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L. I. BREZHNEV

**THE FIFTIETH
ANNIVERSARY
OF THE UNION
OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST
REPUBLICS**

Moscow, 1972

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Report by L. I. BREZHNEV, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at a joint meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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

Dear Comrades,
Dear Foreign Guests,

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

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

The half-century history of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is that of the emergence of the indissoluble unity and friendship of all the nations united within the framework of the Soviet socialist state. It is the history of the unprecedented growth and all-round development of the state which was born of the socialist revolution and which is now one of the mightiest powers in the world. It is the history of the growth to maturity of all the Republics that have united under the banner of the Soviet state, of all the nations, big and small, which inhabit

the country, and their attainment of true prosperity—economic, political and cultural.

Dear Compatriots,

Comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

Comrades, in these anniversary holidays one's mind, quite naturally, goes back to that distant time in December 1922 when the First All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted its Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The more one ponders historical facts, the more clearly does one see the wisdom of the Leninist Party, which consolidated the success of the October Revolution and the subsequent radical social changes by establishing the unbreakable union of equal Soviet Republics.

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

The working class confronted the united counter-revolution with the great strength of prole-

tarian solidarity born of the Revolution. The sons of all the peoples of our country fought shoulder to shoulder under the revolutionary banners of the Red Army in the central areas of the country, in the steppes of the Ukraine and the Volga Area, on the Don and the Kuban, by the White Sea and in the mountains of the Caucasus, in the sands of Central Asia and in the distant Amur territory. Together they went into battle for peace, bread and land, for the power of the Soviets. During the years of the Civil War, as in the unforgettable days of the Great October Revolution, the internationalist solidarity of the working class and of all the working people was one of the vital sources of our victory. In those early years after the October Revolution all the Soviet Republics then in existence had already formed a close political, military, economic and diplomatic alliance formalised in a number of treaties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Communists have always viewed the national question through the prism of the class struggle, believing that its solution had to be subordinated to the interests of the Revolution,

to the interests of socialism. That is why Communists and all fighters for socialism believe that the main aspect of the national question is unification of the working people, regardless of their national origin, in the common battle against every type of oppression, and for a new social system which rules out exploitation of the working people.

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

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

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

Such is the dialectics of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question: the way to

cohesion, unity and the all-round integration of nations lies through their complete liberation from social and national oppression, through the creation of the most favourable conditions for the development of each nation.

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

It was up to our Party to do what even the most advanced capitalist states which boast of their democracy have always been unable to do. It is, after all, a fact that even today the nationalities question remains highly acute in the USA, Canada, and Belgium, to say nothing of Great Britain, where English imperialism has for many years been carrying on a savage war against the people of Northern Ireland, who have risen to struggle for their rights.

Literally within a week after the birth of the Soviet state its famous Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia put on record these principles of the national policy of the Soviet Government: the equality and sovereignty of

the peoples of Russia; the right of nations to free self-determination, including secession and the establishment of an independent state; the abolition of all manner of national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; the free development of the national minorities; the need for a voluntary and honest alliance of the peoples of Russia and their complete mutual trust.

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

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

The Party's work among the masses, the experience of national construction already gained by

the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Transcaucasian Federation and the Autonomous Republics, and the powerful movement for unification which started in all the Republics—all of this paved the way for the establishment of a united socialist state.

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

During the discussion of these questions, which began in the autumn of 1922, different tendencies emerged. Some believed that it was possible merely to establish some sort of confederation of the Republics, without setting up common federative bodies vested with extensive powers. Others proposed "autonomisation", that is, the entry of all the fraternal Republics into the RSFSR on an autonomous basis. It took Lenin's genius to overcome these erroneous tendencies and to find the only right way.

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

The First All-Union Congress of Soviets opened in Moscow on December 30 and, in response to

the proposals put forward by the congresses of Soviets in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Transcaucasia and the RSFSR, adopted its historic decision setting up the world's first multinational socialist state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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

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

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

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

When closing the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, M. I. Kalinin said: "...Do we not cherish the name of the RSFSR? We do. It is a name we have won in the flames of battle... I see flying above us the Red Banner with the five letters which are sacred to us—RSFSR. We, delegates to the Tenth Congress of Soviets, plenipotentiary representatives of the whole Soviet Russian Federation, dip this cherished banner, battle-scarred and covered with glory, strengthened by the sacrifices of the workers and peasants, before the Union of Soviet Republics. We already visualise the raising of the new Red Banner of the Union of Soviet Republics. Comrades, in my mind's eye I see Comrade Lenin holding this banner. And so, comrades, let us go forward, raising this banner higher for all the working and oppressed peoples of the world to see."

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

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

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

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

The Soviet Union's rapid economic growth has created a reliable basis for a steady rise in the standard of living and in the cultural level of all the peoples of this country. Compared with 1940, the real incomes of the population have increased by more than 300 per cent, while retail sales have increased by over 600 per cent. The

number of doctors in the country has increased by 370 per cent, and the number of citizens with a higher, or complete or incomplete secondary education, by 550 per cent.

Behind these figures lie fundamental changes in the economy, in socio-political relations, ideology and culture, which have changed the face of the whole of our society. And an important place among these changes is held by the new, socialist relations that prevail among all the peoples of our country.

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

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

A great brotherhood of working people, united, irrespective of their national origins, by a community of class interests and aims, has emerged and has been consolidated in this country,

the relations between them have no equal in history and we have every right to call these relations the Leninist friendship of peoples. This friendship, comrades, is one of our invaluable gains, one of the most important gains of socialism which is most dear to the heart of every Soviet citizen. We Soviet people will always safeguard this friendship as our most cherished possession!

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

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

The mark of economic backwardness also lay on many areas of Transcaucasia and even on Byelorussia, which was close to the centre. All these areas, with the exception of a few large cities, still remained in the remote ages in eco-

nomie terms; and in the social make-up, cultural level and living conditions of the working people.

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

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

The Party was aware that this task could be successfully carried out only with great and all-round assistance to the once oppressed nations and nationalities by the more advanced parts of the country, above all, by the Russian people and its working class.

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

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

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

The formation of the USSR marked a new stage in the development of the outlying national areas. Consistent and all-round assistance was rendered to them within the framework of an all-Union

economic policy. Suffice it to say that for many years the budget expenditures of a number of the Union Republics were covered mainly by subsidies from the all-Union budget. For instance, in 1924 and 1925 only a little over 40 per cent of the revenues in the budget of the Turkmen Republic was contributed by that republic itself. Even a large republic such as the Ukraine at that time covered under 40 per cent of its budget expenditures with its own resources.

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

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

The efforts of the Party and the State over a period of many years yielded remarkable fruit. Look at Central Asia and Kazakhstan today! You will find more than first-class cotton fields in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, the once fallow lands of the Kazakhs under crop, and flowering orchards and new livestock farms in Kirghizia and Tajikistan. Today, these Republics are famed

for a host of big, modern, beautiful cities, such as Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Dushambe, Frunze and Ashkhabad. There you will find large centres of metallurgy, mining and heavy industry, such as Jezkazgan and Karaganda, Pavlodar and Navoi and first-rate power and water installations, such as the Nurek hydroelectric power station and the Karakum canal. Central Asia and Kazakhstan have become major producers of oil and gas, chemicals and modern machines.

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

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

In the capitalist world achievements which are much more modest are frequently labelled as "miracles". But we Communists do not consider what has happened in Soviet Central Asia and Soviet Kazakhstan as being in any way super-

natural. You might say that it is a natural miracle, because it is natural under Soviet power, under socialism, in conditions of relations of friendship and brotherhood of nations that have been established in this country.

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

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

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

principal centres of horticulture and wine-making. Its industrial output has increased 31-fold.

In short, on the basis of the Leninist national policy, as a result of the intense efforts of the whole Soviet people we have achieved a state in which the term "backward national outlying area", a common one for old Russia, has disappeared. Comrades, this is a splendid achievement of our Party, an achievement of socialism and of the socialist friendship of nations!

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

The socialist system and the relations of friendship and brotherhood between the nations have also made possible the rapid development of the republics and regions which by the time of the Revolution were already at a relatively high level of economic development.

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

Take our famous working-class Donets Basin. Let us recall the old coal-mining town of Yuzovka with its huts, dirt and squalor. Compare it with the Yuzovka of today, the large modern city of Donetsk, with its broad avenues and green parks, blocks of modern flats, fine stadiums and Palaces of Culture. Let us recall the life of the Donets Basin miner before the Revolution and the hor-

rible conditions in which he lived and worked. Compare this with the life of the Donets Basin or Krivoy Rog miner today, a man who takes pride in his trade, commanding the respect of the whole country, who is properly paid for his fine labour and enjoys all the benefits of modern culture. Similar comparisons are suggested everywhere: in Zaporozhye, Kharkov and Dnepropetrovsk, in the Kherson and the Transcarpathian areas.

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

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

Another graphic example is offered by the Baltic Republics: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. It may be recalled that when they joined the Union they could not be ranked among the backward outlying national areas. But on taking the

socialist path they showed the highest rate of development in the Soviet Union. Compared with 1940, industrial output has gone up 31-fold in Latvia, 32-fold in Estonia and 37-fold in Lithuania. Their agriculture made good headway, and their culture flourished after it had shaken off the fetters of provincialism and stagnation in the backwoods of capitalist Europe. This remarkable growth proved possible only when these Republics united with the other Republics of the Union.

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

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

Moreover, together with the large industrial and cultural centres, many fundamentally Russian areas inherited from tsarist Russia old, backward out-of-the-way places, the countless provincial

townlets and stagnant hamlets described with bitterness and pain by the Russian classical writers.

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

The working people of the RSFSR fulfilled these great tasks with honour. Hundreds of new modern cities and industrial centres have arisen across the Republic on either side of the Urals. The Republic's old major cities, beginning with Moscow, our capital, and Leningrad, the cradle of the Revolution, have been rejuvenated. Rich deposits of oil, gas, coal, metallic ores, gold and diamonds have been discovered and placed at the service of society.

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

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

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

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

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

The economy of the Soviet Union is not the sum total of the economies of the individual re-

publics and regions. It has long since become one economic organism, formed on the basis of the common economic aims and interests of all our nations and nationalities.

The state of economic affairs in, say, Uzbekistan depends not only on the cotton crop in the Republic itself, but also on the work of the machine-builders of the Urals and Leningrad, the miners of the Kuznetsk Basin, the grain-growing state farms of Kazakhstan and the makers of electronic computers in Byelorussia. Similarly, the prosperity of the Ukraine depends not only on the success of the work done there, but also on the results achieved in the oil industry of Tataria and Bashkiria, the timber industry in the Komi Autonomous Republic, the engineering industry in Moscow, Gorky and Kuibyshev. There are hundreds and thousands of similar examples. The scale of our work tends to overstep the boundaries not only of economic regions but also of the Union Republics.

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

There have been marked changes in the working class, the chief productive force of society and the most progressive class of the present epoch, the collective-farm peasantry, which has shed the private-property mentality, and the Soviet intelligentsia, whose whole creative effort is

dedicated to the cause of communist construction.

All the Republics, Union and Autonomous, and all the national regions and areas now have large contingents of the working class. It is the working class, by nature the most internationalist class of all, that plays the decisive role in the process of bringing closer together all the nations and nationalities in our country. It is the workers of all nationalities, belonging to close-knit production collectives, that are putting up industrial projects regardless of where they may be located, building the railways, and digging the canals, laying the oil pipelines and erecting the electric-power transmission lines linking the various parts of the country, the Union and the Autonomous Republics, and the territories and regions into one economic whole.

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

As the economic and social development of each national Republic is intensified, the internationalisation of every aspect of our life in these Republics becomes more pronounced. Take Soviet Kazakhstan, which has been growing so rapidly. Besides the Kazakhs, millions of Russians, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Byelorussians and people of other nationalities live there. Kazakh culture is developing and becoming richer as it absorbs the best elements of Russian, Ukrainian, and other national cultures. Is this good or bad? We Communists

confidently say: it is good, it is very good, indeed!

In the half-century of the USSR, a Soviet socialist culture has emerged and flourished in this country, a culture that is identical in spirit and basic content, embodying the most valuable features and traditions of the culture and life of each Soviet nation. At the same time, not a single Soviet national culture draws only on its own resources: it also assimilates the spiritual riches of the other fraternal nations and, in turn, contributes to these cultures and enriches them.

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

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

Comrades, these are no abstract formulas: this is life itself. In Turkmenia or Moldavia, for instance, tens and hundreds of thousands read and appreciate Pushkin, Shevchenko, Gorky, Mayakovsky, Sholokhov, Tvardovsky, Fedin and Stelmakh as they do their own national writers, while the Russian or the Ukrainian has adopted, as part of his own cultural heritage, the ancient

but never-aging epos of Shota Rustaveli, the fine works of Vilis Lacis, Abai Kunanbayev, and Chinghiz Aitmatov and the splendid poetry of Yanka Kupala, Samed Vurgun, Rasul Gamzatov, Eduardas Meželaitis, Mustai Karim, and many, many others.

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

Thus, both materially and culturally there is a breakdown of national barriers—a process which Lenin time and again described as important—providing the prerequisites for a further drawing together of the Soviet nations. The powerful source of their unity lies in the common history of the Soviet people as a whole and all its constituent nations and national groups, and the common traditions, attitudes and experience stemming from the half-century of their joint struggle and joint labour.

The heroic exploits in defence of the socialist Motherland were the most convincing expression of the Soviet people's unity. The union and friendship of all its nations and nationalities withstood the grim trials of the Great Patriotic War, during which the sons and daughters of the same Soviet Motherland not only succeeded in safeguarding with honour their socialist gains, but also saved world civilisation from the barbarity of fascism, thereby lending powerful support to the peoples' liberation struggle. The glory

of this country's heroes, its valiant defenders, will not dim through the ages.

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

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

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

Lenin's Party, its collective reason and unbending will, its organising and guiding role, was the force that paved the way for the formation

of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a force that has guided its development over the half-century, and that is now confidently leading it forward.

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

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

The Party unites the foremost representatives of all the country's nations and nationalities. It is the most vivid embodiment of the Soviet working people's friendship and militant comradeship, the inviolable unity of the entire Soviet people. All Communists in this country, regardless of nationality, are members of the single Leninist Party. All of them enjoy equal rights, have equal duties, and bear equal responsibility for the country's destiny.

It is to the Party's credit that millions upon millions of Soviet men of every nation and nationality have adopted internationalism—once the ideal of a handful of Communists—as their

profound conviction and principle of behaviour. This was a true revolution in social thinking, and one which is hard to overestimate. The Party's success is largely due to its implacable attitude to any departures from the Leninist national policy within its ranks, its resolute struggle against all manner of deviations, its firm stand with regard to the great Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative development.

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

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

As I have already mentioned, we have successfully dealt with those aspects of the national problem that we inherited from the pre-revolutionary past. But in a mature socialist society, national relations continue to be a constantly developing reality, which keeps posing new tasks and problems. The Party never loses sight of these questions, tackling them in due time in the in-

terests of the country as a whole and of every Republic in particular, in the interests of communist construction.

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

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

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

The further drawing together of the nations and nationalities of our country is an objective process. The Party is against hastening the process:

there is no need for that, since it is determined by the entire course of our Soviet life. At the same time, the Party considers it impermissible to attempt in any way to hold it up, to impede it on some pretext, or to give undue emphasis to national distinctiveness, because this would go against the general line of development of our society, the internationalist ideals and the ideology of Communists, the interests of communist construction.

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

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

Comrades, the accomplishments of the past 50 years are a source of pride for all Soviet people, giving us firm confidence in the future of our great Motherland.

The path traversed in this half-century instills in us faith in the strength of our Party, our state, our fine people. If the obstacles that faced us in the past failed to stem our victorious march to socialism, then no one and nothing can block our path now that the Soviet Union has scaled such heights. All the goals set by the Party of Lenin are certain to be attained.

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

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

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

The socialist revolution triumphed in a number of countries in Europe, Asia and America giving rise to a world socialist system. In the capitalist world, the international working-class movement became a mighty, well-organised and politically active force. And its militant vanguard—Communist and Workers' Parties—came into being and grew in most countries of the world. Imperialism's system of colonial oppression collapsed for good.

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

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

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

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

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

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

As we see it, it is the purpose and mission of our foreign policy to help all the peoples to exercise their inalienable rights and, above all, their right to independent and sovereign development,

so that they may benefit from the fruits of modern civilisation.

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

In short, we cherish the freedom, peace and well-being of our people, and we want all the peoples of the world to enjoy freedom, peace and well-being.

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

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

In the early and most difficult years of the People's Democracies, the Soviet Union played the decisive part in defending them against imperialist interference, and on many occasions gave them the necessary political and economic support. Later, too, joint defence against imperialism's hostile sallies, against its attempts to undermine the socialist system in one country or another, continued, and continues, to be one of the important prerequisites for the successful development of the world socialist system.

As a result of collective efforts and hard-fought battles against the class enemy we forged a lasting alliance of socialist states and a dependable system of all-round fraternal co-operation, which has become, as it were, the natural way of life for each of our countries. We have learned to carry on our day-to-day tasks successfully, to patiently arrive at suitable solutions of issues that cannot be resolved in capitalist conditions. And in doing this, we have learned to harmonise the interests of each with the interests of all and to co-operate, sweeping aside everything that may hinder or complicate the joint progress.

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

In principle, the same applies to the fraternal community of sovereign socialist states that belong to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and

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

But even in the present conditions, far from diminishing, the need for unity and the closest co-operation among socialist countries has become even greater. Today we require unity, co-operation and joint action chiefly in order to accomplish more quickly and effectively the tasks of developing socialist society and building communism. Moreover, we require unity, cohesion and co-operation in order to attain the best results in safeguarding and consolidating the peace, so vital for all the peoples, to further the international détente, and to effectively repulse all aggressive sallies of the imperialists, all attempts to impinge on the interests of socialism.

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

Comrades, today one feels impelled to make special mention of our relations with that fraternal socialist state which has become for the whole world the symbol of heroic struggle against aggression. I am referring to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

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

Now, the world has witnessed new American imperialist crimes in Vietnam. Apart from the fact that by resorting to various unsavoury manoeuvres, the United States is artificially delaying the conclusion of an agreement on terminating the war, some days ago it again began to bomb towns and mine ports in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

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

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

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

We could say a great deal about our military, economic and other aid to fighting Vietnam. But our Vietnamese friends, the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Repub-

lic of South Vietnam, do so much more convincingly.

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

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

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

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

Speaking bluntly, what does Peking's foreign policy amount to today? It amounts to absurd claims to Soviet territory, to malicious slander of the Soviet social and political system, of our peace-loving foreign policy. It is outright sabotage of the efforts to limit the arms race, of the efforts to bring about disarmament and a relaxation of international tension. It amounts to constant attempts to split the socialist camp and the communist movement, to foment discord among the fighters for national liberation, to range the developing countries against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Lastly, it amounts to unprincipled alignments on anti-

Soviet grounds with any, even the most reactionary forces—the most rabid haters of the Soviet Union from among the English Tories or the revenge-seeking elements in the FRG, the Portuguese colonialists or the racists of South Africa.

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

What can one say about this policy?

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

It is therefore understandable why we categorically reject this policy.

The Chinese leaders claim to be disturbed about some threat emanating from the Soviet Union. If these statements are not hypocritical, it is impossible to understand why China has not replied to our proposal, repeatedly made since 1969, to assume clear, firm and permanent commitments ruling out an attack by one country on the other. If Peking is really concerned about China's security, why has not the PRC leadership agreed to conclude a special treaty renouncing the use of force, the draft of which was submitted to the Chinese side on January 15, 1971? The draft of this treaty states unequivocally that the sides — and I quote—"shall not use against each other armed forces employing any type of arms, including: a) conventional, b) missile,

or c) nuclear." No, the Chinese leaders' complaints about a mythical "Soviet threat" quite obviously do not stand up to scrutiny.

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

The Soviet Union has neither territorial nor economic claims on China. Soviet people remember that the relations between the USSR and China have by far not always been what they are now. It is common knowledge that our country rendered the Chinese Communists substantial aid in their struggle against the Japanese aggressors and the Chinese bourgeoisie. The part played in the victory of the people's democratic revolution in China by the Soviet Army's defeating the Japanese forces occupying China, is also common knowledge. In China they probably remember that the first international treaty concluded by the newly-established People's Republic of China was the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. They probably still remember also the tremendous aid rendered by the Soviet Union to People's China in building her heavy industry, strengthening her defence might, and training national personnel.

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

jective political distortions and that Soviet-Chinese friendship will be restored.

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

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

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

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

Now that our relations are based on the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation we feel that they will become closer still. This is borne out by the consolidation of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces in India. It is also borne out by the policy of the Indian Government headed by Indira Gandhi.

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

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

The present international situation is such that all who desire to consolidate world peace should multiply their efforts for extinguishing the hotbed of war in the Middle East and overcoming the consequences of the Israeli aggression against the Arab states. Many countries have come out in favour of resolving the Middle East problems on the basis of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions, but regrettably words are not enough. If they were buttressed by concrete

political actions, Israel would be compelled to agree to a peaceful settlement, to recognise the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples. As for the Soviet Union, our readiness to contribute to this is well known.

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

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

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

such countries may lead to all kinds of twists and turns. We are well aware of this.

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

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

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

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

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

shifted towards détente and mutually beneficial co-operation.

Elements of realism in the policy of many capitalist countries are becoming ever more pronounced as the might and influence of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries increase, as our peace-loving policy becomes more active, and as other important progressive processes successfully unfold in the modern world. First and foremost, this applies to France, whose leaders—General de Gaulle and, later, President Pompidou—some years ago took a definite course of mutually advantageous co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. This applies to the Federal Republic of Germany, the realistic foreign policy of whose government, headed by Chancellor Brandt, has had a considerable influence on the situation in Europe. This also applies to the United States of America in so far as it shows a willingness to depart from many of the cold-war dogmas that had for so long determined the orientation of all American foreign policy.

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

The treaties between the USSR and the FRG, and between Poland and the FRG, which formalised the inviolability of the existing European frontiers, the set of agreements on West Berlin, and the treaty on the principles governing relations between the GDR and the FRG, which is being signed today in the GDR capital, the final break-through of the diplomatic blockade of the

GDR—all these are important steps in Europe's progress towards peace and security. And all this is not any one country's gain alone, but a big victory for reason and realism in international relations.

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

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

The Soviet Union will persevere in its policy of securing a durable peace in Europe, the policy which we have pursued throughout the postwar period and which is now yielding results that gladden the Soviet people and all who cherish peace. We value our good relations with France and will develop them in accordance with the Principles of Co-operation adopted by the two countries last year. We shall continue

our efforts to improve and extend our ties with the FRG in various fields. We are prepared to develop all that is positive that has become or is becoming part of the practice of our relations with countries like Finland, our good neighbour, Italy, the Scandinavian nations and a number of other countries. We are also prepared to improve relations with those European countries, with which they are as yet unsmooth—provided, of course, they show by deed a willingness to do the same.

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

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

We shall strive to achieve meaningful results at the conference, which would be of benefit to all its participants.

Everybody knows the political principles which, in the opinion of the USSR and its allies, should constitute the basis for ensuring the security of the European nations. They are: inviolability of state frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, independen-

ce, equality, and renunciation of the threat or use of force.

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

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

As is known, negotiations are also to be held on reducing armed forces and armaments in

Europe, and, first and foremost, in the area of Central Europe. The Soviet Union favours serious preparations for, and effective conduct of, these negotiations.

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

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

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

As you see, the objectives are quite clear. They are in keeping with the class line of the socialist state's peace-loving policy. The Central Commit-

tee of our Party, the Soviet Government, follow this line consistently.

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

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

The readiness expressed by the two sides to co-operate in different fields was accompanied by practical measures. Here I have in mind a whole series of agreements on various matters signed during the summit meeting and during subsequent Soviet-American contacts.

The Soviet-American agreements concerning anti-missile and offensive strategic weapons are, in effect, in physical terms putting a limit, for the first time in history, on these modern and most powerful types of weapons. But we do not intend to stop there. The understanding reached in Moscow should be consolidated and developed. One of the aims of the negotiations on this subject now under way is to find ways of turning the provisional agreement into a permanent one. And it would probably be a good thing if we gave thought to how we could go over from limiting armaments to their gradual reduction, and also to the establishment of some kind of limits to their qualitative development.

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

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

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

Important Soviet-Japanese negotiations are to take place next year. Their purpose is to settle matters pending since the Second World War and to provide a formal treaty basis for relations between our countries. We are striving for a mutually acceptable understanding on all issues

under discussion in their entirety. However, it is clear that no positive results in the negotiations can be expected, unless the Japanese side also displays the same willingness. The Soviet Union, for its part, is in favour of truly good-neighbourly relations with Japan.

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

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

We are realists and are well aware that influential circles in the imperialist world have not yet abandoned attempts to conduct policy “from positions of strength”. The arms race which they have started, and which is a threat to peace, is still continuing. Naturally, our allies and we

cannot but draw the necessary conclusions. However our peace-oriented foreign policy remains unchanged and in the present situation the potential of the peace-loving forces in their struggle against the forces of aggression and war is greater than ever. The Soviet Union will continue to work for détente and for consolidation of peace, persevering in its efforts to untie the knots of international tension, and working for stable good relations with countries with a differing social system. And if our policy evokes the appropriate response from them, then we shall say confidently that the détente will become stable, and peaceful coexistence—a universally accepted standard of inter-state relations. This means that peace on our planet will really become dependable, and the danger of a new world war could be removed. And the foreign policy of our Party, of our Soviet state, is focused on this aim.

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

While expressing its constant wish to co-operate in safeguarding peace with all governments willing to do so, the Soviet Union has been steadily

ly expanding co-operation with the peace-loving public, with the peoples of all countries. Ever new opportunities of promoting peace arise for public organisations and mass movements. And the Soviet public will continue to take an active part in their useful work. We are convinced that the forthcoming World Congress of Peace Forces will play a prominent part in the peoples' struggle for peace.

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

Half a century has passed. The whole world has seen that they were not simply high-sounding

words. The Soviet Union is faithful to the cause of socialism and peace, to which it pledged allegiance in the hour of its birth. And on the momentous day of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union we again declare to the whole world: The Communist Party, our state, the Soviet people shall continue to hold aloft securely the banner of its Leninist foreign policy, a policy of peace and friendship among the peoples!

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

Dear comrades,

For almost two years the Soviet people have been working to carry out the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which charted a wide-ranging programme for our country's economic and social progress. The tasks that were set by the Congress are immense in scale and extremely complex. We Communists are not ones to sit quietly. We want to do as much as we can to improve the life of the people, for their happiness, and to do it as quickly as possible. This is clearly one of our Party's distinguishing characteristics.

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

During these pre-anniversary months there have been innumerable and diverse examples of socio-political and labour initiatives. These wonderful initiatives have come to the fore in various spheres of industry, construction, transport and agriculture in all parts of the country during the emulation drive to mark the 50th anniversary of the USSR in a fitting manner. Many enterprises, towns, regions and territories have undertaken to fulfil the annual plan ahead

of schedule by raising labour productivity, by bringing enterprises and plant units up to their rated capacities ahead of schedule and by stepping up output without increasing the number of workers. Agricultural workers have pledged to exceed the planned deliveries of grain and cotton to the state. Among the forms of labour emulation that have emerged are the "contract of thousands" movement in light industry, the emulation movement under the motto "15 Republics—15 Shock Work Shifts" and many, many others. All this, comrades, is a true fountain of popular initiative, an inexhaustible source of our society's vitality.

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

The Party Central Committee and local Party, government, trade union and Komsomol organisations have done much to popularise on a nation-

wide scale the fine initiatives displayed by the working people. For the past few months the pages of newspapers and the newscasts on TV and the radio have been reminiscent of communiques from the field of a great battle. Various contingents of working people from all parts of the country have reported on the fulfilment of their commitments and on their achievements in labour emulation.

The results of the nation-wide emulation movement in honour of the 50th anniversary of the USSR show that the working people of the Soviet Union have fulfilled their pledges, that they have come to the glorious jubilee with fine labour achievements. The successes of the winners in the movement have been acclaimed by the Motherland. Over 3,000 workers' collectives have been awarded Jubilee Badges of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Let us congratulate the recipients, comrades, and wish them further glorious achievements in the work for the welfare of the Soviet people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

our rates of growth. Such is the scale of our work.

Now, a few words about our agriculture. You are well aware, comrades, that our Party, Government and the entire Soviet people are making every effort to ensure a steady growth of agricultural output. Much was achieved in the eighth five-year plan period in keeping with the decisions of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee in March 1965 and of the last two Party congresses.

On the whole, we have been able to create incentives for agricultural workers to boost farm production and secure a definite growth of the profitability of crop and livestock farming. Collective and state farms now have greater material and technical resources and a stronger economy, and a noteworthy growth in crop yields and in the productivity of livestock farming has been achieved.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The working people of Siberia, the Urals and Kazakhstan did not let the country down. They fully justified its hopes and trust. They grew an excellent crop and worked selflessly to harvest it. The agricultural workers of Kazakhstan gave the country over 1,000 million poods, i.e., more than

17 million tons of grain. The grain-growers of Siberia and the Urals delivered nearly 17 million tons of grain to the state, with the Altai Territory alone accounting for over 5 million tons. Thanks to good organisation and efficiency quite a good harvest was collected and the plan for the sale of grain to the state was overfulfilled by a number of regions and Autonomous Republics of the Centre and South of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, the collective and state farms of Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Baltic Republics, Transcaucasia and Central Asia.

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

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

quantity Uzbekistan alone accounted for 4,700,000 tons.

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

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

In pre-revolutionary times or in the early years of Soviet power such a severe winter and such a long drought would inevitably have had the most grievous consequences, bringing disaster to many regions. Today, as life shows, we have the strength to cope with such difficulties. What formerly would have been a catastrophe is today a difficult but nonetheless surmountable obstacle in our development.

Scientists and experts have calculated that had the technology of our agriculture been at the 1955 level, under the weather conditions that were experienced this year, we would have harvested only about 90 million tons of grain from our present crop area. The fact that this year we have obtained 168 million tons is a considerable achievement in itself. It is an indication of the increased efficiency of our crop farming

and of better organisation of the work of collective farmers, state-farm workers and agronomists, and is the result of the extensive assistance agriculture has received from our industry, a result of our common efforts to promote agriculture.

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

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

This year's experience has shown that the least losses caused by nature's whims were suffered by farms that observe all the rules of good agricultural practice, have an efficient seed-growing department, correctly apply fertilisers and use irrigation facilities. In short, where the work was well organised, the consequences of the drought were not so severe. Therefore, comrades, while Mother Nature will always be there we also have to work, and the best weapon against the vicissitudes of the weather is efficient management and active, selfless labour.

The aim set by the Party is to raise our agriculture to a level where it will fully correspond to the potentialities of modern machinery and the requirements of communist construction. We will

achieve this goal by the concerted labour of our agricultural workers, by ever broader assistance to the countryside from industry, by the efforts of the entire people under the Party's leadership.

It is the dedicated labour of Soviet people in industry and agriculture and their labour achievements that make it possible to consistently carry out the programme approved by the Party Congress for raising the people's standard of living. You are well aware, comrades, of the many measures that have been taken in this direction. Let me quote only two examples: in 1971 and 1972 nearly 34 million people received increases in wages, pensions and scholarship grants. In the same two years some 23 million people received new flats.

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

There is hardly any need to list them in detail today. We Communists are self-critical people and have time and again spoken seriously and specifically of these shortcomings. The main shortcoming is that to this day our vast internal reserves and intensive and qualitative factors are being inadequately and to some extent inefficiently utilised in the country's economic development. Labour outlays and also outlays of raw and other materials are being reduced only

slowly in some industries, at many factories, building projects, and collective and state farms.

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

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

The Party knew full well that the attainment of the five-year plan targets would require hard and extensive work, immense energy, a high level of organisation, a creative approach and daring in the solution of any problems that might arise. For that reason it was repeatedly stressed that if we did not raise our entire economic activity to a higher level and did not achieve a real turn towards greater economic efficiency it would be difficult to carry out the set tasks. Further, everybody knows the main directions in which we must move. These are to improve planning

and the entire system of management, and to create economic conditions that will compel ministries and enterprises to adopt the maximum plan, mobilise reserves and work more efficiently. There is a wide field here to engage for our State Planning Committee, ministries and other state organisations.

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

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

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

labour discipline and improving the organisation of work.

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

Today, too, a powerful tide of socialist emulation is sweeping the country. The workers of foremost collectives, livestock farms, teams and collective and state farms have pledged to increase the output and sale to the state of livestock products. In Krasnodar Territory agricultural workers have initiated a socialist emulation movement for increasing the yield of grain and other crops. Workers of leading enterprises have joined in the socialist emulation movement to achieve high indices in the work of all branches of industry, construction and transport.

In this connection I should like to draw your attention to the following. As the active creative initiative of the people, socialist emulation requires not only that foremost workers be given every support and encouragement but also that the identity of those who lag behind or work less than conscientiously be made known. This must be done publicly so that people will know not only about those who work conscientiously and energetically but also about those who work in a lackadaisical fashion, without enthusiasm. There

are cases where some people talk the loudest when commitments are undertaken, but fall silent when the results of the fulfilment of these commitments are summed up, especially when these results are not very good. It so happens that everybody knows the winners, but there seem to be no losers. This kills the very idea of emulation, of actual labour competition, of actual labour rivalry, in other words, the factors to which Lenin attached special significance.

Matters must be organised in such a way as to make the drive for a high level of labour productivity, for the best indices in production and for high quality, a nation-wide cause.

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

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

omic planning.

All the more vital, then, is far-sighted scientific planning of economic and social development now that the Soviet Union is engaged in the building of communism. Under these conditions long-term planning is a matter of vital importance. As you know, this is mirrored in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

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

Today it is difficult, of course, to be specific about the details of a long-term plan, to give precise figures. That is the aim of a painstaking scientific elaboration of the plan. Our planning bodies have a big job before them and it will be a serious test that will be judged by the Party and the country. In such a matter subjective wishes and approximations are not only valueless but even dangerous. However, the main directions, the historical contours of a long-term plan are clear. They are determined by the socio-political and economic tasks laid down in the Party Programme and in the decisions of the latest Party Congress, by the task of creating the material and technical basis of communism and substantially raising the standard of living of the Soviet people.

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

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

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

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

substantial advances in science and in the field of culture, in the all-round development of the individual and in the protection of the people's health. This cannot be otherwise, for in the compilation of all our plans the guiding principle of the Party and the Soviet Government has been and continues to be: Everything in the name of man, everything for the benefit of man.

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

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

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

However, all this does not mean that all the political, educational and ideological tasks facing our socialist society have been carried out. It is no secret that to this day social sores, inherited from the past and essentially alien to socialism,

such as an unconscientious attitude to work, slackness, indiscipline, greed and various violations of the standards of the socialist way of life not infrequently make themselves felt. The Party feels that it is its duty to draw the attention of our entire society to these things, to mobilise the people for a determined struggle against them, and to eradicate them, for unless we do this we shall not be able to build communism.

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

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

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

The Party is conducting this work on an increasingly broad front and will continue to do so. In

this sphere practically everything is important—the right atmosphere in family life, competent organisation of the educational process, a healthy atmosphere at the place of work, efficient everyday services, and much else. An important part is played, of course, by people working in the field of culture, in art and in the mass information media. The trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass public organisations have always been the Party's active assistants in its ideological and educational work. Today they have still more responsible tasks in this sphere.

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

Success in the building of communism depends in many ways on the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is our unerring scientific compass. The decisions of the congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee of our Party and major Party documents are an example of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. But the very character of the tasks confronting us demands an increasingly active elaboration of the theoretical problems of social development and a creative approach to all aspects of life. These words of Lenin must be the motto of every Marxist: "There can be no dogmatism where the

supreme and sole criterion of a doctrine is its conformity to the actual process of social and economic development" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 298).

As, in industry and agriculture not a single advance can now be made without the aid of the latest achievements of science, so, in the life of our society the development of science is the indispensable basis for the adoption of decisions and for day-to-day practice. The Party continues, as it has always done, to support the innovative, Leninist approach to the study of complex social phenomena and the efforts of our theorists to develop social theory and creatively analyse reality.

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

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

Each of our Constitutions has been a further step forward in the development of the socialist Soviet state, a new phase in the development of socialist democracy. The 1918 Constitution

of the RSFSR legislatively recorded the birth of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat created by the October Revolution. The 1924 Constitution of the USSR was the first Constitution of the multinational Soviet state and it formalised the voluntary union of the fraternal Republics in a single state. The present, 1936 Constitution reflected the abolition of the exploiting classes and consolidated the victory of socialism in our country.

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

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

With the working class retaining its leading role, there has been in our country a marked convergence of all classes and social groups, and the social homogeneity of socialist society has continued to grow. The considerable distinctions between manual and non-manual work and between working and living conditions in town and countryside are being rapidly erased.

Since the war, our society has made tremendous progress in its cultural development. Today there is total literacy in the Soviet Union, with two-thirds of the working population having a secondary or a higher education.

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

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

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

This will certainly be a great, historical event in the life of the Soviet Union. It will not only help Soviet people and the world to get a

better understanding of what we have achieved and sum up the results of what we have accomplished, but will also shed new light on the further progress of our Soviet socialist society advancing to communism.

* * *

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

During the imperialist world war 58 years ago Vladimir Ilyich Lenin countered the unbridled chauvinism fanned by the exploiting ruling classes with a proletarian, communist understanding of national pride. He wrote about the national pride of the Great Russians, i.e., of the Russians, who could justifiably be proud of the glorious revolutionary traditions of their people, of the deeds of heroes of the liberation struggle, of heroes who came from their midst. That is how Lenin, true son of the Russian people and a great internationalist revolutionary, understood the feeling of national pride. He called upon class-conscious Russian proletarians to be faithful "to the proletarian brotherhood of all the nations of

Russia, i.e., to the cause of socialism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 106).

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

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

The national pride of the Soviet man is a sentiment that is great, all-embracing and immensely rich in content. It is more far-reaching and profound than the natural national feelings of each of the peoples making up our country. It has absorbed all the finest accomplishments of

the labour, courage and creative genius of millions of Soviet people.

The whole country takes pride in the labour achievements of workers and collective farmers, in the outstanding discoveries of the scientists of all our Republics, in the skill of the craftsmen, in the immortal creations of the folk art of each of the fraternal nations. The fine original works of literature, painting and music of each of the peoples of the Soviet Union have long since been our common property, comrades. All this and so much more that is simply impossible to list comprises the integral and common incalculable national wealth of Soviet people. Justifiable pride is taken in all this by every Soviet citizen, by all the sons and daughters of our great multinational country, by all the peoples living in it.

The farther we advance in the building of communism and the more diverse and stronger become the economic, cultural and other ties linking all the peoples of the USSR the stronger and deeper will be the noble sentiment of the great community—the national pride of the Soviet man.

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

Today the Soviet Union is forging further ahead.

The Soviet Union is moving toward communism.

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

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

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

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

May the world have lasting peace!

Long live communism!

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

Л. И. БРЕЖНЕВ

О ПЯТИДЕСЯТИЛЕТИИ СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ
СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК

на английском языке

Цена 11 коп.

