

L. I. BREZHNEV

**OUR COURSE:
PEACE
AND
SOCIALISM**



L. I. BREZHNEV,
General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

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*Collection of Speeches
by General Secretary of the CPSU
Central Committee, L. I. BREZHNEV*

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OUR AIM—TO RAISE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS

*Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
at the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian
Communist Party,
April 21, 1971*

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Dear comrades,
Friends,

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people, our delegation conveys hearty fraternal greetings to the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, to all Communists and working folk of Bulgaria. We are sincerely grateful to your Party's Central Committee for the invitation to attend the Congress, and wish the delegates successful, fruitful work.

All friends of socialist Bulgaria cannot but rejoice at the splendid accomplishments described by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the report of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and in the speeches of the delegates. They are an expression of the labours of the peoples and the policy of the Communist Party which is confidently leading the Bulgarian people along the socialist road.

By its heroic history, its deeds and its devoted service to the people, the Bulgarian Communist Party has demonstrated its ability and right to captain socialist construction. It is loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletariat internationalism, close ties with the working people and awareness of their needs and aspirations that give the Communists their strength and make them acknowledged leaders in the nationwide struggle for socialism.

The firm alliance between Bulgaria's working class and workers on the land, expressed also in the years of long fraternal cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Agrarian National Union, has indissolubly united the Bulgarian people on the foundation of socialist ideals.

The Bulgaria of the tsars was one of Europe's most backward countries. For many decades it was the object of imperialist intrigues, the victim of bellicose adventurism and fascist terror. Now this has all gone, never to return. Bulgaria today is a prosperous socialist state with a powerful modern industry and progressive farming. Bulgaria's cities and towns have taken on a new look. Its villages have changed beyond all recognition. Bulgaria today is a sovereign state, an active participant in world affairs, a full-fledged, respected member of the fraternal family of socialist countries and nations.

All this, comrades, has been achieved by the power of the working people, by the Communist Party, the workers, peasants and intellectuals, by a nation delivered from the fetters of exploitation and oppression.

In the socialist countries the vital social problems, which so many generations of revolutionaries struggled to settle, have already been solved. Exploitation of man by man has been abolished. There is no unemployment. Every working man knows that he is the master of his own destiny, of his country. This provides a fine foundation for confident advance to new heights in socialist and communist construction, a dependable basis for the realisation of the most bold designs. It stands to reason that Communists are far from claiming that the future augurs an idyllic life of cloudless bliss. Each new phase of social development poses its own tasks of complexity and scope. In the process of socialist and communist construction there arise difficulties and contradictions which have to be overcome. But the goals the Communists set are attainable. And they will certainly be reached!

This 10th Congress which is to endorse the Bulgarian Communist Party's programme ushers in a new and important stage in the life of your Party and country. We consider the opportunity we have of being with you these

days, of being able to attend your Congress, a great honour and an indication of the inseverable bonds binding our fraternal parties and our peoples.

In drafting its programme the Bulgarian Communist Party could draw on the experience accumulated in the process of socialist reforms, on the glorious internationalist traditions of Bulgaria's Communists, the traditions of Blagoyev and Dimitrov. The draft programme outlines a consistent policy for the building of an advanced socialist society, for an ever fuller satisfaction of the working people's material and cultural requirements. That is the main thing, comrades. Socialism's strength lies in the socialist system serving the working people's interests. This is the clue to its solidity, the source of the trust that the people repose in the Communists who are directing the effort to revolutionise society along the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the other fraternal parties possess what today is most precious capital. It is their international experience in the struggle for socialism and communism. The Communist Parties are creatively applying this experience to the conditions obtaining in their respective countries. We Soviet Communists know full well that at every stage in its history the Bulgarian Communist Party has acted in close and fraternal cooperation with our Party, with the revolutionaries of our country. The indestructible militant friendship between Soviet and Bulgarian Communists has always been a firm link in the common front of the socialist countries, in the common front of the revolutionary forces, and so it will remain.

Permit me, comrade delegates, to pass on to you from Soviet Communists and our entire people warm and heartfelt wishes for your every success in tackling the economic, political, and social tasks charted for the next five years and in attaining the great aims set out in your Party's draft programme.

Comrades, the Soviet delegation has come to Sofia with the impressions still very much with it of the proceedings of the 24th CPSU Congress, which outlined the key tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state, and our entire people for the next five years.

The decisions of this Congress open up broad prospects in communist construction for Communists and all Soviet people.

Unswervingly abiding by the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy, our Party will continue to do all in its power to secure the further prosperity of all the socialist nations comprising the Soviet Union and to establish still closer relations between them.

In the new five-year plan period we shall persist with our policy of raising the efficiency of production, of immediately applying the achievements of scientific and technological progress, and of improving management and planning. When we complete the transition to universal full secondary schooling, we shall have laid an even firmer foundation for still higher cultural and educational standards of the Soviet people. In every field we shall concentrate on the main task of raising the material standards and cultural level of our people, which is the pivot of our entire policy.

The Soviet people have unanimously approved the results of the Congress. Work has begun on the practical realisation of the Party's plans. And though we have much to do and the tasks before us are substantial we are sure that we shall be successful. The earnest of this is the atmosphere of labour and political enthusiasm prevailing in our country.

Literally each new day brings news of fresh accomplishments by the Soviet people in labour, culture, science and technology. One outstanding instance of this is the successful launching on April 19 of the orbital space scientific station "Salyut." This, comrades, is not only a new major step in space exploration and development, but a significant milestone for further advance in this important field for all of mankind.

Our delegation has been deeply moved by the high assessment given from this rostrum of the activities of our Party and the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. May I cordially thank you for these fraternal sentiments, for the warm words said here about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. May I also once again thank the Bulgarian Communist Party delegation led by our great friend Todor Zhivkov, an outstanding leader of the international commu-

nist movement, for having attended our Congress. May I assure you, dear comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will remain staunchly loyal to Leninist internationalist traditions and do all in its power to consolidate and promote friendship and cooperation with Bulgaria's Communists, with Communists in the other socialist countries, and with all comrades in the struggle for socialism and communism.

Comrades, in each country socialist construction has its own specific, characteristic, and distinctive features. That is quite natural. At the same time, as is rightly emphasised in the Bulgarian Communist Party's draft programme, the decisive significance of common laws in the development of all socialist countries has been historically proved. Hence, the fundamental interconnection between the matters being discussed at this 10th Bulgarian Communist Party Congress and the tasks which were considered at the 24th CPSU Congress is far from fortuitous.

It is quite logical that both Congresses focus their attention on such a task as that of ensuring a substantial rise in the working people's living standards. The way to solve this task is through the further growth of labour productivity, a well-devised policy of capital investments, and a planned and proportionate development of all branches of the national economy.

The 24th CPSU Congress and the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party show once more that such questions as the development of socialist democracy, strengthening of the unity of classes and social groups of socialist society, with the working class assigned the leading role, are constantly in the field of vision of the Communists in socialist countries.

Both our Congresses indicate how important today are the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the communist education of the working people, and uncompromising struggle against the ideology and morals of the old world.

Our position in the ideological struggle is strong as never before. On our side is the truth of the practical achievements of socialism. We possess the most powerful weapons—the Marxist-Leninist teaching which helps us find correct

answers to the new questions put by life. The strength of our ideas lies in the fact that they are borne out by the entire course of social development which, step by step, is leading all of mankind to socialism.

Realising this, our enemies try might and main to besmear our ideals. They would like to cast doubt on the historical truth of the great cause which we Communists are fighting for. Therefore, the offensive against bourgeois ideology and the struggle against opportunism, revisionism and nationalist tendencies of every kind have always been for us one of the most urgent tasks.

Comrades, Lenin said in 1920 that when socialism emerges victorious in a number of advanced countries the latter will be capable of exercising "a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole."¹ Now we all see that things are going precisely in this direction. Today the socialist states have become a force exercising a mighty influence on the entire world development. The influence of the socialist system penetrates today all spheres of international life and all corners of our planet. The achievements scored by our countries in the construction of socialism and communism encourage millions upon millions of people in the former colonies and dependent countries to build a new life, and inspire the working people in the capitalist countries to struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the exploiters. The downtrodden peoples look upon the socialist countries as their support and hope, as the bulwark of peace and justice.

The steadily growing might of the socialist states, their alliance with the revolutionary, liberation and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world are today a decisive factor in the struggle for the deliverance of mankind from the danger of a world missile-nuclear war. In places where the imperialists use arms in an attempt to crush the liberation struggle, they are meeting with an ever firmer and resolute rebuff. By their own experience they are learning of the internationalist solidarity of the revolutionary forces and of the effectiveness of the support of the socialist countries being given to the fighters against imperialist aggres-

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.

sion. Most eloquent in this respect is the successful struggle of the patriots of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia against the US aggressors, and the failure of the imperialist plans to overthrow the progressive regimes in the Arab countries.

The socialist countries have scored no little success in their persistent and consistent struggle for a lasting peace, for security and for mutually advantageous cooperation of the peoples of Europe, though quite a lot has still to be done along this road.

In a word, comrades, the socialist countries have a great and noble role to play in the modern world. Equally great is our internationalist responsibility as Communists to our class brothers, to working people all over the world. We realise full well that the socialist countries will be able to discharge their historic mission all the more successfully the more closely knit are their ranks and the more friendly and concerted are their actions in the world arena.

We highly appreciate the valuable contribution made by Bulgarian Communists to the strengthening of the socialist community. The Bulgarian Communist Party has always proceeded from positions of consistent socialist internationalism in the work for the development of socialist economic integration, in defending socialist gains on the international scene and in the working out of measures for the further strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty. For that we, its friends and allies, pay it tribute and express our deep respect.

We may here state with great satisfaction to our peoples, to the whole world, that the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, like the other fraternal socialist states, the Warsaw Treaty allies, are unanimous in their resolve to carry on actively and consistently the Leninist policy of defending the cause of peace and the freedom of nations. Nobody will ever be able to break our unity! It is manifested concretely in the common features of the foreign-policy programmes of our Parties outlined at the 24th CPSU Congress and here at the Congress of Bulgarian Communists.

We stand for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of all nations. Our aims are near and dear to the working people in all countries and meet with their strong approval. On our side is the

CELEBRATION OF GREAT VICTORIES

*Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
on Red Square, Moscow,
May 1, 1971*

invincible power of the laws of historical development. Therefore, we firmly believe that whatever difficulties, whatever unexpected developments may arise in the international situation, the just cause espoused by the Communists of Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will triumph for the good of entire mankind.

Comrades, concluding my speech I would like once again to wish you and all the working people of the Republic great successes in your labour and to wish socialist Bulgaria happiness and prosperity. We are bound by relations of genuine friendship and fraternity. We are convinced that the work of the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its decisions will make a fresh contribution to the consolidation of our fraternal relations, to the strengthening of the militant union of the countries of socialism.

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party, the organiser and inspirer of the building of socialism on Bulgarian soil!

May the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, their unbreakable union develop and flourish!

May the world socialist system, the stronghold of peace, democracy and progress grow stronger!

Long live the unity of the revolutionary forces of today and their vanguard—the world communist movement!

May the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin triumph!

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was heard with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause.

Amidst enthusiastic applause Comrade Brezhnev handed to the Presidium the message of greetings of the CPSU Central Committee to the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Dear fellow-countrymen,

Dear Muscovites and guests of our glorious capital,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the USSR I extend to you heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of May Day—the holiday of international solidarity of working people, the holiday of spring, labour and peace.

On behalf of our Party and all our people we are sending from this square, so dear to the heart of every Soviet man, our ardent militant greetings to our class brothers abroad, the working people in all countries.

Comrades, mankind owes everything it has to labour, to the labour of those who smelt metal and grow grain, develop sophisticated machines and produce remarkable works of art, who bring up the rising generations and delve into the secrets of the universe.

However, socialism alone has made the fruits of labour available to the working people themselves, enabled the man of labour to enjoy universal respect and made labour itself a source of immense moral satisfaction.

The emancipated labour of free man in countries where

the socialist revolution has triumphed is achieving miracles. This is also amply evident from the experience of our socialist state, the first in the world.

Soviet socialist economy has made stupendous strides. There is a steady rise in the wellbeing and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The defence capacity of the Soviet country is indestructible. All this stems from the selfless labour of our heroic working class, our peasantry, our intelligentsia.

Now the life of our entire country is centred around implementing the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congress has again demonstrated the identity of interests, aspirations and destinies of our Leninist Party and the entire Soviet people. Its decisions constitute a breath-taking programme for the further progress of our country, the greater wellbeing of Soviet people. This programme requires new labour efforts by the entire people. Persistent, inspired and creative labour will increase the power and glory of our homeland still further, enrich and better the life of every man and woman, of every family.

The first steps towards realising the decisions of the Congress have already been made. Our industry has commenced the new five-year plan with truly enthusiastic work. Spring field work is off to a good start throughout the country. Remarkable results were attained in the nationwide Communist Subbotnik held on the eve of May Day. Now the nationwide socialist emulation drive initiated by Muscovites to fulfil the first-year targets of the five-year plan ahead of time is making rapid headway throughout the country.

It was with admiration and pride that Soviet people learned of the new triumph of Soviet science and engineering—the successful launchings of the “Salyut” orbital space station and the “Soyuz-10” spaceship. A new important step has been made in space exploration. This is a great achievement resulting from the talent and labour of Soviet scientists, engineers, technicians and workers, the skill and selflessness of our hero-cosmonauts.

This year’s May Day may rightly be called a *holiday of great labour victories*.

We send our most cordial greetings to the working peo-

ple of the towns and villages of our land of Soviets, the workers and collective farmers, scientists and cultural workers, servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy, to all who are marching today in holiday demonstrations or fulfilling labour and military obligations.

Glory to the labour of our great people!

Comrades, both the cause of world peace and the successes of the peoples’ liberation struggle largely depend on the labour of Soviet people, the might and prosperity of the Soviet land.

Loyal to the behests of the great Lenin, the 24th Congress of our Party put forward a clear and constructive programme of peaceful foreign policy which was enthusiastically approved by the fraternal socialist countries and the masses throughout the world. The efforts to implement this programme is the right way to further strengthen international security and consolidate international friendship.

It can rightly be stated that our May Day is a *holiday of peace*, a day of *consolidating all peace-loving forces* for struggle against the evil designs of imperialism, against the forces of war and aggression.

Glory to the fighters for peace and international friendship on our planet!

Comrades, engendered by the noble feelings of international solidarity of working people, May Day has become a symbol of their joint struggle against oppression and exploitation, for freedom, democracy and socialism.

True to the behests of Marx, Engels and Lenin, our Party is contributing greatly to cementing the unity of the revolutionary forces. Our militant alliance with all detachments of the world anti-imperialist movement is strong and inviolable. The 24th Congress was a moving demonstration of the international brotherhood of working people. The voice of peoples hailing its decisions can be heard from all continents.

Today we are fully entitled to say that May Day is a *holiday of unity of revolutionaries throughout the world*, a holiday of solidarity and cohesion of all fighters against imperialism.

From here, Red Square, we send ardent May Day greetings to the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, mar-

ching together with our country in the vanguard of battles for mankind's radiant future.

We send cordial greetings to the communist and workers' parties, the international working class, its trade union movement, to all working people in capitalist countries struggling against monopoly domination and reaction.

From Red Square we again proclaim: our Party and people will continue to support the righteous cause of the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the peoples of Arab countries, and all fighters against aggression and oppression, for the freedom of the peoples.

We solemnly declare that our country will, as heretofore, hold high the great banner of communism, the banner of freedom and happiness of the peoples.

Long live the great Soviet people building communism!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, the militant vanguard of our people!

Long live the international solidarity of the working people!

Long live May Day!

Best wishes to you, dear comrades!

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was heard with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause.

THE STRENGTH OF PEOPLES' FRIENDSHIP

*Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
on the Occasion of Fifty Years of Soviet Georgia,
May 14, 1971*

Dear comrades,
Friends,

There are events in the history of every people which sharply change its destiny and open up a new epoch. For the Georgian people such an event was the declaration of Soviet power in Georgia in 1921. Fifty years is not a very great age even in the life of an individual. It is a short period in the case of nations and states. This day, the day of the fiftieth anniversary of socialist Georgia and its Communist Party, may be considered the triumph of youth and the blossoming of your beautiful Republic.

It is a great pleasure for me on this great day to be with you again in your hospitable capital. Dear comrades, may I, 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, and on behalf of all Soviet people, most warmly congratulate you, all working people and all Communists of the Republic, on this fine occasion—the fiftieth anniversary of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Georgia.

The roads traversed by Georgia through the centuries and millenniums were rough and winding. Transcaucasia attracted hordes of invaders. There were few who did not attempt to conquer this land. However, the misfortunes which befell

the Georgian people did not break them or diminish their creative power. This power time and again revived Georgia from ruins and ashes. The constructive genius of the Georgian people, however, unfolded in full measure, in full strength, only when the shackles of the exploiting system had been thrown off.

Never before had the Caucasian mountains, their caps white with eternal snow, seen such an upsurge of universal social creativity, such a thirst for light, freedom and progress stemming from the very soul of the people! In a historically brief period, this former semi-feudal province of the Russian Empire has turned into a socialist state with a modern industry and well-developed agriculture, a Republic of total literacy, advanced science and culture. The impressive panorama of the history and achievements of the Georgian people unfolded in the report of Vasily Pavlovich Mzhavanadze will leave no one indifferent.

I have had the great honour to attend the 50th anniversary celebrations in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Every time, observing these great anniversaries, we relived, as it were, the heroic history of the Soviet country. Again and again we formed in our mind's eye a picture of the path which led the fraternal peoples to socialism, friendship and unity. Today, like the other comrades, I am your guest, a guest of Georgia. Here, observing the anniversary and rejoicing together with you, I wish to stress again that the path which Georgia has followed is the path of our entire great community of peoples.

The very nature of the socialist social system and the consistent implementation of the Leninist policy on the national question by the Party have united the peoples of our country and transformed their friendship into a motive force for progress of Soviet society, into an inexhaustible source of energy and creative activity of all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union. There is probably no person who does not feel ever-lasting love for and devotion to the land of his grandfathers and great-grandfathers, to his own culture, his own mother tongue, traditions and customs. In a socialist society, however, these sentiments—the sentiments of patriotism—transgress the bounds of one's nationality and are filled with a new content.

All of us, in whatever Republic we live, are Soviet patriots, children of the socialist Motherland. Our own land, our Motherland, comprises the infinite expanses stretching from the Pacific to the Baltic Sea, from the Arctic Ocean to the Pamirs and the Caucasus. And whatever has been created in this land by the effort of people—beautiful towns, gigantic industrial complexes and blossoming fields, cascades of electric stations, values of spiritual culture—all this is the product of our common efforts, our common property, the property of the Soviet people.

The unbreakable friendship of the peoples is the product of socialism. It is the offspring of our social system and the nationalities policy of the Leninist Party. Its roots, however, extend deep into the period in history when the peoples of tsarist Russia rose to join the common ranks of fighters against the monarchy, against exploitation and oppression. The sons of the Georgian people have a worthy place in these ranks.

The history of the revolutionary struggle in Georgia is inseparably linked with the history of the revolutionary movement of the Russian people, of all the peoples of the Caucasus, with the activities and the teaching of Lenin. Fighting for the common proletarian cause, jointly with prominent revolutionaries brought to the fore by the Georgian proletariat—Alyosha Dzhaparidze, Lado Ketskhoveli, Filipp Makharadze, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, Joseph Stalin, Alexander Tsulukidze, Mikha Tskhakaya—were Mikhail Kalinin, Sergei Kirov, Viktor Kurnatovsky and Ivan Fioletov, Stepan Shaumyan, Suren Spandaryan and Kamo (Teġ-Petrosyan), Meshadi Azizbekov and Nariman Narimanov.

Comrades, here I wish to repeat Lenin's words which I quoted last year during the anniversary celebration in Yerevan. These words are as follows: "In Russia and in the Caucasus the Georgian + Armenian + Tartar + Russian Social-Democrats have worked *together*, in a *single* Social-Democratic organisation *for more than ten years*. This is not a phrase, but the proletarian solution of the problem of nationalities. The only solution."¹ Yes, comrades, this solution found by Marxism has been tested in the storms of the Revo-

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 85.

lution and the Civil War, in the seething activity of the five-year plans, in the battles of the Great Patriotic War. It has withstood all the tests.

The working class, the working people of Georgia, welcomed the news of the victory of the armed uprising in Petrograd. However, Georgian Mensheviks, Armenian Dashnaks, and Azerbaijanian Mussavatists, with the support of foreign imperialists, succeeded temporarily in severing Transcaucasia from Soviet Russia. For three years, first the German-Turkish, then the Anglo-Franco-American interventionists, jointly with the Mensheviks, strove to prevent the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia, to turn Georgia into an imperialist colony. Throughout these years the working people of Georgia, under the guidance of Bolshevik Party organisations, fought against the interventionists and their Menshevik puppets.

In February 1921 the Georgian proletariat rose against the Menshevik regime hated by the people. The Mensheviks appealed to the Entente imperialists for armed assistance. On behalf of the insurgents, the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia appealed to the Government headed by Lenin. "We hope, we are confident," this historical document said, "that the country not only of a great proletarian revolution, but of great material opportunities, will not abandon us in this unequal struggle and will come to the assistance of the newly-born Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia!"¹ The Red Army came to the assistance of the insurgents. Your ancient capital was liberated on February 25. Georgia became Soviet.

Lenin personally rendered constant assistance to Georgian Communists in their struggle for a new socialist Georgia. You, of course, know of Lenin's numerous speeches, letters and telegrams which show that he found time to go into the concrete problems of Georgia's economic and cultural development.

Guided by Lenin's instructions, leaning on the fraternal assistance of the Russian Federation and of the other Union Republics, the working people of Soviet Georgia had success-

fully laid the foundations of socialism. In the years of the first five-year plans a network of plants and factories, collective and state farms, schools, colleges and libraries was built in the Republic. Far-reaching socio-economic reforms were implemented and a cultural revolution carried out. The victory of socialism in Georgia became a fact.

Present in this hall are representatives of the glorious Leninist cohort of our Party—those who fought in Georgia for the power of the working class, those who built socialism on Georgian soil. From the bottom of my heart may I greet most warmly the veterans of the Revolution and of the first five-year plans and wish them good health and long years of happy life.

The insuperable strength of the new system and Soviet patriotism which had united all the peoples of our country revealed themselves with great force in the stern years of the Great Patriotic War. In that historic battle Georgia fought shoulder to shoulder with all the peoples of the Soviet Union. In the summer of 1942 the enemy, at the cost of tremendous losses, had broken through to the Caucasian foothills. The war had come close to the frontiers of the Republic, to the door of your home. The working people of Georgia built up defensive lines in difficult mountainous conditions. They delivered munitions, food and equipment to the front in the summer heat, in the autumn downpours and in the winter blizzards.

Thanks to the heroic effort of Soviet troops, in whose ranks Georgian soldiers fought bravely, the enemy was routed and hurled back. Georgian soldiers, together with the entire multinational Soviet Army, covered the victorious road from the Caucasian foothills to Berlin. The long-awaited hour had set in. The Red Banner—the Banner of Victory—was raised over the Reichstag. It was hoisted there by Private Yegorov, your countryman Sergeant Kantariya, and Senior Lieutenant Samsonov. It can be said that the staff of that banner was held by millions of soldiers' hands; it was also held by those who lived to see the victory, and by those who gave their lives for it.

I fought together with Colonel-General K. N. Leselidze, the Commander of the 18th Army, a great Soviet general. People open up quickly at the front. There you understand

¹ *Struggle for the Victory of Soviet Power in Georgia*. Documents and Materials. Tbilisi, 1958, p. 659.

immediately what one is worth. I remember Konstantin Leselidze as the embodiment of the finest national features of the Georgian people. He was an optimist and a courageous man, severe with his enemies and generous to friends, a man of honour, a man of his word, a man with a keen mind and a warm heart.

Dear comrades, I am most happy to inform you that yesterday the title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred upon Colonel-General Leselidze for able leadership of the troops and courage and heroism displayed in the battles against the German fascist invaders.

Konstantin Leselidze was, of course, no exception. Tens of thousands of brave sons of the Georgian people covered themselves with unfading glory. Of them 137 have been awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and over 240,000 decorated with orders and medals.

The labour heroism of those who worked in the rear measured up to the frontline exploits. Georgia supplied the front with aircraft, automatic weapons and other types of armaments, munitions, uniforms and food. Georgian clinics and sanatoriums were turned into military hospitals which helped hundreds of thousands of wounded men to return to the front. The Georgian people warmly took care of those who were evacuated from other Republics. This once again illustrated the Leninist friendship of peoples—the indestructible foundation of the strength and invincibility of the Soviet multinational state.

Several days ago the whole country observed the 26th anniversary of the great Victory. It was a great occasion on Georgian soil, too. Comrades, may I congratulate the veterans of the Great Patriotic War—those present at our anniversary meeting and those who are at their radio or television sets. Dear combat friends, I greet you from the bottom of my heart! I greet and congratulate everyone whose battle exploits and devoted work brought us victory.

Georgia sent to the front more than 600,000 men. Every third soldier fell in battle, defending the freedom and independence of the Soviet Motherland. In Georgian towns and villages one often meets, to this day, women wearing black as a sign of mourning for their fathers, husbands and sons killed in battle. This mourning is sacred to us. Eternal me-

mory and eternal glory to those who have not returned from the flaming roads of war!

Having routed fascism, the Soviet people returned to their peace-time pursuits. In the quarter of a century since that time our country has made a tremendous step forward and entered a new stage in history—the stage of communist construction. Tremendous changes have taken place in your Republic, too. These changes can be seen in everything—in the new appearance of towns and villages, in the new factories, electric power stations and institutes, and in the new tracts of fertile land. They can also be seen in the new outlook of the working people—the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

The Georgian working class today is practically a million-strong army of skilled people, more than half of whom have a secondary education. They are working at modern enterprises, producing complex machines, valuable equipment and other high-quality commodities.

A comparatively short time ago, by way of giving the highest praise to a worker, people used to say, “a master with golden hands.” The foremost worker in our country today has more than golden hands. He has knowledge of various subjects, a broad outlook, and greater experience than before in socialist organisation of labour, in strengthening labour discipline and in implementing the Party’s economic policy. He can cope with the problems of enhancing the efficiency of social production, of intensive development of the economy. He has become a direct participant in carrying out the great tasks of the scientific and technological revolution. The workers of Georgia are a worthy contingent of the Soviet working class about which we spoke with pride at our 24th Congress.

The collective-farm peasantry of the Republic are not lagging behind the workers. They, too, are people of the new Soviet formation. The industriousness of the Georgian peasants has long been known. Today this industriousness is augmented by the strength of the collective, by the arsenal of agricultural machinery and implements, some of which are unique. They are skilled in the use of modern agricultural methods. It is thanks to their effort that Georgia has been turned into a blossoming orchard.

The new, people's intelligentsia of Georgia is playing a tremendous constructive role. It is no longer a narrow group of a chosen few. Now it comprises tens of thousands of teachers and doctors, engineers and agronomists, scientists and production managers, cultural workers and instructors at higher schools. Together with the workers and the peasants, the Georgian intelligentsia is actively participating in the construction of a new life, is giving all its knowledge, intellect and talent for the benefit of the people.

Comrades, I find myself in a predicament. Thousands of excellent metallurgists and machine builders, miners and machine operators, vine growers and tea growers, chairmen of collective farms and directors of enterprises, engineers and scientists, writers and artists are working devotedly in your Republic. I would very much like to name all these remarkable people. This, however, would most likely take as much time as our entire meeting. Therefore, comrades, let us jointly hail all these real masters of their jobs—the best of Georgia. They belong to the constellation of names that comprise the glory of our country. Honour and praise to them, they have the tremendous gratitude of the entire people!

Thanks to the tireless labour of the Georgian workers, peasants and Georgian intelligentsia, the economy and culture of Georgia occupy an important place in the economic and cultural development of the whole of the Soviet Union.

Diverse industrial goods bearing the trademarks of enterprises in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Sukhumi, Batumi, Rustavi, Chiatura, Tskhinvali, and many other towns of the Republic, are reaching all corners of our country. Georgia holds a leading place in the production of grapes and citrus fruit, tobacco, tea, tung oil and vintage wines in the country.

Georgian scientists play an important part in the development of Soviet science. The schools of mathematics, physiology and other sciences established here are the pride of our science. Today Georgia has not only well-equipped institutes, but distinguished and world-famous scientists who with the scientists of other Republics are making a tremendous contribution to the country's scientific and technological progress.

Georgian art—one of the powerful and fruitful streams in Soviet culture—is highly appreciated and loved in the Soviet

Union. Georgian music, poetry, drama and cinema are enriching the inner world of the Soviet people, inspiring them with kindness and radiant ideals, and with the desire to struggle against everything which hinders a happy and joyous life.

The creation of spiritual values is a subtle and complex matter. The Party devoted considerable attention at the 24th Congress to the development of literature and art, pointed out new prospects for the upsurge of the multinational Soviet culture. We are all aware that works like *The Knight in the Tiger Skin* by Shota Rustaveli written centuries ago are not produced every day. Yet, we should have more works of such depth and artistic vitality which would move and inspire not only us, the contemporaries. Our descendants should be able to say after the passage of decades: the Soviet people of the seventies left us an invaluable heritage worthy of the great time in which they lived and the great deeds they performed.

Comrades, the fact that Georgia has become a blossoming socialist Republic is due to the labour of the Georgian workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the Abkhazians, Ossetians, the working people of all nationalities who live and work in your Republic; to the work of the Communist Party of Georgia and its Central Committee, which rallies the initiative and efforts of Party organisations, and directs them into the general struggle for the building up of communism in our country. Dear comrades, may I, from the bottom of my heart, congratulate Party leaders, the Party activists, all the Communists of the Republic on the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Georgia and wish them new successes for the benefit of socialist Georgia, for the benefit of our entire socialist nation.

In pointing out the achievements of the Communist Party and the working people of Georgia, we also point out the achievements of all Soviet Communists, of all the working people of the country. One cannot imagine present-day Georgia without its specialists who have been trained at higher schools not only in Georgia, but in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Gorki, Baku, Yerevan and many other cities. One cannot imagine present-day Georgia without its intellectual wealth which it draws from the treasure house of

culture and art of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Modern Georgia grew out of the unbreakable economic, scientific, technological and cultural bonds which link Georgia organically with other fraternal Republics and peoples of our Motherland.

Such is our socialist reality: all are working for one and one works for all. Such is the real, tangible result of the triumph of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, of the Leninist nationalities policy of our Party. This is why, comrades, the anniversary of every Republic is a festive occasion for all Soviet people. This is why numerous guests from all the Republics of the Union are present in this hall. There is no force in the world capable of shaking the friendship of the Soviet peoples—one of the greatest gains of socialism.

Towards the end of next year the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be half a century old. Our Union is approaching this anniversary with tremendous achievements in all fields of public life, full of vigour, confidence in its strength and in the triumph of the great cause of communism, for the sake of which our state was founded and for the sake of which the peoples who formed it are struggling and working. The Soviet family of nations will come to its 50th anniversary even more united and more closely rallied around its Communist Party.

Comrades, your anniversary is being observed in a special atmosphere—in an atmosphere of general activity and labour enthusiasm evoked by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congress has outlined the policy of the Party in all directions, in all fields of the life of Soviet society. The decisions of the Congress, its ideas, are now in the focus of political life of the Party and the country. Let us follow Lenin's advice with regard to jubilees and discuss here some questions which are of importance for all, though they stand outside the framework of the present celebration.

Millions of Communists and non-Party people are studying the documents of the Congress and are discussing ways of accomplishing these tasks. The entire Party, all Party organisations, from the highest to the lowest, and the collectives of working people have approved the decisions of the

Congress. The Central Committee highly appreciates this nationwide approval and attributes particular significance to the concrete, businesslike approach of Party organisations, Communists and non-Party people to the implementation of the instructions of the Congress.

The Party expects the elaboration of concrete measures and, above all, practical work from the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the State Committee for Science and Technology, from Union Ministries and departments, the Academy of Sciences, the trade unions and the Komsomol. It expects the same from Party, Government and economic bodies of the Republics, from the regions and territories, factories and collective farms, from every collective of working people. Much can be done, and many new potentialities uncovered even in the smallest Party organisation if stock is taken of everything, if everything is considered and taken into account.

In general, comrades, we should not lose momentum in the transition from approving the decisions of the Congress, from explaining its line, to its practical implementation. The constructive impetus given by the Congress to cadres, to the entire Party, to all working people should not be allowed to weaken. It is important to take full advantage of it, so that the powerful upsurge of strength and energy released by the 24th Congress should enable us to take up promptly, efficiently and without delay the big practical work, to get into the rhythm of daily activity upon which rests the fulfilment of the adopted programme of further advance towards communism. We all should learn to work better in order to scale new summits, the road to which has been indicated by the Congress, and to make the life of the Soviet people still better. Such is the logic of social progress, the logic of movement to communism.

Socialist emulation for the early fulfilment of the targets of the first year of the ninth five-year plan, which has been initiated by the working people of Moscow and Leningrad, is taking place throughout the country. I hope that the pledges of the working people of the Georgian Republic will soon appear in *Pravda*. All Soviet people will be happy to read them.

Comrades, thus far I have been speaking about our

economy, about the implementation of the tasks set by the 24th Congress in relation to the development of our economy. The same concerns all other areas of work confronting us.

Of great importance is the consistent implementation of the policy of further strengthening the unity of Soviet society, of all its classes and social strata, of all nations and nationalities which comprise the great Soviet nation. Big tasks have to be tackled in further developing socialist democracy, in strengthening our state of the entire people, in improving all aspects of its operation. The surmounting of the personality cult and of the consequences of subjectivist errors has helped create in the Party and the country a moral and political atmosphere which facilitates concerted and efficient work. And we all must see to it that this atmosphere remains clear and pure.

We all realise the tremendous importance of the country's defence and economic potential. No less important is the moral political state of society, the spiritual and the moral attitudes of the people, upon which, indeed, depends largely the strength of our defences, the international positions of our state, and the economic potential of the country. However, for us Communists, the ideological and moral growth of every individual is also of great value, because our highest objective is the all-round and harmonious development of the individual.

All who give their strength to the lofty cause of communist education stand in the forefront of communist construction. The part played in this field by, so to say, professional educators, by teachers and the ideological workers, first of all, is great, and this is generally recognised. In our case, however, as is known, the entire society—the Party, the trade unions, the Komsomol, every collective of workers, the Soviet family—is an educator. The style of work which prevails in the Party and in the country, and which combines a comradesly, considerate and attentive approach to people with great exactingness and strictness creates highly favourable conditions for enhancing the role of social education.

We need to take full advantage of these conditions, to intensify the struggle against the survivals of capitalism in the minds and attitudes of people. Every Soviet person

should be educated in a spirit of strict observance of the country's laws, protecting socialist property, an honest, conscientious attitude to work, in a spirit of Soviet patriotism which is incompatible with any manifestation of national narrow-mindedness and chauvinism. We have spoken much on this matter at the Congress and it is necessary that deeds should conform to the words.

A thorough understanding of the meaning, of the very spirit of the Congress decisions, and consistent and precise execution of its policies in all fields of the economic, social and ideological life of the country are what is now required of every Communist regardless of his post. The will, the determination, the labour efforts of our entire Party, of the entire Soviet people should today be directed towards the implementation of the line adopted by the Congress. The slogan which defines the main content, the essence of our work is: Put the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party into practice!

All this is, of course, most immediately related to the tasks facing your Party organisation. The Central Committee of the CPSU expresses confidence that the Communist Party of Georgia which has almost 300,000 members and is a militant detachment of the CPSU, will in the future too worthily fulfil the role of vanguard of the working class, of all working people of its Republic in its march to new heights, in the struggle for increasing its contribution to the common cause of building a communist society in our country.

Comrades, the 24th Congress of our Party has become a major event in international life. This is understandable. The Congress outlined the road of further growth of the might of our great socialist nation. The Leninist Party has put a programme of economic and socio-political development of the Soviet Union on the scales of history, the fulfilment of which will signify a major shift in the international alignment of forces in favour of socialism, freedom and peace.

The decisions of the Congress concerning international questions have met with understanding and support of the broad masses, of the progressive public on all continents.

This can be seen from the speeches of numerous delegations to our Congress from the communist, national-democratic and left-socialist parties.

We are sincerely grateful to our foreign friends and brothers for their solidarity with our Party, for the desire they expressed to continue to strengthen contacts with the CPSU, to march in a single formation with it. Their support of the Congress decisions shows that successful communist construction by the Soviet people meets the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind. We are inspired by this and are at the same time made aware that in the future too we must meet the requirements of the modern revolutionary epoch.

The impressive demonstration of internationalism which we saw at the Congress confirmed once again that the international communist movement is gaining in scope, is a living movement and is growing stronger and that its strength lies in unity. Accordingly, we, as before, will consistently struggle for this unity.

We attribute much importance to the presence of many national-democratic parties at the 24th Congress. The strong alliance of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, socialist and young progressive states is an earnest of unity of the worldwide anti-imperialist front.

Participating in the work of the 24th Congress were also representatives of the left-socialist movement from Europe, Latin America and Asia. We welcome this good beginning and will do all we can to turn it into a lasting tradition for the sake of international proletarian unity, the cause of socialism and peace.

Comrades, since all Party activities are aimed at meeting the vital interests of the people, promoting the transition of Soviet society to communism and raising the living standard and cultural level of the working people, all this naturally determines not only the economic, social and cultural policy of the Party within the country, but its foreign policy as well. Developing the Leninist traditions of Soviet foreign policy, the 24th Congress put forward a comprehensive programme of struggle for peace, international cooperation, freedom and independence of nations. It is a programme of struggle for the triumph of the principles

of peaceful coexistence, a programme of friendship among nations, of their free and independent progress. It is a programme of restraining the aggressors and averting a world war.

In our opinion, it is hardly possible to offer, in the present conditions, a more constructive and realistic programme for settling the main international problems. There are, of course, influential circles in the imperialist camp who will attempt to hinder the implementation of the plans for peace and cooperation, and will be putting, as it were, the spoke into our wheel.

The course of world events, however, and the strengthening of the forces of socialism and peace are rendering such attempts increasingly futile. All that runs counter to the growing desire of nations for international security and cooperation has no future. And the sooner the statesmen of all countries realise this, the shorter will be the road to settling the acute problems of world politics. As for the Soviet Union, we shall, together with our friends and allies and with the support of the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses all over the world, firmly and consistently uphold the proposals made by the Congress. We are convinced that this corresponds to the interests of the Soviet people, of all nations on earth.

We shall continue, as before, to consistently carry out the policy of militant international solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We have always held that their heroic struggle against US imperialist aggression will be crowned with victory and that the longer the aggressors persist, the more infamous and ignominious will be the unavoidable result.

We are convinced that the friendly United Arab Republic, Syria and the other Arab states, will win in their just struggle by consolidating all the patriotic, progressive forces both within a national and a general Arab framework, by strengthening their brotherly cooperation with the socialist countries, and resolutely rebuffing the blackmail and intrigues of imperialism.

In working for international security and peace, against aggressive encroachments on the independence and legitimate rights of peoples, we are prepared to cooperate with

all organisations and parties which are sincerely working towards the same goals. In particular, we reaffirmed at the Congress our positive attitude towards possible joint action in the international arena with the Social-Democratic Parties.

According to press reports, the leaders of Social-Democracy, including many representatives of ruling parties, will gather in the Finnish capital for a session of the Socialist International Council late this month. They will discuss the problems of European security, the Middle East and Indochina. These are acute issues and future world developments depend in large measure on how justly they will be tackled. The approach of the participants in the session to these problems will show whether they really want an international détente and the strengthening of peace.

The interests of the working-class movement, the interests of universal peace demand that those who will be making decisions in Helsinki should not forget the heinous crimes committed by the imperialist aggressors in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and on the occupied territories of the Arab countries. The interests of European security demand that they also should not forget the will of their own peoples who want to see the complete liquidation of the legacy of the cold war and the speediest creation in Europe of an atmosphere of cooperation and goodneighbourliness. Otherwise, the participants in the session will only be reiterating that their "International" prefers, as before, to heed not the voice of the masses, but of those who determine NATO policies.

I would like to note a certain detail in connection with the response of the West to the proposals made at the Congress. Some NATO countries display a genuine interest in and also some nervousness over the question of reducing the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Their representatives ask: whose armed forces—foreign or national, which armaments—nuclear or conventional, should be reduced? And perhaps, they wonder, the Soviet proposals embrace all that? In this connection we also have a question to ask: do not such curious people remind you of the man who tries to assess the taste of wine only by its appearance,

without sampling it? If there are any vague points, they can readily be eliminated. The only thing that is necessary is to muster the resolve to "taste" the proposal which, translated into diplomatic language, means to start negotiations.

In implementing the decisions of the Congress, we shall spare no effort to strengthen the cohesion and friendship of the socialist countries, to enhance still more their role in the international arena, as a great coalition of peace and social progress. In implementing the Congress decisions, we shall strengthen our alliance with the national-liberation and the entire revolutionary movement. In implementing the Congress decisions, we shall do everything that lies within our power to secure peaceful coexistence of states, irrespective of their social system.

Dear comrades, friends,

There are two Orders of Lenin on the banner of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. They are recognition by our entire people of the great service rendered the country by the Georgian Communists, the Georgian people. I am happy to inform you today, on this remarkable day of the 50th anniversary of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Georgia, that Soviet Georgia has been awarded another order—the Order of the October Revolution.

Allow me to read the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the awarding of the Order of the October Revolution to the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

(Comrade L. I. Brezhnev read the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The leaders of the Republic and front-ranking workers ascended the platform. To a long stormy ovation Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pinned the Order of the October Revolution to the banner of the Republic.)

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev continued:

Permit me to congratulate, from the bottom of my heart, the workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people of Georgia for the high award, which crowns, as it were, the half-a-century-long efforts of the Republic. You may well be proud of the award, for you have earned it: those who today are building the edifice of communism

together with all the fraternal nations, those who fought to the death against fascism in the Great Patriotic War and those who fought in the internationalist ranks of revolutionary fighters for the victory of Soviet power in Georgia and laid the foundation of the Soviet system in the ancient land of Georgia.

The Central Committee of the Party is firmly convinced that Communists and all working people of your Republic will devote their strength, energies, experience and knowledge to fulfilling the targets of the new five-year plan, to fulfilling the major plans for economic, socio-political and cultural progress of our great Motherland as mapped out by the 24th CPSU Congress.

Long live the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the Communist Party of Georgia!

Long live our mighty Motherland—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Long live the unbreakable and fraternal friendship of all nations of our country!

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is leading the Soviet people to the victory of communism!

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was heard with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause.

UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM

*Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party
of Czechoslovakia,
May 26, 1971*

Dear Czechoslovak friends,
Comrades,

Each congress of a fraternal Party is a big and, in many respects, an instructive event for Communists. But the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia undeniably holds a particularly significant place both in the life of your Party and country and in the life of the whole of our socialist community and the world communist movement.

This Congress brings to a close a very serious and responsible stage in the history of socialist Czechoslovakia. It by right can be called a congress of victory over the enemies of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a congress of the triumph of socialism.

Rallying millions of working people round it, your Party has come to its 14th Congress holding aloft the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of socialist internationalism.

Your Congress coincides with an anniversary treasured by all of us. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the tested militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and of all the working people of the Czech Lands and

Slovakia, is 50 years old. These years have been marked by the selfless, heroic struggle of the Communists, the finest sons and daughters of their people, for the freedom and happiness of the country, for socialism. A glorious militant road, of which your Party, all the patriots of your country can rightly be proud, has been traversed.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of millions of Soviet Communists, we convey to you, comrade delegates, and to all the Communists of Czechoslovakia, most heartfelt congratulations on this splendid anniversary.

We wholeheartedly wish you new, big successes in the struggle for the all-round development of your socialist state, for the further improvement of the life of your peoples, for the common cause of all Communists—the great cause of peace, freedom and socialism!

We, representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are grateful to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the invitation and are happy to take part in the work of your Congress. Soviet Communists entertain sentiments of deep respect for their Czechoslovak brothers and comrades-in-arms. The presence of Party delegations at Congresses of one another is one of the manifestations of the inviolable friendship linking our Parties and peoples.

Many pages in the history of the militant fraternity of the Czechoslovak and Soviet Communists are linked with the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Back before the Great October Revolution, Lenin maintained lively relations with prominent progressives of the Czech Lands and Slovakia. He welcomed the birth of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Lenin's comradely advice, and his meetings with Bohumir Šmeral, Antonin Zapotocky, Karel Kreibich, and other Czechoslovak Communists played a historic role in the shaping of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the militant vanguard of the Czechoslovak working class.

The Communists of our country and the Soviet people revere the memory of the first builders of your Party. Just like you, we cherish the name of an outstanding leader of the Czechoslovak and world communist movement, Comrade Klement Gottwald, who did so much for the development

and strengthening of friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples.

The history of your Party is, above all, the history of the heroism of the Communists who headed the struggle of the working people for the genuine freedom and independence of the country. It was precisely the Communist Party that in the bitter period of Munich not only wrathfully condemned that shameful deal but also indicated the only correct way to save the independence of Czechoslovakia, namely, to resolutely rebuff the fascist invaders, and to accept the assistance offered by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people highly value the contribution of the Czechoslovak patriots to victory over fascism. We remember the valour of the fearless members of the underground, the road of combat covered by the Czechoslovak Corps under the command of General Ludvik Svoboda, the selflessness of the participants in the Slovak national uprising, and its leaders, Karol Šmidke, Gustav Husak, Jan Šverma, and other comrades; we remember the courage of insurgent Prague, to whose aid units of the Soviet Army came in an impetuous advance. We know very well that the real soul and organiser of the struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks against the German occupationists was the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The revolutionary February of 1948 became a historical exploit of the Czechoslovak working class. Under the leadership of their Communist Party, the working people of Czechoslovakia, having taken over state power, turned the country's development resolutely and irreversibly upon the socialist road. The socialist revolution swept away the last obstructions that interfered with the free development of the country. Capitalist exploitation, economic crises and unemployment were put an end to once and for all.

The revolutionary February paved the road to socialism for Czechoslovakia—the road of the swift growth of the productive forces, the road of the steady rise of working people's living standards, of strengthening truly equitable and fraternal relations between Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities of your country, the road of giving the working people access to the values of culture and science.

Communists know well that the building up of a new society is a complex creative process demanding the revolutionary breakup of the whole of the old way of life, a process marked by inevitable struggle against the class enemy. There could be mistakes and failures on untrodden paths. But the main thing that characterises the results of the half century's work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is the important and indisputable successes in socialist construction achieved by the Party jointly with the people, in the interest of the people.

Czechoslovak people may justly take pride in the remarkable achievements which mark the socialist era of their history.

Never in the past did the country know nor could it know such dynamism and such scope of socio-economic transformations.

It was socialism that for the first time in history led to the emergence of genuine democracy, ensured the working people's decisive role in society, gave them confidence in their future, and created prerequisites for the all-round development of the individual. It is the socialist system that today makes it possible to use most effectively and in the interests of all people such a great force as the scientific and technological progress of our time.

Czechoslovak working people already enjoy these advantages of the new system in their life today. And with further successes in socialist construction, these advantages of socialism will undoubtedly manifest themselves more clearly and completely.

In the family of fraternal nations of socialist countries, Czechoslovakia acquired for the first time real security and a genuine guarantee of its independence and of the inviolability of its borders. Your country, with its significant industrial potential, has made its contribution to strengthening the economic might of world socialism. The international prestige of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as an active force consistently supporting peace and the freedom of nations, and opposing the imperialist policy of oppression and aggression, has risen immeasurably. Freedom champions on all continents note the important role of the Com-

munist Party of Czechoslovakia in the development of the world revolutionary process.

Of course, the new, truly people's system and the consolidation of socialism in your country do not suit everyone. In Czechoslovakia itself, there were forces—survival of the past—that attempted, with the active support of international reaction, to wipe out the gains of the February Revolution, to deprive the Communist Party of its guiding role in society, to undermine the very foundations of socialism in your country, and to reverse the course of its history. That was another confirmation of the soundness of Lenin's warning that, until the historical epoch of transition from capitalism to communism is over, "the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this *hope* turns into *attempts* at restoration."¹ The counter-revolutionaries wanted to isolate Czechoslovakia from the fraternal countries, wrest it from the socialist community, and place it at the mercy of the imperialists.

But now it is clear to all that your Party has triumphantly survived the grim trials. Its best forces and its main nucleus have honourably withstood the test of combat. They barred the way to the wave of anti-socialist hysteria and bourgeois-nationalist frenzy whipped up by the joint forces of internal and external counter-revolution, and started a resolute and successful struggle for the restoration of the Party's guiding role in society. They made it impossible to disrupt the fraternal alliance between Czechoslovakia and the socialist countries.

And the credit for this, as Comrade Husak has quite correctly said here, is due to thousands upon thousands of Czechoslovak Communists who in the moment of stress displayed a principled attitude, firm will and staunchness in defending everything that had been fought for in your country by generations of revolutionaries, the heroes of the battles against fascism, the fiery fighters of February, and the builders of socialist Czechoslovakia.

At April 1969 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak Communists said their final "No" to the Right-wing revi-

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 254.

sionists and to those who supported the enemies of socialism. This was a resolute return to Marxism-Leninism by the Party. The new leadership of the Party elected at the Plenary Meeting headed the struggle of the healthy forces in the Party and in society for the consolidation of the socialist system and for overcoming the consequences of the onslaught of the counter-revolutionaries.

Soviet Communists wholly agree with the assessment of the events of 1968-1969 in the well-known document "The Lessons of the Crisis Development", as well as in the Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to the present Congress. These documents offer a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of an important stage in the life of your Party and country, and are of no small international importance.

In upholding the gains of socialism, Czechoslovak Communists have been fighting for the national interests of their people and for the internationalist interests of the entire communist liberation movement, for the interests of peace and social progress. That is why the prestige of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its leaders—Comrades Gustav Husak and Ludvik Svoboda and other adamant fighters for the cause of socialism—is so great in the world communist movement.

In a complicated situation, they proved to be true patriots and convinced internationalists, for whom the happiness and prosperity of their socialist homeland are inseparable from the interests of world socialism.

Comrades, the Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the speeches of the delegates at the Congress unfold a convincing picture of the vast activities of Czechoslovak Communists in the struggle for the consolidation of the socialist system. This today occupies the attention of your entire Party and of your whole country. Working for an all-round flourishing of the socialist economy on the basis of the utilisation of the achievements of science and technology, and improving the methods of socialist economic management, your Party is laying a firm foundation for all-round improvement of the living and cultural standards of the working people

and for further development of the entire system of socialist social relations.

The inspiring vistas which the Congress is opening up for the Czechoslovak people became possible, comrades, primarily because you won the battle for the Party, and succeeded in cementing it on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. These prospects, comrades, became possible because you managed to defeat the agents of the bourgeoisie—the Right-wing revisionists, who tried to deprive the Party of the invincible weapon of Leninism, and wanted, under the guise of "improving" and "rejuvenating" socialism, to destroy it and restore the capitalist order in your country. At the same time, your Party has shown in practice that it has a feeling for the new, so essential for Leninist revolutionaries, that it rejects dogmatism and routine, and does not permit the replacement of a creative approach to phenomena by a simple repetition of formulas once learned by heart.

Your today's achievements, comrades, your confidence in the future are based on the fact that the Party has mapped out a correct course which conforms to the vital interests of the many millions of working people in town and country. They become convinced of this by their everyday experience. They show most convincingly their loyalty to the Communist Party and faith in its policy by deeds, by constructive effort. That is precisely why the country's economy, dislocated and actually brought to the verge of crisis by the revisionist "improvers" of socialism, has been restored in a short space of time and is making steady headway.

Comrades, we have already had occasion to speak about the fact that the lessons which your Party drew from the sharp clashes with the class enemy are significant, not only for the further development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, but also for other socialist countries and for other Communist Parties.

Your experience is a reminder once again that it is the sacred duty of Communists of the socialist countries, in all their activities in building a new society, to unfailingly observe the behests of Lenin and the revolutionary essence of his great teaching, to resolutely rebuff all attempts to

distort and falsify Leninism, and all manifestations of opportunism. This experience is a repeated warning of the danger of complacency, and of the need for unceasing vigilance against all forms of hostile activity engaged in by the opponents of socialism. It makes us realise the need to wage a consistent struggle against the subversive actions of international imperialism. It shows how important it is to strengthen the leading role of the Communist Party and its ties with the working people, and to constantly perfect the style and methods of Party work in educating the people, and to consistently develop socialist democracy.

Events have again convincingly confirmed that the most important thing for Communists of the socialist countries, their reliable pillar and powerful weapon in the struggle against class enemies is the strength of socialist internationalism, the fraternal unity of the socialist states, their indestructible solidarity and mutual support.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, steeled in class battles, is confidently leading the working people to new accomplishments in socialist construction. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic today appears before the whole world as a strong link in the great union of peoples building a new life, and no one will ever succeed in tearing Czechoslovakia away from the socialist camp, in destroying our fraternity and friendship.

Comrades, the active co-operation of the socialist states in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and within the framework of bilateral relations, joint comradesly discussion of questions that arise, the working out and pursuance of a foreign policy based on common principles, and the close co-ordination of practical actions—all this increases the might of socialism and its influence on the course of world events.

The peoples of Indochina, fighting against imperialist aggression, the patriots of the Arab countries and the other peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and, of course, of the European continent, sense from their own experience, from the destinies of their own countries, the tremendous positive impact of the friendly, concerted actions of the socialist states in defence of peace, freedom and social progress.

Speaking of Europe, the consistent course of the countries of the socialist community has already been successful in strengthening peace, and in developing peaceful, mutually beneficial co-operation between the states of our continent. All who do not shut their eyes to the facts, who objectively appraise the reality of our day, cannot fail to understand that the very existence of the socialist community constitutes the most reliable bulwark of European peace at the present time. Our joint struggle for really durable peace in Europe is meeting with growing understanding both among the people and from many governments of European states.

We take a realistic view of the state of affairs. We see attempts to sabotage progress in safeguarding European security, and we know who is instigating this.

In order to boycott the constructive initiatives of the socialist states, a whole conception has been invented, according to which the European problems can be solved in no other way than all at once, in a single complex. In this way attempts are being made to hamper the ratification of the treaties between the FRG and the Soviet Union and the FRG and the Polish People's Republic, to delay the calling of an all-European conference, and to prevent a settlement of other problems. Included among these other problems is the important question of the Munich diktat which Bonn must regard as null and void from the very outset, with all the consequences stemming therefrom.

But it is impossible endlessly to gamble with peace and international security. The establishment of all-European co-operation should not be an object of political haggling. We hope that European statesmen will summon enough resolve and realism to heed in practice the tragic lessons of the past. We have faith in the people's indomitable desire for peace and genuine security. We sincerely hope that the present favourable opportunities will be used and that a solid foundation will be laid for the peaceful co-operation of all European states.

All-round co-operation between socialist countries is a reliable guarantee for improving the world situation and creating favourable conditions to implement our stupendous

plans of socialist and communist construction. Comrades, permit me from the rostrum of your Congress to state that the CPSU will continue its policy of strengthening and developing such co-operation. This policy has been fully corroborated by the 24th CPSU Congress and we shall do our best to steadily cement the unity and power of the world system of socialism—this greatest gain of the revolutionary forces of mankind.

Comrades, we are glad to note that we have joined hands in this great cause. Our political, economic and ideological co-operation is becoming closer and more effective. As you know, the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, signed at the historic Prazsky Hrad a year ago, provides for bringing the peoples of our countries still closer together and for the further development of all-round co-operation between them, including economic co-operation. This, we are sure, will contribute immensely to the common cause of economic integration of the socialist states. The Treaty makes it incumbent upon us to take necessary action to defend the socialist gains of the peoples, and the security and independence of our two countries. This Treaty has served well and will continue to serve the noble purpose of deepening and expanding the permanent, unbreakable friendship between the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Friends, allow me to express profound gratitude to Comrade Gustav Husak and the other comrades who spoke here, to you all for the high assessment of the activity of our Party, the internationalist nature of its policy, and the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. Recognition by friends gives inspiration and imposes responsibility. You may be sure that Soviet Communists, true to Lenin's behests, will always be worthy of the trust of their comrades in the joint struggle for socialism and communism.

In conclusion, I once again wish you every success in the work of your Congress. We are convinced that it will pave the way for further socialist victories in Czechoslovakia and will help to strengthen friendship between our countries still further and consolidate the entire socialist community.

Long live the militant alliance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

May Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship grow stronger from year to year!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the socialist nations, the world communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces!

Long live peace and communism!

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was heard with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause.

SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV AT THE AUTO-PRAGA PLANT

May 27, 1971

Dear Comrades,

Permit me, first of all, to thank you heartily for the cordial welcome, for all the kind, friendly words addressed here to the Soviet state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We, members of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who arrived in your country to take part in the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, shall with great joy convey the fraternal greetings of the personnel of Auto-Praga and representatives of other factories of the Czechoslovak capital to our people, to the Soviet Communists, to the working class of the USSR. Permit us, therefore, to add to our personal gratitude the gratefulness of the entire Soviet working people. Thank you, comrades.

The very mention of the Auto-Praga plant evokes friendly feelings in every Soviet man. We do not forget our friends and appreciate the valour and steadfastness of comrades-in-arms in the struggle for our common cause, the cause of the upbuilding of socialism and communism. We remember full well the difficult summer of 1968, when all Soviet men and women, really *all*, from Party and Government leaders to workers and collective farmers, apprehensively and anxiously watched the shadow of a counter-revolutionary coup rising over socialist Czechoslovakia. At that time, not only "2,000 words", but surely

two or even 22 million words were said by the enemies of socialism in order to undermine the faith of the working people of your country in the socialist Leninist road of development. Much was set into motion in order to undermine the prestige of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, to deprive it of its leading role in society, and, to the elation of world imperialism, to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, to detach the latter from the fraternal community of socialist countries. At that moment it was from here, from your Auto-Praga plant, that the passionate voice resounded of 99 internationalists who found the courage to say, addressing the Soviet people: "Our friendship, our alliance has been consecrated by the blood jointly shed at Sokolovo, at Dukla and other battlefields. Our enemies do not change. They are the same imperialists and their intelligence agencies. Only today they are more experienced and, therefore, more dangerous..."

Excuse me for quoting this letter here. You, of course, remember it as well as I do. There are many of those here who signed it. But I could not help recalling it, because, in order to write *such* words and to address them to the paper of the Soviet Communists, *Pravda*, it was necessary in Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968 to possess great courage, the genuine courage of a worker-revolutionary.

Our people, all of us know very well that the composers of the Letter of the 99 had to go through a great deal. The enemies of socialism subjected them to outright persecution, called them "turncoats" and even "traitors". But in the Letter of the 99, as in the statements of many other patriots of socialist Czechoslovakia, the real voice of the Czechoslovak working class rang out and was heard throughout the world at that time. This voice could not be muffled by any tricks of experts in anti-socialist and anti-Soviet propaganda, by any slander, by any lies.

This voice and the voices of the Czechoslovak Communists and non-Party people—workers, peasants, intellectuals—loyal to the cause of socialism, were heard. They found wide response in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, throughout the nation, in the hearts of all upright people. Thanks to the staunchness of real Communists, with the fraternal aid of the USSR and other socialist countries, the healthy

forces in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia succeeded in frustrating the attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup in the country, in smashing the anti-socialist, Right-wing opportunist and revisionist forces, and returning to the Marxist-Leninist road.

Life itself showed with utmost clarity who was a turncoat and traitor and who was a real citizen of his socialist land. Where are all those today who called for violence against the 99 patriots? Where are their patrons, the doublefaced politicians, who talked so much about "humane socialism", but did much more to unleash in the country the wildest hounding of the defenders of the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people? They were thrown out of the ranks of the Party and were rejected by the people. As for the authors of the Letter of the 99, they are here, among us. Together with their class brothers, they are strengthening with their labour their republic and the cause of socialism throughout the world. And their bold step in the summer of 1968 has gone in the annals of the international workers' movement as a deed of true socialist internationalism.

Honour and glory to the steadfast revolutionaries-internationalists.

Dear friends,

Our delegation has the great pleasure of visiting your plant and meeting the workers of Prague. This gives me particular pleasure because all my youth was spent among factory workers. Being here, among you, I cannot help thinking about the immense role the working class plays in the building of socialism, in the entire life of the socialist countries. The entire history of the struggle for socialism and communism, all our experience attest to this. All of you know that the main force of the victorious February 1948 in Czechoslovakia, as was the case with October 1917 in Russia, was the working class which, under the leadership of Communists, rose to a decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie, and which was followed by the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the working people as a whole.

You Czech and Slovak workers, Czech and Slovak Communists, have a good greeting, "Čest práci", meaning "Glory to Labour." Glory to labour, glory to the workers who are building socialism and creating everything with which

modern civilisation surrounds and equips man, from precise instruments to giant power stations, from spaceships to houses in which we live. All this, all around us is the creation of the workers. Since I touched upon this question, I can say that in our socialist society the working intelligentsia, all leading cadres have been fostered mainly by the working class, have come from among its ranks and are linked with it by vital bonds of direct kinship. The workers are the most revolutionary, disciplined and organised force of society, most consistently interested in achieving the socialist and communist aims of social development. It is for this reason that the working class bears the chief responsibility for the destinies of socialism. It is for this reason that the enemies of communism spare no effort to deprive the working class of its leading role, to disorientate the workers, to bring an alien ideology into their ranks, to blunt the class consciousness of the working people. They also did this, unfortunately, in your country, in Czechoslovakia.

You know that the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces had many high-sounding and catchy words in their arsenal. Speculating on some economic difficulties, they smeared the entire socialist economic system. They wanted to abolish the people's ownership of mills, factories and mines. They rejected the Leninist principles of planning the economy and were going to replace planning by the "free competition" of enterprises. They dreamed of restoring in the republic the "market of capital" and the "market of labour", which in plain language means stock exchange and unemployment. The Soviet people saw with great satisfaction that the working class of Czechoslovakia did not follow the Right-wing revisionist "reformers" of socialism. The working class understood that the Right-wingers were bringing disaster to everything for which the working people of Czechoslovakia had fought for decades under the leadership of their Communist Party. It took the stand for strengthening the socialist property, for a truly socialist line in the economy.

We know that Right-wingers went to factories to talk about democracy, about the need to develop it. Taken out of the mothballs was the slogan of "pure" and "classless" democracy, that is, a democracy which does not exist in

reality. Under the cover of this demagogy, the Right-wing revisionists violated the democratic laws of socialist Czechoslovakia won by the working class. An atmosphere of political terror against the advocates of socialism was being created in the country. They were in effect deprived of the most elementary rights guaranteed by law. The notorious "freedom of discussions" in fact turned into freedom of actions for the adversaries of socialism. But the working class of Czechoslovakia did not allow itself to be deceived. It has proved that it was, is and will be the most consistent champion of democracy, not of false bourgeois democracy, but of real socialist democracy which gives the working people the possibility to govern the state and shape the life of society themselves, in their own interests.

The Right-wing forces tried to make your country submit to the capitalist West. The Soviet people realised this very well. This was also realised by the Czechoslovak working class, and it did not follow the Right-wingers. Just as in February 1948, it came out for socialism, and followed its own Communist Party.

Honour and glory to the Czechoslovak working class!

Glory to labour and to the struggle of the builders of socialism! Čest práci!

Comrades, this is already our third day of participation in the work of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. And we can say with conviction that the Congress produces a strong and deep impression. The report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, and the speeches of Comrades Lubomir Strougal and Milos Jakes and Comrade Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Republic, contain a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the work accomplished by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak society in recent years, and map out a clear course for the future.

I have already said in my speech at the Congress, and I wish to repeat it here, that the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia can rightfully be called a congress of victory over the enemies of socialism in the CSSR, a congress of triumph of socialism.

The prospects of Czechoslovakia's further development,

which are being thoroughly discussed at the Party Congress, are really inspiring. It is clear that the measures mapped out by the Party for the next five years will tangibly affect the life of the entire society, the life of every family and every citizen. It is clear that the implementation of the Congress resolutions will lead to new victories of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and will help to strengthen the entire socialist community. It is also clear that the implementation of these resolutions can be ensured only by the persistent labour and creative efforts of the factory workers, farmers and people's intelligentsia of your country.

We believe that Czechoslovakia's working class will do everything to fulfil the daring plans of its Communist Party, that the coming years will be years of further prosperity in your republic.

Allow me on behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and on behalf of the entire Soviet people to express wishes of great success to the workers, technicians, engineers and office employees of Auto-Praga and all the plants and factories of Prague, to all the working people of Czechoslovakia—great and complete success in implementing the Party Congress resolutions for the good of your wonderful socialist country.

Comrades, you of course know that we recently had our Party Congress—the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It discussed and adopted a programme for the development of our country over the five years between 1971 and 1975, and defined the Party's policies in all the basic areas for the next few years. Speaking very briefly, I can say that the gist of these policies is to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system so as to make a new large stride forward in communist construction, to ensure a rise in the Soviet people's living standards to a level which we have not been able to attain yet.

Our goal is to make the life of the Soviet people still better, more beautiful and happier. Ahead lie more years of strenuous and inspired effort. For us this is the only way to well-being and happiness, to the happy communist future. The ardent support which all Soviet people gave to the Congress decisions, the fresh labour achievements with which

they met these decisions indicate that the targets set will be fulfilled because the people and the Party are united, and herein lies our strength.

Comrades, the targets defined by our Party Congress for various branches of the Soviet economy take into account, among other things, the interests of the friendly socialist states. Under the agreements concluded the USSR will, for instance, supply in the coming five years about 70 million tons of oil to Czechoslovakia alone. And it is to be noted that we shall also supply large amounts of oil to the GDR, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Cuba and other socialist countries. The fraternal countries will receive from us also more ore for the iron and steel and non-ferrous metal industries, more gas, coal and fertilizers. We, in turn, are counting on the socialist countries to supply the Soviet Union with goods and products which our national economy needs.

The development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation is one of the features of the five-year economic development plans of our states. We hope that in the next few years it will be possible to take concrete steps towards the economic integration of the socialist countries, towards ever increasing specialisation and cooperation of production.

I cannot but note here that Czechoslovakia, with her high standards of technology and traditions, with her mighty industrial facilities, plays an important part in this process. The whole world knows the wonderful qualities of Czechoslovak workers, their talents, high professional training and skills, fine organisational standards and industry. The whole world has high regard for the creative attitudes, the knowledge and the know-how shown by Czechoslovak engineers and technicians in their approach to work. And, generally speaking, each socialist country makes its valuable contribution to our common cause, as it provides the socialist community with resources, opportunities and know-how. If we can jointly determine the most rational ways of using these riches—in the interests of each country in the community and in the interests of our socialist community as a whole—this will be a great achievement, comrades, an immense step forward in strengthening the positions of world socialism.

The Communist Parties of our countries, the working class and all the working men of the USSR, CSSR and other

socialist states are tackling common problems. We are building together “our own new world” about which several generations of working men and fighters have been singing in their great revolutionary anthem—the “Internationale.” To build such a world is our internationalist duty to the working people of the world, to the proletarians of the capitalist countries, to the peoples fighting for national liberation.

And no matter how hard our enemies may try to interfere with our construction, we shall carry out our duty. The new world, the world of socialism and communism, will be built! And this is something which is worth living and working for because there is no better goal and no loftier duty for every Communist, for every working man.

Comrades, in several weeks it will be exactly 30 years since the attack of nazi Germany and her satellites on the Soviet Union marked the beginning of the decisive battles of the Second World War. In these battles, the greatest in world history, the issue was whether the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state of workers and farmers, would exist or not, whether the peoples of Europe would defend their freedom and independence or be subjected to fascist slavery.

The comradeship of our peoples was born in the battles against fascism. And Soviet citizens cherish as sacred the memory of the valour of the Czechoslovak Corps under Comrade Ludvik Svoboda, our esteemed friend who is now President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, of the feats of Sokolovo and Dukla, the memory of the exploits of the courageous fighters of the Slovak people's uprising and of insurgent Prague.

Time passes by. As you say, our children are growing older. More than a quarter of a century has passed since the last salvos of the Second World War in Europe resounded here in Prague. Much has changed for the better in our present-day world. The peoples have come to realise that it is possible to prevent imperialism from unleashing a new bloody war. But we know that there are still forces in the world and in Europe which have no desire to become reconciled to the historic results of the Second World War, which are striving for revenge, which want to recarve existing borders and make the peoples of the socialist countries go back to the old bourgeois order.

We Communists and all the working people of the socialist countries are fighters; we are participants in the great historic battle. We live all the time under the fire of our class opponents. And this fire, these attacks against us are becoming the fiercer the greater successes we score in our steadily developing general offensive against the world of capitalism.

Our opponents are trying in every way to destroy the fraternal community of socialist states, to weaken and split the militant front of anti-imperialist forces. They wanted to tear Czechoslovakia out of our ranks, but nothing came of this.

They are trying, resorting to diverse tricks, slander and provocations, to sow seeds of discord between the socialist countries and progressive states that have freed themselves from colonial oppression. These ventures will be fruitless, gentlemen. Our Leninist policy is clear and consistent. We shall do everything so that the great community of socialist countries will grow stronger with every passing day, so that friendship and cooperation between the socialist states in Europe, Asia and Latin America will become closer. We shall strengthen in every way our militant alliance with all anti-imperialist champions, with all the forces of peace, freedom and social progress on earth.

The joint actions taken by socialist countries have already done much to strengthen peace in Europe and throughout the world. And today we can confidently state: the stronger our friendship, the closer our cooperation, the more will we, all together, be able to do to improve the international political climate, the more will we be able to do to make it possible for the peoples of our countries and of the whole world to live in peace and security.

I can assure you, comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will spare no effort in further developing and strengthening friendship and cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples.

We shall do everything in our power so that friendly cooperation with our Czechoslovak brothers will become ever more diverse and embrace more and more spheres of life and work and ever wider sections of the population, so that it

will fully become a matter of the deepest concern for Soviet people in town and countryside, in plants, and on collective farms and state farms. We are confident that our Czechoslovak friends will strive for this as well.

In conclusion, I would like once again to thank you, dear comrades, for the cordial and friendly reception given our delegation, and to wish you happiness, the best of health and great labour achievements.

Glory to the working people of socialist Czechoslovakia!

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Gustav Husak!

May the inviolable friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples live on eternally, grow stronger and flourish!

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was heard with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause.

THE INTERESTS AND WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE: THE PARTY'S MAIN CONCERN

*Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
Before the Electorate of the Baumansky District
of Moscow,
June 11, 1971*

Dear comrades,
Dear Muscovites,

The working people of the Baumansky Constituency have conferred a great honour on me. They have again nominated me candidate to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Permit me to thank the employees of the organizations and establishments that have nominated me, all those comrades—both Communists and non-Party people, both veterans of labour and the young people who will be performing their important civic duty for the first time this year—taking part in the elections of the bodies of Soviet power.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the persons endowed with your confidence who have spoken here at this meeting, to the canvassers and all the other comrades who have worked so hard during the election campaign.

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

At pre-election meetings it is usually the custom to report on the results of the work accomplished in the period following the previous elections. However, today it appears as if we are all well-informed about these results. The 24th Party Congress which closed its proceedings but two months

ago, and which was held in this very hall, considered from all angles the results of the splendid labour efforts of our people in the preceding five-year period. We are rightfully proud of these results. At the same time we regard them as a point of departure for progress towards new achievements of a higher order.

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

In other words, the 24th CPSU Congress has oriented the economy of the country in all its sectors, and it has instructed all the leading bodies and personnel of the Party and state to work on improving the standard of living of the people. We have never set such goals on such a broad plane before.

The interests of the people, their well-being, and their spiritual and cultural development, constitute the primary concern of the Party. The Party itself was founded to take care of these things. The Revolution was carried out for this purpose. To this end the Soviet people courageously surmounted tremendous difficulties and made great sacrifices. Today we can say with pride that our struggle and our efforts have borne fruit. The heroic Soviet people have triumphed over all the difficulties. They have now come out onto a broad and bright road led by the Party of Lenin—the road to communism.

To borrow the words of a well-known revolutionary song, they are forging the keys of happiness. And this happiness, which has been built up by the people themselves, will be the best reward to many generations of fighters for our communist cause.

The target figures of the Ninth Five-Year Plan adopted by the 24th Party Congress are indeed impressive. We shall build hundreds of new factories and plants, giant electric power stations and long transport arteries. Besides, our plans provide for the re-equipment and reconstruction of several

thousand enterprises built at an earlier time, for the comprehensive introduction of new equipment and new production techniques. We shall also build many blocks of flats, schools, hospitals, stadiums and houses of culture.

There are serious problems which have to be solved in the countryside too. It is essential to ensure a sizable increase in crop yields and livestock productivity, to expand the work for improving the living conditions of the state farm workers and collective farmers. There are many tasks ahead of us. It should be pointed out that these tasks are very important and, in general, not easy. The countryside will be able to cope with these tasks only if it is assisted by the town, i.e. if the working class produces the farm machinery, fertilizers, herbicides and many other material and technical means which are needed. Boosting the output of farm products is the concern of the entire Soviet people.

In short, comrades, it is necessary for all of us to work hard to accomplish the plans we have outlined. We have jobs enough for all—for our glorious working class, for our collective farmers and for our intellectuals.

The course set by the Congress has met with the full understanding and support of the Soviet people. The working people of town and countryside have readily responded to the call of the Party to step up their activity in the upbuilding of communism. They are helping to carry out the decisions of the Congress of the Leninist Party with their conscientious labour effort.

The Soviet scientists have responded to the decisions of the Congress with outstanding achievements, particularly in the field of space research and exploration of the celestial bodies. In addition to the diligent moon-rover which is still functioning on the Moon, in addition to our two automatic stations which are proceeding to Mars, we have now launched the world's first orbital manned station—the *Salyut*. It has already received two guests: the spaceships *Soyuz-10* and *Soyuz-11*. The gallant crew of the station—the cosmonauts Georgi Dobrovolsky, Vladislav Volkov and Viktor Patsayev—have been working successfully, conducting important research for the benefit of the Soviet people and the whole of mankind. Comrades, the undertaking is an impressive demonstration of our mighty industrial potential, and

of the possibilities of our technology and science which will make a very big contribution to the accomplishment of the great programme of development of the USSR outlined by the Congress.

In the last few weeks pre-election meetings have been held in practically every inhabited locality of our boundless country. Tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people have addressed these meetings. The people have instructed their candidates to do their best to fulfil the new five-year plan, to carry out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

Here at this meeting with the voters of the Baumansky District of Moscow, I must say a few kind words about the working people of our capital. Muscovites have long been in the lead in the promotion of the All-Union competitive production effort in the socialist spirit. In the last few years they have introduced quite a few invaluable proposals which have won nation-wide recognition and support. And now, in the early months of the new five-year period, the Muscovites have proposed a drive for the accomplishment of the production plans for the current year of 1971 ahead of schedule. This initiative has been supported by thousands of collectives in our country fully in keeping with the glorious traditions of the working people of the capital.

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

It is particularly important that, at the Moscow enterprises, including those of your district, there is an increasing number of first-class teams and sections. In upholding the honour of the capital, the honour of the Moscow trade mark, the workers of the city have shown that they fully understand

the ideas of the 24th CPSU Congress and are doing their best to put them into practice.

Conscientious efficient labour contributed by each worker, coupled with high quality of the products, is the key to the solution of the big problems confronting us in the new five-year period. This will raise the level of the national economy, and the level of our whole life. This is the only way for us to achieve a real and sizable improvement in the standard of living of the working people. And the Soviet people, headed by the Party, are confidently advancing along this way from which we shall not deviate.

Comrades, the day after tomorrow the people will elect the new deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, to the territorial, regional, area, city, district, village and settlement Soviets too. The deputies will receive a mandate for the management of society's affairs for the next few years.

It is not difficult to imagine the tremendous volume of work that will have to be shouldered by the newly elected Soviets. They will play a very big part in boosting output both in town and countryside. The implementation of the plans for the construction of blocks of flats, schools and children's establishments, for the introduction of local amenities and improvements, and for providing the working people with the necessary commodities and services, is the direct concern of the Soviets.

Can we overlook such questions as the organization of the leisure of the working people, and the development of the network of sports, travel, cultural and other service facilities? These matters are in large measure also the concern of the Soviets.

There is no need to list here all the important problems in whose solution the Soviets will have to play a decisive part. However, it is important to point out that the local authorities will have to shoulder a considerable share of the work in implementing the decisions adopted by the 24th Congress of our Party. Today herein lies the main contribution of the Soviets to the consolidation and development of the new socialist way of life.

It is now easier for the Soviets to cope with the problems and tasks confronting them. Legislative acts passed in the

recent years have extended the scope of powers enjoyed by the Soviets as the supreme bodies of state power in the localities. These legislative acts have also expanded the material and financial possibilities of the Soviets. The enterprises, institutions and organizations providing services to the population have also been put under the jurisdiction of the Soviets. The Soviets now have the right to co-ordinate the work of the enterprises located on their territory, in particular to organize the production of mass consumer items. The Soviets are now in a position to do a lot in stimulating the work of the local industries, organising co-operative workshops and different handicrafts.

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

Members of the public have pointed out more than once that in many cases the Soviets fail to utilise fully the material and financial resources available to them, or else that they utilise them very slowly. Quite often money is used for financing projects which cannot be regarded as projects of primary importance. The Soviets do not always take advantage of their right to pool the funds of enterprises and organizations allocated for the construction of housing, cultural and service establishments. The result is that the living conditions of the people are not improved as fast as they should be. We cannot put up with that, comrades. The newly elected Soviets should take decisive steps to overcome these shortcomings.

The Soviets can do a great deal with the funds secured in excess of their plans for budgetary income or with funds that have been saved. However, it should also be pointed out that there have been cases when funds, which by law should be spent by the Soviets, have been withdrawn by higher local government bodies. This is an infringement of the rights of the Soviets. Such action hampers the initiative of the local government workers. More than that, it leaves them with a feeling of just resentment against those who violate our laws in such a manner. Comrades, there should be no cases of this kind.

Since we are discussing the unrealised possibilities of

the Soviets, I would like to recall the following case. The Central Committee Report to the 24th CPSU Congress pointed out that we have many people, such as pensioners, housewives and disabled persons who would have gladly worked to the measure of their strength in the services sphere on a co-operative basis, for instance. To enlist the services of these people in socially useful work, to mobilize their activity is one of the tasks confronting the Soviets.

It is obvious that this activity should be governed by appropriate legal regulations. If such regulations do not exist it will be necessary to elaborate them. The important thing is to render all possible support to initiative aimed at promoting the welfare of society and at improving the work in the sphere of services.

It would be a good thing if Muscovites were to display initiative in this undertaking. Perhaps it would be a good idea for each district Soviet of the capital to organize several co-operative tailor's shops, dining-rooms and other similar enterprises. This would make it possible to find out the pros and cons of such an undertaking and then to sum up the experience accumulated and to draw pertinent conclusions of a broader nature.

And now a few words about the style and methods of work of our Soviets. The Soviets, particularly the local Soviets, are precisely those authorities with which the ordinary Soviet citizen comes into contact most often. The working people go to the Soviets about matters concerning their daily needs. They go to the Soviets when they want to get an answer to some question or another, or to solve some problem.

The people who work in the Soviets—i.e. local government bodies—are good, conscientious and competent people who like their jobs. They display concern for all the aspects of life in their district or settlement. However, it is a fact that there are still unfortunate exceptions to this rule. It sometimes happens that when a citizen comes to his local Soviet he does not get the welcome that he is entitled to expect. Ill-will is shown towards him and his problem remains unsolved. And if they do solve his problem, they first make him come several times, i.e. they make him haunt their threshold.

We still have comrades who regard receiving visitors who come about their personal affairs as a thing of minor importance which does not warrant special attention. They say they have more important matters on their hands. Of course, the people who work in the Soviets have a lot on their hands. However, the attitude they display to the needs of the people, including personal needs, is not a thing of minor importance. This attitude is an important indicator of the level of the work at the given Soviet.

I would like to remind you that Lenin repeatedly drew attention to the need to conduct a persistent struggle against bureaucratic distortions in the work of the bodies of Soviet power. The Soviets, supported by the Party organizations, should persistently struggle against such distortions.

The decisions of the 24th Congress say that the work of the Soviets will be effective only if it is widely supported by the people as a whole. There are already several million voluntary activists working in the Soviets and their numbers are growing all the time. This is a good and important indication of the truly democratic character of the work in the Soviets. But enlisting large numbers of activists under the Soviets does not mean solving all the problems. Far from it.

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

The essence of socialist democracy consists in drawing the broadest possible masses of working people into active participation in social affairs. And who, if not the Soviets in the first place, should implement this principle of people's power under socialism?

It is important to stress at this point what we have repeatedly said before: in their big and important job, our So-

viets and their staffs should receive the constant assistance and support of all Party organizations. It is the duty of the Communists to do everything necessary to improve the work of the Soviets and to infuse it with life.

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

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, by his own example, showed us the concern that Communists should show for the Soviets, and for constantly increasing the part they play in the life of the people. So let us, comrades, in this matter, too, worthily carry on the work of Lenin!

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

I have chanced to be in many Union Republics these last few years, and everywhere—in the Ukraine and in Georgia, in Kazakhstan and Armenia, in Byelorussia and Azerbaijan—everywhere the people spoke with great warmth, with respect and affection about the Russian people, and about the contribution of the Russian Federation to the development of all the republics of our country. These sincere words of gratitude have been merited by the working class, the farm workers and the intelligentsia of Soviet Russia.

Their labour, their determination and knowledge, their self-sacrifice and hearty generosity have played a vital part in the practical implementation of the Party's national policy, in the transformation of former backward outlying territories of tsarist Russia into flourishing socialist republics.

In the constellation of the republics, equal in rights, the RSFSR holds a leading place—by the size of its population and of its territory, by its natural wealth, and by its economic and scientific-technological potential.

The working people of the Russian Federation successfully fulfilled the tasks of the Eighth Five-Year Plan. In the course of five years, production assets and the output of industrial goods increased by 50 per cent. There was also a rise in the growth rate of agricultural production. The gross annual output of agriculture in the 1966-1970 period was 20 per cent higher than in the previous five-year period.

All this is very good, comrades, but the assignments of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the targets for a more distant future demand a further and faster advance on a broader front than before. Experience teaches us that the broader this front and the greater the number of tasks which have to be tackled simultaneously, the more imperative the need to solve them co-operatively, systematically and purposefully, taking into account the complex and varied relationships between different areas of the country, between different sectors of the national economy, and between all spheres of social life. In other words, what is necessary is a many-sided, systematic approach to the elaboration of major decisions. We have adopted such an attitude and shall consistently translate it into life.

Not so long ago, for instance, the Politbureau of the Central Committee considered measures for the development of agriculture in Smolensk Region. We tried to approach the problem on a wide scale and to solve it, taking into consideration the requirements of all sectors of agriculture, and their ties with industry, transport, trade, etc. The Central Committee's decision, therefore, embraces such matters as the improvement of elevator, refrigerator and storage facilities, the erection of power transmission lines and substations, the construction of a casting yard for reinforced-concrete parts and a plant manufacturing large panels for housing construction, the training of skilled personnel, and many other things.

It is important to continue expanding comprehensive examination of the state of affairs in groups of regions of the Russian Federation, for instance, the Central-Black Earth zone, the North-West area, the European North, the Volga area, the Urals, and others. Special attention ought to be given to such problems as land improvement, a further rise in crop yields, the development of livestock farming, road

construction, amenities in the countryside, and the future of small towns.

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

But this is only the quantitative side of the matter. No matter how important the quoted indicators may be in themselves, it is no less important how, in what way, and by what methods it is planned to solve such a big and important task as the further development of the eastern areas of the RSFSR. As an example I can refer to the recently adopted decision on measures for the all-round development, between 1974 and 1980, of the productive forces of Krasnoyarsk Territory.

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

Decisions of this nature and scale, binding together factors of a most diverse character—economic, socio-political, demographic, geographic, and many others—should be drawn up. This should be done in particular on the Bratsk economic complex, the Sayany territorial-production complex, and the West Siberian oil base. It is necessary later to start to elaborate similar comprehensive programmes of development for Yakutia, the Chukchi Peninsula and all the other areas of the Far East and Siberia.

In posing such a task, the Party is relying on the Siberian division and the Far Eastern branch of the USSR Aca-

demy of Sciences. This is, after all, a matter of a truly scientific approach to the development of immense territories of the Russian Federation, an approach that would combine the carrying out of urgent tasks of the present time with consideration for the long-range prospects of development of the country. We must work today in such a way that our children and grandchildren will be able to add more and more new storeys to the edifice which we are building, and not have to re-do what has already been done.

Let us be frank, comrades, these immense projects cannot be completely carried out in one five-year period or even two. But by mobilising existing resources and leaning on local initiative, we can accomplish a great deal straight away.

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

Comrades, all of us Muscovites are proud of living and working in our wonderful city.

The aim that the capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should become still more beautiful and well-appointed is one of the objectives constantly before the Party.

Back in 1935 the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR endorsed a master plan for the reconstruction of Moscow. This was the first social and town planning document of such a scale in world history. Under this plan, which was clarified and supplemented in subsequent years, the appearance of the ancient Russian capital changed considerably. In the years of Soviet power the population of Moscow has almost quadrupled and now totals more than 7 million. In the same period, city housing has increased nearly six times. Industrial output has gone up more than 100 times. Beautiful avenues and thoroughfares have been made, and splendid buildings erected. Eighty-nine Metro stations have been built. Today Moscow is one of the best-appointed capitals of the world.

However, the complicated and quickened rhythm of urban life and the rapid growth of the requirements of the

population are making further demands. Our aim is to transform Moscow into a model communist city, well laid out, with modern architecture, and having public amenities and sanitary and hygienic facilities of a high standard. The other day, as you know, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR approved the main proposals of a new master plan for the development of Moscow and a forest-park protection belt. This plan, which was published in the papers yesterday, covers a period up to 1985-1990 with longer-range prospects taken into account.

At one time, in the early years of Soviet power, Lenin, in a conversation with architects, said that Moscow should be rebuilt in such a way that it would be artistic and, at the same time, a comfortable place to live in. The new master plan is aimed at carrying out this instruction of Lenin's.

It is based on the use of the latest achievements in city-building, and, at the same time, on preserving the distinctive, historically-evolved appearance of Moscow. It is a blend of doubled production of the capital's industrial enterprises with considerable improvement of the working and living conditions and recreational facilities of the working people.

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

I hope that the Muscovites will cope with these tasks with honour. I would advise you, comrades, to demand more from your Deputies—those in the districts, in the Moscow Soviet, and in the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. Let our Soviets, our deputies constantly feel that their work in carrying out the Congress decisions and the assignments of the five-year plan is always under the control of the electorate. Nothing but good will come from this, I am sure.

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

The 24th Congress reaffirmed that the outstanding features of the Soviet Union's foreign policy are purposefulness and consistency, and an approach to the solution of current problems keeping the long-range targets and tasks in view. As before, we shall do everything possible to promote co-operation among the socialist countries, and the consolidation of the world socialist system. As before, we shall strengthen our militant alliance and friendship with the young national democratic states, and with all forces of the anti-imperialist movement. As before, we shall oppose aggression, and work for universal peace, and for the replacement of military blocs and groupings by systems of collective security.

Only two months have passed since the Congress, but we have made definite steps forward in all the main directions of foreign policy activity. Speaking of most recent events, the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation with the United Arab Republic should be mentioned first of all. The contents of this Treaty vividly reflect the close friendship, mutual support and understanding which distinguish the relations of the Soviet Union with progressive Arab states. We regard this document as one more proof of the growing unity of the anti-imperialist front of the peoples of the world.

The outcome of the visit to the Soviet Union of Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau also deserves mention. The Soviet-Canadian protocol on consultations, like the Soviet-French protocol, signed earlier, at the time of the visit to the USSR of President Pompidou of France, convincingly shows the great possibilities of active political co-operation among states with differing social systems. The greater the interest manifested by our partners in maintaining peace, in developing economic, scientific-technological and other ties, the greater will be the possibility of achieving these goals.

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

The struggle against militarism and for disarmament has always, since Lenin's time, been an inalienable component of the foreign policy activities of the Soviet state.

Our country and our Party adhere to this course today, too. One more proof of this are the documents of the 24th Congress, which formulate a whole set of concrete proposals aimed both at the adoption of partial measures and at the creation of foundations for general and complete disarmament.

They may say that the Soviet state advanced proposals of this kind in the past and that they were not accepted by the other side. Does this not mean that disarmament plans, and plans to limit the arms drive are unfeasible in a world where capitalism still exists, and where the imperialist powers continue to exert considerable influence on the international situation?

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

What is it that permits us to raise the question in such a manner? First and foremost, the changed correlation of forces in the world—both socio-political and military forces.

Only a few years ago, the imperialists, and primarily, the US imperialists, seriously hoped, with the help of an arms race, to strengthen their position on the world scene, and, at the same time, to weaken the economy of the USSR and other socialist countries, and frustrate our plans of peaceful construction. The failure of these calculations of our enemies has now become most obvious. Everybody now sees that socialism is powerful enough to secure both reliable defences and economic development, though, of course, without large expenditures on defence, we would have been able to push our economy ahead much faster.

On the other hand, the imperialists, including those in the United States, the richest capitalist country, are themselves increasingly feeling the negative economic and political consequences of an all-out arms drive. Enormous military spending engenders in the capitalist countries chronic inflation, causes systematic currency and financial crises, and hampers the solution of the worsening internal problems.

Simultaneously, indignation is mounting among the working people over the policy of militarism and aggression. The anti-war movement in the United States is assuming an increasingly mass character and is bringing serious pressure to bear on the government. Resistance to the growth of military expenditure is also increasing in other NATO countries. As a result, even among some of the ruling circles of Western states, the arms race is no longer being regarded as an undiluted blessing. All this, of course, to a certain degree helps the socialist and other peace-loving countries in their efforts to combat the arms race. This fight against the arms race is becoming a more realistic proposition.

This atmosphere undoubtedly adds significance to the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic arms, a positive outcome of which would, in our opinion, be in the interests of the people of both countries, and would help to consolidate universal peace.

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

Washington pays lip service to the principle of equal security, but the American side cannot bring itself to consistently promote this in practice. For instance, an uproar is systematically raised in the United States—especially on the eve of the adoption in Washington of a new military budget—over Soviet defence programmes. The measures which we take to strengthen our defences are pictured in this campaign almost as some kind of “perfidy,” as a direct threat to the success of the talks. But, we ask, on what grounds does Washington expect us to reject already-adopted programmes, when the US Government itself, throughout the period of negotiations has adopted several major decisions on the build-up of its strategic forces? It is high time to reject such double standards when assessing one’s own moves and moves of the other side.

And this refers not only to missiles. The US propaganda machine has made much fuss about the Soviet Navy. Washin-

gton regards it as a threat that our naval vessels should appear in the Mediterranean, in the Indian Ocean, and in other seas, whereas American politicians regard it as normal and natural that their Sixth Fleet should be constantly stationed in the Mediterranean, next door to the Soviet Union, you might say, and the Seventh Fleet—off the coasts of China and Indochina.

We have never regarded it as an ideal situation for navies of great powers to remain for long periods far from home waters. We are ready to settle this problem, too, but to settle it on an equal footing.

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

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

Permit me, comrades, to assure you that the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, loyal to

the 24th Party Congress decisions, will continue perseveringly and actively to conduct a foreign policy aimed at securing all the necessary conditions for the quiet, peaceful endeavour of the Soviet people, and at strengthening the foundations of peace throughout the world. This is a Leninist foreign policy line, and we shall consistently translate it into life.

Comrades, in the approaching elections, you, the electorate of the Baumansky District of Moskow, like all Soviet electors, will be voting not only for individual people nominated as candidates for Deputy by the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. What is actually also being put to a vote is the political platform of this bloc. It is based on the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party, a congress which has charted a clear course for the further strengthening of the might of our country, for a further rise in the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people, for the further cohesion of Soviet society and development of socialist democracy, for the fight for peace and international security.

Permit me to express confidence that the elections will fully confirm the approval by the entire people of the line of our Party.

In conclusion, I wish once again to thank you for the trust you have shown me. Permit me to assure you that, as in all of my working life, I shall continue to give all my energies and strength to the cause of communism, to the people's cause. For me, as a Communist, there can be no other interests, no other aims.

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

Long live our great socialist country!

Long live world peace!

Long live communism!

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was heard with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause.

THE TRIUMPH OF GREAT IDEAS

*Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
at the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party
of Germany,
June 16, 1971*

Dear comrades,
Dear friends,

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union conveys fraternal communist greetings to the participants in the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. We also greet all members of your Party and all citizens of the German Democratic Republic.

It is with keen interest and pride in the plans and accomplishments of our German friends that our delegation followed the report of the SUPG Central Committee given by the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker. This Congress will doubtless become a significant landmark in the GDR's socialist construction.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany can well be proud of its tremendous accomplishments during the quarter-century of its existence. The handclasp of the outstanding leaders of the German working-class movement—Communist Wilhelm Pieck and Social-Democrat Otto Grotewohl—demonstrated the indissoluble union of two working people's detachments and became a symbol of your Party. The establishment of this Party was a momentous event in the history of the German working-class movement, an act of great political astuteness. Its fundamental importance is

evident from the entire course of GDR development, from the remarkable achievements in building socialism in your country.

Even in the grim years of the Second World War Soviet people did not identify the working people of Germany with the criminal Hitlerite clique. We believed that the spirit of resistance to fascism was to be found on German soil, too, and that the heart of future Germany was throbbing in underground groups and prison cells. And our belief has been vindicated. In nazi-ravaged postwar Germany, where a considerable part of the population had been morally corrupted by fascism, the very idea of building a new, socialist society appeared to be a remote, far-fetched dream. But the German Communists who continued the cause of the courageous revolutionaries—Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thälmann—had faith in the progressive forces of the German people. Loyal to their revolutionary duty, in alliance with progressive-minded Social-Democrats, they boldly assumed responsibility for the destinies of their homeland, succeeded in getting the working people to believe in their ideals, and managed to rouse the people to struggle for a better life. Amid tremendous difficulties, faced with a powerful and experienced class adversary entrenched on the opposite side of the Elbe, they have honourably and in a short historical term accomplished a task of outstanding importance: the construction of a socialist state—the German Democratic Republic.

This, comrades, is a real exploit. And having accomplished it, the German Communists have rightfully earned the acknowledgement and respect of their people and their class brothers and comrades-in-arms in the revolutionary struggle the world over.

Armed with the invincible truth of the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has scored success, first of all, because it has managed to unite in its ranks the best sons and daughters of the German working class. With its far-sighted policy of joining together all the progressive parties and organisations of the country in the National Front, your Party has forged an alliance of all the active forces of society around a platform of peace, democratic changes and socialist cons-

truction. The GDR Communists have won the hearts and minds of the younger generation with their noble ideas and the greatness of their cause. This is particularly valuable, comrades, for it is the youth who will continue our cause and achieve its complete victory.

The fact that the leadership of the Party has always been comprised of Marxist-Leninists, loyal representatives of the working class, hardened fighters against fascism, fighters for socialism, also accounts for the prestige enjoyed by the SUPG in the international communist movement. Comrade Walter Ulbricht, who has devoted all his energies and his immense political experience to the cause of the German working people, to the cause of socialism has merited the profound respect and gratitude of all working people and friends of the GDR. Communists and all the working people in the GDR have great trust in our esteemed friend and comrade Erich Honecker, staunch anti-fascist, outstanding organiser of Party and state development in the Republic.

A great merit of your Party is that during the extensive and strenuous work of socialist reconstruction of society, it has promoted, educated and steeled wonderful contingents of Party leaders with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, utterly dedicated to the working class, to the working people, and firmly adhering to the positions of socialist internationalism. There are such contingents now at all Party levels—from the Central Committee Politbureau to primary Party organisations.

Comrades, these days you are determining how the Party's work, development of the state and socialist society is to proceed. In doing so you are able to base yourselves on the impressive gains of the past years achieved by implementing the resolutions of the previous Party congresses. Quite a lot has been done in the area of Party development, in the economy, in the development of socialist statehood.

This is not our first visit to the GDR, and each time we come, it is like visiting a good, old friend. Once again we see the things that gladdened our eyes and hearts before. And each time we discover something new, and tangibly

feel the pulse of the vibrant, meaningful life of your Party and all people in the GDR.

The socialist German Democratic Republic has traversed a long and glorious road. The process of establishing the Republic and making a break with the forces of the past was not easy. Any goal in socialist construction has to be achieved literally in battle, in bitter struggle against the schemes of revenge-seekers and imperialists. Yet, the great Goethe was quite right when he said that only those who fight for this every day deserve to live and be free.

The new social system has become firmly and forever established in the German Democratic Republic. Millions of German working people treasure its advantages. An end has been put to exploitation, to unemployment, to humiliating social discrimination. The working people of the GDR today know from their own daily experience what free creative labour and complete confidence in the morrow mean. This new system, where the people have become builders and masters of their own life, has been making headway with each passing year and will continue to do so.

It goes without saying that when it comes to political and socio-economic changes on such a scale it is impossible to foresee all the details and avoid all difficulties. All the greater, therefore, is the credit that goes to the working class, to working people in agricultural cooperatives and the people's intelligentsia, who under the guidance of your Party are setting an example for the whole world of confident and stable development on the path of socialism and peace.

Comrades, it so happened that of late events of great importance are taking place in the life of many parties of the fraternal socialist countries: regular party congresses are being held. These are momentous, joyous occasions: momentous, because at these supreme forums Communists are mapping out ways for the development of their respective countries for many years ahead; joyous, because this development is making steady headway towards the still greater prosperity of the socialist countries, an improvement in the people's well-being and affording even better

conditions for a happy life for the people, a life of fruitful and creative endeavour.

The Communists of Hungary, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Mongolian People's Republic have held their congresses. At each one, just as at your Congress, plans for further development, for the solution of immediate tasks facing the respective parties and countries, for eliminating shortcomings that still remain, were discussed in a concrete, businesslike manner. The plans and the tasks, of course, differ, depending on prevailing conditions in the given country. But there is, undoubtedly, much that is common to all the recently held congresses of the communist parties of the fraternal countries. They all presented to the world a vivid picture of healthy, rapidly developing, dynamic socialist society, a society where the sole purpose of the conscious labour of millions of people under the leadership of the communist vanguard is to promote the welfare of all people, a society where every year and every five-year period results in fresh and tangible achievements in political, economic, social, scientific and cultural development.

A big advantage of the world socialist system, of our socialist way of life is that in the course of development of the fraternal countries the communist parties carefully study and use one another's positive experience. The experience of the Soviet Union's Communists, the trailblazers in socialist development, the practical activities of the other countries, including the German Democratic Republic, where much is being done in the way of elaborating problems of the developed socialist society—all this taken together constitutes the collective experience of socialism, our great, common wealth. The efficient use of this wealth is of tremendous benefit to each of the fraternal countries, at times sparing them the need of seeking their own solutions or repetition of blunders or mistakes that had been made by others.

At present a number of socialist countries have reached the stage of development which the communist parties of these countries define as mature or advanced socialist construction. They are faced at this stage with vast and extremely complex tasks of how best to combine the advantages

of the socialist system with the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and thereby to ensure high efficiency and planned proportionate development of the entire national economy and considerable improvement in the people's well-being; how to go about developing and broadening the work of fostering a socialist spirit in people's consciousness; how to progress in the creative development of socialist democracy; how to raise to a new level the cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries.

These are challenging and noble tasks. It is a fascinating time of wonderful prospects and possibilities for the fraternal socialist countries. They will, of course, encounter many problems as they proceed but the most difficult part of the work has already been done, and this may be said in all confidence.

The Soviet country has entered a new, momentous stage in building communism. The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, with which you are well acquainted, afford the Soviet people an unprecedented scope in all fields of social development. The Communists and all working people of the Soviet Union have enthusiastically hailed the Congress decisions and set about to carry them out in a communist manner. We are deeply gratified that the results of the 24th CPSU Congress met with widespread, favourable response in other countries as well. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you, dear German comrades, that the Soviet Communists highly value the interest shown by your Party in the materials of the 24th CPSU Congress. We are deeply grateful to the Communists and all working people of the German Democratic Republic for launching a socialist emulation movement in honour of our 24th Congress. The Soviet people consider this a manifestation of genuine fraternal friendship and socialist internationalism.

How different is the state of the capitalist world today compared to the confident advance of the socialist countries and their historic optimism. The noose of the general crisis of the capitalist system is growing tighter and tighter. The severe crisis of imperialist policy, the permanently feverish state of the economy, the uncertainty of the future, the profound moral crisis—such is the picture of modern capitalism.

And no reformer can cure these ills which are inherent in the system.

Recently, the world witnessed another crisis of the monetary-financial system of capitalism. The deity, or to be more exact, the mammon of capitalist society—the American dollar that has long lost its past lustre—wavered again. And this is not an accidental, isolated phenomenon. It illustrates the general internal instability of capitalism. It can be classed in the same category as the acute class battles, the social, national and racial conflicts shaking the capitalist states, as the mass, anti-war demonstrations in the biggest bourgeois country—the United States of America.

Capitalism is clearly in a shaky position in its own home. It is also losing ground in the countries of the former colonial world, which are advancing with growing confidence along their own road—the road of independence and social progress, the road of friendship and cooperation with socialist states. In such a situation some heads of the imperialist world are becoming incapable of soberly appraising the situation and are undertaking military ventures, resorting to aggression. The aggressive wars of the imperialists against the peoples of Indochina and the Arab countries are an example of this.

Under such conditions, the socialist countries have a particularly responsible role in defending the cause of peace, freedom and the social gains of the peoples. The nations of the world know that they can count on the socialist states that are consistently pursuing a Leninist course in their foreign policies. And the greater the concerted efforts of our states, the more their actions accord in the world arena, the stronger will be the mainstays of world peace and security and the more confidently the peoples will move ahead to freedom and independence.

The great alliance between the socialist countries and the young progressive states which have shaken off the fetters of colonial oppression, is a highly characteristic feature of our times. We consider it our duty to do everything to strengthen this alliance. A major event in this respect was the recently concluded Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic,

a document which was hailed with gratification by all progressive and peace-loving forces.

We Communists are convinced and adamant opponents of aggression and aggressors. At the same time we are equally convinced and consistent advocates of the peaceful coexistence of the states, irrespective of differences in their social systems. Everyone who wants to honestly cooperate on the principles of mutual respect and benefit is welcomed by us with complete sincerity, and we are ready for such cooperation.

Comrades, your Party and your Republic are successfully solving major, complex foreign policy problems. Perhaps no other state in the socialist community had to overcome so many obstacles to attain international recognition as the German Democratic Republic. The capitalist world tried to organise a worldwide political and diplomatic blockade of the GDR, but to no avail. And now the GDR has diplomatic relations with 29 states throughout the world.

In various spheres of international relations, the GDR confidently demonstrates its great role and its growing capacities. There are steadily developing contacts along parliamentary and public lines. And now it is clear to everyone that it is out of the question to hold an all-European conference without GDR participation on an equal footing with other states. The number of countries (now over 100) with which the GDR trades and has economic ties is growing from year to year. The Leipzig Fair has become one of the biggest and most popular in the world. We are as happy as you are when GDR representatives win prizes at international sport competitions, and this happens with increasing frequency.

Your Republic's growing international prestige and influence is the result of everything the GDR working people have achieved in developing their state, economy and culture. One can very well say it is an outcome of many years of joint struggle of the socialist countries, an outcome of our cohesion in championing the cause of peace and socialism.

Formerly, Berlin was known as a capital from which nothing good could be expected for the cause of peace. It was a citadel of German militarists and arms magnates.

Having become the capital of the German socialist state, Berlin now enjoys a different reputation. Berlin, the capital of the GDR, is now a herald of peace and friendship among nations. And this transformation stems from the historical change caused by the formation of the peaceful socialist state on German soil.

Today, on the eve of the 30th anniversary of Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, it naturally comes to mind and people think over the lessons of the Second World War. Neither Soviet people, nor Germans, nor the other peoples can forget what this war entailed. Scores of millions of people perished. And although a new generation has grown up in the postwar period, the scars of the war and its grave heritage are evident in politics, in the economy, and in the psychology of people. Today, more than a quarter of a century after the war, the peoples of Europe are faced with one main task: to prevent a repetition of the tragedy of the past and to create a genuinely lasting peace, a peace for many years to come.

We all are pleased at the positive shifts taking place lately in the situation in Europe. We give due credit to those governments of capitalist countries that respond to our efforts to have European affairs progress along the road of détente, peaceful cooperation and the strengthening of security on the continent. In this connection, I would like to dwell on the importance of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG, signed on August 12, 1970.

Claims are made in the West that in this treaty the FRG is making "concessions" to the Soviet Union. But we think that our commitments under the treaty of August 12 are just as, if not more, important for the FRG, than the FRG's commitments are for the Soviet Union. This applies also to the question of renunciation of the use of force, to observance of the inviolability of borders and to the undertaking to adhere in mutual relations to the provisions of the United Nations Charter. What matters are not unilateral concessions—there are none on either side—but the treaty's political essence and general trend.

To those in West Germany who engage in political speculations about the treaty with the Soviet Union we want to say one thing: the inviolability of the frontiers of the

USSR, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other fraternal countries is guaranteed irrespective of the existence of this treaty; it is guaranteed by the joint might of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

On coming into force, the treaty with the FRG can and must open a new page in the FRG's relations with the Soviet Union, provide scope for extensive, mutually advantageous economic and other kinds of cooperation. But it does not stop there. On coming into force the treaties of the Soviet Union and Poland with the FRG will largely create a new political climate in Europe. This, one should think, will considerably improve the prerequisites for the establishment of West Germany's normal relations with the European socialist countries, for the development, in general, of fruitful cooperation between countries of Eastern and Western Europe, for the solution of important problems of European security.

The situation is such that there are now realistically-thinking circles in the West advocating the strengthening of European peace. At the same time, these circles are coming in for ever fiercer attacks by a certain camp. The peace-loving peoples see what is happening and draw their own conclusions.

Now, just a few words about West Berlin, the immediate neighbour of your capital. As you know well, the concerted efforts of the Soviet Union and the GDR are directed towards securing a state of affairs where West Berlin will cease to be a source of tension and crisis situations and there will be normal conditions for the city and its residents, naturally with due consideration for the lawful interests and sovereign of the German Democratic Republic. We believe that the talks on West Berlin, that are now in progress, have made it possible first and foremost to make clear the positions of the sides concerned. It is natural, therefore, that the talks should now be entering the stage of examining concrete proposals on the content of a possible agreement. While I cannot speak for our partners in the talks, we on our part are ready to make efforts to successfully conclude this matter and to ensure that the agreement reached is effective and is carried out.

I have dwelt, comrades, on some questions of interna-

tional life that are especially topical regarding efforts undertaken by the Soviet Union and the GDR to strengthen peace in Europe. A comprehensive programme of struggle for peace and international security, for the freedom and independence of the peoples was advanced at the 24th CPSU Congress. It determines the main tasks and directions of the Soviet Union's foreign political activities at the present stage. This programme takes into consideration the common interests of the states of the socialist community. We are grateful to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and to the GDR Government for actively supporting it. This is still another vivid manifestation of the identity of our foreign-policy aims, of the integrity and sincerity of our relations of alliance, relations of genuine socialist solidarity and friendship.

The strong bonds of friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR is a great gain of our Parties, a result of many years of purposeful efforts of the Communists in our countries. Friendship is the core of our alliance shaped in the joint struggle for the triumph of peace and socialism.

Comrades, our Parties and Governments are concerned with the cares and interests of the entire socialist community; they invariably coordinate their foreign policy activities, and this is a manifestation, in deed, of the deep internationalist spirit of their policies.

At present, the fraternal parties are making a great effort to intensify the development of the economic integration of the socialist states. This is a matter of immense political importance, one of the fundamental links in the advancement of world socialism. We are confident that, proceeding from the science of Marxism-Leninism and creatively developing and improving the methods of economic management and cooperation, the fraternal countries will be able to make marked headway in furthering socialist integration. And it can be definitely said that the German Democratic Republic will greatly contribute to solving this important problem.

Dear friends, allow me from the bottom of my heart to wish you and all the working people of the German Democratic Republic fresh successes in the construction of an advan-

ced socialist society, and wish you happiness and prosperity.

Long live the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the guiding force of the state of German workers and farmers!

Long live the inviolable friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic! May their all-round cooperation and fraternal alliance grow stronger!

Long live the growing community of the fraternal countries of socialism—the vanguard of mankind in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress!

Long live communism!

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was heard with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause.

ALONG THE ROAD OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION

*Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
at the Electronics Factory in Belgrade,
September 23, 1971*

Dear comrades,
Friends,

Allow me in the first place to thank you wholeheartedly for the invitation to visit your factory and meet workers of the electronics industry, representatives of the glorious working class of Yugoslavia. I must say that even a brief inspection of the factory has left me with a very good impression. This is really advanced production—modern equipment, clever heads and able hands. Everything shows that you are marching in step with the times.

My comrades and I have been sincerely touched by the cordial reception given to us and the kind words that have been said here about our country, about the Soviet people. Availing myself of the opportunity, I would like to extend to you, and through you to the Yugoslav Communists and all the peoples of socialist Yugoslavia, ardent, fraternal greetings from the Communists, workers and all working people of the Soviet Union.

The friendship of the peoples of our countries is of long standing. Fresh content was added to this friendship in the struggle for socialism. The Soviet people cherish the names of the Yugoslav volunteer-internationalists, heroes of the civil war in our country. These courageous people fought

and died not only for the freedom of Russia. They fought also for a new life in their own land.

We also always remember that Comrade Tito, who is now known to all as the organiser and hero of the liberation and revolutionary struggle of the Yugoslav people, leader of the Communists of Yugoslavia and head of the Yugoslav socialist state, began his revolutionary career in the flames of the Russian Revolution.

Yugoslavia has this year celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the beginning of the armed uprising against the fascist occupation forces. The Soviet people will never forget that on the day Hitler Germany attacked the Soviet Union the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia called upon the people to start a general armed uprising. The flames of heroic struggle that flared up on July 4, 1941, spread throughout the country. The uprising developed into a nationwide struggle for the triumph of the socialist revolution.

Availing myself of the occasion, I would like, comrades, to convey the sincere and heartfelt gratitude of the Soviet people to the veterans of these battles, our comrades-in-arms in the anti-fascist struggle.

The Soviet people know what tremendous sacrifices Yugoslavia made during the Second World War, how great was its contribution to the rout of fascism. We well remember that by its heroic struggle the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia entered the most vivid pages in the history of the European resistance movement and brought nearer the long-awaited day of our common victory. The firm foundation of the combat cooperation of the Soviet Armed Forces and the Yugoslav People's Army was laid in the joint battles for the liberation of Belgrade and other operations on Yugoslav soil.

Comrades, we in the Soviet Union are of the opinion that the further strengthening of cooperation between the two Parties and countries based on principles of complete equality and mutual respect, conforms to the vital interests of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples and helps to strengthen the world socialist system and the cause of peace and progress.

We have every reason to note that quite considerable

positive experience has been accumulated in the past years in Soviet-Yugoslav relations. This particularly refers to the economic, scientific and technical fields. We may take as an example your plant which, we have been told, has established firm bonds with Soviet industry. Well, I may tell you that I inquired about how the goods you put out are appraised in our country. And I was pleased to hear that they enjoy a good reputation.

However, cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the electronics industry could be much broader and more effective. The same goes for many other spheres of our cooperation.

The scope of our country is vast indeed. Our national economy is developing strongly and dynamically on a firmly planned basis. This is why the Soviet Union is a stable customer for large consignments of goods. And, as you know, such orders are to the advantage of production and boost its profitability. We are interested in getting top-quality goods that can be put out by Yugoslav enterprises. At the same time, the Soviet Union has great possibilities of delivering a wide range of up-to-date industrial goods and raw materials, which socialist Yugoslavia is in need of. In short, we have a good foundation for mutually beneficial cooperation, and there are a great many possibilities that are not taken advantage of yet.

This applies, comrades, not only to economic relations, but also to political cooperation in the broadest sense. We must know each other better and study more fully and more comprehensively the experience gained by our Parties and nations. The best way towards that through direct contacts between Party and public organisations, between people. This is why we would welcome an expansion of the exchange of delegations in various spheres and on various levels, and the strengthening of bonds between our twin cities and local Party organisations.

We shall be glad if the workers of your plant and of other Yugoslav enterprises come to visit Soviet workers. I take this opportunity to invite you to our country—to Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov; we shall be glad to see you! The doors of our Homeland and the gates of our enterprises are wide open to receive Yugoslav visitors. I think that Yu-

goslav comrades will find it interesting to visit our Republics, to see the life of Soviet people, to see how our collective farmers, state-farm workers, our scientists and cultural workers live and work. And, of course, the working people of our country are interested in visiting you, in getting a better idea of how their Yugoslav colleagues live and work.

Dear comrades and friends! I want to be quite frank with you in all matters, and I want to tell you that one sometimes hears allegations to the effect that there are no prospects for the development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, because the methods of socialist construction and the forms of organising socialist society in Yugoslavia do not suit the Soviet Union, while the Yugoslavs do not accept the Soviet experience. What can I say to this?

It is no secret that not everything which determines the specific features of the present organisation of Yugoslav social life seems acceptable to Soviet Communists, to Soviet people. We in the Soviet Union have our own traditions and our own experience, and they conform to our understanding of socialism and our conditions.

As Communist-Marxists, we know quite well that there exist certain general laws underlying socialist construction and common fundamental features and criteria of socialism without which there can be no socialism. But the choice of the concrete forms of organising the life of society is the internal affair of each Communist Party and of each nation. We again express our firm conviction that distinctions in these forms must present no reason for any sort of estrangement or mistrust in relations among socialist states, including, of course, between us and you.

We are against opposing the socialist construction practices in various countries to one another and, even more, we are against any country forcing its methods of development upon others.

For us Communists, Marxist-Leninists, the most important thing is the fact that our countries belong to the same social and economic formation and that, comrades, is, in the final count, the main thing. We are certain that if we proceed from this principle and act in a spirit of comradeship and mutual trust, the efforts of our Communist Par-

ties, directed at extending cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY, will be crowned with success.

The foundation of the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples has been cemented by the blood shed in the struggle against the common enemy. This is a firm foundation. And we, every one of us, comrades, are responsible to history, to the memory of those who died, to our children and grandchildren. We have the responsibility for ensuring that the edifice of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation erected on this foundation is radiant and firm, and that an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual confidence reigns in it.

Comrades, the life of the Yugoslav people and the course of economic and cultural construction in your country are being followed in the Soviet Union with great attention, with friendly interest. We sincerely rejoice at your successes. We are grieved when we hear of your difficulties and anxieties, and wholeheartedly wish you great successes in the building of socialism, in further raising the living standards of the people.

Dear friends, I am pleased to tell you, our friends, how the working people of our country live. As you know, the 24th CPSU Congress was held last spring. It determined the main trends in the activities of the Party and in the development of the country for the coming years.

It is always difficult to find comparisons and examples to present, in several sentences, a picture of the development of an entire country, of an entire state. Nevertheless, let us attempt to do this. Just think of it: in 1970 alone our industrial output was approximately double that of the total for the three prewar five-year periods. During the period between the 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses the earnings of factory and office workers were substantially raised and paid holidays increased. The majority of the working people now have two days off a week. Within five years 55 million people improved their housing conditions. Per capita real incomes increased by 33 per cent.

This year we launched a new, the ninth, five-year plan. It is of special significance for our country, for the Soviet people. Drawing on the achievements of preceding years, we have started effecting a turn in the entire national economy aimed at more fully satisfying the material and cultural

requirements of Soviet people. Naturally, in the past as well, much was accomplished for the welfare of Soviet working people, to improve their living and working conditions. However, today we have much greater opportunities, and we want to use them widely to ensure for Soviet people a better and more peaceful life.

All these successes, comrades, are the real fruits of socialism. He who works well, who devotes his energy, his knowledge to building a new society—and this opportunity is guaranteed to everyone—has the right to good earnings and a comfortable home, to the opportunity to study and to develop culturally, to leisure and recreation.

Our country is preparing to celebrate next year the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. True to Lenin's behests, the CPSU is consistently pursuing the policy of ensuring the fullest development of the economy and culture of all our nations and nationalities of which there are more than 100 in our country. For a long time already there have been no backward, underdeveloped Republics in the Soviet Union. Each of the 15 Union Republics has an up-to-date industry, a mechanised agriculture, a national intelligentsia, its own Academy of Sciences, universities and research institutes. And all this is the outcome of joint common effort, the outcome of fraternal mutual assistance and support. We consider friendship and cooperation of nations and nationalities the mainspring of the strength and might of socialist society, an important factor for accelerating the advance towards communism.

Our successes in building socialism and communism are inseparably linked with the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Everywhere and in everything we consistently observe the Leninist principle of the guiding role of the Party. The interests of all classes and social groups, of all nations and nationalities of Soviet society find their expression in the Party's policy. The unity of the Party and the people—such is the cornerstone of the Soviet social system.

Soviet people are firmly convinced that the programme advanced by the Party will not only be fulfilled but also overfulfilled. We have all the opportunities for this: a clear political line, fully supported by the Soviet people, the ne-

cessary material base, and the scientific and technical achievements.

It stands to reason that one more thing is required for the carrying out of our plans—it is necessary to ensure a stable peace, the further relaxation of international tension.

The foreign policy of the CPSU is clear and consistent. We firmly protect the interests of socialism from all its enemies. We are for peace and international security, we are for the freedom and independence of all peoples. We have always been and shall always be determined opponents of the imperialist policy of aggression, wars and oppression. We are following our policy consistently and persistently; we are pursuing it in close cooperation with the fraternal socialist nations, with other freedom-loving and peaceable states. And we see that our efforts have borne fruit.

Take the situation in Europe, for example. For over a quarter of a century we and other socialist countries have been working to consolidate the results of the Second World War and postwar developments. This has not been an easy struggle, but it is yielding increasingly tangible results. An agreement on West Berlin has been reached, and the ratification of the Soviet-West German and Polish-West German treaties is next in turn. Preparations for an all-European conference on security are being stepped up. And although a long and difficult struggle lies ahead, a lasting peace in Europe is, on the whole, becoming a realistic prospect.

We would like European and all other nations to enjoy the benefits of a peaceful, calm life. Thus far it has not been achieved. Imperialism with its policy of aggression, and enforcement on nations of corrupt, reactionary regimes, stands in the way. We have fought and will continue to fight against US aggression in Indochina. We have fought and will continue to fight for the elimination of all consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East. And we are certain that justice will, in the long run, triumph; that the aggressors will have to return from whence they came; and that the peoples of the countries subjected to attack will be free to decide their own destinies.

The Soviet Union has always maintained that under

present-day conditions, when a fight between reaction and progress, between capitalism and socialism is going on in the world arena, the actions of imperialism and reaction must be countered by an active and concerted policy of socialist states. Hence, the struggle for the further cohesion of the socialist countries, for overcoming the difficulties and complications still existing in relations between some of them is one of the principal concerns of Soviet foreign policy.

The socialist states have amassed a wealth of experience in the businesslike all-round cooperation, in the coordination of policies, and in the working out of concerted action in the world arena. A high degree of fraternal cooperation is evident, among other things, in the Warsaw Treaty, which arose and exists as a reliable instrument for the protection of peace and socialism, as a mighty counterforce to the imperialist NATO bloc. An important sector of cooperation between socialist countries is the activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. You are well aware of CMEA activity since Yugoslavia cooperates with this body. Essential work is now being done within the framework of this organisation: fulfilment of the comprehensive programme for the economic integration of socialist countries. Fraternal cooperation is being successfully developed also in the many-sided ties we have with Cuba, the DRV and the KPDR, and in Soviet-Yugoslav relations of which I spoke earlier.

Dear comrades! We have come to Yugoslavia to analyse jointly with the Yugoslav leaders the state of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, and by joint effort to eliminate any causes of their complication and to determine the most promising trends for their further development. We have tried in the course of friendly, frank talks with Comrade Tito and other Yugoslav political figures to find a common language and, I believe, we have succeeded. We are also firmly convinced that the closer the cooperation between our countries on the international scene, the better it will be for the cause of socialism, for the preservation of peace throughout the world. We are confident that our meetings with the leaders of Yugoslavia will be conducive to the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between our countries, will serve to strengthen peace and socialism.

In conclusion I would like to express from this rostrum

sincere gratitude to Comrade Tito, other Yugoslav leaders, the citizens of Belgrade and all of you, dear comrades, for the warm welcome accorded our delegation. We see in this another testimony to the friendship of our peoples. Permit me once more to wish you—working people, workers, all the citizens of all the Yugoslav Republics united by bonds of fraternal friendship—happiness and prosperity. We wish you great success in labour for the good of your country, for the good of socialism.

Long live the glorious working class of Yugoslavia, the main force in the building of socialism in your country!

May the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and socialist Yugoslavia grow stronger!

The speech by Comrade Brezhnev was frequently punctuated by stormy, prolonged applause.

Л. И. БРЕЖНЕВ
НАШ КУРС — МИР И СОЦИАЛИЗМ
На английском языке
Цена 16 коп.



