their work. This is the essence of the Party approach to economic management. Its correctness has been confirmed by the entire history of socialist construction. We are confident that the key to our future economic successes lies in this, too.

Comrades, besides the economic aspect, our long-range planning encompasses other aspects of development of society. Socialism's goal is also to satisfy the people's social, spiritual and moral needs.

It is important for each person to realise that he enjoys equal rights with the other members of society, that he can always count on just and respectful treatment, on the care of the state, on the help and support of the collective. Each person is interested in taking an active part in the affairs of his enterprise or institution, in the affairs of his country. Each person wants to be confident of tomorrow, of a secure future for his children. We have created all the conditions for satisfying these social requirements. This is a great gain of socialism. We must cherish it and multiply it, like all our other social wealth.

It is more difficult to sum up the results of social development than of economic development, particularly over a short period of time. The dynamics of social processes cannot always be expressed in figures. But if we speak in terms of tendencies, they can be traced clearly enough.

The main tendency is that Soviet society is becoming more and more united and cohesive. In our country, for the first time in history, problems of unprecedented scale and significance involving profound changes in the pattern of social relations are being solved. The classes and social groups that make up Soviet society are drawing still closer together

And this, comrades, is very good: we are advancing further and further towards communism.

A new historical entity, the Soviet people, has developed in our country. This means that the common features of behaviour, character and world outlook of Soviet people, features which they have in common irrespective of social or national differences, are becoming increasingly marked. This means that the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which has always been the basis of the socialist system, has found its development in the indestructible political and ideological unity of these classes with the intelligentsia, which has long since firmly adopted socialist positions. And today we can rightfully speak of the strong alliance of all working people, workers by hand and brain, the alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia, as a fact of our life. This alliance, in which the working class plays the leading role, is strong and inviolable.

The promoting of the social homogeneity of society is a sound basis for the further development of social democracy, of the political system of mature socialism.

With full confidence in the rightness of our view we maintain that it is socialism and only socialism that ensures the exercise of democratic freedoms in practice. Genuine democracy permeates all spheres of our society, effectively ensuring both the interests and rights of the entire people and the interests and rights of each citizen. Our Leninist Party is the chief vehicle of the principles of socialist democracy, the guarantor of its progressive development.

Four years ago we spoke of the need for new specific measures for enhancing the activity of the Soviets at all levels. Since then, laws enlarging the rights and material resources of the Soviets have been adopted. The law on the status of deputies substantially enlarged the scope of their activities. The Soviets have become more active. The deputies are becoming more exacting and taking a wider statesmanlike view of things. And this is very important, for it indicates that the Party's work is yielding results.

Democracy is just an empty word if it does not cover the surroundings in which the person does his daily work,

applies his creative energy. It is therefore of fundamental importance to strengthen democratic principles in production.

And in this we are being quite consistent. The Party demands that any law, any decision concerning the principles and methods of the operation of enterprises should provide without fail for the participation of the working people in economic management. Recently, for instance, a statute was passed regarding production amalgamations. The idea throughout the entire document is to enhance the role of the public organisations and collectives of the working people in drafting and implementing plans, in the work of improving labour and living conditions, and improving the whole activity of the amalgamation. There can be no doubt that Party organisations, the trade unions, the Komsomol will succeed in exercising their extensive rights in the interests of each collective and the whole of society.

The broadening of the working people's participation in the activities of the Soviets, in economic management, the growth of the activity of trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organisations make it imperative to raise the political level of the working people, to give more publicity to the work of the Party, Soviet and economic bodies. Much has already been done in this respect. And we shall continue to proceed along these lines.

The fundamentals of labour legislation, of legislation on education and on public health, on environmental protection, adopted by the Supreme Soviet in recent years, continue our fundamental line: to steadily extend and enhance the rights of the individual, of the working person. On the whole, it may be said that our legislation has been thoroughly updated in recent years, and has become more stable and democratic.

When speaking of the strengthening of socialist legality we keep in mind two aspects of the matter. First, the strictest protection of the rights of the citizen, prevention of any arbitrary acts whatever, including those committed by officials. Second, we mean the strictest observance of Soviet laws, of the code of public order by all citizens. Crime, any forms of anti-social behaviour are a social evil and we must

fight against it every day, firmly and resolutely. I am confident that the Soviet people share and support the way the question is formulated.

I should like to say a few words about the legal regulation of economic activity. Unfortunately, for a long time, these questions have not been given due attention and as a result many unresolved problems have piled up. In each branch of the national economy, thousands of all kinds of directions and instructions are in operation. Just try to sort them all out! Especially since many of these instructions have become obsolete, contain unjustified restrictions, and petty regimentation. This hampers initiative and runs counter to the new demands made on the economy nowadays.

I believe that the newly-elected Supreme Soviet, the government, the ministries and departments will tackle this matter in earnest.

The development of socialist democracy presupposes the steady improvement of the state apparatus. It is important that responsibility of officials be enhanced everywhere, and the organisational structure be improved wherever necessary.

We shall continue to assert the Leninist, Party style in the work of state bodies resolutely and consistently. This was the subject of serious discussion at the last plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. It was stated that, in affirming the Party style of work, we must intensify the struggle against all manifestations of red tape.

It is difficult nowadays for an overt bully or bureaucrat to show himself for what he is. But the more difficult it is for the bureaucrat to get along in our society the more skilfully he adapts himself and assumes new faces. The essence remains the same: sacrifice of substance for form, neglect of the interests of the state, of society, of people for the sake of departmental and parochial interests. Some officials try to evade decisions, the reasonable risk entailed in each matter, the personal responsibility. From the very outset they are not so much concerned with how to set up work in the best possible way as with how to protect themselves on every side with papers, so as to be able to justify themselves if things go wrong. There are not so many people like that in our appa-

ratus, of course. But even though few in number, they nevertheless may do a great harm.

Our society is vitally interested in having in all managerial positions—be it in state or economic bodies, cultural institutions, or public organisations—competent and able people devoted to the cause of socialism, good organisers with a sense of the new, who are unassuming and approachable people, who can lead the collective and at the same time learn from it.

Lenin noted that under socialism, for the first time in the history of civilised societies, the mass of the people would rise to independent participation in everyday administration. In our country this has been achieved. In practice, in life, our state is managed from top to bottom by means of the everyday participation of the masses. And this is an important source of the dynamism of our society, of the stability of the political system of socialism.

Comrades, the spiritual life of the Soviet people, their culture, is becoming more interesting and varied with every passing year. This is natural. Nowadays the rate of social progress, the rate of our advance to communism all the more markedly depend on the intellectual potential of society, on the development of culture, science and education. In all these spheres we have achieved much, implementing the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party.

Thanks to the strides made in education, the Soviet people can be regarded today as one of the world's most educated peoples. Completion of the transition to universal secondary education by the end of the current five-year plan period will expand the mass basis for new achievements in all spheres of social life. This is also the aim of the Party's line of developing higher educational establishments into active centres of science and culture.

Soviet science accomplishes much on all fronts of communist construction. It is more and more actively invading production, daily living, changing the way of life of tens of millions of people. This year Soviet scientists and together with them the entire country and the people as a whole are proudly celebrating the 250th anniversary of the main head-

quarters of our science, the USSR Academy of Sciences, which has been headed for many years now by our outstanding scientist, Mstislav Vsevolodovich Keldysh. We are fully confident that Soviet scientists will continue to make a great contribution to the material and spiritual progress of our great Motherland.

Scientific quest and direct concern for human welfare in everyday life are, one might say, most closely interrelated in medicine, in the public health system. The people highly appreciate the work of the five-million-strong army of physicians, scientists and medical workers who protect the health of the Soviet people.

Socialist culture, drawing on all that is best and most progressive in what mankind has created or is creating, enriches the inner world of the people, makes their lives brighter and more interesting. It helps provide a better understanding of the meaning of our work, our struggle, the grandeur of our goals.

Speaking of artistic creation, one cannot fail to note that in recent years many works in Soviet literature and cinema and theatre productions have profoundly, truthfully, and movingly depicted the immortal feat of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. The Party highly appreciates such works. For ever new generations of the Soviet people, the heroism of those who saved world civilisation will always be a patriotic example, an example of courage and nobleness.

Soviet audiences, readers and listeners are becoming more and more exacting. The country expects from the writers and all people in Soviet art new works of high artistic value and with a profound message about our contemporaries.

The Party considers it its task to ensure the most favourable conditions for the development of socialist culture and science. We want the creative intelligentsia's bond with the life of the people, the working class and rural workers to become ever stronger. We want the spiritual values, which are so essential for the people who are building communism, to multiply in a democratic, exacting, and comradesly atmosphere.

I am sure that people in Soviet science and culture will always be equal to their historical mission.

These, comrades, are some of the questions of the Party's domestic policy, of our social development, which I felt it necessary to touch upon. I believe we may draw the conclusion that the Party's previous election platform is being successfully carried out. This is further convincing proof that the words and deeds of the Leninist Party are never at variance. The Soviet people know this full well. They believe in their Party and by their daily actions support its policy. This is the basis of all our successes, the basis of our optimism, our unshakeable confidence in the triumph of communism.

Comrades, recent years have seen exceptionally intensive and strenuous activity by the Party on the foreign policy front. And you understand the reasons. The situation in the world and concern for the vital interests of the Soviet people, for the maintenance of world peace have led us to concentrate our efforts on the solution of acute international problems.

Let us recall what we were faced with in the international field in the comparatively recent past. Fierce battles raged in Vietnam. The situation in the Middle East was fraught with the danger of outbreaks of military conflicts. The cold war weighed heavily upon the minds and life of the peoples. Relations with the United States, the FRG, and many other big countries of the capitalist world remained tense.

Our Party has never regarded such a state of affairs as inevitable, let alone normal. An appraisal of the general alignment of forces in the world led us several years ago to the conclusion that a real opportunity existed for bringing about a fundamental change in the international situation. The important thing was to furnish a broad basis for constructive discussion and solution of the problems that had accumulated. Those considerations and our policy were summed up in the Peace Programme proclaimed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

There is not a single person in the Soviet Union who would not regard this programme as the embodiment of his thoughts about the destinies of his country, its present and its

future. There is not a single person in the Soviet Union for whom war would not be hateful. All our projects, all our plans are connected with the maintenance of peace.

At present the first generation of Soviet people who did not have to live through war, to experience the hardships and sorrows of wartime, are in the prime of life. To put it simply, what we would like very much, comrades, is that our children and grandchildren should never know what war is. It is to this end that the Party has put forward the Peace Programme and launched a struggle for a genuine normalisation of the entire system of international relations.

The results of our efforts are common knowledge. The main thing is that the foundations of peace and the security of peoples have been consolidated to a significant extent, and the danger of nuclear war has been lessened. The Soviet people, all peoples of the world, regard this as a triumph of truly historic importance.

The favourable changes in the world situation are first of all due to the impact of the world of socialism, its achievements, its might, and its example, on international developments. This is a result of the purposeful and concerted policy of the community of socialist countries. One can confidently say that never before has the co-ordination of the foreign policy efforts of socialist states been so extensive and effective as in recent years. In the foreign policy sphere socialist states were in constant contact and showed complete mutual understanding. Development of co-operation with fraternal states in all fields, including the field of international affairs, has been and will continue to be a matter of constant concern for the Central Committee of our Party.

The termination of the aggressive war waged by US imperialism in Vietnam was one of the major achievements in the resolute struggle of the forces of peace and socialism. The Vietnamese people's heroic struggle was crowned with a victory which is of great fundamental significance. It is now important that a political settlement in Southeast Asia should be carried through.

In many ways owing to the policy of the Soviet Union

and the socialist countries, owing to the change in the climate of international relations, there have emerged more favourable conditions for the struggle against imperialist aggression and for the elimination of the hotbed of war in the Middle East. Agreements on disengagement of troops in the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights areas have been reached. At the same time it must be realised that only the first steps have been made. The main questions of a settlement are still to be considered at the Geneva conference. This is an extremely complex task. It can be accomplished only through the combined efforts of the countries participating in the conference.

The Soviet Union contributes and will continue to contribute to this cause. Our stand with regard to a final settlement of the Middle East crisis is well known. Progress towards a settlement will create conditions for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and all the Middle East countries. A durable and just peace should at last be established in the Middle East.

Thus, there is every reason to say that a major point of the Peace Programme concerning the elimination of the most dangerous hotbeds of war is being successfully implemented. Much has also been achieved in other directions of our foreign policy.

The tendency towards relaxation of tension has now become a dominant feature of the development of the international situation. This is particularly noticeable in Europe, which is now justly referred to as a continent that may become an important link in the system of inter-state relations, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, effective security, and equitable co-operation.

The growth of realistic tendencies in the policy of France and later of the FRG has played an important role in bringing about a change in the European climate. The credit for this undoubtedly belongs to such political leaders as de Gaulle, Pompidou, Brandt and the forces that supported them. They realised that a system of international relations oriented to the cold war presented a dangerous impasse, that it ran counter to the basic national interests of their countries. Their

striving to develop constructive links with the East enhanced the prestige of the countries which they represented in the European and world political arena.

At present there is a new leadership in France and the FRG. In their first speeches President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt said that they would preserve and carry on what was started by their predecessors. This policy of France and West Germany finds understanding and reciprocity in the Soviet Union.

Tens of countries—both large and small, those that belong and those that do not belong to military-political groupings—have now been drawn into the orbit of peaceful coexistence. Possibilities have emerged for a broadening of our relations with Italy. We are co-operating successfully with Finland, the Scandinavian countries, Austria and other states. Certain changes are beginning to take place in our relations with Britain.

The process now under way of turning Europe into a zone of stable peace and fruitful co-operation among nations should be supported in every way and continued. With this aim in view it is necessary first of all to bring the all-European conference to a successful completion.

A considerable amount of work has already been done in Helsinki and Geneva. The road to the solution of a number of important and complex problems has been found. It should be made clear, however, that the delegations of some countries are trying to complicate the situation by tabling first one, then another proposal, and some of their proposals are obviously unacceptable or have nothing to do with the question under consideration.

Those who have adopted delaying tactics should ask themselves this question: exactly what alternative to a successful completion of the conference can they propose? A return to the past, to the tensions in the relations between states of which the peoples of Europe grew thoroughly tired during the cold war years? Do these politicians understand the responsibility they will bear if things should take such a turn? This would run counter to the vital interests of the peoples, who want to live in peace and, therefore, expect from the

conference important decisions that would strengthen peace and security in Europe.

We are convinced that, given the desire, solutions that are satisfactory and beneficial to all can be found with regard to the issues which remain to be settled. Only one thing is necessary for this: to preserve a sense of realism, to be guided by a concern for the peaceful future of Europe. We are also convinced that, owing to the importance and the scope of the problems with which the conference is dealing, participation by top leaders at its concluding stage is necessary.

One of the most important foreign policy events in recent years has been the substantial change in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Guided by the decisions of the 24th Congress, we have approached this question from a principled position, taking into consideration the significance which Soviet-US relations have for the preservation of peace and the improvement of the international climate.

It is obvious that progress has been achieved in this sphere. The Soviet Union and the USA have signed a number of documents of tremendous importance—on the basic principles of our relations in conformity with the principles of peaceful coexistence, on the prevention of nuclear war, and on the first steps in the limitation of strategic arms. Agreements have also been concluded on mutually beneficial co-operation in many fields. These documents and agreements have created a good basis for the development of broad contacts and links not only in the diplomatic but also in many other fields—between business circles of the two countries, scientists, cultural workers, and representatives of the public. The Soviet Union has been visited by many prominent members of the US Congress. In its turn our parliamentary delegation has recently visited the USA. All this is of great significance both for resolving today's problems and for the future of Soviet-US relations.

As you know, President Richard Nixon of the United States will soon be in Moscow again. The third meeting of Soviet and US leaders will be held. Understandably, it is awaited with interest not only in our two countries, but all

over the world. In the foreign press one can read pessimistic forecasts of the possible outcome of the meeting in Moscow. We are of a different opinion. The improvement of Soviet-US relations can and must continue. Nobody, of course, is going to decide hastily questions that are not yet ripe. Nor should we mark time.

While fully acknowledging what has already been achieved, we must not close our eyes to the difficulties and problems that remain to be solved. They do exist. And it is all the more important that we should make full use of all the existing possibilities for advancing further. This applies to political relations between the USSR and the USA. This also fully applies to the economic relations between the two countries. But perhaps the most important and most complex problems are in the field of limitation of the arms drive. They have become the subject of heated debate.

Those circles in the USA and the countries allied to it which oppose detente are striving to whip up the arms drive and to put the responsibility for it on the Soviet Union. This is an obvious misrepresentation of facts. It is, perhaps, not always necessary to recall the past. But in the present instance it is quite appropriate. Well-known facts show that the arms drive, the rivalry in the development of the most dangerous weapons of mass destruction, was forced on us. It was not we who started the making of atomic bombs, submarines with strategic missiles, multiple warheads and many other weapons.

We believe that the Soviet-US agreements on arms limitation concluded in 1972 and 1973 have paved the way towards a worthy goal, and we must go further along this road. Our stand is that the United States and the Soviet Union should agree to exercise maximum restraint in building up their arms and should reach an agreement making it possible to prevent the development of ever new systems of strategic arms. We are also prepared to reach agreement now with the United States on the limitation of underground nuclear tests, including their complete cessation on the basis of a co-ordinated time-table.

In a word, if the Government of the United States adheres

to the principles of equal security and renunciation of attempts to gain unilateral advantages as set down in our agreements the Soviet Union will always be a conscientious and active partner in such an important cause as the limitation and reduction of strategic arms.

We want Soviet-US relations to become truly stable and not be dependent on temporary considerations. It is our wish that the future development of Soviet-US relations should benefit our countries and the world as a whole.

Favourable changes are taking place in the Soviet Union's relations with Japan. At our meeting with Prime Minister Tanaka last October both sides stated that they were for achieving a profound improvement in the relations between their two countries and reached a common opinion as regards the necessity to considerably expand economic co-operation. Large contracts beneficial for both sides have already been concluded, and there are good prospects. It may be hoped that Soviet-Japanese relations will develop simultaneously in the political sphere. We are convinced that the positive development of Soviet-Japanese relations meets the requirements of both countries. It also meets the interests of peace and security on the Asian continent.

Our country's fruitful co-operation with India, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and other Asian countries is also of great significance in this respect. The past years have been marked by many successes in the conduct of relations with these countries. The same can be said about the Soviet Union's relations with a number of Arab states, and with many countries of Africa and Latin America.

Our relations with Argentina are improving. We have invited President Peron to visit the Soviet Union, and this invitation has been accepted. I think that this visit, the forthcoming talks, the development of political and economic contacts between our countries will serve the interests of both peoples.

In a word, comrades, much in the world has begun to change in recent years. But there must be no stopping half-way in this field. The easing of tensions must become irreversible and we shall work for it.

We are also for supplementing political detente with a military detente. In the field of arms limitation, as is known, a number of international agreements have been concluded, and without them the international situation would probably be more grave, but regrettably the arms drive has not been stopped.

In these conditions the Central Committee and the leading bodies of our state continue to devote utmost attention to the strengthening of our socialist Motherland's defence capacity. And I can assure you, comrades, that our defence is reliable, that it will remain at an adequate level.

At the same time we are working tirelessly for real progress in the field of disarmament. The advocates of the arms drive argue that limiting arms, to say nothing of reducing them, means taking a risk. But as a matter of fact, it is an immeasurably greater risk to continue an unrestrained stockpiling of arms. Proceeding from this we have again and again called on all states, all governments to put an end to the arms drive and to begin to advance to the great goal—universal and complete disarmament.

Understanding the complexity of this huge-scale task, we are ready to agree to partial measures on the limitation and reduction of arms. This determines in particular our position at the talks on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Central Europe. We think that there is a possibility of achieving in this field the first concrete results at an early date, if, of course, goodwill is displayed by all the participants in the talks.

An important factor in consolidating the positive political changes in the international arena and in creating a material basis for a lasting peace is the all-round development of economic and scientific and technical links. It meets the interests of all states and all peoples. However, there are circles in the West which hope to obtain from us, in exchange for such links, political and ideological concessions. That is a futile undertaking.

We are for the participation of every state in the international division of labour on an equitable basis and under conditions that are advantageous for all and that do not per-

mit violation of sovereignty and interference in internal affairs. This contributes to the general development of world economic ties whose significance is steadily increasing.

Another factor—the greater activity of the general public—has acquired tremendous significance in the efforts to consolidate the positive changes in international relations. The policy of detente is at present acquiring a genuinely mass basis. We shall continue to pay constant heed to the development of contacts with the public of other countries, the development of links along parliamentary, trade union and other lines, the all-round extension of the front of peace supporters.

The struggle for the triumph of realistic policies, for the triumph of reason in international relations shows no sign of being an easy one. Every gain on the road to lasting peace comes about through struggle, through fierce clashes with the most reactionary circles of imperialism and their accomplices. A struggle between representatives of aggressive forces and supporters of realism is taking place in practically all the bourgeois countries. But whatever acute forms the struggle may assume, we are confident of one thing: the future is not with the advocates of cold war, not with those who would like to push peoples into the abyss of war.

The leadership of the People's Republic of China is acting contrary to the overall positive changes in the international arena. Whipping up militaristic, chauvinistic passions in that country, they have subordinated their foreign policy to the tasks of struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to attempts at frustrating relaxation. The PRC leadership has recently gone so far as to team up openly with representatives of arch reaction, the Chilean junta, the leaders of the Right-wing imperialist bourgeoisie in Britain, the FRG, the USA and other countries. These deeds, more than any words, reveal the real essence of Peking's policy.

As far as our relations with China are concerned, we shall naturally continue to rebuff anti-Soviet slander, to firmly protect the interests of our state and our security. At the same time we continue to advocate normalisation of relations with China, restoration of friendship with the great Chinese

people on the reliable basis of proletarian internationalism. In other words, in this important issue we will consistently pursue the line of the 24th Congress of our Party.

Comrades, the foreign policy of the CPSU, of our Central Committee is one of profound solicitude for the good of the Soviet people. At the same time, this policy fully accords with the interests of all the revolutionary forces, the cherished aspirations of all peoples. It is a class, socialist and genuinely internationalist course.

Mankind is going through a tempestuous period of its history. The public forces, classes and parties fighting for social progress, against the power of big capital, against the forces of reaction, are acting ever more resolutely and purposefully.

The paths of this struggle are complex. Changes in governments and regimes take different forms, with different results for the working people. This has always happened in history. We have seen the example of Chile where reaction and fascism has succeeded in temporarily getting the upper hand. But we also see the example of Portugal, where after half a century of fascist domination, democratic forces expressing the interests of broad sections of the people are coming to power. And it is not the events in Chile, but the events in Portugal that are in the general line of social development. The ultimate victory of the forces of democracy and progress is inevitable.

Allow me, comrades, from this rostrum, on behalf of the fifteen-million-strong Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of our entire people, to express profound respect to the Communists of all countries, selfless fighters for a bright future for mankind. And the first word of our fraternal support is to our dear comrades Luis Corvalan and Rodney Arismendi languishing in the prisons of reaction. We are with you, comrades, we remember you, and we shall do our utmost to see that you regain your freedom.

It is with an awareness of its great responsibility that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union takes part in solving the common tasks facing the communist movement. Our Party considers it a sacred duty to contribute to the growth

of the prestige and consolidation of the great movement representing the most influential political force in the worldwide struggle for socialism and peace, for national and social freedom.

The main mandate of the electorate is to protect the peaceful work of the Soviet people, to strengthen peace in the world. The Party constantly bears this in mind and works persistently to solve this great and complex task. The election platform of the CPSU is a platform of peace. This is precisely why all the working people of our country so ardently support it.

Dear comrades, as I am addressing Muscovites I should like to mention especially a city we all love, a hero city, the city of Moscow.

People are inclined to judge the most important changes in the life of society by their immediate surroundings. They assess in the first place the new that can be seen in their city, in their street, in the workers' dining room, in the polyclinic, in shops, in the school to which their children go. This is natural, and the residents of the capital are no exception in this respect. However, there is also a difference. It lies in the fact that Moscow is the capital for everybody. It is in the public eye. And the gratifying changes under way here interest everybody and are a source of joy to our entire people.

The four years that have passed since the last elections were particularly significant in the life of Moscow. The Muscovites have practically, and I should say, with enthusiasm, started to solve the task set by the 24th Congress—that of turning the Soviet capital into a model communist city. The master plan for the development of the city, which comprises everything that is necessary for the improvement of the conditions of work and recreation, for enriching people's everyday lives, has been endorsed and its implementation has been started. This plan will, essentially, determine the face of the city as it will be on the threshold of the third millennium.

Now that millions of people have improved their living conditions, it has become possible to devote more attention

to the quality of construction, convenient layout of apartments, the appearance of avenues, residential blocks and public buildings. Our architects can and must put an end to monotony in building practices, to lack of architectural expressiveness.

Finally, it is equally important for us what, if one may call it so, the inner face of the city, its soul, will be like. It is up to Muscovites to provide a worthy example to be followed not only in coping with city building tasks, but also in the sphere of human relations. A model communist city is a city in which highly cultured, conscientious people reside, it is a city of perfect public order. It is a city in which an atmosphere of goodwill, mutual respect, and concern for one another prevails.

Moscow has always been and remains a great city of working people. Muscovites, including the working people of the Baumansky and Sokolniki districts, are as before in the vanguard of nationwide emulation. In this connection I should like to mention the great efforts made by the Moscow Party organisation, the city and district Party committees, the Moscow Soviet, and the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Not only do they show concern for the fulfilment of plans, they are also able to discern and give timely support to fine initiatives coming from working people in the capital, initiatives which are later made known throughout the country.

In three years of the five-year plan period, products worth 1,155 million rubles have been manufactured in Moscow in excess of the plan. Allow me to wholeheartedly congratulate all the Muscovites on the "capital's milliard" in excess of the plan and wish you new, even greater, successes in your dedicated work.

Comrades, like the other candidates for membership of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I am a representative of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. This is a constant and not a temporary factor in our political life. If you think about it, in the long run it embodies a principle that is sacred to us: the pursuits, concerns and strivings of the people are the affairs, concerns and strivings of the Party.

Concluding my speech, I should like to thank again those who have nominated me once more for the USSR Supreme Soviet—the workers, engineering and technical personnel, and the office workers of the No. 2 Auto-Tractor Electrical Equipment Factory, of the Bolshevichka Garment Production Amalgamation, decorated with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, of the Digital Calculators Factory, decorated with the Order of the October Revolution and the Order of the Patriotic War, First Class, and of the Moscow Railway Motor Van Depot, and also the professors, teachers, students and postgraduate students of the Moscow Bauman Higher Technical School, decorated with the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.

May I express my sincere gratitude to Anatoly Nikolayevich Afanasyev, representative of the nominator organisations, and those who spoke earlier at this meeting and supported my candidature—Valentin Nikolayevich Makeyev, Georgi Aleksandrovich Nikolayev, Vera Stepanovna Gridneva, Nikolai Nikolayevich Seleznyov, and Tamara Pavlovna Zaitseva.

I ask the canvassers and representatives of the nominator organisations who work at the polling stations of our electoral district to accept my sincere thanks for their active participation in the election campaign.

The support for my candidature I regard as an expression of support for the Party's cause and approval of its course.

To do everything for new victories of the communist cause—this is for me as a Communist the main goal, the supreme duty and purport of my whole life.

I thank you very much, dear comrades, for the high honour!

**SPEECH ON PRESENTING THE ORDER OF LENIN
AND THE GOLD STAR MEDAL
TO THE HERO-CITY OF NOVOROSIISK**

September 7, 1974

Dear people of Novorossiisk,

Dear veterans of the Great Patriotic War, brother-soldiers and my comrades-in-arms,

It is hard to convey the emotion which today's meeting with you has aroused in me.

This day will remain for me one of the most precious and most memorable, because I have to fulfil a happy and honourable mission today—to present the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal to the hero-city of Novorossiisk. These highest of awards will now shine on the glorious banner of Novorossiisk next to the combat Order of the Patriotic War, First Class. Together with the citizens of Novorossiisk and the working people of the Kuban area, this festive occasion is celebrated today by all the Soviet people, by our glorious Armed Forces, by our whole country.

More than thirty years have passed since the memorable days when one of the greatest battles of the Great Patriotic War was fought here in Novorossiisk. Your city then stood an impregnable fortress in the path of the hated enemy. For more than a year it was the scene of fierce fighting. Razed to the ground and enveloped in smoke, Novorossiisk held out and won.

The battle for Novorossiisk went down in the history of the last war as an example of the Soviet people's inflexible

will to win, their valour and fearlessness, their boundless devotion to the Leninist Party, to their socialist homeland.

The title of hero-city conferred on Novorossiisk is a tribute to the heroic feats of the soldiers of the North Caucasian Front, the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet, the partisans, the citizens of Novorossiisk, to all those who fought and were ready to give their lives to defeat the enemy and bar his path to the Caucasus.

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, to extend my warm, heartfelt congratulations to you and, through you, to all those who took part in the battles for the city, all the citizens of Novorossiisk, upon this high and honourable award.

As you know, on the same day as it was awarded to Novorossiisk this high award was presented to the city of Kerch, whose heroic feat went down forever in the history of the battle for the Caucasus and the Crimea. Novorossiisk and Kerch, together with Moscow, Leningrad, Volgograd, Sevastopol, Odessa, Kiev, Minsk and the Brest Fortress, make up the splendid family of hero-cities. They are our pride and glory, they embody the colossal feat of the Soviet people who routed the nazi invaders and upheld the honour and independence of the socialist Motherland.

The hero-city of Novorossiisk has a glorious revolutionary past. Like the proletariat of Moscow, Petersburg, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the workers of Novorossiisk set up, in 1905, their Soviets of Deputies, which Lenin called "embryonic forms of a new revolutionary authority".

In the grim years of the Civil War, the citizens of Novorossiisk showed their selfless devotion to the Revolution. It was here, in the Tsemes Bay, in 1918, that a squadron of the Black Sea Fleet, which the troops of imperialist Germany were trying to capture, was sunk on the orders of the leader of our Revolution, Lenin. It was near Novorossiisk that the legendary "Iron Flood"—the well-known march of the Taman Army—began. At Novorossiisk, in the spring of 1920, the Red Army and partisan units dealt shattering blows

to Denikin's whiteguard bands, whose remnants hurriedly fled abroad.

The working people of your city have made no small contribution to the cause of socialist construction in our country. Novorossiisk supplied one out of every four tons of Soviet cement to the construction projects of the early five-year plans. Your port played a prominent part in the development of the young Soviet state's foreign trade.

After the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, the city became an unassailable fortress barring the enemy's path to the Caucasus. The port of Novorossiisk became the biggest naval base of the Black Sea Fleet. It supplied troops, combat equipment and ammunition to help the heroes of Odessa and Sevastopol.

The nazis bombed Novorossiisk almost every day, but its citizens never faltered. They reorganised their whole lives on a wartime footing and subordinated everything to the needs of the front. Mass production of arms and ammunition got under way at plants and factories. In defence of their Soviet Motherland thousands of Novorossiisk citizens volunteered for the front or joined partisan units.

The tornado of war reached the walls of the city in the autumn of 1942. By then, the battle for the Caucasus, one of the greatest battles of the Great Patriotic War, was at its height. Hitler's command had planned to seize the oil of the Caucasus, the grain of the Don and the Kuban, and thus provide economic support for their continued war effort. The nazi politicians and strategists calculated that their advance in Transcaucasia would result in nazi penetration of the Middle East countries.

The Soviet people and their valiant army, led by their Leninist Party, frustrated the Hitlerites' predatory schemes. The heroism of our soldiers proved as insurmountable as the peaks of the Caucasian Mountains. In the battle for the Caucasus, the nazis lost some 400,000 officers and men and an enormous amount of combat equipment and weapons.

As we know, the battle for the Caucasus took place simultaneously with the heroic battle of Stalingrad. The great encirclement, rout and the capture of the 330,000-strong nazi

army at Stalingrad, the unexampled heroism and combat skill of the people of Stalingrad, served as a source of inspiration for the soldiers of the Caucasian Front. By their actions in combat, the soldiers of the Caucasus made it impossible for the nazis to transfer large forces from the Caucasian Front to Stalingrad. The defeat of the nazi forces at Stalingrad hastened our victory in the Caucasus.

Novorossiisk was one of the most decisive strongholds in the battle for the Caucasus, the stronghold where the fighting lasted longest and was extremely fierce. The enemy failed to crush that bastion. The firing line set up near the cement factories stopped the nazis' advance. The enemy never succeeded in using your famous port. Not a single enemy ship ever entered it!

Neither did the enemy succeed in penetrating the area of Tuapse, although he concentrated up to ten divisions there. The nazis were stopped near the mountains of Indyuk and Semashkho by the soldiers of the 18th Amphibious Army and by the inhabitants of that small but glorious seaside town.

The heroes of the legendary "smaller land" covered themselves with everlasting glory in the battles for Novorossiisk. On a grim and stormy night of February 1943, an army landing party, commanded by Major Tsezar Lvovich Kuni-kov, accomplished what seemed the impossible. Having fought their way through a barrage of fire and broken down the desperate resistance of the enemy, the party landed on the western edge of the city, and captured a small, at first, but vital beach-head. This task could only have been carried out by fearless men.

Just before the battle, the soldiers swore a solemn oath which, even today, thirty years later, one cannot read without profound emotion. "As we go into battle," it said, "we swear to the Motherland that we shall act swiftly and boldly and shall not spare our lives for victory. We shall give our will, our strength and our blood, drop by drop, for the happiness of our people, for you, our beloved Motherland. . . . Forward movement—this has been and will always be our law!" The heroes carried out their oath. They went only forward, and forward, smashing the enemy and flouting death!

The nazis attacked the "smaller land" with exceptional ferocity, trying to force us out into the sea. On this beach-head of less than 30 square kilometres, a bloody battle lasted for 225 days. We had the Black Sea behind us, and the charging enemy in front. At first, the enemy was at least ten times superior to us in manpower and equipment. On some days, enemy aircraft made up to 2,500 sorties, while tank and infantry attacks followed one after the other. Dozens of artillery and mortar batteries peppered that small patch of land with fire. The "smaller land" tied down large enemy forces, kept them in a state of constant tension and subsequently played a vital part in routing the enemy grouping in that area.

If a person happens to be a direct participant of an outstanding event in his time, an event which marks a vital landmark in world history, it will remain forever in his memory. For the older generation of our Party such events were the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Civil War. For you and me, for my generation, it was the Great Patriotic War. Superhuman exertion of strength and complete forgetfulness of self—such was the state of all of us who took part in that largest of all wars in history. And it could not have been otherwise, because we defended and upheld our most treasured possession—our Soviet socialist Motherland. And we are happy to have won this great victory over the enemy, to have made our contribution to this victory.

As Vladimir Mayakovsky put it so excellently:

*... You'll never stop loving this land, with which
you have suffered the cold together.*

Personally, I cannot stop loving the land of Novorossiisk, this small patch drenched in the blood of Soviet patriots—the heroic "smaller land".

I made many trips to the front lines of the units which defended the "smaller land". I must confess to you, comrades, that throughout my four years at the front I did not see anything tougher or bloodier than the fighting there.

I have especially lasting memories of April, when the enemy was ordered to smash the defenders of the "smaller land".

and throw them into the sea at any cost. I remember April 17, 1943. On that day the nazis hurled enormous masses of aircraft, artillery and several infantry divisions against our troops on the "smaller land". The earth burnt, metal melted and concrete crumbled. The heroes of the "smaller land" beat back the furious enemy onslaught for eight successive days and nights. The nazis' innumerable attacks disintegrated in the face of our soldiers' iron determination.

After those battles, the nazis called the defenders of the "smaller land" thrice Communists. Well, they were right! On those memorable days, all our thoughts and feelings were concentrated on our Motherland, on our great Party. Hundreds and thousands of defenders of the "smaller land" joined the Communist Party.

I have vivid memories of the defenders of Novorossiisk. It is hard to list the names of all the heroes—soldiers and sailors, officers, generals and admirals—because heroism was a way of life for them, a daily norm.

The troops of the North Caucasian Front, under Colonel-General Ivan Yefimovich Petrov, the troops of the 18th Amphibious Army under the famed General K. N. Leselidze and General N. O. Pavlovsky, our neighbour—the 56th Army under General A. A. Grechko, sailors under Admiral L. A. Vladimirsky and Admiral S. G. Gorshkov, airmen under Generals K. A. Vershinin and V. V. Yermachenkov, artillerymen under General G. S. Kariofilli and tank crews under Lieutenant-Colonel P. K. Shurenkov—all fought heroically and selflessly.

Our glorious Party was the heart and soul as well as the organiser of the victorious battle for Novorossiisk, just as it was at all the other fronts of the Patriotic War. Wherever its loyal sons, the Communists, were—in battle units or in the people's volunteer corps, in partisan detachments or factory shops—they showed the highest standards of ideological conviction, organisation and discipline, and inspired people by their personal example. The political workers of the Army and the Navy, men of exemplary patriotism and courage, were always in the front ranks. They were representatives of our Party, and carried the Party's ideas and appeals to the

masses of soldiers. Outstanding political workers—S. Y. Kolonin, N. M. Kulakov, P. I. Kulik, S. S. Pakhomov, A. M. Tikhostup, M. K. Vidov, P. A. Shtakhanovsky, A. I. Ryzhov, A. N. Kopenkin and many others—were well known in army units and on ships.

It is a pity, indeed, that I cannot name all the unit and sub-unit commanders and all the political workers. But we remember them all, the living and the dead, from junior officers to generals and admirals, from company political instructors to the political workers of the Army and the Navy, and we remember and cherish their courageous service to our beloved Motherland.

The writers and journalists Sergei Borzenko, Pavel Kogan, Anatoly Lunacharsky and many, many others fought the enemy with their rousing and passionate words.

We shall never forget the heroic feats of the glorious Novorossiisk partisans and underground workers. Formed by the city Party organisation under the leadership of Pyotr Ivanovich Vasev, the partisan units made daring raids on the enemy rear, fought on the “smaller land” together with the men of the Soviet Army and took part in the final triumphant assault. The names of partisans and underground fighters—Ostroverkhov, Langovoi, Nikitin, Boichuk, Tanya Gora and others—went down in the annals of the battle for Novorossiisk.

The splendid exploits accomplished by the heroic women of Novorossiisk arouse our admiration. What selflessness they showed under the hard conditions in the front-line city in spite of continuous shellings and bombings! They operated machine-tools, supplied munitions to the army in the field, built up fortifications and tended the wounded.

Our wonderful city of Sochi and the famed cities and resorts of Soviet Georgia became a safe and reliable rear and a recovery centre for the defenders of Novorossiisk and all those who took part in the great battle for the Caucasus. About half a million wounded soldiers restored their health in sanatoriums and holiday homes in Sochi and went back to the front. That was a real feat for the sake of life!

Speaking of the battle for Novorossiisk, we must express

our gratitude to the working people of Gelendzhik for the heroism they showed during those unforgettable days. Although mercilessly bombed by the enemy, the town of Gelendzhik stood firm. It formed the immediate rear zone of our troops. It supplied weapons and materiel to the whole Novorossiisk group.

In the fierce battles for Novorossiisk, the enemy was routed and driven out of the city. The Novorossiisk landing operation, carried out in September 1943, with all arms and services taking part, was one of the biggest classical landing operations of the Great Patriotic War.

The routing of the nazi troops in Novorossiisk dealt the first shattering blow to the enemy's powerful fortifications—the so-called “blue line”. It was also of major importance in driving the enemy out of the Taman Peninsula and enabled us to mount the offensive in the Crimea and thus begin the liberation of the Ukraine. The victory won in Novorossiisk provided favourable conditions for bringing to a victorious conclusion the battle for the complete liberation of the Caucasus from the Hitlerite invaders.

The Motherland highly appreciated the unexampled heroism and courage of the defenders of Novorossiisk. The honorary title of “Novorossiisk” was conferred on 19 units and formations. Thousands of officers and men were awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union. Dozens of the city's defenders who had accomplished outstanding feats, were awarded the highest title, Hero of the Soviet Union.

I must tell you, comrades, that I am deeply moved by and admire the way the citizens of Novorossiisk honour the memory of the heroic feats performed by Soviet people in the years of the Great Patriotic War. The Heroes' Square with its eternal flame and the solemn melody of *Novorossiisk Chimes* created by the eminent Soviet composer, Dmitry Dmitriyevich Shostakovich, the monumental sculptures “To Defenders”, “To the Unknown Sailor”, “To the Unvanquished”, the obelisks and memorial plaques on the “smaller land”, in the “Death Valley” near Sheskharis and along the Sukhumi highway, your wonderful historical-and-local museum—all these are not only splendid memorials perpetuat-

ing the heroism of all those who fought at the walls of Novorossiisk, but also a permanent reminder to all of us and our descendants of our sacred duty to our Motherland.

As a citizen of my homeland, as one who took part in the battles for our sacred land, as a Communist, I am deeply grateful to you, dear people of Novorossiisk.

Comrades, recently we celebrated the 30th anniversary of the defeat of the nazi troops at Moscow, Stalingrad and Leningrad, the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Odessa, the Crimea and other parts of the Ukraine, of Byelorussia and Moldavia. We plan to mark other outstanding victories won by the Soviet Army in the years of World War II. These festive occasions bring us nearer to one of the greatest celebrations—the 30th anniversary of the victory won by the Soviet people and its Army in the Great Patriotic War. This historic date is less than one year away. It will be celebrated by us and by all the freedom-loving nations, all honest people on earth.

The liberation of the world from the brown plague marked a new stage in world history. We are proud of the fact that the decisive role in that wonderful victory was played by our great and renowned Soviet Army, by our socialist power.

At this stirring moment, as we celebrate the glorious feat of Novorossiisk, we extend our profound gratitude to all the servicemen, to all the defenders of the city who showed such wonderful steadfastness and courage, to all those who fought against nazism and who forged and won the great victory. Honour and glory to them!

We bow our heads in memory of those who fell on the battlefield, who did not live to see our victory.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Let us observe a moment of silence in their memory.

Dear comrades,

In the years of the Great Patriotic War—the years of fierce battle against the invaders and hard work in the rear—we Soviet people all looked forward to the times when our Motherland would be finally freed and peace would reign. We dreamed of the Soviet people restoring the country's

ravaged economy and resuming the construction of happy socialist life. In trenches and darkened factory shops, in their cold homes, the Soviet people conjured up a picture of this peaceful life. We imagined light, beautiful cities, bustling schools, fine new factories, fertile fields and blossoming orchards. But I think that even our boldest visions of those times cannot compare with today's reality. Life has surpassed those visions by far.

By the efforts of the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, our country has attained the highest economic and welfare standards in its history. Yet we do not mark time. We are aware of the problems that we still have and of our people's ever-growing needs. The Party sets new imposing tasks, the fulfilment of which will make our Motherland still more prosperous and accelerate her advance towards communism.

Your city, dear comrades, serves as a good example of how the appearance of our country has changed in the past years. When it rose from the ashes, beautiful Novorossiisk transcended its prewar limits, and became a more modern and convenient place to live in, and acquired many new features which we like to see in our socialist cities. Indeed, Novorossiisk today is a wonderful monument to those who fought and died for the freedom and happiness of the Soviet people.

Today the city of Novorossiisk is a major industrial centre in the south of our country. Your seaport is well known throughout the world. All the branches of the city's economy are developing successfully. The industrial enterprises of your city have considerably overfulfilled the targets for the first three years of the current five-year period and are operating at a good tempo this year.

The outstanding work performance shown daily by thousands upon thousands of workers, engineers and technicians, production innovators and advanced workers, by all those who spare neither effort nor energy for the good of our homeland, is worthy of profound respect. Schoolteachers, doctors, and thousands of Novorossiisk intellectuals, a contingent of the glorious Soviet intelligentsia, work unsparingly and with great enthusiasm.

I am speaking about Novorossiisk, comrades, because Novorossiisk is the hero of our festivities today—one of the family of hero-cities. But while dwelling on the merits of Novorossiisk, we must not overlook the fact that this city is part of Krasnodar Territory. Therefore, when praising the achievements of Novorossiisk, we praise the services of the Territory's whole Party organisation, of all the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, of all the Communists and non-Party people, of all the working people of our Soviet Kuban.

Novorossiisk's Party organisation is the guiding force in the city's labour achievements, in promoting culture, in the city's development and educational endeavour. As we honour your wonderful hero-city today, allow me to wish that the Territorial and the City Party Committees, all the Communists of Novorossiisk will go on carrying their Leninist banner aloft, will achieve new successes in implementing the historic decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

Comrades, the great political and production activity of the Soviet people is a characteristic feature of our reality. This is the very basis of communist character and communist consciousness. It is a direct result of the fact that the people unanimously support the home and foreign policy of the Communist Party and consider the Party's plans their own.

We greatly appreciate the successes that have been achieved. But our main thoughts and concerns centre on the tasks of today and on what we have to do tomorrow. Our country is now in one of the vital stages of communist construction.

For the fourth year now, the Party and the people have been working hard to fulfil the ninth five-year plan, the tremendous objectives of which were set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The results of this year will largely determine what we shall achieve by the end of the current five-year period, when the 25th Party Congress is to be held.

In eight months of this year, industrial output increased by 8.1 per cent over the figure for the corresponding period of last year. The value of the industrial output realised

over and above the plan is 5,400 million rubles. I think you will agree with me, comrades, that this is a good showing. If our industry goes on working at such a rate, it will be safe to say that in the last year of the five-year period—i.e., in 1975—we shall achieve the increase of industrial output provided for by the Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress.

A few words about agriculture. The Soviet people are well aware of the changes going on in this branch of the economy. The mechanisation of our agriculture, intensive use of chemicals and land improvement projects are unprecedented in scale. We shall continue on these lines to an ever greater extent. This is the only way which enables our agriculture to attain a high enough level of intensification to meet our growing requirements for foodstuffs and for industrial raw materials in full.

The 1974 harvest campaign continues. One must say that the situation varies from one part of the country to another. Many regions in the European part of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Byelorussia and the Baltic Republics and several regions of the non-black soil area have grown crops enabling them to fulfil the national economic plan and their socialist pledges. In some regions of Siberia and part of Kazakhstan, however, the situation is unfavourable. These regions will be given the necessary assistance and support. For all that, we expect a fair harvest of grain and other crops.

On the whole, comrades, the problems of our internal development are being solved in the way mapped out by the 24th Party Congress. I think we shall achieve notable results by the time the new, 25th Congress is held. This is what all Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations, the government and the economic agencies, and all the Soviet people are working for now.

A new powerful upswing of the nationwide socialist competition movement, the drawing up and fulfilment of "reciprocal plans" by many industrial enterprises—these are noteworthy features of our everyday working lives. Launched on the Muscovites' initiative, this movement is assuming an

ever wider scale. We shall support and encourage it in every way.

A drive has been started in the country for the fulfilment of the five-year plan ahead of schedule. Millions of people are taking part in it. As usual, the communist-way workers and advanced enterprises are in the front ranks of this campaign. If this initiative becomes widespread we shall take a new big step forward in our country's economic development. I think that the effort for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the ninth five-year plan's assignments should become a watchword of all factories, plants, mines and building sites, all railway, water and automobile transport organisations, and of all the workers in agriculture.

Dear comrades, the peaceful life gained by our people at such a high price, our tremendous achievements in economic and cultural endeavour, the scope of our work today and our tremendous plans for the future—all make peace particularly precious, and aggression and war particularly hateful to all the Soviet people. Therefore, the foreign policy being pursued by our Party and the Soviet state, in keeping with Lenin's behests and in close alliance with the fraternal socialist countries, is, above all, a policy of peace.

Our Party and state spare no effort in the name of peace, security and happiness of the peoples of our country, of our socialist brothers and friends all over the world, in the name of peace for all mankind. We do not claim, of course, that firm foundations of peace have been laid in Europe, let alone in the whole world. That would be a premature claim. What has already been and is being done in this direction opens up encouraging prospects. We still have to solve many complicated problems before these prospects become reality.

We consider it our sacred duty to go on exerting the maximum effort so that we shall know no more war and our children, grandchildren and greatgrandchildren will never know what war is, so that all peoples can live in peace and healthy intercourse. And we are sure that in our struggle for lasting peace and international security, for peaceful coexistence and reasonable mutually advantageous co-operation between states with differing social systems, we shall contin-

ue to have the full support of the fraternal countries and parties, of all the freedom-loving forces on earth, of all those who hold dear the cause of peace and human progress.

Dear Novorossiisk comrades, among you today are grey-haired possessors of combat orders and medals, heroes of the battle for Novorossiisk, soldiers of the Great Patriotic War. We see here heroes of labour, production innovators and advanced workers. Present among us are young workers and students—our pride, our hope and our future. The Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal fittingly crown the feat of arms of our soldiers and the splendid work of the people of Novorossiisk.

Permit me, comrades, to read out the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to present this high award to your city.

(To the enthusiastic applause of those who took part in the session Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reads out the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet conferring the honourable title of Hero-City on Novorossiisk.

Comrade Brezhnev then affixes the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal to the banner of the city.)

Dear comrades, allow me, once again, to extend my cordial congratulations to you on this high award and to wish all the working people of your heroic city new successes in your work and great personal happiness.

Allow me to voice my firm conviction that the people of Novorossiisk will always be in the front ranks of active fighters for the cause of our Party, for building communism.

May the glory of the hero-city of Novorossiisk never fade throughout the ages!

May our mighty socialist Motherland gain in strength and prosper!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Glory to the Party of Lenin, the leader and organiser of the struggle for communism!

SPEECH
AT A DINNER IN THE GRAND KREMLIN PALACE
IN HONOUR OF THE PARTY
AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

September 25, 1974

Dear Comrade Kádár,
Esteemed Hungarian guests,
Comrades,

It is with great satisfaction that we welcome to Moscow the Party and Government delegation of fraternal Hungary. We are sincerely glad to see you, comrades, and I am confident that all Soviet people whom you will meet both here in Moscow and in Leningrad will accord the warmest, the most cordial welcome to you.

Our meeting is taking place at an important time. Thirty years ago, towards the end of September 1944, Soviet troops, which were driving the nazi invaders from the territories which they had occupied, liberated the Hungarian village of Battonya. That marked the beginning of liberation of Hungary from the nazi yoke.

We have marched together through the years and decades since that time. During this period Soviet-Hungarian friendship has flourished. Its living attributes are to be seen now literally everywhere, in things big and small.

The Soviet people and our Party treasure the militant, time-tested alliance with the Hungarian Communists, with the Hungarian people. We see in you real friends with whom we are united by the road that we have travelled together,

by the great work of today and the common plans for the future.

We are gladdened by the successes of the Hungarian working people in the building of socialism, by the steady work tempo of your country. We are well aware of the important role in these achievements played by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which in its policy-making constantly takes into account the course of development at home and abroad and is skilfully directing the work of implementing the decisions of its 10th Congress.

The principled internationalist policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is known and highly valued in our country. There is complete mutual understanding between us and the leadership of your Party headed by that dedicated revolutionary, one of the prominent figures in the international communist movement, and a loyal friend of the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin—Comrade János Kádár. We value everything that has been done and is being done by the Hungarian Communists for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist states; we value the contribution of socialist Hungary to the activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We are deeply gratified by the fact that fraternal Soviet-Hungarian co-operation is gaining strength and becoming more extensive from day to day in all spheres, including trade, scientific and technical co-operation, and co-operation in production.

Take, for example, the now widely known "olefin programme". On both sides of the border between our countries the component parts of an integral complex for the production of an exceptionally important raw material for making plastics and synthetic fibres are coming into being. Owing to this, the young Hungarian town of Leninváros is thriving.

An underground railway built with the aid of Soviet specialists has recently been opened in your beautiful capital Budapest, and on Soviet roads the high-quality Hungarian Ikarus buses have covered probably cosmic distances. Modern equipment manufactured in the USSR is used at Hungary's major factories and plants, while cranes made by the Hungarian workers are in operation in many Soviet ports.

In a word, the close co-operation between the Soviet Union and Hungary has become a lasting and important factor in the development of our countries.

I well remember my last visit to Hungary. Even now I see in my mind's eye the lively meetings I had with the residents of Budapest, the exciting rally at the Red Csepel, and the cordial talks at the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society. During those days we were especially aware, with both our minds and hearts, of the warmth of the friendly sentiments linking our peoples.

And in welcoming the Hungarian Party and Government delegation in a fraternal spirit, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, I want to say to you, esteemed friends: Welcome! You are welcome, dear guests!

Dear comrades, an important period is approaching for Hungary, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. The next congresses of the ruling Communist and Workers' Parties are not far off. And they will be events of paramount importance. It is quite natural that in preparing for the work to be done tomorrow we consult each other and jointly seek the best ways of fulfilling the tasks arising in the course of further development. I think, in particular, that both the Soviet Union and Hungary and also the other fraternal countries are interested in making year by year ever fuller use, in our national and international interests, of the possibilities inherent in the close voluntary co-operation between socialist countries, while also making all-round use of our own resources. There can be no doubt that the years to come will bring fresh proof of the tremendous significance of the joint work done by the fraternal parties to bring the countries of the socialist community closer together in every way possible and strengthen their unity of action.

This, of course, also concerns the sphere of international affairs, where co-operation between the socialist countries has already yielded results that are beneficial to our countries and the cause of universal peace. In this field we are also faced with a number of unsettled problems which we must

consider together. In recent years there have been many significant developments in world politics.

The recent changes of leadership in the United States of America have attracted close worldwide attention. We in the Soviet Union, of course, do not interfere in the internal affairs of the United States, but we are far from being indifferent to what may affect the state and development of Soviet-American relations, to which for quite understandable reasons we attach great importance.

The change for the better in Soviet-American relations which has taken place owing to the constructive efforts of both sides in recent years is highly appreciated in the USSR. We therefore received with satisfaction the statement by President Gerald Ford concerning his personal intention and the intention of his Administration to continue the course for further developing relations between our countries along the same lines. For our part we told the President that we favour maintaining contacts in the interests of consolidating peace, of strengthening mutual trust and good-neighbourly relations between our countries. Such contacts have been established, and we feel that at present there exist favourable conditions for continuing the work that has been successfully started by adopting new concrete measures of co-operation in various fields in the interests of the peoples of both countries and of universal peace.

We are firmly convinced that the efforts to consolidate peace, to deepen and further develop detente should be continued without a pause. The events in Cyprus clearly show how necessary such efforts are.

Once again it has been confirmed that fascist regimes constitute a permanent threat to peace and the security of nations. It is such regimes that serve as a favourite weapon for carrying out imperialist intrigues against freedom-loving peoples.

It has also been shown that these regimes sit on the volcano of the people's wrath and will inevitably perish. The plot of reaction against the independence of Cyprus has eventually led to the downfall of the military-fascist dictatorship in Greece. The democratic forces in that country now have

an opportunity to intensify their activities. This in itself is a considerable gain for the forces of peace and progress.

At the same time, comrades, the world has had another convincing proof of the dangerous role played in international relations by the military NATO bloc, of how the very nature of this bloc, its basic political goals are incompatible with the ideals of freedom, independence and security of peoples. It was the NATO strategists who, in stepping up their military preparations in the Mediterranean, constantly strove in one way or another to involve ever more deeply in these preparations the territory of a non-aligned country, the Republic of Cyprus. All of us then witnessed the sordid spectacle of two NATO member countries turning that small country, which had no possibility of defending itself, into an arena of armed conflict, which brought death to its citizens and destroyed towns and villages. Small wonder that one of the consequences of all this was Greece's withdrawal from NATO's military organisation; the people of Greece and its new leadership have learned from their own experience that the NATO leadership is least of all concerned about protecting the security and independence of small countries.

Finally, the Cyprus crisis has shown that in our day against the intrigues of aggressive forces in Europe and throughout the world there stands a powerful front of champions of peace and of the independence and sovereignty of all states. The attack on the independence of the small state of Cyprus has aroused public protests all over the world. With the active participation of the Soviet Union and other socialist states the UN Security Council has also expressed itself plainly in this vein.

The restoration of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of that state, the ensuring of a genuinely lasting peace for its people—such are the basic tasks which should be carried out without delay in the interests of the people of Cyprus, and in the interests of peace and security in Europe. Life itself has shown sufficiently clearly that this cannot be achieved within the narrow, closed circle of NATO. What would be correct and effective, in our view, is

a settlement of the international aspects of this problem within the framework of the United Nations with appropriate international guarantees. The Soviet Union has called for and continues to call for such a settlement.

The developments around Cyprus are an urgent reminder of the fact that if we want a lasting peace in Europe we still have to struggle for it effectively. And I should like to stress that we continue to believe that the successful completion of the all-European conference is one of the basic objectives in this struggle. This is, undoubtedly, a question which deserves attention and calls for discussion among us comrades, considering the active role played by the countries of the socialist community in international affairs, and our constant concern to consolidate world peace.

Dear comrades, our talks have started today. They will be continued. But we can already say confidently: a spirit of complete mutual understanding and fraternal, unbreakable friendship prevails at these talks. It could not be otherwise, for such are the relations between our Parties and our countries.

May I propose a toast:

To the Hungarian people and its militant vanguard—the Hungarian Communists!

To the health of János Kádár and all the members of the Hungarian Party and Government delegation!

To the unbreakable Soviet-Hungarian friendship!

**SPEECH ON RECEIVING THE ORDER OF
KARL MARX, THE HIGHEST AWARD
OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

October 6, 1974

Dear Comrade Honecker,
Esteemed comrades,

I want to express my heartfelt thanks to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the State Council and the Government of the German Democratic Republic for this award which is so dear to me.

I also want to thank you for your kind words about me. I view them, above all, as recognition of the internationalist policy of our Leninist Party, as an expression of fraternal feelings for our great Soviet people.

Such an occasion naturally brings to mind the great path we have travelled shoulder to shoulder. I do not see it as a kind of abstraction. I recall the work done to establish large-scale economic co-operation, joint steps to strengthen the international positions of the GDR and united action in the name of peace and international security.

Profound mutual understanding, sincere active interest in each other's successes, effective solidarity on all matters of principle—this is what has invariably distinguished our relations, relations which are internationalist in the fullest and the best sense of the word.

In these days marking the 25th anniversary of your Republic I want to emphasise that the Central Committee of the

CPSU, the Politbureau of the Central Committee and the Government of the Soviet Union are determined to continue doing everything to develop and strengthen the friendship of our Parties, countries and peoples. In all your work and undertakings we are with you, dear comrades!

In accepting this Order I also think of the man in whose honour it was instituted and whose name is associated with the very birth of the communist movement.

For close to a century and a half the teaching of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, brilliantly developed and continued by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, has been winning over the minds of people. As a scientific world outlook Marxism-Leninism is a truly inexhaustible source of vitality and strength. It is revolutionary practice itself.

Free of stagnation, conservatism and sluggishness, this teaching assimilates the best that has been achieved in contemporary science, political thought and revolutionary action. As an evergreen tree of life, it is being constantly developed and enriched with new ideas and conclusions.

That is why it is in Marxism-Leninism that we find the answers to the most burning questions of our time. That is why this teaching serves as a basis for rallying together millions upon millions of people who see the meaning of their life in struggle for the happiness of working people. That is why the best hopes of mankind are linked with this doctrine, with the struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideals.

It is a great responsibility and a great happiness to be taking part in this struggle, in the history-making efforts of the Communists in all countries to put the behests of Marx, Engels and Lenin into practice. And the Order bearing the name of the founder of scientific communism will be a great and inspiring stimulus for me.

Once more I wholeheartedly thank you, dear friends!

**SPEECH AT A MEETING IN BERLIN
TO CELEBRATE THE TWENTY-FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION
OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

October 6, 1974

Dear Comrade Honecker,

Esteemed members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,

Esteemed deputies to the People's Chamber, members of the National Council of the National Front of the German Democratic Republic,

Dear comrades and friends,

We have gathered today to mark a date that has profound historical meaning.

The birth of the first workers' and peasants' state in the homeland of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels has become an important milestone in the development of world socialism along the path blazed for mankind by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

This is so because it signified a radical turn in the destinies of the working people in your country, and their victory in the revolutionary struggle against militarism and fascism, and for the triumph of socialist ideals.

This is so because it signified a tangible increase in the common potential of the community of socialist countries.

This is so because it was of tremendous, fundamental significance in the history of Europe, in the development of international relations on the continent.

This is so because your experience of socialist construction in an industrialised country has contributed greatly to

Marxist-Leninist thought and is of great help to our class brothers in the capitalist countries.

Life has fully confirmed what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said many times of how important the victory of the socialist system on German soil would be for the common cause of the Communists.

And it is understandable that the working people of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries are celebrating the anniversary of your Republic with you. It is our common jubilee, a jubilee of all those who were locked in a life-and-death struggle against fascism, who defended peace, struggled and continue to struggle for the ideals of democracy and socialism.

I had the honour to head Party and Government delegations from the USSR that attended the celebration of the 15th and 20th anniversaries of the German Democratic Republic. Each of these jubilees marked a new stage in your progress. And now you are marking your 25th anniversary with truly outstanding achievements which Comrade Erich Honecker has so eloquently spoken about. Any country and any people could well be proud of them. The measuring rod of history is required to assess what you have accomplished.

For centuries Germany's ruling classes cultivated an ideology of violence and racial supremacy. Their aggressive policy burdened the lives not only of the peoples in neighbouring countries but of the Germans themselves. From here, from the centre of the European continent there began devastating wars that swept peaceful cities and villages in countries to the east and west of Germany. And with each bloody clash, with the new sacrifices on both sides strife and enmity mounted. There was what could be described as a historical build-up of hate. Fascism, which resulted in terrible calamities for the peoples of Europe, including the German people, was the heinous culmination of the evil begotten by German imperialism. Fascist aggression in World War II further deepened the chasm between Germany and other countries.

We Communists can indeed feel supreme satisfaction that it was socialism and socialism alone that cut this "Gordian

knot". It was socialism, as personified by the first socialist power in the world, that played the decisive role in routing the evil forces of fascism on the battlefield. It was socialism and socialism alone that, in determining the destiny of the GDR according to the will of her people, saved your country from the deadly whirlpool of reaction, aggression and war, and made it one of the important factors in strengthening European peace.

By routing fascism, the Soviet Army liberated along with other European peoples the German people as well. The Party of Lenin, the Land of Soviets extended the hand of peace and friendship to the German working people. And the Party of Thaelmann began to tackle the difficult and noble task of transforming the life of their people along new, just and humane lines.

Part of the soul and heart of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann and many other courageous internationalist fighters has gone into the SUPG's victories of today on the political, social and cultural fronts.

Today we cannot help remembering also those who were called "activists of the first hour". These people, who came from the trenches of war with the soldiers of the Soviet Army, from the anti-fascist underground, and from behind the barbed wire of the fascist concentration camps, had had the invaluable experience of working in the Communist Party of Germany and in the international communist movement. Everything that was good and honest in East Germany at the time rallied round them.

Many of those who witnessed the emergence of the GDR are no longer with us. But the illustrious names of Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, Otto Grotewohl and many, many other Communists and non-Communists who have written glorious pages in the history of socialist construction on German soil will be forever engraved upon the memory of posterity.

The Republic owes its achievements to the Communists, above all to the Communists, the vanguard of the working class. It was the SUPG's unswerving loyalty to the principles and ideals of Marxism-Leninism that provided the strength

to overcome the tremendous difficulties of transforming a country maimed by imperialism and nazism, and to build socialism.

The working class and all working people of the GDR are convinced, from their own experience, that the leading role played by the Marxist-Leninist Party is the main, the determining factor in successfully carrying out social reforms. The experience of your country and other socialist countries is positive proof of this.

The persistence with which imperialist circles tried to destroy your Republic, to prevent it from taking firm hold on European soil and from being internationally recognised as a sovereign state, is universally known.

But these attempts were foiled by the joint efforts of the fraternal socialist states. The demand for international legal recognition of the GDR was stipulated as one of the most important goals in all foreign policy programme documents of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, and in the resolutions of the European and the international meetings of Communist Parties. The struggle to attain this recognition was one of the key clauses in the Peace Programme of the 24th CPSU Congress. And what was bound to happen, did happen. The German Democratic Republic—the first state of German working people in history—has been officially recognised today by practically the whole world and has taken its legitimate place in the United Nations Organisation.

Today the German Democratic Republic is a strong and prospering socialist state, an active and authoritative participant in international life. All the fraternal socialist nations are proud of what their German comrades have achieved. What better reward could there be for those who saw far ahead through the darkness of tragic events and through the blackness of grim years, those who gave their all to building a just socialist future for the people of the GDR! Is it not a remarkable argument in favour of socialism as a great factor for peace and for ennobling international and human relations!

What invariably comes to mind in this regard is this. For many years the ruling circles in the bourgeois countries did

not want to recognise the Soviet state, but they had to. They did not want to recognise the German Democratic Republic, but they had to. They refused to recognise the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, but the Vietnamese people have won worldwide recognition by their heroic struggle. Certain people are still clinging to the policy of economic and political blockade and non-recognition of socialist Cuba but we say with confidence that they will have to recognise her!

Is it not high time, at long last, to learn one simple lesson from history: the movement towards socialism is an objective process. It expresses the will of the peoples, the intrinsic needs of social development. It is invincible. And one has, like it or not, to take this into account.

Socialism has sent up splendid shoots on German soil. This is shown by the pace of development of your country which has, in 25 years, increased its industrial output eightfold and become firmly established as one of the ten most economically developed countries in the world.

Even so, this is not the main thing. Germany was an industrialised state in the past, too. But only in socialist Germany did it become possible to effect profound changes in the living conditions of the working people, who became genuine masters of their country. Exploitation has been abolished, private ownership of the means of production has been eradicated. And this made it possible, for the first time, to ensure the main thing—the genuine right to dignified and socially useful labour, to do away with unemployment completely and for all time, to free the working people from this terrible threat, and to secure equal pay for equal work.

It is only in the socialist GDR that all citizens are assured free medical services, that even the most costly and complex treatment does not cost the patient a single pfenning. It is only in the socialist GDR that a workingman need not worry about where he is to get the money to provide an education for his children—education in schools, specialised secondary schools, institutes and universities is free and the vast majority of students receive state grants. Never before have so many children of workers and farmers studied at German universities and higher schools of all types, as in the GDR

today. All that, comrades, and many other things constitute the real advantages of socialism, the real gains of the German socialist state. But socialism's greatest gain, undoubtedly, is the new type of man, a man who is proud of his socialist Motherland, is devoted to communist ideals, and does not separate concern for the welfare of his own state from what is in the interests of the entire community of fraternal countries.

Dear German comrades, you have travelled a glorious road and you have every reason to be proud of it. On this historic day, I wish to convey the most heartfelt, the most sincere congratulations from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, the warmest fraternal greetings and best wishes to the people of the German Democratic Republic from the 250-million-strong Soviet people!

Dear friends,

Socialist society's most distinguishing feature is its forward-looking spirit. We know that all your plans and activities are now geared to fulfilling the tasks of building developed socialism, that were mapped out at the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

You have everything you need to realise your plans: a sound production base, well-developed science and technology, a smooth-running system of economic management and control, a large contingent of fine specialists, and highly skilled working people with a good sense of organisation. And, of course, there is the political atmosphere in the country and the unity of all organisations in the National Front, of the working class and all the people around their recognised vanguard—the 2,000,000-strong Party of Communists; the authoritativeness of the Party's leadership, its Central Committee and the Politbureau of the Central Committee, led by Erich Honecker, a faithful son of his people, a tried and true anti-fascist and a prominent figure in the international communist movement.

Our people and our Party, with more than half a century of experience in the struggle for socialism and communism,

are well aware of the scope and complexity of the tasks set by your Party and your people's state. And we sincerely and fraternally wish you the greatest possible successes, dear friends!

This year and next are a time of remarkable anniversaries commemorating the establishment of people's power in a number of fraternal countries. It is a pleasure to realise that they approach their anniversaries with outstanding results in different fields of social, economic and cultural development. These results are particularly notable when viewed against the background of the unprecedentedly intensified economic, social and political instability in the capitalist world.

We are convinced that the advantages of the new system will reveal themselves ever more fully the greater the scope of the all-round co-operation between the socialist states and the stronger their cohesion.

And that is the way relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are developing. The militant comradely co-operation between our two Parties—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—keeps developing and becoming all the stronger. The peoples of our two countries are united by the close bonds of highly diversified relations and contacts in all fields involving literally millions of people. The GDR has long since become one of the USSR's biggest economic partners. And our people know from experience that they have a solid, reliable partner that conscientiously carries out its commitments. We also know that the GDR highly appreciates our assistance in supplying it with raw materials, machinery and other goods.

The multilateral co-operation of the fraternal countries within the framework of socialist economic integration is acquiring ever-growing significance. Projects connected with production co-operation, joint planning and collective research are already under way. And in the process such major problems as improving quality and technical standards in engineering, developing the raw material and fuel base and eliminating shortages of certain types of goods on the world socialist market come to the forefront.

I have no doubt that the German Democratic Republic, together with the other fraternal countries, will make a worthy contribution to solving these problems and ensuring that the socialist community is in the forefront of scientific and technological progress.

We in the Soviet Union are well aware of how important Soviet economic development is in this respect. The workers, collective farmers and the intellectuals of our country are working with great enthusiasm, raising labour productivity and improving the quality of their output, to implement the resolutions of the 24th Party Congress on accelerating the pace of development of socialist production, on increasing its efficiency and, on that basis, to bring about a new upswing in the people's well-being. We shall be summing up the results of the ninth five-year plan in just over a year and even now we can say with complete confidence that they will show that the Land of Soviets has become even mightier and taken another big stride along the road of communist construction!

Esteemed comrades,

We are living at a time when the prerequisites exist for a cardinal reconstruction of international relations, above all here, in Europe. The way is being paved for establishing good-neighbourly relations and mutually beneficial co-operation based on peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, which the Land of Soviets has advocated right from the first. And if today this task is being carried out in practice, we must declare outright: this has become possible, above all, thanks to the strengthening of world socialism and the immeasurably greater role played by the socialist states in the world.

For understandable reasons the socialist countries' relations with the Federal Republic of Germany occupy a special place in the complex of problems on which the stability of European peace depends. We all pay great attention to this. I feel there are grounds to speak highly of the progress attained in this respect in recent years.

It should be stressed that the policy of the German Democratic Republic, which is working for the normalisation and

development of relations between the two German states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, is an important integral part of the general course pursued by socialist countries and an important element in international detente, especially in Europe.

The transition which has lately taken place in relations between socialist countries and the FRG from enmity and confrontation to peaceful, mutually advantageous co-operation, has the support of the people of Europe, including, as we understand it, the majority of the population in the FRG itself. We regard this as an assurance of further successes for the policy of peace and detente.

We realise, of course, that there are still influential circles in the FRG who do not like the changes that are taking place. They regard the treaties with socialist states as a tribute which the time forces them to make, and would like to reduce their practical significance to a minimum. I shall be frank: attempts made to obtain special advantages by acting counter to the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin also play into the hands of these forces.

We are of the opinion that what has been achieved as a result of great efforts, through the goodwill and the responsible approach shown by states belonging to different social systems is too important and valuable to be turned, even in the slightest degree, into a political game.

The course of active development of relations between the countries of the socialist community and the FRG is already justifying itself in practical terms. It is producing tangible results for both sides: in political contacts, which facilitate better mutual understanding, in economic, scientific and technological co-operation, in relations among public organisations and in cultural exchanges. It can be said with complete confidence that the legal principles for the development of stable relations provided by the treaties with the FRG are being steadily carried out. We are prepared to follow this road further. In our opinion, the other side should also be interested in doing so.

As you know, we are expecting Mr. Schmidt, the FRG Chancellor, to pay an official visit to Moscow in the near

future. It will be his first visit to the USSR as head of government. Taking into account the well-known declarations of the FRG Government leaders on continuity in the Federal Republic's foreign policy, we hope that the forthcoming talks will make it possible to take further concrete steps in the development of mutually beneficial relations and co-operation. This will accord both with the interests of our two countries and with the cause of European peace.

Comrades, the socialist countries have done much in the struggle for the convocation and success of the all-European conference. We were never under the illusion that it would be easy to hold such a meeting, the first of its kind in history. And, indeed, there were, and still are, difficulties at the conference. Some stem from a natural divergence in views between the participants on individual questions, and others from the desire of some to obtain unilateral advantages for themselves. However, it is already clear that the interests of ensuring peace in Europe make it imperative for the all-European conference to complete its work in the near future. The USSR, the GDR and other socialist countries are making every effort to ensure the success of the conference so as to establish a firm foundation for security and peaceful co-operation in Europe.

We proceed from the assumption that the conference decisions will facilitate the development of both bilateral and multilateral inter-state co-operation on the European continent in the political, economic, scientific and cultural fields and other spheres of human endeavour. Our common task is to help to gradually bring about a new epoch in the life of old Europe—an epoch of good relations and mutual trust.

The policy worked out and pursued jointly by the countries of our community shows quite clearly that socialist states are prepared to play an active part in achieving this goal. They extend the hand of peace and friendship to the other countries on the continent and hope for constructive co-operation.

And this not only applies to Europe, it also holds true on a world scale. Inspired by the principles of the Leninist internationalist policy which is geared to ensuring social progress

in conditions of peace and security of nations, the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and all the states of the socialist community are conducting a tireless struggle to reduce the danger of war, lessen the extent of military confrontation, limit the arms race, reduce the burden of expenditures on this race, and to achieve disarmament. This policy of ours is acknowledged and supported by all upright people.

Some leaders in the capitalist states are also gradually beginning to realise that an unbridled arms race cannot solve the contradictions between states, much less between the two world social systems, and that it cannot give nations security.

All this has made it possible in the last few years to conclude important agreements on certain limitations of the arms race, which are working out fairly well. But these agreements are only the beginning—we need to proceed further. We attach great importance to the talks in this regard and, above all, the talks on further steps to be taken to limit strategic arms by the USSR and the USA and on the reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

You are aware, comrades, that the Soviet Union has lately put forward a number of new practical proposals on the limitation of the arms race and on disarmament.

We have, in particular, tabled for discussion by the UN General Assembly the proposal on the prohibition of action influencing the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security and human welfare and health. This proposal has met with the approval of many states.

In the course of our contacts with the US Government, we are continuing to work out concrete forms for joint initiative in reaching an international agreement on the banning and destruction of the most dangerous, most lethal chemical weapons.

The USSR, as I said only recently, is prepared to come to an agreement, at any time, on the withdrawal of Soviet and American nuclear-armed ships and submarines from the Mediterranean. We also favour an agreement on putting a complete end to underground nuclear tests.

These are only some of the steps which, we believe, could be implemented in the immediate future. We shall work persistently for the implementation of these proposals, counting on the understanding and support of all peace forces.

But, of course, this is far from being all that can and must be done to lessen the danger of war and halt the arms race. To stop this race and then proceed to reduce armaments—such are the main landmarks which must be reached on the way to attaining our common ultimate goal—universal and complete disarmament.

There is no doubt that considerable success has been achieved in the struggle for detente but we must not rest content with that. The international situation poses new problems, while many old ones are far from being resolved. The Middle East crisis has not been settled yet, even though the conditions for such a settlement have long been present. Nor has a truly durable peace been secured yet for the peoples of Indochina, who must, at long last, have the opportunity to begin to arrange their lives without outside interference. Naturally, this also fully applies to the people of Cyprus. And there are quite a few trouble spots in other areas.

Joint action by the socialist countries can, as before, play a useful and, I would say, indispensable part in solving acute international problems in the interests of peace and the security of nations. The co-ordination of our political efforts in the international arena for strengthening peace and the fraternal co-operation of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries in the name of peace are all factors of the utmost importance. Here, as in fulfilling the tasks of internal development, the consolidation and unity of states of the socialist community is the real guarantee of our further success.

Comrades, dear friends,

Lately we have witnessed major political events of all-European, and, what is more, of worldwide significance. I have in mind the downfall of fascism in Portugal and the ignominious collapse of the "black colonels'" dictatorship in

Greece. For the first time in decades there is a real prospect that Europe will be able to rid itself completely of fascist regimes. However, the events of the last few days in Lisbon remind us that the reactionaries do not lay down their arms even when fascism is overthrown. Therefore, the forces of democracy must be vigilant.

Permit me to express our solidarity with the people of Portugal from this rostrum and to wish them every success in the struggle for a free and democratic Portugal! We are also solidary with the patriotic forces of Greece, who are striving to develop and consolidate the democratic process that has begun in their country.

The downfall of Portuguese fascism was also the collapse of Portuguese colonialism.

Ninety years ago, the diplomats of bourgeois states were dividing up and redividing Africa right here in Berlin, then the capital of the Kaiser Reich. That was one of the last acts of building up the world system of colonialism which its creators regarded as just about everlasting. And today the last colonial empire is disintegrating under the joint blows of the national liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola and the Portuguese people's anti-fascist movement.

The collapse of Portuguese colonialism is a major landmark in the struggle for the complete and final liquidation of colonial slavery in Africa. We are convinced that the day is not far off when all of Africa—from the Cape of Good Hope to Western Sahara—will be free!

The socialist countries have always rendered every assistance and full support to the fighters for the liberation of colonies. We have regarded and continue to regard this as our internationalist duty. And together with the nations that have thrown off the colonialist yoke, we greet the victories of the anti-colonial revolution, which is one of the powerful accelerators of modern history.

While thinking about the morrow in international relations and working for a lasting and stable peace, we clearly see that it will not come about easily. The cause of peace and detente has not only champions but active opponents too.

The present leaders of the People's Republic of China are, unfortunately, among the latter.

The 25th anniversary of the People's Republic of China took place recently. The victory of the people's revolution was a great event in the life of China, in the development of the entire world revolutionary movement. We pay due tribute to those Chinese Communists who, expressing the aspirations of their people, led the struggle for national liberation, for the establishment of a new social order in their country.

But it is something else too that must be spoken of today. It is indeed embittering that China, at the will of the Maoist leaders, is pursuing a policy of breaking with the socialist countries and of fighting against them, a policy of lining up with the most aggressive forces of world reaction and of encouraging them.

We are convinced that this abnormal situation cannot go on forever. This dark page in the history of the people of China, in the history of their relations with the socialist countries, will inevitably be turned by the Chinese people themselves. As for us, we shall exert every effort, as before, to normalise relations with the People's Republic of China, to restore fraternal friendship and co-operation with the Communists, with the working people of China. We believe that this is imperative in the vital interests of both the USSR and China, in the interests of world socialism, the people's liberation struggle and a lasting peace on earth.

Dear comrades,

Realising full well the importance of the unity of our countries the enemies of socialism concentrate their main attacks on undermining this unity. We know that the imperialists bring particularly heavy pressure to bear on the GDR, situated, as it is, on the border between the two systems. Day in and day out the inhabitants of the Republic are deluged with hostile propaganda. The aim is to sow doubt about the policy of the SUPG and the road chosen by the people of the GDR, and to try, if not to wrest them away, then at least to estrange the socialist republic of German working people from the great community of socialist states.

That, of course, shall never happen! The working people in the GDR know full well what lies behind the class enemy's insidious propaganda. They are proud of their achievements and hold them dear. They know well who are their true and loyal friends.

The very history of the emergence and development of the GDR shows with utmost clarity the importance of international solidarity of the socialist states in our time.

Soviet Communists can say with a clear conscience that even in the most complex situations, when the threat of a direct confrontation with the imperialist forces arose, we did not waver in the least in defending the interests of the fraternal GDR.

We Soviet people highly appreciate that friendship with the Land of Soviets has become an inalienable part of the internationalist policy of the SUPG and the German Democratic Republic and is cherished by millions of citizens in your country. Rest assured, dear comrades, that the Soviet people have the same good feelings for you. True to the internationalist behests of Marx, Engels and Lenin, our Party fosters in Soviet people the spirit of friendship and fraternity with the working people of the GDR. We would want you to know and remember that we are with you, on your side at every moment, at all times, we are on the side of socialism, of labour, peace and international fraternity of working people!

May the German Democratic Republic live and prosper!

May the inviolable friendship between the Soviet Union and the GDR gain in strength!

Long live the great community of socialist countries—a reliable bulwark of peace and progress!

Long live communism!

FIFTY YEARS OF SOVIET MOLDAVIA

*Speech at a Meeting
of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Moldavia
and the Supreme Soviet
of the Moldavian SSR*

October 11, 1974

Dear Comrade Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia,

Dear Comrade Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR,

Esteemed guests, comrades and friends,

Citizens of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,

It gives me great joy to be among you today and to take part in this wonderful jubilee. Permit me, on behalf of 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, to convey heartfelt greetings to you, to all working people of Soviet Moldavia!

About two years have passed since the memorable day when we celebrated the half-century jubilee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The 50th anniversaries of the Soviet Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia became our common holidays. Soon the Soviet people will celebrate the half-century jubilees of our Central Asian Republics—Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia, and we cordially congratulate the fraternal peoples in these Republics and their Communist Parties on this momentous event.

Today the whole of our great country is celebrating with you the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Moldavia.

The Moldavian people's lot was not an easy one. All through the centuries of their history they had to wage a hard and persistent struggle to survive, assert their right to freedom and independence, and a dignified life. In this struggle the Moldavians have always had the support of Russian progressives. Works by Pushkin and Tolstoy, Gorky and Korolenko are connected with the life and the destiny of this land and its unique culture.

The revolutionary movement in Moldavia matured under the marked influence of the Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Social-Democratic circles and groups were organised in Moldavia at the turn of the century. Lenin's *Iskra* was once printed underground, not far from this hall in Kishinev.

The glorious sons of the Moldavian people—Mikhail Frunze, a general of the Revolution, Grigory Kotovsky, the legendary army commander, and Sergei Lazo, that indomitable fighter for the freedom of the Soviet Motherland—are the pride of all Soviet people.

The Great October Revolution brought a radical change in the destiny of the Moldavian people too. Led by their Bolshevik organisation, they established Soviet power throughout Bessarabia by the beginning of 1918. However, the forces of international imperialism which attacked the young state of workers and peasants managed, through the ruling classes of monarchic Rumania, to wrest the land between the Prut and the Dniester away from the Soviet Motherland and to keep it for 22 years, forcibly dividing the Moldavian land and the Moldavian people. Those were hard times for the people of Bessarabia, as can be seen from the words of Henri Barbusse, well-known French communist author:

"This once prospering land," he wrote, "has been reduced to a miserable state. Eighty per cent of the fields lie abandoned. An end has been put to national education because, as an official newspaper put it, national schools are 'sources of

Bolshevism'. . . . There is one secret agent from the political police department for every three people."

The struggle of the working people for the restoration of Soviet power, led by the underground Communist organisation of Bessarabia, never abated for a single day. The restoration in 1940 of Soviet power in Bessarabia and its reunification with the Moldavian ASSR was an act of historical justice. The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed and, in accordance with the will of all the people of Moldavia, joined the USSR as a Union Republic. And when the grim time of war came, the Moldavians fought courageously, shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples of our great Motherland, against the fascist invaders, and fought fearlessly in partisan units and patriotic underground organisations.

After three years of occupation which caused the people untold suffering, the fascists were driven from the Republic. The brilliant encirclement and rout of the Jassy-Kishinev group of enemy forces has gone down forever in the annals of glorious Soviet Army victories.

The victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War enabled the Moldavian people, who had joined the close-knit family of Soviet nations for all time, to begin to build a new, socialist life in conditions of lasting peace. Abroad, too, in the neighbouring Balkan Peninsula, events took a new turn: the peoples of Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia put an end to the exploiter system and set out to establish socialism.

Comrades, many of those who themselves took part in the struggle for Soviet power in Moldavia, her defenders and liberators from the fascist invaders and veterans of socialist construction in the Republic, are present at our ceremonial meeting. Allow me to greet them cordially and wish them good health, long life and fruitful work!

All those who contributed to the development of the new Moldavia, who built factories and cities here, cultivated orchards, taught children or did any other useful job honestly and efficiently, all of them can say today with true satisfaction: "We have not worked in vain", and they may well feel proud of their prosperous socialist Republic. Comrade

I. I. Bodyul will speak about Moldavia's achievements, plans and tasks in his report today. I would merely like to touch on a few of the major issues.

Moldavia, which had practically nothing in the way of industry before the Revolution, now has modern mechanical-engineering, chemical and power-engineering enterprises; a powerful base for the construction industry has been created, and the light and food industries have been developed on a big scale.

But the main thing is that the working class—now half of the gainfully employed population of the Republic—has developed along with industry. The farmers and vine-growers of yesterday are today making tractors, precision instruments and electronic equipment.

The foremost representatives of the Moldavian working class are not only highly skilled, but also have a well-developed sense of civic duty, and a proprietary concern for the development of our national economy.

Such people as Stepan Bogoslovich Myndryanu, a tool-maker at the Kishinev tractor factory who, having fulfilled his personal five-year plan assignments in three and a half years, is now working on the assignments for 1976; Dmitry Vladimirovich Kretsula, a building team leader, Valentina Alexandrovna Firsova, a weaver at the Bendery Silk Mills, and Valentin Dmitriyevich Iovitsa, a turner, are well known in the Republic and all over the country. Today we express our gratitude to them and to all front-rank workers of Moldavia for their dedicated labour and we wish them success in the future.

We all rejoice also at the great transformations in the Republic's agriculture. Moldavia, with her fertile land and excellent climate, has only been able to realise her potential under Soviet power, thanks to socialist forms of economic management—the collective and state farms—to the supply of powerful agricultural machinery, and to the people who, having become the masters of the land, are working at high pressure, with enthusiasm, in a new way.

The Moldavian SSR figures prominently today in Soviet agriculture. Although rather small both in size and popu-

lation, Moldavia produces nearly a third of all the grapes grown in the Soviet Union, more than a third of the tobacco-leaf and large quantities of vegetables, fruit, sugar-beet, sunflower seed, grain and animal products.

The Moldavian peasant has always understood the land and loved it—has always been known for his industriousness. The people working on the land in Moldavia today still possess all these qualities. And, along with that, there are new factors today—they work for their own benefit, they have developed new skills and a high level of culture, they are able to use agricultural science and technology, and they have the know-how to get as much as possible from the land. That is the secret of the bumper harvests for which your Republic is famous.

The labours of the foremost Moldavian agricultural workers have been acknowledged by countrywide recognition and high awards. They include Semyon Mefodiyevich Lungu, Grigory Semyonovich Tukhar and Nina Andreyevna Moskalu, machine operators in combined teams who grow 5-6 tons of grain crops per hectare; Yevgenia Mefodiyevna Kuryshina, Pantelei Andreyevich Guryuk and Maria Alexeyevna Gimpu, vine-growers who produce 15 and more tons of grapes per hectare; Vladimir Grigoryevich Abakumov, who grows 30-40 tons of fruit per hectare; Afanasy Ivanovich Nikoara, who gets 50 and more tons of vegetables from each hectare; Valentina Grigoryevna Petrashku, Grigory Petrovich Palamar and Fyodor Yemelyanovich Popa, who are experts in mechanical milking. They are just a few of the many.

Dear friends, unfortunately, I cannot mention here all those whose skill and industry have earned them respect in Moldavia and, indeed, throughout the country.

Speaking today of the achievements in the Moldavian countryside, my mind goes back to the early 1950s, when collective and state farms on the western bank of the Dniester in the Republic were just starting out. It seems that just a short while ago we were discussing, in the conference hall of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia in Kievskaya Street not far from here, questions connected with the organisational, political and economic strengthening

of the young collective and state farms and choosing Party members to go to the countryside to rebuild life in the Moldavian villages along socialist lines. It was a tense and difficult period, but we should speak of it with kind words because it was then that the basis for the successes of today was laid.

Developing new industry, transforming agriculture—everything that has been done and is being done now to develop the economy is for one main purpose in our country—the greater well-being of our people. I shall only give one, but an extremely vivid, illustration of the changes that have taken place in the lives of the Moldavian people. I am referring to the new image of towns and villages in Moldavia.

Yesterday and today I rode along Kishinev streets. I must say, comrades, to me it looked quite different from the city where I used to work. I remembered what it was like in the 1950s, when the debris was not yet cleared, and the first few multi-storey buildings were going up; the first trees had just been planted for the park on the Buyukan hillside. In the hollow people were digging with spades what is now Lake Komsomolskoye. The park has grown, the lake is a feast for the eye and there are beautiful modern buildings everywhere around. Housing has multiplied 22-fold in the city since the war. Today Kishinev's population borders on the half-million.

That is how things are now and not only in the capital and the other towns. The Moldavian villages, where well-appointed collective- and state-farm communities with schools, hospitals, clubs and sports grounds have come into being, are also barely recognisable today.

And, perhaps, what is most important is that these reinvigorated towns and villages are coursing with new, vibrant life—a life enriched by the wealth of socialist culture.

This land, where only one person in ten could sign his name, now has a 300,000-strong force of scientists, engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors and people in literature and the arts. One can well say that never before in the history of the Moldavian people has there been such an all-round and intensive upswing in national culture as today when it

is developing on the basis of socialism, closely tied in with the cultural development of all the fraternal peoples of our country.

The contribution made by Yemilian Bukov, Ivan Cheban and Petrya Dariyenko, Tamara Cheban and Maria Biyeshu, Leonid Grigorashenko and Vasily Zagorsky, Academician Y. Grosul and A. Zhuchenko, D. Sc. (Biology), along with that of many other Moldavian writers, actors, artists, composers and scientists, has become a component part of the common cultural treasury of the Soviet people.

The progress made by Soviet Moldavia, regardless of whether we speak of the development of her socialist statehood or her economic or cultural development, is inseparably linked with the efforts of the Communists. They fought for the bright future of their people, for the triumph of socialism on Moldavian soil without sparing themselves or their lives.

On this festive occasion I should like to praise the contribution made by the big detachment of Communists whom the Central Committee of our Party sent to the Moldavian Republic in the early postwar years. Their tireless efforts to build a socialist Moldavia will not be forgotten.

The Communist Party of Moldavia, one of the tried and tested detachments of our Leninist Party, is now working successfully to carry out the 24th CPSU Congress decisions, doing much to develop the economy and further the communist education of the working people.

In offering the Communists of the Republic my cordial congratulations on the jubilee, I wish them every success in all their undertakings and initiatives!

Dear comrades, we have no doubt that the working people of Moldavia will succeed, under the guidance of their Party organisation, in making their Republic even richer and more beautiful and will make a worthy contribution to the common cause of our people—the building of communism.

We are certain that this cause will succeed, for it is our common cause. The main source of our strength lies in the fraternal co-operation, mutual assistance and the unity of the Soviet peoples.

Moldavia is an eloquent example of this. From the stand-

point of history only a little over a quarter of a century has gone into building socialism in your Republic. Even so, Moldavia has managed to catch up with the other Soviet republics and to keep abreast. To a large measure this was possible because the Moldavian people were able to rely on support from all the fraternal peoples of our country, on the Soviet Union's industrial, scientific and technological potential, and to make the most of the experience gained in building socialism in our country.

The Soviet republics built socialism in close fraternal unity and by joint effort. And that is how we shall proceed towards communism.

Dear comrades and friends,

The main thing that determines the nature and rhythm of our life today, the guiding factor in the efforts of workers, collective farmers, and the intellectuals, and in Party organisational work is the endeavour to implement the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and its social, economic and foreign policy programme.

It can be stated with great satisfaction that our country's economy is developing consistently along the lines mapped out by our Party Congress.

The Soviet people's selfless labour is bearing results. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, our people have made great headway in economic development in these four years.

According to preliminary data, the country's national income will have grown by more than a quarter in the four years, and the gross industrial output by more than a third. Agricultural output has risen considerably despite the intermittent bad weather we have had in the last few years, especially in 1972. Large capital investments were allocated for the country's economic development during these years. The well-being of the Soviet people is steadily growing along with the overall economic growth. According to calculations made by the Central Statistical Board, the average monthly wages of industrial and office workers for 1974 will be 15 per cent over the 1970 figures, and the collective farmers will receive an additional 22 per cent in remuneration. Soviet

people—and, I think, we need not be overmodest and may speak about it frankly—are now eating better, have much better housing and receive far more in the way of consumer goods and services.

At the same time it should be clear to everybody that we must all work even more actively and persistently to attain the goals mapped out by the 24th Party Congress. This applies to the last months of this year and, of course, to the last year of the five-year plan period.

The working people are showing considerably more initiative and have stepped up their production effort as a result of the major organisational work done in these years by our Party—from the Politbureau down to district committees and primary organisations, as well as by government, trade union and Komsomol organisations. A widespread campaign to fulfil and overfulfil the five-year plan assignments has swept the country. I want to sincerely thank all the front-rank workers—the shock workers of the ninth five-year plan—and to express confidence that the competition among the working people and collectives will surge ahead with added vigour next year, in 1975!

And 1975 will not only be the concluding year of the current five-year plan. It will also be the threshold of our Party's 25th Congress, which will determine the prospects for the country's further development. So it is natural that we should be thinking not only of what we have achieved today, but of what is to be done in the future, and how to proceed to continue our progress.

Each of our five-year plans is an important landmark in the history of our Motherland. Each one is remarkable in its own way, revealing the unique features of its time, leaving a never to be forgotten imprint on people's minds. Yet they are inseparable from one another. They are the wonderful chapters in a single great book which tells about the heroic labour of our people in the name of socialism and communism.

What will the new chapter in this book be like? What must the tenth five-year plan be like? Proceeding from the general trends in our economic policy, it might perhaps be said that

it should, above all, be a five-year plan of quality, a five-year plan of effectiveness in further promoting the people's well-being.

And in general, comrades, the main feature in the present stage of our development is that along with quantitative factors the *qualitative* factors of the country's economic growth are more and more coming to the fore.

The Soviet people have created enormous wealth in the course of the nine five-year plans. We now have modern industrial enterprises equipped with the latest machinery, the largest power stations, well-developed transport and well-established collective and state farms. We now have splendid cadres of skilled workers, specialists and scientists. The natural resources of our country allow us to look to the future with confidence.

To put it in a nutshell, ours is a country of incalculable wealth and inexhaustible opportunities. It is important that this wealth and these opportunities be used correctly and thriftily. That is why in the new five-year period we must even more consistently and resolutely pursue a policy of boosting the effectiveness of the economy.

Take industry, for example. In our country it developed mainly by establishing new enterprises, enabling us to build up a mighty economic potential and to turn our country into a first-class industrial power. Naturally, we shall continue to build new enterprises in the future wherever they are needed. But the main thing now is to learn how to use all the enterprises we have to the full and in the most effective way—to learn how to succeed both by the force of numbers and of know-how. This is the main thing, comrades.

You know that a great deal of work is being done along these lines in the current five-year period. However, much still remains to be done. We still have some serious shortcomings in building, in heavy industry and in the production of consumer goods. Although the output-assets ratio is still low in a number of industries, the ministries and departments continue to demand money to build new enterprises. Capital investments are quite often dispersed among a multitude of different projects, which results in an increase in un-

finished building and a time lag in putting new facilities into operation. We are still wasting a great deal of metal and other valuable materials, much needed by the country, as a result of these shortcomings.

All these, comrades, are not only economic but also major political problems of nationwide importance. Our greatest potential lies in *stepped-up efficiency of production*.

The Party posed these questions very clearly at the 24th Congress. We discussed them in great detail and very sharply at the Central Committee Plenary Meetings in December 1972 and December 1973. We have to speak about them also today, so that everyone concerned can draw practical conclusions regarding their work from the Party directives on improving the methods of economic management and developing in personnel a greater sense of discipline and responsibility. The level of organisation and education at all stages of the economic, government and Party machinery must be raised still further.

Comrades, quality and effectiveness are just as important for our agriculture. Nowadays we work for increased output in this field, too, not so much by expanding tilled acreage as by raising the yields, improving fertility, and improving the overall standards of crop-growing and stock-raising.

Naturally, this approach calls for new ways of organising production and for marked improvements in agricultural management. The Central Committee of the Party and its Politbureau are now giving this constant, close attention.

In this context I should like to mention Moldavia's experience in specialisation and concentration in agriculture and to say outright: the Republic's Party organisation has gone in for this in a big and consistent way and is displaying laudable initiative.

Indeed, a quarter of the gross output of the Republic's collective-farm and co-operative sector now comes from specialised inter-farm complexes and combines. There are 169 state farm-factories and 23 territorial agricultural-industrial combines functioning and functioning well. Under these new conditions the importance of the collective-farm councils and

the management bodies of state agricultural combines is growing. They ably direct the production effort of collective farms, inter-farm combines and the state farm-factories.

Moldavia, like other republics, territories and regions, has found from experience that specialisation and concentration of production based on inter-farm co-operation and agricultural-industrial integration is a good way to introduce industrial methods in the countryside on a big scale and to make agricultural production much more effective.

The great and constantly growing role played by science is a qualitatively new feature in the life of our society. This holds true for production processes, management, planning and many other aspects of social activities. In our country the Party and the state pay constant heed to science. The country has a multitude of scientists and a huge network of research institutes. The key task in this field, too, is to ensure the utmost effectiveness of the work done. This means that trends and results must conform, to an ever greater degree, to the real needs of development of our economy and our entire social life, the needs of communist construction.

Comrades, our successes will be even greater if a persistent effort is made everywhere—in every republic and region, at every industrial enterprise, at every collective and state farm—to raise the effectiveness of social production (you must not be offended with me for repeating these words, because effectiveness of production is the main thing), to make sound use of every ruble put into investments and to take good care of machinery.

This means that every square metre of production space, every lathe and machine, every hectare of land, every combine harvester and tractor should be used to the full. This means that we must use raw materials, fuel, metal and electric power thriftily and effectively. This calls for a creative approach to labour. Every worker, collective farmer, engineer and technician must make full use of his time at work and be very exacting with regard to quality. This requires discipline, initiative, the widespread application of scientific and technical achievements, scientific organisation of labour and better economic management.

Such are the tasks which the Party is today setting for all the working people in the country—from worker and collective farmer right to Minister. By fulfilling these tasks our Motherland will become mightier yet, thus permitting a further marked improvement in the lives of Soviet people.

Dear comrades, the Soviet people are marching firmly and confidently along the road of communist construction. Political stability and economic dynamism are a feature of our society. Our socialist system, our Marxist-Leninist ideology, our Soviet way of life, in other words, everything that goes to make up our present-day reality, give the Soviet people profound faith in the future and an enthusiastic, optimistic outlook.

Holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, our Communist Party is confidently paving the road to the future. The Party relies on the people's inexhaustible initiative, on the boundless support of the working masses in all its affairs, large and small, present or future. The source of our strength and the guarantee of our victories lies in the unity of the Party and the people.

The exchange of Party cards, which is now being completed, was of great importance in further strengthening the Party, in making the members more militant. The new Party card quotes the words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the genius who founded and led our Party: "The Party is the intelligence, honour and conscience of our times." We want every member of the Party to remember these words always and to bear the lofty title of Leninist-Communist with honour and live up to it in deeds.

And now, comrades, a few words about international affairs. I have already had an opportunity to deal with many specific aspects of our foreign policy in recent speeches, as in the GDR the other day, so that there is, it seems to me, no need for me to repeat myself.

However, there is one problem in particular that should be touched upon. I speak of the situation in the Middle East.

Exactly a year ago the aggressive policy of the leaders of Israel and their stubborn refusal to withdraw from occupied

Arab lands led to a new military flare-up in that region, which could have developed into a threat to world peace.

The rebuff which Israel met with at the time, the growing unity of the Arab countries, the support for their just cause from the Soviet Union and other socialist states, from dozens of countries in Asia and Africa, and from large sections of the public the world over—all this, it would seem, should have taught the champions of aggressive policies in Tel Aviv a real lesson. The proposal we made together with the USA was approved by the UN Security Council and helped to bring about a cease-fire. An *immediate* political settlement of the conflict was on the order of the day, as the Security Council's resolutions clearly stated. The Geneva peace conference was to solve this problem.

However, what happened in fact was that its work was replaced by group talks on the disengagement of the troops of the belligerents on individual fronts. As an initial step this was useful but it could not in any way substitute for a basic settlement and it did not, as is obvious to everybody now, solve the main problem—a complete settlement.

At present, the Israeli invaders are still holding and gradually absorbing the territories they have seized. And the leaders of the Israeli Government, apparently enjoying the support of their traditional foreign backers, are trying in every way to avoid a resumption of talks on a peaceful settlement at the Geneva conference, and declare, as though to make it perfectly clear to the whole world, that Israel has not the slightest intention of going back to the 1967 borders.

The Arab states are quite rightly outraged by this situation. Naturally, as heretofore, the Soviet Union fully supports their just cause. Our large-scale and continually developing friendly co-operation with Syria, Egypt, Iraq and the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organisation is a factor of no small importance for overcoming the aftermath of aggression and achieving a just peace. We set great store by our contacts with the Arab leaders. Such contacts are especially necessary and useful in the present situation. This was

confirmed, in particular, by our recent talks with Comrade Asad, President of Syria.

It is necessary, at long last, to implement the decisions of the United Nations and to ensure the liberation of the lands seized by Israel, the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and their right to their native hearth. This should be done without further delay, if we want to see a lasting peace in the Middle East. Postponing the solution of these problems and dragging out the present situation, which only benefits the Israeli invaders, means sitting on a gunpowder keg that may explode any moment.

That is why the USSR is working resolutely for the speedy, effective resumption of work by the Geneva peace conference with the participation of all the interested parties, including the Palestinians. A just and durable peace must be established at long last in the Middle East. The security of all states in that region, including Israel, would profit from that, and we are convinced that such a peace will be established, because it is the will of the peoples, because it is imperative in the interests of world security!

If we speak of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union on the whole, then the main thing now is that we are confidently and consistently continuing the policy mapped out at the 24th CPSU Congress for securing reliable peaceful conditions of life and development for the Soviet people, for the peoples of the fraternal countries, our allies and friends, and for strengthening world peace.

We can say with satisfaction today that the persistent and, I would stress, none-too-easy struggle to improve the international situation, conducted by our Party and our state together with their socialist allies and with the support of all the progressive and peace forces, has produced tangible results. A number of acute problems which have been poisoning the international climate ever since World War II, have been solved. No less important is the fact that cardinal problems concerning international relations which ultimately determine the long-term prospects for peace have today become a subject of businesslike discussion. I have in mind the adoption of the just principles of peaceful and equal co-opera-

tion among states, regardless of their social system, size or population; the guarantee of security through the collective endeavours of states; the limitation followed by the termination of the arms race, and then disarmament.

Issues of just this kind are now included in the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations and of the important inter-state talks in the capitals of various countries. And it is no secret that they are discussed as the direct or indirect result of moves initiated by us and jointly by socialist countries in the world arena.

The importance of our consistent struggle for a just and lasting peace becomes especially clear when we consider several aspects of the present-day situation in the world, or to put it plainly—the situation in which the capitalist states find themselves in our time.

Profound crisis manifestations that in many ways are more acute and far-reaching than anything of the kind up to now have affected virtually all aspects of life in bourgeois society. Even many prominent leaders and governments in the capitalist world admit that a serious economic crisis has developed. The runaway inflation, monetary crises, acute energy crisis, slump in production and growing unemployment—such are the economic symptoms of the sickness infecting capitalism today. All this greatly harms the interests of the working people and generates a new mighty wave of class battles.

On the other hand, the crisis of bourgeois democracy and the progressing internal decay of the political machine of capitalist domination has perhaps never been so obvious in the past decades as it is now. Added to this there is an ideological and a moral crisis. Modern capitalist society with its predatory laws of money-grubbing and indifference to the fate of the individual tends to alienate the people more and more, especially the young, and shows that it cannot keep up with the demands for progress.

The economic and political contradictions between the different capitalist states and groups of states are mounting in intensity and the arms race is developing in these crisis conditions, conditions that are inevitable and stem from the very

nature of capitalism. All this creates new elements of tension in international relations and new real or potential threats to the peace and security of nations.

That is why it is especially important that today there is a force on earth—a force that is sufficiently powerful and authoritative—that always, during any deterioration of the situation, steadily comes out against the threat of war, and serves as an inspiration and support for all who cherish peace on earth. This force—the socialist states—is the main bulwark of universal peace and security of nations in our time.

All who want peace and peaceful co-operation, who exhibit goodwill and are realistic, can count upon a positive response from the Soviet Union. We shall continue to co-operate loyally and honestly with other states in these matters. But we shall, as before, firmly rebuff the organisers of international provocations and adventures, the advocates of the arms race and cold war, the enemies of peace and international security. That, comrades, is our constant policy, a policy unanimously supported by all Soviet people, by our friends and brothers abroad, and by peace-loving forces all over the world, and this policy shall remain unchanged.

Dear comrades, my dear friends,

On this great day of celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Moldavia, I am happy to inform you that the Order of the October Revolution is to be conferred on the Republic.

Allow me to read the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

(To the enthusiastic applause of those present Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev reads out the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet conferring the Order of the October Revolution on the Moldavian SSR and affixes the Order to the banner of the Republic.)

Allow me, comrades, to express confidence that this signal award by the Motherland will inspire the working people of

Moldavia to new feats of labour in building communism. Once again, I congratulate you heartily, and wish every family and every citizen of the Republic success and personal happiness.

Long live Soviet Moldavia!

Long live the Communist Party of Moldavia!

May our beloved Motherland—the mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—live on and prosper!

Glory to the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

**SPEECH AT THE DINNER IN THE KREMLIN
ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONVENING
IN MOSCOW OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE
US-USSR TRADE AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL**

October 15, 1974

Gentlemen,
Comrades,

It was a pleasure for me to accept the invitation to meet personally the participants in the second session of the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council. Allow me, first of all, to offer a cordial welcome to the American guests who have come to our capital on this occasion. Many of you I have already met before, here in Moscow and during my visit to the USA last year. It is always pleasant to see good old acquaintances and to make new ones.

I think it augurs well that such authoritative representatives of our governments and of the American business community and their Soviet counterparts are taking part in the work of the Council and in this session. I particularly want to greet and extend best wishes for success to the dynamic Co-Chairmen of the Council, Mr. Kendall and Comrade Alkhimov.

We appreciate that Mr. Simon, the US Secretary of the Treasury and Honorary Director of the Council, a man who does so much to promote trade and economic relations between our countries, is here with you. His participation in this session is, to us, a concrete manifestation of the intention of President Ford's Administration to contribute to the development of these relations, as was recently stated in the President's message to Congress.

The participation in the session of the Council of the USSR Minister of Foreign Trade, Comrade Patolichev, signifies that the Soviet side also attaches due importance to the work of this organisation for Soviet-American business co-operation. Allow me personally to reaffirm this to you, on behalf of the leadership of our Party and the Soviet state.

We feel that the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council is making a substantial constructive contribution to the development of a very important field of the relations between our states and peoples.

Without further advances in this area, which represents the material foundation, as it were, for the vast edifice of Soviet-American peaceful co-operation and good-neighbourliness, much of what has been accomplished through joint efforts in 1972, 1973 and 1974, stands the risk of being weakened.

We by no means underestimate the significance of what has been achieved. Much has been done in the past two or three years to normalise and develop trade and economic relations between the USSR and the USA. A number of government agreements have been signed on various aspects of these relations, and their consistent implementation will create a sound basis for further advance.

What is especially valuable is that we are increasingly going over from abstract inter-state documents to real practical action in the field of economic ties. The Soviet economic organisations have signed the first sizable mutually advantageous contracts with American firms, as well as some agreements on scientific and technological co-operation. Comrade Patolichev has told me that Soviet organisations are already trading or discussing new agreements and contracts with hundreds of American firms, making possible a considerable expansion in the overall volume of trade between our countries. Whereas three years ago trade turnover stood at about 200 million dollars, the indications are that this year it will amount to about 1,000 million dollars.

It is significant that along with the conventional, so-called traditional forms of trade, new and promising ways and methods of co-operation are being introduced in our trade

and economic relations. I am referring, in particular, to joint implementation of long-term, large-scale projects on a compensation basis. There are quite a few examples of such co-operation. These include the 20,000-million dollar deal on building a major chemical complex in the USSR and on mutual deliveries of fertilisers, initiated by Dr. Hammer who is present here and whom we all respect, as well as active co-operation in various projects connected with automobile and machine-tool production, chemistry and petrochemistry and the production of a number of consumer items.

I have already had occasion to note the importance of these new forms of economic relations—I remember talking about it during meetings with American businessmen. We believe that co-operation of this kind holds great promise because it accords in the best possible way both with the present level of industrial, economic, scientific and technological development of our states, and their potential.

Esteemed American guests, I would like you to understand clearly that we in the Soviet Union highly appreciate what the US Government has already done to promote stable, long-term, mutually advantageous economic relations between our two countries. We think highly of the agreements that have been signed in this field, and of President Ford's stated intention to continue the course of promoting relations between the USA and the USSR along that line.

For my part, I should like to assure you that the course of building stable and productive economic relations for the mutual benefit of the Soviet and American peoples is the long-standing, immutable policy of our Party and of the Soviet state, a continuation of the policy formulated by Lenin, their founder. I should like to quote the words he spoke 55 years ago: "We are decidedly for an economic understanding with America—with all countries but *especially* with America." We intend to advance consistently along this course, to which we attach not only economic but, I would say, to an even greater degree, political significance. However, it goes without saying that this calls for reciprocity, for the only possible solid basis—the complete equality of both sides and the absence of any discrimination.

However, you are all well aware that it is precisely in this area that a number of negative factors still impede the further successful development of Soviet-American relations.

It is a fact, for instance, that in some transactions with American firms our planning and foreign-trade bodies derive less economic benefit than in similar operations with firms in some Western countries. This is because there are still a number of laws in the United States that discriminate against the USSR, laws generated in the cold war epoch. These discriminatory laws impede the export of our goods and, to some extent, limit the possibilities of financing the exports of your American goods to the USSR. Credit for financing American deliveries to the USSR is at times granted, at times frozen for an indefinite period. Needless to say, this kind of inconsistency does not contribute to stable business ties. The net result of all this is that it makes US firms less competitive than our organisations' other trading partners. I do not know who stands to benefit from this but I believe it is not the peoples of either of our countries.

Finally, attempts to use the development of trade and economic ties as a means of making demands on the Soviet Union with regard to matters that have absolutely nothing to do with trade and economics and are fully within the domestic competence of states are utterly irrelevant and unacceptable. It is high time it was clearly understood that such attempts at interference in internal affairs can do nothing but harm, affecting, among other things, the trade and economic relations between our countries.

Unless timely concern is shown for eliminating such negative factors, the further development of co-operation may be seriously impeded. Of course, both the USSR and the USA are sufficiently large states, with rich resources, a vast internal market and extensive foreign-trade relations. In this sense, we both could very well do without developing trade and economic relations with each other any further. But one would think that this would hardly be desirable or useful, either from the point of view of practical good sense, the immediate economic usefulness for either side, or, especially, from the point of view of the political climate in our rela-

tions, which, as we know, is of great significance for the cause of universal peace and international detente.

We remain optimistic and assume, as before, that the prospects for business relations between our countries will be determined by the real economic, as well as political, interests of both states, and not by the selfish calculations of certain individuals or narrow political groups whose thinking still bears the imprint of the archaic cold war legacy.

Your Council is holding its second session in autumn, but the economic relations between our two countries are, I would say, in their early spring, the season when the sun shines brighter, but there is as yet not enough warmth and the temperature vacillates frequently. But we believe that, as in nature, summer will inevitably come in these relations. What is important is that the process should not be delayed too much.

Much work has yet to be done in normalising trade and economic relations and to this both government and business circles can make a contribution.

I can tell you frankly, our esteemed guests, that there is great awareness and understanding in the Soviet Union of the full significance of the far-sighted and active stand taken by many prominent US businessmen, including those who are present here, to develop Soviet-American economic ties. It is our conviction that this activity goes beyond purely commercial matters. Objectively it accords with the deeper long-range national interests of both our countries and the interests of strengthening peace on our planet.

The work of your Council is one instance of our joint efforts on that worthy road. Allow me to wish all of you great success. I should like to say on behalf of the leadership of the Soviet Union that the activities of the Council will have our full support. There will be no lack of goodwill.

To your health, esteemed participants in this session of the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council!

To the successful development of good-neighbourly co-operation between our countries!

To lasting peace throughout the world!

SPEECH
TO COMMEMORATE THE FIFTIETH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION
OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

November 26, 1974

Esteemed Comrade Tsedenbal,
Esteemed members of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party,
Esteemed Deputies of the People's Great Hural,
Dear friends,

Today we are observing an outstanding date. Fifty years ago, the Mongolian people, under the leadership of their Revolutionary Party, formed the Mongolian People's Republic and took their place alongside the peoples of the Soviet Union in the struggle for a new, socialist life.

Your fifty years of experience constitute a major achievement in revolutionary thought and action. It was precisely here, on your soil, as in a number of Soviet Republics, that Lenin's concept of the direct transition to socialism, bypassing capitalism, became a reality. In this respect the Mongolian Communists, the Mongolian people, have made a great contribution to the process of world social development.

Five decades have passed since the Third Congress of the MPRP determined the general policy of the country's development—the policy of socialist construction. In carrying out the historical task set by the Congress, the Mongolian Communists have always been conscious of their great responsibility to the common cause, ardently upholding the interests of socialism and its position in the world.

It is only natural, dear comrades, that the peoples of the countries of the socialist community, all those who fight for Marxist-Leninist ideals, for social progress, regard your glorious jubilee as a common, international holiday.

It is a great joy to us, representatives of the Soviet country, to be with you on this great occasion. On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government and all our people, we warmly and sincerely congratulate the Mongolian people, the Mongolian Communists on the 50th anniversary of their Republic.

We greet the leading force in socialist construction—the growing Mongolian working class, all those who are building up industry, seeking out and providing the economy with natural riches, giving the country a new image.

We greet the working *arats* of Mongolia, all those who are developing agriculture by raising this traditional and vital area of the country's economy to a new level.

We greet the Mongolian intellectuals, those who are developing Mongolian science, creating new cultural values, educating the younger generation, those who take care of people's health.

Dear friends, we have just listened to the profound report by Comrade Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, a report containing many striking, convincing facts. We have glimpsed, as it were, the living history of the Mongolian people's struggle for liberation from the shackles of feudalism, for the assertion of independence, for a radical change in the conditions of life of society as a whole.

The report shows that you, comrades, have traversed, and successfully traversed, a very important and what is probably the most difficult stage in socialist construction.

We can appreciate that the Mongolian Communists regard with satisfaction the profound changes which have taken place in the country's agriculture. Having joined together in labour co-operatives, the hereditary tillers of the soil—the

arats—are learning to master the most up-to-date farming machines, and the modern techniques of livestock and crop farming.

Besides this, your country has acquired considerable experience in building up large-scale industry. Today, you may well be proud of industrial Darkhan, the new Erdenet ore-dressing complex, and the coal works in Sharyn-Gol.

And I would also like to mention another of the tremendous achievements of People's Mongolia—the development of science and the thriving of national socialist culture. The country has a large contingent of intellectuals, intellectuals who are one flesh with the people. Much of the research by Mongolian scientists, whose work is directed and co-ordinated by the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, has become widely known. There has been a veritable revolution in health protection and education.

One cannot help rejoicing at all these remarkable triumphs, these striking changes in Mongolia.

All friends of Mongolia regard the tremendous creative work done by Mongolian Communists with profound respect and comradely appreciation. The Party has reared generations of people to whom socialism has become their vocation in life, people who are conscientious and active, true patriots and internationalists. The Party has grown and matured together with the country, enlisting in its ranks the finest of the working people. Its policy at all stages of struggle for socialism has been directed to serve the people and their interests. This is the basis of the great prestige of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Tsedenbal, a loyal son of the Mongolian people and prominent leader of the world communist movement.

Dear friends, in celebrating this great occasion in Mongolia's life, we can honestly say that in all respects the peoples of our countries have always had the same aspirations and have helped each other as brothers.

There have been many glorious chapters in the history of our friendship. However, as always, we all particularly treasure the memory of the historic meeting between Vladi-

mir Ilyich Lenin and Sukho Bator, the intrepid leader of the Mongolian Revolution. That meeting marked the beginning of the great road we have traversed side by side.

We shall never forget the battles fought together in the Mongolian steppes against Baron Ungern's whiteguard bands. Neither shall we forget the heroic epic of Khalkhin Gol, when Soviet and Mongolian soldiers dealt a crushing rebuff to the Japanese militarists who attempted to invade Mongolian land. Fighting shoulder to shoulder in 1945, the soldiers of our countries routed the imperialist Kwantung army, which had captured a considerable part of China, and gave powerful support to the liberation struggle of the Asian peoples.

Soviet people are helping their Mongolian brothers to build a new life. In turn, our Mongolian comrades are helping us. And it is not a matter of sharing something of which we have more than enough. We are selflessly sharing things we need ourselves. This is precisely the way Soviet people acted when they supported the Mongolian people in the first, difficult years of Soviet power.

And our Mongolian friends have acted this way, too. Our people were keenly aware of this especially at a time of grave trials, during the Great Patriotic War. Here is one eloquent instance. In 1943, at the height of bitter battles against the fascist invaders, a Mongolian delegation, led by Marshal Choibalsan, arrived at the front. It handed over to the Soviet Army a tank unit formed with the funds raised by Mongolian working people. Such things, comrades, are not forgotten!

The relations between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic are regarded today by the whole world as a model of socialist relations, based on common interest in each other's successes.

The sound foundations of equitable alliance were established back at the time of Lenin's Treaty of 1921. We recall with appreciation the 1936 Protocol on Mutual Assistance, the 1946 Treaty of Alliance. In 1966, on the instructions of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, I had the honour of signing here in Ulan Bator,

together with Comrade Tsedenbal, the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, which reliably ensures our countries' extensive economic relations and the inviolability of socialist Mongolia's frontiers, and the interests of peace and good-neighbourly relations in Asia.

Dear comrades, I can say that the Politbureau of the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government have always paid the greatest heed to the development of fraternal Soviet-Mongolian co-operation. Friendship with People's Mongolia, our oldest comrade-in-arms in the struggle for socialism, is to us, the Soviet people, a matter of honour and internationalist duty.

It is with great satisfaction that we can say that the close ties between the fraternal peoples of the USSR and Mongolia are rich and varied, and embodied in thousands upon thousands of deeds, both large and small.

Our two Parties are united by unbreakable comradely bonds. Exchange of experience in building the new life, co-operation in ideological and Party organisational work, co-ordination of action in international affairs—all this has long become a natural pattern of life for us. Regular contacts and co-operation between trade unions, women's, youth and other mass organisations have led to a situation where tens of thousands of working people of our countries have regular contact, and in this way strengthen the deepest roots of our friendship.

Speaking of public organisations, I must mention one that plays an important part in developing relations between our countries. I have in mind the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society. I am pleased to tell you, comrades, that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has conferred on this Society the Order of Friendship Among Peoples for outstanding services in promoting and consolidating friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union.

This award is a symbol of our respect for and gratitude to all the citizens of the Mongolian People's Republic who help to develop and extend the fraternal co-operation between our countries and peoples. I sincerely congratulate the

leaders and active members of the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society!

Of course, we consider the development of economic relations to be of exceptional importance. They are developing more and more actively. Comrade Tsedenbal spoke here very convincingly and in vivid terms about this. The volume of trade between our countries is growing steadily. Now we receive products of your new industrial enterprises and some valuable minerals from you, along with the traditional products of your livestock farming—meat, wool, etc. For our part, we try, as far as possible, to satisfy more fully your requirements for industrial equipment, agricultural machinery, motor vehicles and consumer goods. The Soviet Union has assisted Mongolia in developing virgin lands, establishing large stock farms, modern factories and new residential districts.

Our Party and all our Soviet people act on the assumption that assistance given by the Soviet Union for the economic development of fraternal Mongolia will help you to achieve greater success in your country's task of speeding up its economic development and a further rise in the Mongolian working people's well-being.

As Comrade Tsedenbal mentioned here, a large group of Soviet specialists is working in the Mongolian People's Republic with your engineers and technicians. The Mongolian comrades say they work effectively and conscientiously. I take this opportunity of wishing our compatriots who are in fraternal Mongolia at the request of her government that they continue to honourably fulfil the internationalist mission entrusted to them by our Party.

In his report Comrade Tsedenbal dealt with co-operation in industry and the further economic drawing together of our countries. Indeed, this is a great and important matter. Well-co-ordinated effort will undoubtedly be of great benefit to both countries.

Your country's participation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration is becoming increasingly important. One can safely say that new forms of co-

operation with fraternal countries will help the Mongolian People's Republic to make more effective use of her internal resources, and to achieve advanced objectives in the development of her economy, science and culture.

Comrades, the Soviet and Mongolian Communists consider it their prime task to improve the working people's well-being based on growing productivity and more effective production. This is the goal of the decisions taken by our 24th Congress, and the decisions of your 16th Congress are oriented in the same direction.

With all our hearts we wish you success, dear friends, in implementing all your plans.

Comrades, you are well informed about the life of our people. Your press, radio and television give wide, objective and friendly coverage to all aspects of life in the Soviet Union. There is no need for me to go into this in detail. I will only say that the scope of our work is great and varied and that Soviet people are working hard to fulfil the current five-year plan worthily.

The Soviet people are united and closely rallied around their Communist Party. The working people in towns and villages display new initiative in response to the calls of the Central Committee of the Party. Mass socialist competition has swept the country. The vast Soviet land, from the Baltic to the Pacific, is bustling with the enthusiastic, well-concerted effort of Soviet people.

Our Party and our people are aware of their tremendous responsibility for the great cause of communist construction and you may rest assured, comrades, that Soviet people will spare no effort to realise the great ideals for which the Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out, for which our Party is struggling and all Soviet people live and work!

Allow me, dear comrades, to dwell briefly on international affairs. You are our close neighbours, friends and allies, and you are well aware of the principles, goals and main directions of the Soviet Union's peace-loving Leninist foreign policy. They are dealt with thoroughly enough in the decisions of the 24th Congress of our Party, in the official documents of the Soviet state, in the speeches of Soviet leaders.

Our foreign policy is a persevering struggle for peace and security, against every type of imperialist aggression and *diktat*, against infringement of the rights of nations, and for the restructuring of international relations on the basis of just and democratic principles.

We are sincerely glad, dear comrades, that in this noble struggle People's Mongolia is marching shoulder to shoulder with our country, with all the fraternal socialist states. We are gratified to note that the Mongolian People's Republic is making a worthwhile contribution to drawing up and implementing the co-ordinated foreign policy of the fraternal countries. Her voice in the international arena carries weight and prestige because it is the voice of peace and justice.

Comrades, I would like to touch upon one question which of necessity concerns the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic as states that are linked with the life, affairs, interests and destinies of the Asian countries by thousands of ties.

What is the right and sure way to lasting peace and good-neighbourly relations in Asia? This is a question that affects the interests of all Asian countries individually and as a whole.

The imperialist policy of dividing peoples and setting them against one another is still being pursued today, although its outward forms change. The colonial past has, in some areas of Asia, left behind vestiges of national and religious animosity, distrust and mutual suspicion. As in the old saying "the dead hangs on to the living", these evil remnants of the past impede the normal, healthy development of relations between some Asian countries.

This does not mean that Asian countries do not have common interests, or that Asian peoples cannot find a common language. On the contrary, comrades, we are confident that the time will come when the Asian peoples will live together in accordance with the laws of peace and good-neighbourliness.

The idea of peace and security in Asia based on joint effort is far from new. In the light of their own historical experience, Asian states have time and again suggested such

principles and norms of relations which could serve as a basis for establishing peaceful, healthy relations among peoples.

In the fifties, the governments of India, the People's Republic of China and of several other Asian countries officially proclaimed their adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence. The substance of the ten principles approved at the historic Bandung Conference in 1955 was to make Asia and Africa continents of peace and co-operation. In recent years countries with a non-alignment policy have come up with important initiatives for strengthening peace in Asia, in particular at their Fourth Conference in Algiers. One may recall many similar constructive proposals.

Thus, the idea of ensuring Asian security and co-operation by collective effort is the outcome of the political experience and questing of many states. To implement this idea, consistent and persevering practical measures will have to be taken by many states, and attentive consideration given to many different views and positions.

Just as great rivers are fed by dozens of small rivers, by hundreds of tributaries and streams, so a truly large undertaking in international politics is often the result of many attempts, many introductory steps, big and small, which merge into one mighty stream.

One of the most pressing and urgent tasks for the achievement of lasting peace in Asia is, of course, the complete extinguishing of the still blazing and smouldering seats of war, elimination of the potential war danger in a number of areas on the Asian continent. This is why the Soviet Union steadfastly advocates the consistent realisation of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, an end to the war in Cambodia, in line with the aspirations of the Cambodian patriotic forces, and the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, and which is why she supports the programme of the KPDR for the peaceful, democratic unification of Korea.

This is also the reason why we fully appreciate and understand the constructive efforts of India, Pakistan and the Republic of Bangladesh to continue normalising the situation in South Asia and to establish there relations of true good-

neighbourliness and co-operation. We note with gratitude, comrades, that on all these issues the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic are unanimous and are working together, as true friends and brothers should.

The urgent matter of settling the conflict in the Middle East, and establishing a just and lasting peace in that important area has, of course, a direct bearing upon guaranteeing security in Asia.

Meanwhile, the situation in the Middle East is not only not getting better but, on the contrary, it is becoming more and more explosive. This is furthered by the brazenly provocative policy of Israel, which is openly sabotaging the cause of peaceful settlement, with obvious support from the outside. The Soviet Union's point of view is well known: complete liberation of all Arab lands occupied in 1967; realisation of the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to establish their statehood, to self-determination; and provision of a reliable and authoritative guarantee of security and independence for all the states that have now been drawn into this sphere of conflict—this is the only reliable way to a lasting peace in the Middle East.

All this can and must be achieved within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference, which has been set up specially, in accordance with UN decisions. Together with the friendly Arab states, we call for and shall continue to call for the speediest resumption of its work. We regard the decisions taken at the recent conference of leaders of Arab countries in Rabat as quite constructive, conducive to greater unity in the Arab world and strengthening the position of the Palestinian Arabs.

Once again we declare clearly to all whom it may concern: the Soviet Union was, is and will be vitally interested in an early stable and just peaceful settlement in the Middle East. We shall be working for this in contact and in co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries, with Egypt, Syria and Iraq, our Arab friends, with the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, with Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and in contact and in co-operation with other states that express a sincere desire to

contribute towards this goal, which is so vital to universal peace.

The establishment and development of good and durable bilateral relations between Asian states is a very important factor in any guarantee of security in Asia. And we can say, with a clear conscience, that both the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic are also making a good contribution to this cause.

We, in the USSR, greatly appreciate the good relations which have developed between us and the Asian countries: with the fraternal socialist states of the DRV and the KPDR, the Republic of South Vietnam, with our great friend India, with Afghanistan, Burma, and Sri Lanka, with Bangladesh and Pakistan, with Japan, Iran and Turkey, and with other states of the biggest continent on earth. We shall strive, as before, to develop and deepen these relations on a mutually advantageous basis and for the good of universal peace.

Of course, comrades, there is no magic cure that could resolve all Asia's problems overnight. But when past conflicts are left behind, when friendly relations between Asian states are consolidated, and bilateral and, in some cases, multilateral co-operation is established for creative purposes then we are in our right to say that these are the elements from which the edifice of a lasting peace is being built on Asian soil.

Naturally, it would be good if such a large Asian state as the People's Republic of China would take part in this process in a befitting manner. Unfortunately, as you, comrades, are well aware, Peking's current foreign policy course runs counter to detente.

The Soviet Union, for its part, works continually to normalise Soviet-Chinese relations. Our line, the line of the 24th CPSU Congress, remains unchanged. With regard to China, as with other countries, we firmly adhere to the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and the non-use of force. We are prepared to restore friendship and co-operation with the Chinese people, for whom

the Soviet people have, as they always have had, sincere respect.

At first sight, it would seem that the leaders of the People's Republic of China are also in favour of normalising relations with the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, however, their deeds do not live up to their words.

Peking, in fact, puts forward, as a preliminary condition, nothing less than the demand for withdrawal of the Soviet frontier guards from a number of areas of our territory, which the Chinese leaders have now decided to lay claim to, calling them "disputed areas". And Peking declares outright that it will only agree to negotiations on frontier questions after its demands concerning these "disputed areas" are satisfied.

Comrades, it is absolutely clear that this position is totally unacceptable, and we reject it.

As for the Soviet Union, we do not lay down any preliminary conditions for the normalisation of relations with China. We have for long offered the Chinese side to enter into businesslike and concrete negotiations. We do not lay claims to any alien territories, and for us there are no "disputed areas" in this sense. As everybody knows, we offered to sign a non-aggression treaty with the PRC, including the non-use of armed force against each other with any type of weapons, including conventional, missile and nuclear weapons.

This is our position on current questions regarding relations with the People's Republic of China. And we do not lose hope that common sense and the cardinal interests of states, including those of the PRC itself, will prevail and that a real normalisation of relations between our two countries will make headway at long last.

Comrades, the desire of the nations for ending the threat of war, for a really lasting peace and fruitful co-operation is making itself felt ever more clearly and widely in conditions of the international detente which has already started. Progress in this direction requires persevering political struggle to overcome resistance in the many quarters that are either innately aggressive or simply inert in their think-

ing. However, the powerful trend towards detente and peace is making headway, after all, in spite of the many obstacles.

The state of relations between two such big powers as the USSR and the USA obviously plays a major part in this. In pursuance of the Peace Programme, endorsed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, we have managed in recent years to bring about major changes in Soviet-American relations in the way of detente and mutually advantageous co-operation in various fields. This has already undoubtedly helped to make the whole international climate healthier.

A few days ago, as you are aware, we had the first meeting with President Ford of the USA near Vladivostok. The course of improving Soviet-American relations which has taken shape over the last few years was confirmed and developed during this meeting, held in a good, constructive spirit. Together with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of both countries, the President and I had an opportunity to discuss questions of principle in Soviet-US relations and their continued strengthening and development. The talks definitely confirmed a determination to act so that the development of these relations would more and more effectively help to resolve the historical problem of saving mankind from the threat of a new world war and strengthening universal peace.

So it is natural that the quest for new mutually acceptable opportunities for limiting and, later on, reducing the nuclear-missile arms of both countries figured prominently in the talks. And, comrades, it can be said with confidence that in this respect a substantial step forward was made at the Vladivostok meeting.

I have agreed with President Ford that work on an agreement on this question, so important for the peace and prosperity not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States but for all mankind, will be completed in the next few months.

It is understandable, in the context of what has been said, that the results of the new Soviet-American summit meeting evoked favourable comments practically all over the world. We say this with great pleasure, for we regard these com-

ments as an expression of powerful popular support for our Party's and the Soviet state's policy of peace and international co-operation.

Dear friends, today's wonderful jubilee, this meeting with the Mongolian working people, with the Mongolian leaders, have once more given us an opportunity to feel that cordial atmosphere of friendship and fraternity, which so durably prevails in our relations. Thank you very much for your hospitality, for the kind words said of our Party and people.

Allow me also to express profound gratitude to the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural and the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, for the honour bestowed upon me—the title of Honorary Citizen of the Mongolian People's Republic. Above all, I regard this decision of your leading organs as commendation of the policy of friendship and fraternal co-operation with people's Mongolia, which our Leninist Party and our Soviet state have always pursued. Speaking for myself, I can assure you, dear comrades, that I shall always be an active advocate of strengthening and developing Soviet-Mongolian friendship.

Thinking of the future, of the morrow in Soviet-Mongolian relations, I should like to express confidence that we shall work together indefatigably for the continued development of comprehensive co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, for strengthening our great socialist community still further.

We shall fight side by side to ensure the triumph of the principles of peace and good-neighbourliness on earth, and to secure in international relations the sacred right of the peoples to free, independent development.

I wish you, dear friends, every success and happiness!

Long live the Mongolian people confidently marching forward to new victories of socialism!

Long live the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party—the glorious vanguard of the Mongolian working people!

Long live eternal and unbreakable Soviet-Mongolian friendship!

May peace and communism triumph!

**SPEECH AT THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS
OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY**

March 18, 1975

Dear Comrade Kádár,
Dear delegates to the Congress,
Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of Communists and all the working people of our country, we bring cordial fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, we congratulate the whole 750-thousand-strong army of Hungarian Communists, and all Hungarian people. We wish you, people who think as we do, our friends, all success in your work.

Judging by the size of your achievements in recent years and the importance of the new tasks you are setting, this Congress will undoubtedly take a prominent place in the history of the Party and the country.

The 11th Congress of Hungarian Communists almost coincides with such dates as the 30th anniversary of your country's liberation and the 30th anniversary of the Great Victory over Hitler fascism. This lends special colour to the Congress, and enables the present achievements of socialist Hungary to be assessed in the context of history.

The Soviet people fully appreciate your pride in the great revolutionary changes which have taken place here in the

valley of the Danube and Tisa. We are aware how much effort and courage, wisdom and feeling Hungarian Communists have contributed to the socialist reconstruction of their country, and of the trials they have been through.

In the past three decades the constructive potential of the Hungarian nation has really come into its own. A dynamically developing economy, a steady rise in the people's standard of living, a social system founded on the abolition of all forms of social and national oppression, on the true equality of all citizens, on full power for the people who work, the unity of the nation achieved thanks to this strong foundation—these are the most important characteristics of the Hungary of today. This is a worthy result of the work and struggle of your Party, of the whole Hungarian people.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in pursuing a principled Marxist-Leninist policy, in its ability to heed the voice of the people, to calmly and confidently guide the intricate social processes for the benefit of the people has won the unwavering confidence of the Hungarian people and great prestige in the socialist world and in the whole communist movement.

Yesterday we heard the Central Committee's report, presented by Comrade János Kádár. In this report he drew a vivid picture of progress in socialist construction. At the same time the report speaks soberly and openly, as Communists do, of problems still outstanding, clearly indicates the road ahead.

You are at present approving a new programme statement of the Party. An inspiring objective is being set—building a developed socialist society and so taking a great stride forward to communism. It is planned to settle such key tasks as the overcoming of any essential differences between classes, bringing the two forms of socialist ownership still closer together, radical improvement in the productivity of labour and, on this basis, a further considerable rise in the people's standard of living.

These tasks are important and complicated. But there is no doubt that the plans will become reality. The guarantee of this is the people's dedication to socialist ideals, the great

experience of Party, government, managerial and scientific personnel, and, most important of all, the Party's sound political line, the will of the working class, its awareness of the responsibility for the destinies of socialism, for the future of the country.

Dear friends, the documents of the Congress carry many warm expressive words about the importance of Soviet-Hungarian co-operation, both to our common cause and to socialist Hungary's national interests. This has already been dealt with by Comrade János Kádár, an outstanding leader of Hungarian Communists, a staunch and principled internationalist who is well known and loved in our country and in the international communist movement.

That Soviet-Hungarian friendship has become the birth-right of millions and millions of Soviet and Hungarian people stands to the credit of our Parties. Fraternal relations with Hungary, our neighbour and ally, are to Soviet Communists a matter of principle, belief and desire. I wish to assure you, comrades, that our Party and all our people will spare no effort in continuing to strengthen and deepen our friendship.

I am happy to be able to tell you that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has passed a decision to award the Order of Friendship Among Peoples to the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society for its great service in strengthening and developing friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. With all my heart I congratulate the executives and active members of this Society, all those who help the noble cause of greater friendship.

Examples of the fruitfulness of Soviet-Hungarian relations are numerous in every field—political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural. I think it may be said that every year of co-operation makes all of us politically stronger and intellectually richer and multiplies the economic potential of our countries, promotes further improvement of our peoples' lives.

Our economic relations are wide and varied, and they already yield great benefits to both countries. In the com-

ing years Soviet-Hungarian co-operation will take in almost all the key branches of the economy. No doubt this will speed up the completion of many tasks that face our countries. We already have the experience of completing a number of large-scale joint projects.

When Comrade Kádár visited Moscow last year, we spoke of the great importance of setting up joint production of raw materials for plastics, of implementing our olefin programme. This has become reality. A steady flow of valuable chemical products is reaching both countries.

A few days ago another gratifying event took place—the preschedule completion of the first section of the new gas pipeline, which will convey from the Soviet Union to Hungary the natural gas so essential for the chemical industry and the power industry of your country. The Soviet builders promised to complete the construction of the project by the opening of your Congress. This obligation has been honoured. I think it would not be amiss if a traditional exchange of such labour gifts for congresses of fraternal Parties were established.

Dear friends, I have attended many Party congresses in fraternal socialist countries. I would say this: every new congress of Communists engaged in socialist and communist construction lends more clarity and vividness to the overall picture of this gigantic construction.

We are all confidently approaching the cardinal objectives for whose sake Communists hoisted over the world the banner of their theory, for whose sake socialist revolutions have been and are being made, and the people of our countries are working. These are to assure material and intellectual well-being, adequate conditions of life for all citizens, to place the highest cultural values at the service of the very broadest masses, to create opportunities for the truly harmonious development of the individual. In the eyes of working people in all countries, our achievements are a convincing example of the advantages of socialism.

And it is our great fortune, comrades, that we are not proceeding along this untrodden and arduous historical path alone, not each on his own.

In his report Comrade Kádár said that the successes and achievements of people's Hungary are largely the outcome of the fraternal co-operation of socialist countries. Indeed, friendship and mutual assistance opened up for all our peoples as a whole and for each one individually a kind of new source of strength. The more we draw upon it, the richer it becomes.

We now possess a well-adjusted mechanism of interaction between the fraternal countries in all spheres of social life. For two decades the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has been a solid and reliable foundation for the political and defensive co-operation of the European socialist countries. The fact is indisputable that it has played an enormous part in the defence of the gains of socialism and continues to be a good instrument of our common policy of peace. Different forms of co-operation at diverse levels have become daily practice. And it is most important that, through employing all these forms, we have learned to combine our efforts in finding correct solutions to the new, at times very complex, tasks which reality confronts us with.

This has been clearly manifested in the sphere of politics. We are all aware, comrades, how very important it is to assess correctly the prospects for development of socialist society at every new phase of history. From this point of view, the elaboration by the collective efforts of the fraternal Parties, on the basis of joint experience, of the programme for building developed socialism, which is now being implemented in the majority of socialist countries with due attention to each country's individual features, has been of the greatest importance.

The unity of our Parties on the cardinal questions of the development of socialism and communist construction has enabled us to maintain confidently the correct Marxist-Leninist course. It has helped us to repulse, as we should, the attempts of Right and Leftist elements to distort Marxism-Leninism, and enabled us to surmount the difficult political situations arising from time to time in some countries. Our political unity has taken the socialist camp as a whole to a higher stage of social progress.

New tasks have emerged recently in the sphere of the ideological work of our Parties. The construction of developed socialism and communism presupposes enhanced attention to the development of science and culture, to questions of communist education of the masses. On the other hand, in the context of the ever fuller assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a special significance attaches to the struggle of ideas, the invigoration of our efforts to propagate throughout the world the truth about socialism, the struggle against all types of ideology hostile to socialism.

And it should be said that the results of the work done jointly in all these directions are quite impressive. Look how many joint discussions of pressing questions of theory take place, how many scientific papers are published by groups of authors from different socialist countries. Co-operation between the Academies of Sciences of socialist countries is becoming more and more active in the field of history and philosophy, economics and law, and other branches of social knowledge. Cultural relations between socialist countries are becoming ever broader, richer and more interesting. Conferences of Secretaries of Central Committees of fraternal Parties to discuss international and ideological questions and problems of Party growth are becoming regular practice.

Co-operation between fraternal countries is also developing successfully in the economic sphere. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has been working concertedly for more than a quarter of a century. An important Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration has been jointly elaborated and we are implementing it, though not always as speedily as we should like to, but steadily and consistently. Year by year, the factor of integration plays an ever increasing role in the national economic tasks of each fraternal country. It is largely due to this that the CMEA member countries have become the most dynamic industrial area in the world and in rate of growth are ahead of any other group of countries.

The fruits of our diversified co-operation is most tangibly manifested against the background of the profound econom-

ic crisis which today grips the capitalist world. The stable growth of the economy and of the well-being of the people in the socialist countries, on the one hand, and, on the other, the slump of production, the unemployment and inflation in the capitalist countries, unprecedented since the thirties—such today are the “visiting cards” of the two systems.

Naturally, the state of affairs on the world market is bound to have some influence on our economic affairs since socialist countries have quite considerable economic relations with the non-socialist world. However, thanks to the basic advantages of socialism, we are able to approach these problems, such as, for instance, prices or the satisfaction of growing energy and raw material requirements, in our own, socialist way, so that the economy of the fraternal countries is protected to the maximum against the harmful effects of the crisis in the capitalist world.

Progress brings new problems. Greater specialisation and co-operation demand more accurate control over the process of integration and skill in adapting production to the needs of the increasing external economic relations, and creating new raw material and production enterprises on a joint, multilateral basis.

The leaders of our Parties and states have focussed their attention on these matters and are in constant consultation as they look for the best solutions.

In a word, comrades, the co-operation between fraternal countries is becoming closer and deeper in all fields. This is particularly important because there are still many forces in the world which, as the saying goes, dream of nothing so much as how to weaken our unity. But all their efforts in this direction come to nothing. Our co-operation grows stronger every year. And it cannot be otherwise, for it is founded on the most human, most just ideals. We have united because we have a common aim—to give our peoples the best conditions for calm constructive endeavour to build a new life.

It is well known that a great goal creates great energy. The great goal of communism has also created the great energy of socialist internationalism. We march together along

the road of progress with confidence. Together our countries contribute more and more to the struggle for peace, security and free development of all the peoples of our planet.

More and more frequently in the relations among states, regardless of the differences in social system, such factors as the rejection of the use of force, the recognition of the inviolability of frontiers, the settlement of outstanding questions by negotiation, regular consultations on pressing international problems, durable long-term economic co-operation, exchange of achievements in science and culture are becoming common practice.

On the whole, we can say with satisfaction that the Soviet Union's and most of the other fraternal socialist countries' relations with the main capitalist powers are entering a more or less normal channel in line with the concepts of peaceful coexistence and peaceful mutually advantageous co-operation.

In this connection the successful completion of such a major collective action as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is especially important. The Warsaw Treaty states are co-ordinating their activities and trying hard to achieve this. It can evidently be said now that most of the other participants in the Conference are becoming more inclined to complete its work in the next few months and at summit level. Of course, this is a gratifying advance. In this context those who are stubbornly trying to obstruct the early completion of the all-European conference are taking a great responsibility on their shoulders.

We are confident that the results of the Conference will create a sound working basis, a solid foundation for the development, to use Lenin's phrase, of the peaceful cohabitation of European nations. This will in itself be a tremendous advance towards the realisation of the ideals of peace and reason of which the finest minds of mankind have dreamed for centuries. With this political foundation it will be possible to undertake ever larger tasks in building, as it were, the material edifice of peaceful co-operation and diversified mutually advantageous relations between European states.

The actual forms and directions of this constructive work will be prompted by living reality. We may assume, for instance, that among the other issues, the task of achieving "military detente" in practice will receive priority. I am thinking of a gradual reduction of the size of the armed forces and armaments of states, not just of limitation. This is, of course, not something that can be done at a stroke. However, as we know, efforts are being made in this direction even now. I have in mind both the results of the Soviet-American meeting in Vladivostok and the current talks in Geneva and Vienna.

I should like to add another point. We are confident that, as in the earlier struggle to turn from the cold war to detente, the socialist countries', the Communists' initiative, their dedication to the ideals of peace, their inseparable link with the people's vital interests will again play a part in determining further directions for peaceful development in Europe. There will be another conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in the near future. I think it may be said with confidence that this will help substantially to formulate the immediate tasks that history prescribes for the life of our continent.

Comrades, we cannot, of course, rest on our laurels. Detente, the strengthening of peace, is a process which must go on continuously. To stop somewhere along the road would endanger also those gains that have been made. The more so, that now, in the acute crisis of the capitalist system, the enemies of detente, those who support the arms race and the cold war are becoming more active. These forces, hostile to the interests of the people, have not laid down their arms. They are obstinately seeking to reverse the course of international development. Therefore, fighters for peace should not slacken their vigilance, should effectively resist the designs of the enemies of peace, should never lose sight of the new objectives and always think of expanding the horizons of the policy of peace.

We cannot overlook the fact that there are still seats of dangerous tension, conflicts and potential military explosions—in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia and in other

parts of the world. Thus, it is impossible to conceive a strong and guaranteed peace for Europe alone, with thunderclouds building up over other continents.

Peace is indivisible—we Communists never tire of repeating this truth and of acting in accordance with it.

So, while fighting for a lasting peace in Europe, we are also paying close attention to consolidating relations of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, so vital to the cause of universal peace. That is why the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries always work vigorously and consistently for the establishment of a really lasting and really equitable peace in the Middle East and for the surest road towards this—the early resumption of the work of the Geneva Conference, which was set up for this purpose, for the settlement of the basic problems—the liberation of all Arab lands occupied in 1967, the satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine up to and including their right to statehood, for an effective guarantee to all the Middle East states of a secure, independent and free existence and development.

For the same reasons we regard the job of strengthening peace and security in Asia by the collective efforts of the Asian countries as so very vital.

To create a climate in the world, in which the potential aggressors, those who delight in sabre-rattling and adventure, are met with an increasingly resolute stand by the peoples everywhere, and in which peace, security and confidence in a peaceful future will become a reality for more and more people in all parts of the world, is a worthwhile goal to everyone who loves his people and ponders over human progress.

Dear comrades, in a few days the Hungarian people will celebrate the 30th anniversary of the liberation of their country from fascist tyranny. The peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist states, all friends of new Hungary will mark this festive date together with you.

That spring of 1945 was the dawn of a new life for many European peoples. The victory over fascism was a historic

landmark in the destiny of all mankind. The present-day successes of world socialism, the steady growth of revolutionary forces and our great achievements in the struggle for a lasting peace on earth are its most profound results.

The nations will greet the great holiday of the 30th anniversary of Victory, with the strengthening of peace and international security as their watchword. We Communists say with great confidence: peace, for which the nations crave so passionately, can be preserved, and strengthened too.

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union avails itself of this opportunity to bring cordial greetings to the Congress delegates and all of working Hungary for their coming holiday—the 30th anniversary of liberation, the 30th anniversary of freedom.

Long live socialist Hungary and her glorious vanguard—the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party!

May Soviet-Hungarian friendship live and grow stronger!

Long live peace!

Long live communism!

A GREAT EXPLOIT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

*Speech at a Meeting
in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses
to Mark the Thirtieth Anniversary
of the Soviet People's Victory
in the Great Patriotic War*

May 8, 1975

Dear compatriots,
Dear war veterans,
Esteemed foreign guests,

In these days of celebration every Soviet man and woman, every Soviet family, all our people are reliving the memories of the unforgettable month of May 1945. We are reliving the great enthusiasm which our people then experienced after the long and terrible war, as they felt the joy of the hard-won peace.

We had no need of the war. But when it began, the Soviet people courageously took up the life-and-death fight against the aggressors.

The Hitlerites hurled against us a monstrous war machine. They fell on the Soviet Union with especial ferocity, which cannot be either measured or described. For almost four years the roar of battles, unprecedented in ferocity and involving millions of combatants on both sides, continued unabated.

The Soviet Armed Forces earned undying glory by defeating the invading armies at Moscow, and in their defence of Leningrad, in the heroic epic battle of Stalingrad, the struggle for the Caucasus, the great battle of the Kursk-Orel salient, in the Korsun-Shevchenkivsky operation, the victorious assault on Berlin, and many other large-scale operations which will forever go down in the history of war.

In the most trying ordeals, the Soviet people upheld the honour and independence of their country, defended the gains of the October Revolution, the cause bequeathed to us by Lenin.

The Soviet people's heroic struggle brought about a radical change in the course of the Second World War. Its battles were fought over a vast expanse, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, from the icefields of Greenland to the deserts of Africa, but it was the Soviet-German front that became the main theatre of military operations. That is where the destinies were decided not only of the Soviet people but of mankind.

This holiday is a holiday for all the participants in the great battle against fascism.

An expression of this is the presence here, at this commemorative meeting, of numerous Party, government, military and public delegations from many countries. The Soviet people wholeheartedly welcome their foreign guests, who have come here to share with us the emotions and joy of this great nationwide celebration.

We extend cordial greetings to the delegations of the fraternal socialist countries present in this hall: the delegations of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We extend greetings to our esteemed guests from the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition: Great Britain, the United States of America and France. The Soviet people are happy to see with us here today our wartime comrades-in-arms in the struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors and enslavers.

The courageous struggle of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia led by the Communists, the military exploits of the armies and units formed by the patriots of Poland and Czechoslovakia, the popular uprisings in Slovakia, Ru-

mania, and Bulgaria, the Albanian people's liberation struggle, the Resistance movement, the operations by the guerrilla detachments in France, Italy and other countries, and the struggle of the anti-fascist underground in the enemy camp—all of these ultimately merged together with the Soviet people's struggle into a mighty tide which swept the brown dirt off the map of Europe.

The rout of fascism left a deep mark on the life of many peoples and changed the face of the world.

Dozens of countries were liberated from the fascist yoke and regained their independence.

The peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Hungary, Rumania and Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the peoples of China, Vietnam and North Korea were given the opportunity to choose the path of socialist development. The world socialist system emerged. International life began to develop in accordance with new laws.

The positions of the progressive democratic, peaceful forces have been strengthened all over the world. The authority and political influence of the Communist Parties have been enhanced everywhere. The working-class movement has scored fresh successes in the struggle for democracy and improvement of the working people's standard of living. The immediate postwar years saw the intensified disintegration of the colonial empires, a process which culminated in the collapse of colonialism.

In the course of the 20th century, our country has twice stood at the source of major changes in the face of the world.

This was so in 1917, when the victory of the October Revolution heralded mankind's entry into a new historical epoch. This was so in 1945, when the rout of fascism, in which the Soviet Union played the decisive role, generated a mighty tide of socio-political changes which rolled across the globe and led to the consolidation of the forces of peace all over the world.

In the eyes of the world, the Soviet people's feat of arms in the Great Patriotic War thus acquires added grandeur

and majesty. It has gone down in history and will never be forgotten.

Comrades, the victory which was won in the battles of the Great Patriotic War was a victory of our heroic working class, collective-farm peasantry, our intelligentsia, a victory of the whole multinational Soviet people. This was a victory of the glorious Soviet Army, an army created by the Revolution, fostered by the Party and closely linked with the people. It was a victory of Soviet military science, of the combat skill of all arms and services and of the art of Soviet commanders, who rose from the midst of the people.

The Soviet soldiers, officers and generals had to endure a great deal on the roads of war. There was the heart-rending retreat. The incessant fierce fighting. Days, months and years, face to face with death. Long, exhausting marches in the cold of winter and in the heat of summer, under the never-ending autumn rains and in the slush of spring.

When one recalls now, three decades later, all that fell to the lot of the men, commanders and political officers of our Army, one finds it sometimes hard to believe that all this actually happened, and that we were able to endure it. . . .

But endure it we did. We stood all the trials, passed all the tests and won. The fascist aggressor was routed.

All of us who marched in that period to face the bullets, the shells and the bombs, marched with the thought that we were prepared to give our lives so that our beloved country would live on, so that our people would be free and happy.

The road to victory was hard. We lost many lives on this road. And today our first thoughts go out to those who did not return from the war, who died defending the land of their fathers, the land of socialism.

Time, while distancing us from the war years, helps us to gain a deeper and fuller insight into the immortal feat of the soldiers who gave their lives for the sake of life, for the sake of the freedom, independence and honour of their cherished country, and for the sake of socialism. They have been and always will be with us, in our hearts and

in our deeds. Let us stand to honour the memory of the fallen.

Addressing the war veterans today, we want to say: You have honourably fulfilled your duty to the country, to the Party, to history. Your Motherland expresses her gratitude to you. Your names have been inscribed for all time in the annals of the Soviet people's heroic achievements.

The names of the heroic partisans, who made the temporarily occupied territories a hell for the fascist invaders, have also been entered forever in these annals. And today the courageous image of the Soviet partisan rises before us as one of the most vivid symbols of the truly popular character of the past war.

The popular character of the war was most forcefully expressed in the undivided, monolithic unity of the front and the rear, which assured us victory. The transfer of thousands of factories and plants to the East of the country in the shortest possible period was a feat of labour that was of tremendous importance for maintaining the country's defence capability. Braving all privation, the men and women who worked in the rear did their utmost to provide the army with perfect weapons, to clothe and feed the soldiers, and to keep the whole national economy running. During the war, men and women worked in such a way that there seemed to be no limits to human capacity. We should like to make special mention in this connection of our remarkable women, who undertook the main burden of work from the men who had gone to the front.

The Motherland will never forget the contribution made by the dedicated men and women who worked in the rear to achieve our common victory.

Comrades, the Soviet people's great feat in the years of the Great Patriotic War is inseparable from the many-sided and purposeful activity of the Communist Party. Its Central Committee was the headquarters which exercised the supreme political and strategic leadership of the military operations. It was the Party which organised and united tens of millions of men and women, directing their energies, their will and their activity towards the single goal of vic-

tory. The war provided ample confirmation that the Party and the people are united, and that there is no force that can shake this invincible unity.

Dear comrades, the numbers of those who participated in the Great Patriotic War and are here with us are dwindling. Their deeds and heroic exploits are becoming legend, part of the people's very soul and memory. Respect for the veterans of the historic battles and concern for them is a moral law of our life, a law both for the organs of state power and for each citizen. The new generations must be worthy of the heroic deeds of their fathers and mothers and honourably carry the torch that has been passed on to them.

The victory over fascism enabled our people not only to heal the wounds of war, but also to increase the country's economic potential many times over and to raise economic output. Today we may confidently declare that our country's industry and agriculture are based on a sound foundation and are developing successfully. And along with this our people have begun to live much better.

That is how things are today, comrades, and that is how they will continue to be. The raising of the people's living standard and further improvement of the Soviet people's life is the unswerving line of our Party's policy, which was emphatically reaffirmed at its 24th Congress.

In general, in the three postwar decades, our economy and the people's cultural standards, and the face of our whole society have undergone substantial qualitative changes.

As a result, the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia has become even closer. The fraternal union of all the country's nations and nationalities, the Soviet people's cohesion have become even closer.

We are aware of our strength, of our capabilities, and look to the future with confidence. Our army is an army of peace. It has no other aims except ensuring peace and the security of nations.

Dedication to communist ideals has been and will be the life-giving source of our strength. The Party's vast ideological and political effort was our powerful weapon during the

war. It is a mighty factor in tackling the great domestic and international tasks facing us today.

Less than a year remains before the next 25th Congress of our Party. All the Communists, all Soviet people are giving thought to how best to mark this great event in the life of the country. Responding with dedicated labour to the Party's call the people are successfully completing the ninth five-year plan this year. The formulation of the targets for the next, tenth five-year plan is nearing completion. But the Party has its sights set even farther and is giving thought to the long-term prospects of our development.

Not so many years will pass before the Soviet people will secure the practical fulfilment of the tasks of which not so long ago we could no more than dream.

I say this because our country is, in effect, one vast construction site. The heroic labour of the Soviet people, and primarily our splendid youth, will enable us to develop new vast territories and natural resources in the East of our country. New enterprises and cities will appear on the map of our country. New generations of builders of a communist society, all of them people with either complete secondary or higher education, will enter life, feeling themselves to be its masters.

Indeed, comrades, the tasks before us are truly great. And they will have to be tackled in the future by our youth—those young men and women who are at present learning their skills at the factory bench and in the fields, those who are now attending classes in school and college, and serving in the ranks of the Soviet Army.

We want you, dear young men and women, to bear this in mind: the young generation of the 1940s bore the brunt of the fighting in the Great Patriotic War. Your life and work must be worthy of the example set by your fathers. The Party and the people trust you and rely on you.

Comrades, the consolidation of socialism implies the strengthening of world peace.

The Soviet Union has been living and working in peace for 30 years. Europe has been living in an atmosphere of peace for 30 years. That is a great achievement, and we

take pride in saying that a considerable contribution to this has been made by the policy of our Leninist Party.

All these years we have carried on a persistent and tireless struggle for lasting peace, and for the freedom, independence and progress of the nations.

It has been a hard struggle.

Hardly had the smoke lifted from the field of battle than we had to face the cold war started by the most aggressive imperialist circles. Torrents of slander and provocations against the socialist countries, atomic blackmail, attempts at economic blockade, whipped up by hopes of taking advantage of our economy's being temporarily weakened by the war—all these means were used by the leaders of imperialism in the hope of preventing socialism from being strengthened and hampering the growth of its influence in the world.

But the forces of reaction which unleashed the cold war miscalculated. They did not succeed either in suppressing or weakening socialism.

The mighty force of socialist solidarity turned the community of states united by the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance into one of the most powerful systems in international life. Its policy has become the decisive factor in defending the interests of peace and independence of the nations.

The Leninist principled and consistent support of the liberation movement of the peoples, the strengthening of friendship with the newly free countries, and the fraternal alliance with the Communists of the whole world and the working-class movement of all countries invest our peace policy with even greater strength, influence and popularity across the globe.

In the new situation, the leaders of the bourgeois world have also come to realise that the cold war has outlived itself and that there is need for a new, more sensible and realistic policy. Our calls for peaceful coexistence have begun to evoke serious responses in many capitalist countries.

The treaties and agreements concluded in the past few years have formalised juridically the results of the victory over fascism, and have created the requisites for the de-

velopment of fruitful peaceful co-operation between the European states, and also with the United States of America.

The experience of the war period showed that different social systems are no bar to the pooling of efforts in fighting aggression and working for peace and international security. In the war years we co-operated with each other, and did so fairly well, in order to end the war in the shortest time possible. We are now tackling another, equally important and perhaps more complicated task, that of developing co-operation in order to prevent another worldwide disaster.

Nor can we forget the fact that after the Second World War the flames of war repeatedly burned in Asia, in Africa, in the Middle East and in Latin America. Millions died in these wars, which were caused by the unwillingness of certain quarters to reconcile themselves to the liberation of peoples. Can this be allowed to go on in the future as well? No, comrades, it cannot.

It is high time that those whom this concerns realised the simple truth: in our time attempts to suppress the peoples liberation movement are doomed to failure. And the best evidence of this comes from the fine victory scored by the Vietnamese people in the struggle against foreign interventionists and their henchmen.

This victory crowns the long and heroic struggle of the patriots of Vietnam. It is the result of their skilful use of various forms of struggle: military, political and diplomatic. At the same time this victory is a triumph of the effective and militant solidarity of the socialist countries. It is also an indication of the great moral and political importance of the sympathy and support coming from the progressive forces of the whole world.

In this joyous period, we Soviet people wish the patriots of South Vietnam great success in rehabilitating their country on new, democratic lines. We wish the fraternal people of Vietnam successful advance along the path of national unity, peace and social progress.

We can also say with satisfaction that the elimination of the hotbed of war in Indochina creates the conditions for

a further improvement of the international atmosphere. This will benefit the cause of international detente, including, as we hope, the detente in the relations between our country and the United States of America.

The struggle for peace goes on, and there must be no pauses or intervals in it. Every nation has the right to live under reliable security and in lasting peace. Here there can be no exceptions!

The participants in the European Conference are now putting the final touches to important documents laying down the principles of lasting peace in Europe, the principles of peaceable, good-neighbour relations between states on this continent, and determining forms of fruitful, mutually advantageous co-operation between them. It would not be a bad thing probably if this European experience were used in this or that form by states on other continents.

The struggle for ending the arms race, for disarmament, is also, of course, becoming of ever greater importance in consolidating peace.

Despite the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, which have long been insisting on a reduction in military budgets and military preparations, an arms race of unprecedented proportions continues in the world.

Meanwhile this stockpiling of weapons, including mass-destruction weapons, is becoming ever more absurd. The starting of a nuclear-missile war would spell inevitable annihilation for the aggressor himself, to say nothing of the vast losses for many other countries and peoples not even formally involved in the war. It is also clear that it is impossible to go on for long combining development of international detente with the constant build-up of military potentials of states, and the perfecting and stockpiling of weapons.

That is why it is not enough to talk about disarmament, it is time to go on to concrete agreements on a reduction of the military preparations of states. That is what the Soviet Union has been working for.

Comrades, as a result of our Party's consistent and purposeful peace policy, as a result of the growing might and influence of the forces of world socialism, the threat of another world war breaking out has been pushed back. And we shall continue to do everything to have this danger eventually eliminated altogether.

The memory of those who fell in the past great war while fighting for the cause of peace, and our duty and responsibility to the people, oblige us to pursue our Party's policy and to struggle for lasting peace on earth with redoubled effort. The Soviet Union and the other socialist states will always be in the forefront of this noblest and most necessary struggle.

Dear comrades, the celebration of Victory is not only a celebration of our military glory. The emotions we are filled with today are shared by hundreds of millions of fighters for independence and freedom and for a life in peace on all the continents of the world.

Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to offer heartfelt congratulations to all Soviet men and women and to all our foreign friends on this great holiday of Victory.

We extend our congratulations to the veterans of war, the heroic frontline fighters, partisans and underground workers, the selfless men and women who worked in the rear, and all those whose sweat and blood helped to bring nearer the joyous hour of Victory.

We extend congratulations to all those who revived the ruined cities and villages, and rehabilitated the national economy, to all those who in the postwar period raised the country to new heights of culture, and scientific, technological and economic progress.

We extend congratulations to our fine young people who have been carrying with honour the torch handed to them by their fathers in struggle and labour, in the construction of communism.

We extend congratulations to the country's Armed Forces,

which reliably stand guard over the Soviet people's peaceful labour.

From the bottom of my heart I wish happiness to every family, and sound health and successes to every man and woman in the country. May the flames of war never again touch our land!

Glory to the Soviet people, a victorious people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has organised and inspired all our victories!

May peace reign throughout the world!

Long live communism!

IN THE NAME OF PEACE AND THE HAPPINESS OF SOVIET PEOPLE

*Speech at a Meeting with the Electorate
of the Bauman Electoral District, Moscow*

June 13, 1975

Dear comrades,
Esteemed Muscovites,

Allow me, first to express my heartfelt gratitude to the working people of the Bauman Electoral District, who have once again nominated me their candidate for deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. I take your trust as approval of the policies of the Leninist Party, of the work of its Central Committee.

I sincerely thank all the comrades who have spoken here—the authorised representative Victor Victorovich Pushkaryov and Comrades Novakovsky, Sokolova, Gerasimov and Pote-ryakhina—for the warm words they have addressed to me. These words impose a high responsibility. I should like to assure you, dear comrades, that service in the interests of the Soviet people, the cause of the Party of Lenin, the cause of communism has been and remains the purport of all my life.

I take pride in that I shall be standing for deputy in one of the districts of our glorious capital, which has become a symbol of struggle for peace and the happiness of mankind for all progressive forces on our planet.

I hope that all of you remember our wish for what Moscow should be like. The Moscow Party organisation has done

much towards the fulfilment of the aim of turning Moscow into a model communist city. While preserving its unique historical features, Moscow is changing rapidly, and it is changing for the better. I should like to assure you, comrades, that the Central Committee and the Government shall continue giving their most considerate attention to the capital's development.

Comrades, over the past few days all the members and alternate-members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC of our Party have addressed electors. On the whole, in their speeches they have touched upon many aspects of our country's life. These speeches mirror the general line of the CC in internal and external policy, the line of the Political Bureau of our Party's CC.

In our country the elections to organs of state power always take place in an inimitable atmosphere and bear the imprint of their times. The present election campaign, which is proceeding in all the republics of the country, commenced in the year when the five-year plan is being completed, when the Soviet people are preparing to welcome the 25th Congress of their Communist Party.

Almost four and a half years of the ninth five-year plan period have passed. They have been years of hard creative work by the Party, our working class, agricultural workers, intellectuals, of the entire nation, to carry out the historic tasks set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. We have every reason to say, comrades, that considerable work has been accomplished, that notable successes have been achieved in all the areas designated by the Congress. We have made substantial headway on the road of communist construction. Life itself has borne out the correctness of the political guideline worked out by our Congress.

The scale and dynamic character of our industry's growth are to be seen from the fact that during four years of the ninth five-year plan period the volume of our industry's output has grown by more than one-third. Moreover, over four-fifths of the increment in industrial production was received through enhanced labour productivity. To this should be added that a key general indicator of the coun-

try's economic development such as the national income has risen by 26 per cent during these years.

Of fundamental significance is the fact that all our Union republics are advancing confidently and rapidly. Their efficient work and close interaction are reliably ensuring the fulfilment of the tasks set by the 24th Congress.

Industry is growing swiftly and advanced technology is being mastered in each of our republics. And it is extremely important that, in addition, ever more rational use is made of the potentialities of each republic for the country's overall development.

Substantial successes have been registered by our agriculture as well. Although, as you know, 1972 and 1974 were extremely unfavourable weather-wise, the mean annual output of grain during the past four years was 24 million tons above the mean level of the preceding five-year plan period.

The Ukrainian and Kazakhstan breadbaskets have grown much more weightier during the past four years. It is particularly vital that the grain growers of these republics are confidently consolidating the achievements in the production of grain. All our cotton-growing republics, and chiefly Uzbekistan, are now annually reaping record harvests of cotton and increasing the output of that valuable crop. This is a great achievement of our cotton growers and we cannot help taking delight in and, I would say, applauding it. Successes have been achieved by the fruit growers, vegetable growers and vine growers of the Transcaucasus and Moldavia. Livestock-breeding is also making good headway. During the past four years the cattle population, for example, has increased in the country's collective and state farms by more than 10 million head or by 14 per cent. Agriculture is being conducted efficiently in Byelorussia and in the Baltic and other republics.

For the future it is of particular importance that today irrigation is proceeding in almost all of the country's regions. This work is being conducted in the Russian Federation, too. In the Volga area, for instance, it has reached a very large scale: that region has one-fourth of Russia's irrigated land.

As regards the situation this year, all the republics have fulfilled the plan for sowing grain and technical crops. The thing now is to reap the harvest. It is extremely important that during this crucial time the working people of the countryside should display the same energy and organisation as in the past four years.

As you know, the 24th Party Congress gave very much of its attention to the task of raising the people's living standard. In accordance with the Congress' guidelines, the incomes of the working people have been growing steadily throughout the ninth five-year plan period. There has also been an appreciable increase in the quantity of goods being sold to the population. Much is being done in the sphere of housing construction. A total of 436 million square metres of housing have been built during the four years of the five-year plan period. This year alone nearly 11 million Soviet people will receive new or improved housing. We shall continue giving the necessary attention to the promotion of housing construction in the country.

Comrades, in two days' time we shall be voting for the candidates to the highest organ of power in the Russian Federation. With its glorious revolutionary, labour and militant traditions, it was the first to set the world a model of brotherhood among different nations and nationalities, and it is making a huge contribution to the communist transformation of our country.

The Russian Federation accounts for almost three-fifths of the grain procured by the state, over half of the steel smelted in the country and over 80 per cent of our oil.

The labour initiatives of the Russians, I have in mind, above all, the working people of Moscow and Leningrad, frequently serve as examples followed by the rest of the country. And today, as well, the people of Moscow are carrying out the assignments of the five-year plan ahead of schedule. How can we not rejoice in their achievements and applaud the Moscow Party organisation and all the working people of Moscow and Leningrad for their labour and their successes?

A conspicuous sign of our days is the swift development

of the oil regions of Northwestern Siberia. The growing output of oil and gas is giving an impulse to the building there of large oil refineries and a chemical industry, towns, motor roads and railways. By and large, that former outskirts is becoming a major industrial region virtually before our eyes.

The successes of this five-year plan are creating the conditions for major decisions in the next five-year plan and, consequently, for a further improvement of the life of our people.

An immense task that the Soviet people are beginning to tackle is to develop and, I would say, really enrich the vast agricultural regions of the Russian Federation's non-black-earth zone.

Much has been said about the non-black-earth zone and of the decision passed on this question by the CC and the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Nonetheless, I cannot help saying a few words, for this is an extremely important question, both economically and politically. It shows the present scale of our work.

One of four citizens of our country lives in the non-black-earth zone; 24 per cent of Russian Federation's ploughland is concentrated in it. But the potentialities of that huge territory, which has added not a few glorious pages to Russian history, have by no means been used in full measure. Frankly speaking, we simply did not have the strength and the means. Other requirements demanded priority.

The building of the Baikal-Amur Railway will be a great labour exploit by our people.

Already today the BAR has become a truly national project. It is reaffirming the good tradition of Soviet people—the tradition of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, Magnitogorsk, the Dnieper Hydropower Project and Komsomolsk-on-Amur—of tackling a big job together.

In opening access to the extremely rich resources of that territory, to its colossal natural wealth, we are beginning the economic development of that entire zone. Years will pass and new large cultural and industrial centres will spring up in Northeastern Siberia and also in the northern regions of the Soviet Far East.

The scale of the work on the BAR powerfully underscores the need for an expert approach to all the problems of that great project, for settling current questions not under the influence of a spontaneous run of events but on the basis of exact and scientific notions of the prospect for that enormous region's composite development. For instance, in the immediate future we have to determine clearly what specific mineral and other resources are to be given priority in enlistment into the economic turnover. It must be decided where, in what places, it is most advantageous to site towns and workers' townships.

A correct decision of all these questions depends to a huge extent on the work of economic planning bodies and design organisations. One can say with certainty that their role and responsibility generally will grow steadily in the course of our communist construction.

Work has already been started on the BAR and tens of thousands of young people are being educated, maturing and becoming steeled there, and their numbers will soon grow to hundreds of thousands. They have to surmount many difficulties. But we are confident, comrades, that they will do it—and that they will do it with honour!

On the whole, comrades, in summing up the work that has been accomplished in recent years, we have full grounds for saying that the tasks set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU are being carried out, and that they are being carried out quite well.

Needless to say, this does not mean that everything is as we should like it to be. There are both shortcomings and difficulties. The Party Central Committee and the Government see them and they are mobilising our cadres and the broad masses of working people of town and countryside to eliminate them.

Life is life, comrades. All of us working to carry out the decisions of the 24th Congress have learned much during these years. We have begun to go deeper into the specifics of and prospects for the development of industry and agriculture, and have begun to deal in real earnest with such currently key problems as labour productivity, output-asset

ratio, and increasing efficiency in production. Although we have considered these problems at three plenary meetings of the CC, they are so important that I am not afraid of repeating myself. They concern not only the present but also the future of our country. The skilful fulfilment of the tasks that arise will give us additional large possibilities that can be used for the welfare and happiness of our people.

The huge scale and complexity of the problems facing us are making growing demands on cadres. Under present-day conditions every member of society must be more exacting to himself and to his work, whether he operates a lathe or a harvester-combine, engages in scientific work or heads a ministry.

An improvement of the quality of all work has become the key to the advancement of our entire national economy. This also concerns the quality of our plans, in other words, their substantiation and proportionality. This also concerns the quality of management, from the lowest links of the production apparatus to the central economic bodies. This also concerns the strengthening of labour discipline and the improvement of the quality of the output.

We must, without fail, learn to look ahead, concentrate financial and material resources on the promotion of the most promising industries yielding the maximum return—and we shall most certainly learn to do this. We must make fuller use of existing production capacities, reduce the expenditure of primary and other materials, and more quickly introduce new, improved technology in production. All this is, understandably, not easy, but it must be done. Precisely this will mean the correct utilisation of our experienced cadres and our immense material wealth. Without this all the talk about the efficiency of the economy is worth little.

Comrades, the decisions of the Party CC plenary meetings, the address of the Central Committee to the Party and the people, the call to mobilise all resources for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1975 plan and ninth five-year plan, to improve the quality and the efficiency of all our work have evoked a tremendous political and labour upswing throughout the country.

Socialist emulation has reached a particularly large scale during the years of this five-year plan period. Both its forms and content are new in many aspects, and they are consistent with the country's development level and the requirements of our future. The motto of the movement has now become not merely to produce more but to produce better and more economically.

The splendid, grand movement for a communist attitude to work is broadening, and its initiators were Muscovites—and, of course, the working people of the Bauman District.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, as you all know, attached immense significance to fostering a communist attitude to work. He insisted on “more attention to the way in which the workers and peasants are *actually* building the *new* in their everyday work, and more *verification* so as to ascertain the extent to which the new is communistic”. We keep in mind and abide by this behest of Lenin's. Our Party considers that one of its cardinal duties is to do everything to encourage, support and disseminate genuinely constructive and useful initiatives of front-ranking workers aimed at improving the quality of all our work.

The new generation of Soviet working people is holding aloft the banner raised by the heroes of the first five-year plans.

Is not, for example, the fine movement of front-ranking miners to produce a thousand and even more tons of coal per day per mechanised breakage face evidence of this? In the relevant decision of the Party CC it is stated that the participants in this movement strictly observe technological and labour discipline and display true labour heroism, proficiency and resourcefulness in bringing production potentials to light.

The teams led by Heroes of Socialist Labour Comrades Smirnov in the Kuzbas, and Murzenko, Chikh and Tatsenko in the Donbas have each in the course of one year produced more than a million tons of coal—an achievement that in the past could only be attained by the entire personnel of large mines.

The initiative of these workers has been followed in all

the country's coal basins. The more than 400 teams participating in this new form of emulation last year gave the national economy over one-fourth of its underground output of coal and shale. The number of these teams is growing, the movement is steadily broadening.

That, comrades, is a communist attitude to work in practice! There is no doubt that the experience of foremost miners can and must be utilised by the working people in other branches of our industry and in the national economy generally.

Our young people are on the front lines of the shock work of the five-year plan. Four hundred thousand Komsomols and other young workers, 12,000 Komsomol-youth collectives have carried out their assignments under the five-year plan. Many fine undertakings have been initiated by the Komsomols and other young people of Moscow, including the Bauman District. The 48 million participants in the All-Union Komsomol Conference have wholeheartedly subscribed to the oath sworn by the Komsomols of Moscow, the oath to work in the Stakhanovite, communist way. Let us, comrades, wish our splendid young people further great successes!

Dear comrades, in our day-to-day concerns, in the rush of our everyday work we do not always manage to generalise the individual facts and phenomena around us. There are hundreds and thousands of models of social activity by Soviet people. Today our worker, the Soviet collective farmer and the Soviet intellectual is a person who does not simply perform his work consciously and with initiative, but, as a rule, has broad interests—the interests of his enterprise, district, region, and republic, of his entire motherland.

We see in this the concrete fruits of our Party's untiring extensive work of educating the people ideologically and politically. The decisive condition for our advance in all directions is, ultimately, the growth of the working people's ideological conviction, of their political consciousness.

To be ideologically principled means to regard one's work as part of the great common cause, the building of communism, to train oneself to see and feel how, to use the

words of a poet, "my work fuses with the work of my republic".

It means to be uncompromising towards egoism and bigotry, towards slackness and slovenliness, towards philistine indifference and grabbing.

It means to demand of oneself and others the strictest observance of labour discipline, to work with vim, initiative and the utmost vigour.

It means to love one's great socialist motherland with all one's heart and to be aware that our successes are a contribution to the common struggle of all nations for lasting peace, freedom and socialism.

In other words, comrades, to be ideologically principled means to be an active and conscious fighter for communism, for the triumph of its great ideals.

As our socialist society matures and advances farther towards the highest stage of its development, towards communism, the greater becomes the social activity of our citizens, labour collectives and entire people, and the broader and deeper are the working people drawn into the administration of affairs of state. This is one of the key laws of our social development. And this means promoting and improving socialist democracy, to which our Party attaches paramount importance.

In our country one of the principal forms of the socio-political activity of citizens is the work of the Soviets.

Our Party continues, as it has always done, to pay considerable attention to improving the work of the Soviets and strengthening their bonds with the people. A number of new laws aimed at improving the work of the Soviets has been passed over the past few years. Today they are being put into effect, and we must perseveringly secure the further enhancement of the role and responsibility of the Soviet organs and the further development and deepening of the democratic principles underlying their work.

Of course, the success of the work of the Soviets depends largely on how the deputies themselves fulfil their duties.

To be a deputy in a Soviet is an honourable and, at the same time, highly responsible and complex job. In our

country a deputy is the spokesman of the interests of the working people of his electoral district in the organs of power and the representative of state interests in the locality who displays concern for the consistent implementation of the Party's policy in the interests of the entire Soviet people.

The rights enjoyed by our deputies are very great. Attention to the inquiries and suggestions of deputies and assistance to them in the discharge of their duties constitute requirements of the law. And they must be observed strictly.

Special mention must be made of the role of the Communist deputies, of the significance of their authority and example. The Communist has always borne a large responsibility for our common cause. For the Communist deputy this responsibility, I would say, doubles. There is no doubt, comrades, that each of the Communists nominated during these days as candidates for deputies will always remember this and will be able to make a tangible contribution to the great cause of promoting socialist democracy and further strengthening our people's power.

Dear comrades, I cannot help saying a few words about our glorious Army. Our Army is an army of peace, and together with the armies of the fraternal countries it guards our security and our peaceful labour. For this our people bear affection for our Armed Forces.

Comrades, favourable peaceful conditions for our communist construction can be ensured by a correct foreign policy, and for that reason foreign policy issues, to the same extent as the problems of our internal development, keenly interest electors.

The line of our Party and state in international affairs is well known. It springs from the very nature of socialism and is subordinated entirely to the interests of the peaceful constructive labour of Soviet people and our brothers in the socialist countries. Being a consistently class line, it serves the cause of peace, freedom and security of all nations, their national independence and social progress; it is consistent with the interests of the broadest masses throughout the world. This policy is supported by Soviet people with whole-

hearted unanimity. We shall continue pursuing it actively and perseveringly.

In recent years the conviction that peaceful coexistence is possible and, more, necessary has strengthened in the minds of the broad masses and of the ruling circles of most countries. Detente has become possible because a new alignment of forces has taken shape on the world scene. Today the leaders of the bourgeois world can no longer seriously count on settling the dispute between capitalism and socialism by force of arms. It is becoming increasingly evident that any further hotting up of the atmosphere when both sides possess weapons of colossal destructive power is senseless and extremely dangerous.

The norms of peaceful coexistence of countries have been formalised in many binding bilateral and multilateral official documents and in political declarations. Naturally, all this has not come of itself. Enormous political work had to be accomplished to put an end to the cold war and reduce the danger of another world war. It may be said that the joint work of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, and their consistent struggle against the forces of aggression and war have been decisive in achieving detente.

Today the world is entering a period when prominence is being given to the task of embodying the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation in day-to-day practical deeds.

This is a crucial period. Those to whom the destinies of states and peoples are entrusted must show that their deeds are not at variance with their words. You know that there are politicians, who use slogans of peace and verbally agree with the principles of peaceful coexistence and detente sooner as a blind and in fact count on returning to the policy of the cold war days, urge the whipping up of the arms race and show undisguised hostility for the socialist countries.

The efforts of such politicians come into conflict with the aspirations of the peoples. Essentially speaking, they cannot offer anything save further economic hardships and

the revival of the threat of another world war. However, if we do not give them a rebuff opportunely, they can slow down the strengthening of world security and the promotion of peaceful co-operation among nations.

Life teaches that really durable peace requires consistent and purposeful efforts by statesmen and politicians, the ability to counter the opponents of detente and, this must be stressed, avoid being ensnared by them.

One cannot help being astonished when one hears some, it would seem responsible, leaders in the West discussing the benefits or harm of detente, that is to say, whether it is useful or harmful to live under condition where peace is being consolidated and the threat of war reduced.

We are sometimes told that the attempts to question the benefits of detente are being made, so to speak, for purely internal political, tactical considerations, to win the backing of the Right-wing circles of the given country. But, frankly speaking, we are convinced that the consolidation of peace is much too serious a matter for present and future generations to subordinate it to some situation considerations or moods.

Needless to say, we have our own ideology, our own convictions, but our point of departure is that all peoples need peace to the same extent, that all states are interested in eliminating the threat of a world nuclear war. In this lies the main foundation of the joint efforts to strengthen peace and security. In speaking of Soviet-US relations, US President Ford recently stressed that detente benefits both sides. It seems to me that one cannot but agree with this.

We abide firmly by the opinion that detente can and must be further deepened. For this it is necessary that states should give due consideration to mutual, I repeat, mutual, and not unilateral interests, and that they should undertake commitments on a basis of reciprocity. This, properly speaking, was the basis for the beginning of detente, and this is the basis on which it is developing.

Allow me, comrades, from this rostrum to make it plain once more: the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and the entire Soviet people have come out and will continue to

come out resolutely and consistently for an improvement of the international climate, for the strengthening of peaceful relations between states, for the consolidation of security in Europe, for a further improvement of relations with France, with the United States of America, the FRG, Britain, Italy and Japan, with all countries that reciprocate our efforts.

We believe that further major practical steps can be taken in the immediate future towards a more stable and healthy peace in Europe and the rest of the planet.

This is true of the European Conference, where most of the work has been done and whose consummation is near.

This is also true of the Vienna talks on a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe—if they are approached honestly and objectively and no attempt is made to use them as an instrument for strengthening one's military position relative to the other side, as is still being attempted by the NATO countries.

This is also true of the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

The steps towards their further development that are now being planned in connection with the new Soviet-US summit to be held this year including the signing of a new agreement on limiting strategic weapons on the basis of the agreement reached at Vladivostok, are very necessary and important. But we do not by any means consider that this exhausts all that can be done in the context of the struggle against the arms race.

It is well known that as a result of the agreements concluded in recent years the arms race is to some extent being held in check in some sectors, and here the role of the socialist states is very large. But regrettably we cannot say that an end has been put to the arms build-up.

In some Western countries the military budgets are being actively swelled. In these countries the military departments are making a huge effort to push more and more allocations through the legislative organs. The Soviet Union considers that matters should move in a different direction. We are for a reduction of military budgets and call upon other

powers to join us in this. Our country has been and remains a firm advocate of limiting and reducing armaments, an advocate of disarmament. We shall not relax our efforts in that direction.

In this connection I should like to emphasise the significance of an important question. It has not yet been mirrored in agreements between countries, but, we are certain, it is growing more acute and urgent with each passing day. This question is that countries—notably the big powers—should sign an agreement banning the development of new kinds of weapons of mass annihilation and new systems of such weapons.

Modern science and technology have reached a level where there is the grave danger that a weapon even more terrible than nuclear weapons may be developed. The reason and conscience of mankind dictate the need to erect an insuperable barrier to the development of such a weapon.

This task requires, of course, the efforts of many states, and principally of the big powers. But in this matter, too, the Soviet Union and the United States of America could, by acting in one and the same direction, make a large contribution.

Comrades, everything that our Party is doing in the sphere of foreign policy is aimed at ensuring the peace and security of the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, at strengthening world peace. Everything that our Party is doing in the sphere of internal policy is aimed ultimately at improving the life of the Soviet people.

Our Party's 25th Congress is not far distant. The Soviet people are now concentrating on the preparations for this major event. It may be said with confidence that the coming congress will set new important targets on the road to the great goals to which our Party is working and for whose attainment we are dedicating all our strength.

The Party Central Committee daily receives thousands of letters in which Soviet people cordially thank it for its correct policy, for its concern for the welfare of the people. We highly value this support, which is inspiring and binding. We see it as further confirmation that we are steering

a true course and are, on the whole, successfully carrying out the great tasks of communist construction in the name of peace and the happiness of Soviet people.

Dear comrades, after tomorrow, on June 15, the citizens of the USSR will again demonstrate the unity of our people, their cohesion round their Leninist Party, by giving their votes to the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. The Central Committee is confident that the elected representatives of the people, the deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the republics and the local Soviets will be worthy of the trust placed in them and honourably discharge their duty to the people. I give you this same promise as a candidate for deputy.

Thank you again for your high trust, comrades.

IN THE NAME OF PEACE, SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION

*Speech at the Conference
on Security and Co-operation
in Europe, Helsinki*

July 31, 1975

Esteemed Comrade Chairman,
Esteemed participants in the Conference,

All of us taking part in the final stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are conscious of the unusual character of this event, its political magnitude. It can be said with confidence that this feeling is shared by millions upon millions of people in all the countries participating in the Conference and not only in those countries. Together with us they are giving thought to the meaning of what is taking place these days in the capital of Finland.

What accounts for this attitude to the Conference of top political and state leaders present in this Hall?

The answer evidently should be sought in the fact that the results of the Conference are linked with expectations and hopes never before engendered by any other collective action in the period following the well-known joint Allied postwar decisions.

Those who belong to the generation which experienced the horrors of World War II most clearly perceive the historic significance of the Conference. Its objectives are also close to the hearts and minds of the generation of Europeans which has grown up and is now living in conditions of peace

and which rightly believes that things cannot be otherwise.

The soil of Europe was drenched with blood in the years of the two world wars. The top political and state leaders of 33 European states, the USA and Canada have assembled in Helsinki to contribute by joint effort to making Europe a continent which would experience no more military calamities. The right to peace must be secured for all the peoples of Europe. We stand, of course, for securing that right for all the other peoples of our planet as well.

Being a focus of many distinctive national cultures, one of the peaks of world civilisation, Europe is in a position to set a good example of building inter-state relations on the basis of durable peace.

The Soviet Union regards the outcome of the Conference not merely as a necessary summing up of the political results of World War II. This is, at the same time, an insight into the future in terms of the realities of today and the age-old experience of the European nations.

It was here, in Europe, that aggressors time and again crowned themselves with dubious laurels, only later to be cursed by the peoples. It was here, in Europe, that a political doctrine was made of the claims to world domination which ended in the collapse of states whose resources had been used to serve criminal, inhuman purposes.

That is why the hour has come for the inevitable collective conclusions to be drawn from the experience of history. And we are drawing these conclusions here, being fully aware of our responsibility for the future of the European continent which must exist and develop in conditions of peace.

It will hardly be denied that the results of the Conference represent a carefully weighed balance of the interests of all participating states and, therefore, should be treated with special care.

No easy road has been travelled from the advancement of the idea of the European Conference to its culmination, its conclusion at summit level. The Soviet Union, soberly assessing the correlation and dynamics of the various political forces in Europe and in the world, firmly believes that

the powerful currents of detente and co-operation on the basis of equality, which in recent years have increasingly determined the course of European and world politics, will gain, thanks to the Conference and its results, new strength and greater scope.

The document which we are to sign, while summing up the past, is projected, in its content, to the future. The understanding reached covers a wide range of the most topical problems relating to peace, security and co-operation in various fields.

Relations between participating states have been placed on the solid basis of the fundamental principles which are to determine rules of conduct in relations between them. These are the principles of peaceful coexistence for which V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, fought with such conviction and consistency and for which our people are fighting to this day.

The Conference has also defined the areas and specific forms of co-operation in the fields of economy and trade, science and technology, environmental protection, culture, education and contacts between individuals, institutions and organisations.

Possibilities for co-operation now extend also to areas where it was inconceivable in the years of the cold war. For instance, broader exchanges of information in the interests of peace and friendship among nations.

It is no secret that information media can serve the purposes of peace and confidence or they can spread all over the world the poison of discord between countries and peoples. We would like to hope that the results of the Conference will serve as a correct guideline for co-operation in these areas as well.

Important understandings supplementing the political detente by a military detente have been reached at the Conference. This, too, is a qualitatively new stage in building confidence among states.

The Soviet Union unswervingly supports the idea that the Conference should be followed by a further advance of military detente. A priority goal, in this regard, is to find ways

to reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe without prejudice to the security of anyone. Moreover, to the benefit of all.

The special political importance and moral force of the understandings reached at the Conference lie in the fact that they are to be sealed with the signatures of the top leaders of the participating states. To make these understandings fully effective is our common and most important objective.

We proceed from the assumption that all the countries represented at the Conference will translate into life the understandings that have been reached. As regards the Soviet Union, this is exactly what it will do.

In our view, the aggregate result of the Conference is that international detente is being increasingly invested with concrete material content. It is the materialisation of detente that is the crux of the matter, the substance of all that should make peace in Europe truly durable and unshakeable. And here, uppermost in our mind is the task of ending the arms race and achieving tangible results in disarmament.

It is very important to proclaim correct and just principles of relations among nations. It is no less important to see that these principles are firmly rooted in present-day international relations, are put to practical use and made the law of international life not to be breached by anyone. This is the aim of our policy of peace and we declare it once again from this lofty rostrum.

The very fact of this meeting of the leading figures from 33 European states, from the United States and Canada, unprecedented in history, should, of course, become a key link in the process of detente, of strengthening European and world security and of the development of mutually advantageous co-operation. All that is so.

However, if the hopes of the peoples pinned on this meeting and on the decisions of the Conference are to be fully justified, and not shaken at the first change of weather, further common efforts, day-to-day work on the part of all the participating states to deepen detente are needed.

The success of the Conference has become possible only

because its participants continuously took steps to meet each other halfway and, overcoming difficulties, often great ones, were able eventually to work out mutually acceptable understandings on each of the issues discussed. These understandings were conceived and reached not through the imposition of the views of some participants in the Conference upon others, but by taking into account the views and interests of all, and by common consent.

If there are compromises here, these compromises are well-substantiated, of the kind that benefit peace without obscuring the differences in ideology and social system. To be more precise, they represent an expression of the common political will of the participating states in a form that is feasible today, in the conditions of the existence of states with different social systems.

The experience of the work of the Conference provides important conclusions for the future, too. The main conclusion, which is reflected in the Final Act, is this: no one should try, from foreign policy considerations of one kind or another, to dictate to other peoples how they should manage their internal affairs. It is only the people of each given state, and no one else, that have the sovereign right to decide their own internal affairs and establish their own internal laws. Any other approach would be precarious and perilous ground for the cause of international co-operation.

The document that we are to sign is a broad and clear-cut platform of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral actions of states in the years and, perhaps, decades to come. What has been achieved, however, is not the limit. Today it is the maximum possible, but tomorrow it should become the starting point for a further advance along the lines charted by the Conference.

The desire for continuity in endeavour and deed is inherent in mankind. This is true also of the great undertaking on which the 35 nations represented in Helsinki are embarking. This finds its reflection in the fact that further steps following the first Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have been outlined to implement and develop its objectives.

Before this exceptionally authoritative audience we should like to stress most emphatically one of the inherent features of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, of the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among nations—its humanism. The ideas of humanism pervade the decisions of the 24th Congress of our Party, the Peace Programme, one of the points of which was the convocation of a European conference.

We note with deep satisfaction that the provisions drawn up by the Conference with respect to the main problems of strengthening peace in Europe serve the interests of nations, serve the interests of all people regardless of their occupation, nationality and age: industrial and agricultural workers, intellectuals, each person individually and all people together. These provisions are imbued with respect for man, with concern for ensuring that he might live in peace and look to the future with confidence.

The understandings we have reached give the peoples more possibilities for influencing so-called "big politics". At the same time, they also touch upon everyday problems. They will contribute to improving the life of people, providing them with work and expanding educational opportunities. They are concerned with care for health, in short, with many things affecting individuals, families, youth and different groups of society.

Like many of those who have spoken from this rostrum, we view the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as the common success of all its participants. Its results may be beneficial beyond Europe as well.

The results of the long negotiations are such that there are neither victors nor vanquished, winners or losers. This is a triumph of reason. Everyone has gained: the countries of East and West, the peoples of socialist and capitalist states, whether parties to alliances or neutral, big or small. It is a gain for all who cherish peace and security on our planet.

We are convinced that the successful implementation of what we have agreed upon here not only will have a beneficial effect on the life of the European peoples, but will also

become an important contribution to the cause of strengthening world peace.

And one more thought which is, perhaps, shared by many of those present here. The Conference has proved to be a useful school of international politics for the participating states, particularly useful in our time when there exist incredible means of destruction and annihilation.

The powerful impetus provided by this meeting of the leaders of the 35 nations participating in the Conference is intended to help everyone inside and outside Europe to live in peace.

In conclusion, I would like to express profound gratitude to the people and the Government of Finland, and personally to President Urho Kekkonen for the excellent organisation of the proceedings of the third stage, for their exceptional cordiality and hospitality.

REQUEST TO READERS

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