

47th
ANNIVERSARY
OF THE GREAT
OCTOBER
SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION

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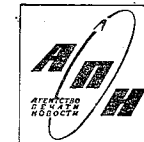
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*Report by Comrade L. I. BREZHNEV
to the Solemn Meeting
in the Kremlin Palace
of Congresses, November 6, 1964*

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Comrades,

Forty-seven years separate us from the day when the world's first socialist state was born in the flames of revolutionary battles that were started by the proletariat of Petrograd under the leadership of the Bolsheviks and taken up by the insurgent workers, peasants, and soldiers of the whole of Russia.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was a new birthday for our country. It opened the way for the people to freedom, justice and happiness. At the same time, the October Revolution changed the historical destinies of all mankind. The flashing beacon of our Revolution today continues to inspire the peoples on all continents. It is lighting up the way for them to liberation from imperialist oppression, the way to freedom, independence, socialism and communism. The great renovation of the world begun by the October Revolution in Russia is a process that cannot be stopped now by anyone.

The anniversary of the October Revolution is the greatest and most solemn holiday of the Soviet people. At the same time, it is an international holiday. It is celebrated by the working people of the entire world, by all friends of freedom, peace and progress on earth. And it gives us great satisfaction and sincere joy that representatives of the fraternal socialist countries and other foreign friends of ours are with us today, people who have come to the Soviet Union to take part in the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. **(Prolonged applause.)**

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, and on

behalf of all the Soviet people, I warmly welcome our dear guests from the socialist countries (**applause**): the Bulgarian delegation, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov (**applause**); the Hungarian delegation, headed by Comrade Janos Kadar (**applause**); the delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, headed by Comrade Pham Van Dong (**applause**); the delegation from the German Democratic Republic, headed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht (**applause**); the Chinese delegation, headed by Comrade Chou En-lai (**applause**); the delegation from the Korean People's Democratic Republic, headed by Comrade Kim Ir (**applause**); the Cuban delegation, headed by Comrade Ernesto Guevara (**applause**); the Mongolian delegation, headed by Comrade Yumzhagiin Tsendenbal (**applause**); the Polish delegation, headed by Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka (**applause**); the Rumanian delegation, headed by Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer (**applause**); the Czechoslovak delegation, headed by Comrade Jiri Hendrych (**applause**), and the Yugoslav delegation, headed by Comrade Velko Vlahovic (**applause**).

Heartfelt greetings to you, dear comrades! In your person we greet the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America! (**Applause.**)

We also address fraternal greetings to the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of other states who are present here and to all the delegations of working people of foreign countries that have arrived in Moscow to celebrate the October Revolution anniversary together with us. (**Applause.**) Your presence here, dear comrades, symbolises the great force of proletarian internationalism, which unites all working people of the world and is a genuine earnest of the universal victory of socialism. (**Prolonged applause.**)

Permit me also, comrades, to welcome Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer, Vice-President of the United Arab Republic (**applause**), and the delegation of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, headed by Comrade Haji Ben Allah (**applause**), who have come to the Soviet Union.

EPOCH-MAKING VICTORIES OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Comrades, the Great October Revolution is forever associated with the immortal name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin,

whose great genius was the soul of the Revolution, and united and inspired its heroic warriors. For nearly half a century world development has been proceeding under the powerful influence of the ideas of the October Revolution, the ideas of Leninism. The revolutionary exploit of our people served as a mighty impetus which started a whole chain of revolutionary changes in the world.

A giant wave of revolutionary movements rose in other countries of Europe and Asia shortly after the October Revolution. The people's revolution in Mongolia triumphed in 1921.

The rout of fascism in the Second World War created favourable conditions for a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement. Socialism triumphed in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, in North Vietnam, and North Korea. In October 1949, the Chinese revolution was victorious, and the People's Republic of China was established. At that time a socialist state came into existence on German soil, the German Democratic Republic, while ten years later the Republic of Cuba became the first country on the American continent to take the road of socialism. (**Applause.**)

The formation of a world system of socialist states, the disintegration of colonial empires and the emergence of dozens of independent national states in Asia and Africa, the development of class struggles in the capitalist countries, and the steady weakening of the positions of world imperialism — this is the remarkable result of historical development since October 1917. (**Applause.**) We cannot but rejoice over this result, comrades! (**Prolonged applause.**)

The most important result of the Revolution is the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR, and the entry of our country into a period of full-scale construction of communism. The Soviet people and our Party also regard communist construction in the USSR as their international duty, as an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the working people the world over.

The Soviet people have something to be proud of. A truly gigantic leap has been made in the years of Soviet power from backward tsarist Russia to the mighty, flourishing socialist state of today. This is the result of the feat

of labour and arms accomplished by our people under the guidance of Lenin's Party. **(Prolonged applause.)**

As we celebrate the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution, we pay tribute with a feeling of profound respect to the veterans of the Revolution, to the Leninist Old Guard. We pay tribute to the great courage and selfless labour of the Soviet people, who have blazed the highroad to socialism for humanity. Noting our successes, we have the right to say that the present generation of Soviet people is honourably bearing aloft the triumphant banner of the October Revolution. **(Stormy applause.)**

Lenin pointed out that the main and most difficult task of the triumphant socialist revolution was that of building. The decisive thing for the triumph of the new system, he said, was to create new economic relations and to achieve the highest possible labour productivity. Our Party and the Soviet people are implementing Lenin's thesis in full.

We have created mighty productive forces. Industrial and agricultural production continue to grow, and the creation of the material and technical basis of communism is proceeding successfully.

Let us take such a vital index as the rate of development. The average annual growth in industrial output in the Soviet years has been 10 per cent. For purposes of comparison we may take the main capitalist country, the United States of America, where the average in the same period has only been 3.4 per cent.

An alliance of science, the latest technology and production is the basis on which the Soviet Union is confidently gaining advanced positions in the key spheres of world scientific and technical progress. And in our age this is of decisive importance.

Soviet people have blazed the trail to outer space. The launching of spaceship "Voskhod" is a new and outstanding victory in this field, and it is a field in which the Soviet people's successes are expressed in concentrated form. These achievements are the embodiment of the economic might of Soviet power, the level which our technology has attained, the creative effort of our scientists and the high standards of culture of all Soviet society.

Comrades, the October Revolution signified a basic reconstruction of society's social and political system. And it is actually in this sphere that the advantages of social-

ism over the capitalist organisation of social life first became evident.

Our country has long since abolished the exploiting classes. The sound alliance of workers, peasants and working intellectuals is growing ever stronger. The Soviet people, closely rallied around the Communist Party and welded by an ideological and political unity, make up a new human community, the first in history to be free of social and national antagonisms.

We have successfully solved the national problem, one of the acutest and most difficult issues inherited by us from capitalism. Today all the nations of our country, both great and small, live in a united fraternal family.

The friendship of our peoples is part and parcel of our social life. The Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Latvians, Kirghiz, Tajiks, Armenians, Turkmenians, and Estonians—all the peoples of our country—regard each other as comrades and colleagues, help each other, working in concert and combining their efforts to build communism. **(Applause.)** Such is the magnificent result of the Leninist national policy. **(Prolonged applause.)**

Freedom from exploitation, the triumph of social justice and the absence of class and national oppression and inequality have produced in our country an atmosphere of creative enthusiasm and ensured the active work and the initiative of the masses. A spirit of good comradeship, fraternity and collectivism and confidence in the future are the integral features of the life of socialist society.

Our state of the whole people, which is a natural development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, expresses the will and defends the interests of all Soviet citizens. The participation of the working people in state and public affairs becomes more effective and significant year by year. We see in this a living incarnation of the ideas of the October Revolution, of Lenin's immortal ideas. **(Prolonged applause.)**

Soviet democracy develops and improves steadily, augmenting the strength of our society and placing at its service the collective mind of the people. Socialist democracy is the most humane, for it is based on the absolutely just principles of socialism and communism. Man's position in socialist society is determined not by his wealth or origin,

but by his achievements in labour, his abilities, intellect, initiative and contribution to the common cause.

Socialism is also renovation in the sphere of spiritual life. It places at the disposal of the working people all the wealth of science and culture. In the years of Soviet power our homeland has become a country of high culture and advanced science. Nowhere else do scientists, teachers, and men of letters and artists play such a great part and enjoy such respect as in socialist society.

The Marxist-Leninist world outlook is the foundation of the Soviet people's spiritual life and their ideological weapon in the struggle for a new world. We are educating a new man, a man of the noble ideals and lofty moral principles expressed in the moral code of builders of communism. The notion of "Soviet man" is a synonym for courage and staunchness, heroism in labour and on the field of battle, and high awareness of public duty. (Applause.)

Comrades, it has become a fine tradition to sum up, at the time of the October celebrations, the preliminary results of the development of the national economy for the current year.

Our country will be glad to hear the fine results achieved by our industry. This year we shall put out approximately 85 million tons of steel, which is more than the steel output of Britain, France and West Germany combined. We shall produce 62 million tons of pig iron, 223 million tons of oil, and 551 million tons of coal. The electric power output in the country will be 459,000 million kWh which is almost 50 per cent more than the combined output of all our power stations for 20 prewar years.

The programme for the accelerated development of the chemical industry and the chemicalisation of the national economy, mapped out by the Party, is being carried out successfully. The measures taken in this field are already beginning to produce tangible results; this year alone more than 200 million roubles-worth of chemical goods will be produced over and above the plan.

It is generally known that last year was a difficult one for our agriculture. This year the country's collective farmers and state farm workers are completing the agricultural year with high production indices. The state grain procurement plan has been fulfilled completely. And much more sugar beet and sunflower seed, potatoes and vege-

tables have been grown and purchased by the state than in preceding years. Less progress has been made in developing the output of animal products, and we shall have to do a lot yet to repair matters in this field.

A good job has been done this year by the agriculturists of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, the Baltic Republics, Byelorussia and other constituent Republics.

These successes are a source of joy to the Soviet people. They enable us to count more confidently on the further development of all branches of agriculture and livestock breeding. We must do everything in our power to ensure a continuous progress of agriculture, so that full use is made of the vast potentialities of socialist agriculture.

On the basis of successes in material production, the Party and the Government are taking measures to raise the living and cultural standards of Soviet people. The slogan "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man" is a law in the activities of our Party, and we shall unwaveringly follow it. (Applause.)

This year saw a growth in public consumption. More such indispensable goods as clothes, footwear, knitted garments, refrigerators, TV sets, bicycles and watches were sold.

A good measure was the recently adopted law to raise the wages of workers in education, public health, trade and other branches. The question of pensions for collective farmers has also been solved.

As in the previous years, many blocks of flats will be built for the Soviet people.

With the progress of communist construction an ever growing part in our life is being played by the public consumption funds. This means that we spend more and more money on public education and health, which are both free of charge, on the maintenance of kindergartens and nurseries, on pensions and on recreation facilities for the working people. Suffice it to say that the public consumption funds now make up a total of some 36,000 million roubles. They will continue to grow in the future, and this is an important factor in raising the people's living standards.

Comrades, the October Revolution aroused mighty forces of rebirth and renewal in our people, and revealed

inexhaustible sources for the uninterrupted growth of the material and spiritual wealth of society.

Our Communist Party, the splendid Soviet working class, the peasants of the collective farms and our people's intelligentsia, the great Soviet people in its entirety, are working devotedly for the victory of communism. **(Applause.)** We have achieved wonderful successes in the course of these forty-seven years. There is, however, still more to be done. And Soviet people will spare no effort to implement the magnificent plan for the building of communist society in our country. **(Prolonged applause.)**

ALONG THE PATH OF LENIN TO THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

Comrades, Lenin said that the best way to celebrate an anniversary of the great revolution was to focus attention on unsolved problems. Life never stands still. Our society is constantly developing, new problems take the place of the old, and the new problems that arise require careful study and a proper solution.

The Leninist path of our movement to communism is indicated clearly and precisely in the Programme of the CPSU. Taking this road, we rely on the tremendous experience in socialist construction that has been acquired in the years of Soviet power and in the period the world socialist system has been in existence.

The Party of Lenin teaches us not to be content with what has been achieved, not to shut our eyes to faults and to see reality in all its complexity. This is the only approach that enables us to solve urgent problems in good time, overcome difficulties as they occur and advance rapidly and with confidence.

One cannot help seeing that against the general background of successful development there still remain a number of problems whose solution is of vital importance. We know that the quality of many goods we manufacture is below the level of the best and that the supply of goods and services for the people are far from satisfactory.

The economy has to carry a big overhead because of the slow realisation of capital invested, because building lags behind schedule and because new machinery and advanced

methods of work are introduced too slowly. Farm produce is still insufficient to satisfy the growing needs of society in full.

It can well be understood that all Soviet people are keenly interested in getting these problems solved as quickly as possible. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government are studying these questions. We realise that their solution will take some time and will require intensive work by our entire Party and all our people.

Our economic policy must ensure the further development of socialist industry, especially its more progressive branches, the comprehensive electrification and chemicalisation of the economy, the acceleration of the development of agriculture and the growth of farm incomes, extension of the production of consumer goods and all-round improvement in services for the people.

All our work in the field of planning and economy must have a sound foundation in objective appraisals, exact information and the correct application of the economic laws of socialism and the achievements of science. Experience has shown that, wherever the scientific approach is replaced by subjectivism and arbitrary decisions, failure is certain and mistakes inevitable.

In his day Lenin said: "We have a terrible number of people eager to re-organise in every possible way, and this re-organising is such a calamity that I have never known a greater one in all my life." **(Complete Works, Vol. 44, p. 326, 5th Russ. Ed.) (Applause.)** Lenin taught us that the important thing is not in instituting, in re-organising and in issuing new decrees, but in people and in verifying how the work is done. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government regard it as their duty to carry out certain measures to improve the management of the economy and they are doing in cautiously and without any fuss and hurry. **(Applause.)**

The economy must develop harmonically so that the highest productivity of social labour and constant improvements in the living standards of the people are achieved. The development of heavy industry must be subordinated to the requirements of the regular technical re-equipment of the entire economy, the requirements of defence and also to the speedy improvement of agriculture and of the light and food industries.

Our industry is today turning out a huge mass of goods of various kinds. In the interests of further technical progress we must not only strive for a quantitative growth in output but also pay attention to the qualitative aspect, and to greater economic effect from production and investment.

Society is not indifferent to what the satisfaction of these requirements will cost. Nor are people indifferent to how well these requirements will be met, how long manufactured articles will last and how reliably and productively new machines will work. An improvement in the quality of the output is one of the most important reserves for higher productivity of social labour. It is essential for every enterprise and for every executive to know the highest world standards in his own field and to strive to equal and excel them.

Today, as never before, there is an obvious need to apply economic incentives for the development of production. Economic stimuli must encourage enterprises to make better use of their production funds, use raw materials and semi-manufactures economically, get new machinery running more quickly, improve the goods produced and raise the productivity of labour at every factory. Here there are tremendous untapped reserves for economic growth.

The solution of these problems will ensure the correct combination of the interests of society as a whole and the material interests of every factory staff and every individual worker.

In addition to the consistent implementation of the principle of the material incentive of executives in the results of their work, our society also possesses moral stimulants that inspire people to score better results. A profound understanding of the problems of communist construction and the urge to accelerate the solution of these problems have given rise to mass competition and to an extensive popular movement for a communist attitude to labour. And that, comrades, is a mighty force that accelerates the country's advance towards communism! **(Prolonged applause.)**

The country's requirements in foodstuffs and raw materials are steadily increasing. This growth insistently suggests to us the task of overcoming the lag in agriculture. We shall continue increasing capital investments in agriculture and in the industries which supply it with machines

and fertilisers. Fuller use of the principle of the material incentive of collective farms and collective farmers acquires special importance. It is necessary not in words but in deeds to grant collective and state farms greater rights in organising and planning their work. **(Applause.)**

Nor would it be correct to ignore the possibilities which the plots of land worked by farmers, factory and office workers offer in helping meet their requirements. **(Applause.)** In recent years unfounded restrictions have been imposed in this sphere, although the economic conditions are not yet mature for such a step. These restrictions have now been removed. **(Applause.)**

The growth in the incomes of Soviet people brings an increased demand for consumer goods of better quality and variety. We should take this into account and utilise all opportunities and all the achievements of scientific and technical progress to develop mass production and reduce prices of consumer goods.

Housing construction, too, will proceed on a large scale in our country, and the living conditions of the working people will improve. These problems are a matter of constant concern for our Party and Government.

Unreasonably little attention is still being paid to trade and public services despite the fact that these are important branches of the economy which most directly concern the working people. We allocate large funds to develop trade and public services. However, it is necessary to use these funds effectively. It is necessary that the people should have better and more efficient services. It is necessary, comrades, to change the very attitude towards public services and amenities and those working in them.

All these are urgent tasks. They, of course, do not exhaust everything we shall have to accomplish in the economic sphere. However, we are convinced that the solution of these tasks is essential for the implementation of the Programme of our Party. **(Applause.)**

Comrades, the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the establishment of communist social relations and the all-round perfection of the individual are impossible without developing in every way the creative initiative of the masses, without developing socialist democracy. Lenin pointed out that a new society could be

built only when the masses of the working people themselves started to build the state, to build the new economy.

The Party, struggling for the implementation of this Leninist policy, has done a great deal. Our system guarantees the working people extensive rights and political liberties. The Party and the state will vigilantly guard them, will strictly observe socialist legality. It is our common duty to combat resolutely red tape and window-dressing and see to it that all executives consider their main aim that of serving the people. **(Prolonged applause.)**

The political consciousness and professional skill of the workers and peasants and the ideological maturity and creative effort of the Soviet intelligentsia have grown immeasurably. A great army of specialists who know their job to perfection and who are fully devoted to the ideas of communism has grown up during the years of Soviet power. These people should be valued. We should rely on their knowledge and experience. We should boldly promote the best of them to leading work.

The Soviet youth, for whose education and upbringing we spare neither money nor effort, are the pride of our people. They actively participate in building communism. **(Applause.)**

The communist construction demands from all the Soviet people—workers, farmers and intellectuals—a maximum of energy, initiative and consciousness. It is the civic duty of every Soviet person to work honestly for the common good, to show concern for the interests of society and the state as his own interests, strictly to observe state and social discipline, to show a high sense of responsibility, initiative and activity. There is no matter more noble and lofty in our life than that of serving our socialist Motherland, the birthplace of the Great October! **(Prolonged applause.)**

THE BANNER OF OCTOBER IS THE BANNER OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Comrades, the birth of world's first socialist state meant the birth of a new policy in international affairs. Socialism, peace and freedom for the peoples—these were the slogans inscribed on the banners of the October Re-

volution. The Communist Party and the entire Soviet people are loyal to the cause and the ideas of the October Revolution.

The foreign policy of the Soviet state derives from its socialist nature, from the noble aims and tasks of our Party and our people. This was the policy initiated by Lenin.

Today the line of struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism passes through all continents; imperialism is losing one position after another. The formation of a world system of socialism is the greatest gain in this struggle. And that is one of the most important results of the revolutionary transformation of the world which was started by the October Revolution. **(Prolonged applause.)**

In their relations with the socialist countries, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people are guided by the principles of socialist internationalism, by the desire to strengthen fraternal friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance on the basis of full equality, independence and a correct combination of the interests of each country with the interests of the entire community. **(Applause.)**

Our country is celebrating its 47th birthday. Other socialist countries this year marked their 20th or 15th birthdays. Heroic Cuba only recently took the socialist road. **(Applause.)** We are profoundly convinced that new red-letter days will appear in the calendar of history marking the entry of other countries and peoples into our common socialist family. **(Applause.)** However, irrespective of the experience one or another country has to its credit in building socialism, the world socialist system is a social, economic and political community of free and equal peoples. **(Prolonged applause.)**

Back in 1920, when outlining the ways of securing a fraternal alliance of the working people of different nations, who had cast off the imperialist yoke, V. I. Lenin pointed to the need to build up relations between them on complete confidence, with a clear consciousness of unity and full voluntary consent. "This alliance", Lenin wrote, "cannot be effected at once; it is necessary to prepare for it with the greatest patience and caution so as not to spoil things and evoke suspicion, but to erase the suspicion which has

been left behind from centuries of oppression by the landowners and capitalists..." (*Complete Works*, Vol. 40, p. 43, 5th Russ. Ed.).

The implementation of this thesis of Lenin's acquires still greater importance in relations between the sovereign states which make up the world socialist system.

There is every objective condition for the cooperation between socialist countries to grow increasingly stronger. Our peoples are united by a community of fundamental interests. We have an economic foundation of the same type—the social ownership of the means of production. We have similar state systems—the power of the people, headed by the working class. We have a single ideology—Marxism-Leninism. We have common interests in ensuring security, in safeguarding the peace and security of the peoples, in defending the revolutionary gains from encroachments of the imperialists. We have a single, great aim—communism. (**Stormy, prolonged applause.**)

The interest of each socialist country in the experience of the building of a new society in other countries is understandable. At the same time, we consider that it would be wrong to thrust the experience of any one party and country on other parties and countries. The choice of one or another method and form of socialist construction is the sovereign right of each people.

We proceed from the fact that originality in the ways of building socialism should not at all prevent the development of friendly relations between the fraternal socialist countries. The correctness of one or another viewpoint on concrete questions of socialist construction should, in our opinion, be checked in deeds and by effective results made in the building of a new society.

The family of socialist states, which forever did away with capitalism and are building a new and happy life for the working people, is great and mighty. The world of socialism has spread for many thousands of kilometres across the vast expanses of Europe and Asia. Socialism has also found a home on the American continent. Socialism is serving as an inspiring example for the peoples of many African countries. The influence which the socialist world is exerting on the entire course of human history is with each passing day growing stronger and becoming more tangible.

Allow me, comrades, to declare from this rostrum, on the eve of a holiday near and dear to the heart of every Soviet man, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our Government consider it their sacred duty to do everything necessary to strengthen the cohesion of the socialist countries on the reliable foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. (**Stormy, prolonged applause.**) This is in the interests of the successful construction of socialism and communism in each of our countries. This is in the interests of the triumph of our great common cause the world over.

May the friendship and cohesion of the socialist countries grow stronger! (**Stormy, prolonged applause.**)

Comrades,

Our Party has invariably been rendering support to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and all forms of colonialism. The CPSU, as our Party Programme points out, regards the fraternal alliance with the people which have shaken off the colonial and semi-colonial yoke, as one of the corner-stones of its international policy.

The October Revolution awakened the national consciousness of the peoples and lent unprecedented scope to their struggle for emancipation from the foreign yoke. Lenin foresaw that "the socialist revolution will be something more than merely and chiefly a struggle of revolutionary proletarians against their own bourgeoisie in each country, it will be a struggle of all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, a struggle of all the dependent countries against international imperialism". (*Complete Works*, Vol. 39, p. 327, 5th Russ. Ed.) Now everyone can see that in this respect, too, history is developing as Lenin predicted.

If we were to compare two political maps of the world, one dating back to October 1917, and the other a contemporary one, we would immediately see in all their contrast the tremendous changes which have taken place on our planet in this period of history. The first of these maps would show Asia and Africa almost completely covered with colours indicating colonial countries. And today the flags of sovereign states wave over almost 60 countries on these two continents. (**Prolonged applause.**)

We understand the feelings and aspirations of the newly free peoples, their desire to consolidate their independence and to bring to a successful end the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The imperialists are exerting no mean effort to drive into different channels socialism and the national-liberation movement which have merged into a single revolutionary current. However, the peoples of the young national states are beginning to distinguish ever more clearly between real and reliable friends and enemies who are camouflaging their colonialist aims.

Soviet people are sincerely glad to see that the countries which have shaken off the fetters of colonialism are playing an ever greater part in world politics. The conference of non-aligned countries which recently closed in Cairo graphically demonstrated their will to abolish all forms of colonialism, preserve and consolidate peace and strengthen the unity of the forces fighting against imperialism. **(Applause.)**

We are completely unanimous with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that the last colonial regimes should be wiped off the face of the earth. Wherever a people's struggle is unfolding against foreign imperialist interference—in Cyprus and in the Congo, in South East Asia and the Arabian Peninsula and in the countries of Latin America—the peoples see and feel our support in their just struggle for national and social liberation. **(Applause.)**

On the day of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, which paved the way for the emancipation of the nations, we proclaim: let the disgrace of colonialism disappear into the past forever, long live the freedom and independence of all nations! **(Stormy applause.)**

The Soviet Union has pursued and continues to pursue the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The purpose of this policy is to prevent world thermonuclear war, settle disputes between states through negotiations, respect the right of each nation to select for itself the social and state system it desires and settle in its own way the problems of the internal development of its country.

The policy of peaceful coexistence provides a foundation for mutual understanding and the development of mutually profitable cooperation of countries regardless of the

difference in their social systems. At the same time the atmosphere of peaceful coexistence promotes the success of the liberation struggle and the attainment of the revolutionary goals of the peoples.

Soviet people sincerely desire that the incipient relaxation of international tension will continue and that solutions will be found for the basic international problems on which the peace and security of the nations depends. Our state is for the step-by-step regulation of unsettled problems and the strengthening of peace. **(Stormy, prolonged applause.)**

The Soviet Union has advocated and will continue to advocate the termination of the arms race and the reaching of an agreement on disarmament. The policy of the imperialist powers has forced our country to concentrate efforts on producing mighty nuclear missile armaments, a reliable guarantee of our security and of the security of our friends and allies. We are nevertheless ready to do away with nuclear armaments and all armaments in general, provided that other states do the same.

We are resolutely working for general and complete disarmament and advocating measures which would, at least initially, restrict the arms race. We, naturally, are also in favour of such agreements which, in the same way as the Moscow Treaty on the banning of nuclear tests in three media, restrict the possibilities of the further development of nuclear weapons. **(Prolonged applause.)**

There are different proposals on which aspects of disarmament should be given priority and on the level of negotiations and who is to negotiate. As to the Soviet Union, the main thing, in our opinion, is to make progress in disarmament and achieve concrete results. **(Applause.)**

Among the unsolved problems causing instability in the world is that of security in Europe and of a peaceful settlement for Germany.

To ensure security in Europe it is necessary, first of all, to discard revanchist doctrines and conceptions, recognise the situation which has developed in the centre of Europe and proceed from the generally obvious fact that there exist two German states **(applause)**—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. There is none and can be no other foundation for ensuring peace in Europe **(Applause.)**

We have spoken and shall continue to speak against the plans to form a NATO multilateral nuclear force, which gives the West German Bundeswehr access to nuclear weapons, and also against the further proliferation of nuclear armaments.

No foreign interference in the affairs of other peoples and countries—such is the firm and clear stand of the Soviet Union. **(Prolonged applause.)** Everyone knows of the intrigues, provocations and plots which are being incessantly engineered against revolutionary Cuba and against the right of its people to build their way of life as they wish. The sallies against Cuba evoke a legitimate feeling of indignation, and it is time to put an end to them. Hands off the Republic of Cuba—such is the demand of the Soviet people and all the honest people on earth! **(Stormy, prolonged applause.)**

We have always held the view that Taiwan should be reunited with its homeland, the People's Republic of China. **(Applause.)**

We resolutely condemn the provocations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. **(Applause.)** We hail the courageous people of South Vietnam engaged in a heroic struggle for liberation from the corrupt anti-popular regime and the armed intervention of the US imperialists, for the unification of their country on democratic principles. **(Applause.)**

We hail the courageous people of South Korea struggling for the evacuation of US troops and for a peaceful reunification of their country. **(Prolonged applause.)**

The struggle of these peoples is of a profoundly just nature, and they will emerge victorious. **(Stormy applause.)**

Our policy is one of good relations and mutually advantageous cooperation with all states, and from year to year our relations are improving with those countries which are showing interest in this. We attach great importance to the development of business contacts, to the development of relations with the main capitalist powers.

The Soviet Union is ready to develop Soviet-American relations in the interests of our peoples, in the interests of strengthening peace. A long-term trade agreement was concluded with France a few days ago. We would also welcome the readiness of other capitalist countries to ex-

pand mutually advantageous trade relations with our country. Possibilities undoubtedly exist for the further development of relations with Britain, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and other states.

In implementing our policy of peaceful coexistence, we rely on the might of the community of socialist countries, and on actions in defence of peace taken by the independent states and by all peace-loving forces.

In all countries the broad masses are demanding the consolidation of peace and the development of international cooperation. The presidential elections which have just taken place in the United States showed most convincingly that the majority of the American people also cherish the interests of peace, that they are tired of the "cold war".

The defeat of the US "wild men" is a good lesson for all advocates of the policy of adventure and reaction.

Our policy of good-neighbourly relations and friendship with India, Finland, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, the Scandinavian countries and other neighbours of the Soviet Union is traditional and consistent. **(Applause.)**

The Leninist principles of foreign policy serve as a guiding star for us in the present-day international situation with all its complicated and contradictory trends. This policy is distinguished by its firmness in upholding principled positions, a highly responsible approach to vital issues of world policy that affect the destinies of the peoples, readiness for talks and agreements, and flexibility in settling practical questions.

Our Party, like the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, proceeds from the fact that a world war is not inevitable in contemporary conditions. We are firmly convinced that a world war can be averted by the vigorous joint struggle of the socialist states, the international working class, the peoples who have liberated themselves from colonial oppression, and all forces working for peace. **(Applause.)** Peace on earth can be secured. **(Stormy applause.)**

But we never forget that there are also aggressive forces in the world which are interested in heating up the international atmosphere to the highest degree. Engineering international crises, whipping up the arms race, pushing the world toward war—in all this they see a direct benefit for themselves. The peoples are encountering manifestations of the activities of these forces almost dai-

ly. That is why the Soviet Union remains vigilant. (**Applause.**)

We have mighty weapons, which give us a real guarantee that the security of the USSR and other socialist countries is reliably ensured. (**Applause.**) Until an agreement on disarmament is reached we shall maintain our defence capacity at the highest level. (**Prolonged applause.**)

Standing guard over the great gains of communism are our valorous and glorious Armed Forces. They are commanded by tested army leaders and a well-trained corps of officers. Our army is an army safeguarding peace. The Soviet people love their army and it is the object of their care and concern. (**Applause.**) Our glorious army is faithfully serving the people and is standing guard over their creative activities.

Honour and glory to the Soviet Armed Forces! (**Stormy applause.**)

The general line of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, defined by the decisions of our Party's latest congresses and its Programme, is consistent and unchanged. This is a line that ensures peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism, for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their friendship and fraternity, a line that supports the revolutionary-liberation movements, the all-round development of solidarity and cooperation with the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a line that affirms the principles of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries, and aims at ridding mankind of a world war. This is the only correct line. It is fully approved by our people and by the overwhelming majority of the people throughout the world. (**Prolonged applause.**)

Comrades, our Leninist Party has always held high the banner of proletarian internationalism. We consider the unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the solidarity of the national-liberation and democratic forces to be the guarantee of new successes for peace and socialism.

The communist movement is being tempered in fierce encounters with imperialist reaction, in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and the triumph of the ideas of socialism. In capitalist countries Communist Parties continue to be hounded and persecuted. How-

ever, despite all difficulties they hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism. By their deeds they show the working people the vital force of their ideas. The glorious names of heroic Communists who gave up their lives in the struggle for freedom, live in the memory of the peoples, calling them to new exploits. (**Applause.**)

On the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, our Party and the entire Soviet people send warm greetings to all fraternal Communist Parties and express their solidarity and support. (**Stormy applause.**)

Our enemies are striving to weaken the communist movement. They would like to use the differences which have arisen to cause damage to the revolutionary forces. It is under these conditions that the task of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement is of special importance. Concrete and effective measures for this are required; it is necessary to advance step by step along the road to cohesion. Differences in views should not be permitted to undermine the main source of the strength of the Communists — their unity in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism. (**Applause.**) The solution of problems concerning the entire movement is a matter for all fraternal Parties.

The world army of Communists has a clear and precise general line, jointly drawn up at the Moscow 1957 and 1960 Meetings. (**Prolonged applause.**)

The Communists also have an effective method of overcoming differences in points of view which occur between the Parties, and of strengthening unity. This was clearly pointed out in the Statement of the 81 Parties, adopted in 1960. It says there that the Communist and Workers' Parties, whenever the need arises, call meetings to discuss urgent problems, pool experience, familiarise themselves with one another's views and positions, elaborate uniform views through consultation, and agree on joint action in pursuing common aims.

It seems to us that a better method for strengthening the unity of the world communist movement cannot be found. (**Prolonged applause.**) The need for a new international meeting of the fraternal Parties has obviously matured. And the purpose of such a meeting, its motto should be cohesion on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the unity

of fellow-Communists in the struggle for our great common goals. (**Stormy applause.**)

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will do everything it can to achieve such cohesion. (**Stormy, prolonged applause.**)

May the great movement of all Communists of the world expand and grow stronger each day, drawing fresh strength from consolidated unity, and scoring new successes in the struggle against imperialism for the bright future of all the working people! (**Prolonged applause.**)

THE COMMUNIST PARTY — THE MILITANT VANGUARD OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Comrades, the working people of our country know that all our successes and gains have been achieved under the guidance of the Leninist Party. That is why the Soviet people experience feelings of affection and respect for their Party, trust the Party, and follow the Party. The great ideals of the Communist Party have become the ideals of the entire Soviet people, and the Programme of the Party has become a practical programme for the entire people.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a difficult and glorious road. Only a few decades ago our Party, as Lenin aptly put it, was a close-knit group of people who moved hand in hand along a difficult and rocky path, surrounded from all sides by malicious enemies and under their constant fire.

But the Communists were equipped with an indomitable life-asserting weapon, the great theory of Marxism. Following this teaching and creatively developing it, our Party has now grown into a mighty army, numbering some 11 million like-minded people, Communists. (**Applause.**) The ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union unite the finest sons and daughters of the working class, the collective farm peasantry, and the intelligentsia, sons and daughters of the entire Soviet people. The Party believes in the inexhaustible creative energy of the people and regards service to the people to be the purpose and meaning of all its work. (**Applause.**)

The bigger the tasks being solved in the course of communist construction, the greater are the role and import-

ance of the Communist Party as a leading and guiding force of Soviet society. We grow convinced of this in practice. That is why the further improvement of Party guidance in all fields of communist construction, and the consistent translation into reality of the Leninist principles and standards of the life of the Party and the state, acquire special importance.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union laid the beginning of the restoration of genuine Leninist standards in the life of our Party and played an outstanding part in developing the creative initiative of the Communists. The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, which took place this October, was an important landmark in carrying out the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This Plenary Meeting is fresh proof of the concern of the Central Committee for the successful implementation of the Party's general line. (**Stormy applause.**) Its work was imbued with the spirit of Leninist collective leadership and allegiance to Lenin's behests. It took place in an atmosphere of the complete unanimity of all its participants. The Plenary Meeting decisions met with the approval and support of the entire Party and the entire Soviet people. (**Prolonged applause.**)

The Central Committee highly appreciates this support of the Party and the people. It gives us new strength in our efforts to solve the problems confronting the Party. (**Prolonged applause.**)

Comrades, the Party's Programme and Rules are the invariable guide for all the activities of our Party bodies and Party organisations, for all of us. Communists have extensive rights in participating actively in the life of the Party, in expressing freely their opinions, in effectively supervising the activities of state, economic and public organisations. Conditions should be created under which there is the greatest development of a sense of responsibility on the part of each Communist for the state of affairs in the country and in the Party, in which there are comradesly criticism and self-criticism and irreconcilability to any violation of Leninist standards of Party life.

The tasks of building a new society demand a considerable improvement in the Party's entire ideological work. The education of the new man and the inculcating of a scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook upon the Soviet people are the main feature of this work. Marxism-Leninism is, in its very essence, a profoundly creative and revolutionary science; it does not tolerate stagnation of thought, inertness and conservatism. To educate people in the spirit of communist ideology means first of all to develop in them such qualities as a high conception of principle, a creative approach to work, a careful attitude to public property and concern for its increase. All Communists should clearly understand the tasks confronting the Party and the country, and should be prepared to fight for the fulfilment of these tasks as for their own vital and personal matter. **(Applause.)** An irreconcilable attitude towards hostile bourgeois ideology should be an inherent quality of every Communist.

We Communists should always remember Lenin's great directive: "Live in the midst of things, sense the moods, know everything, understand the masses, and be able to win their full trust." **(Complete Works, Vol. 44, p. 497, 5th Russ. Ed.)** These instructions of Lenin's are the key to the success of all our Party work. **(Prolonged applause.)**

All the work of our Party and of each Communist should continue in the future to be imbued with the spirit of Leninist partisanship. We should always and everywhere be guided by the great slogan of the Party: Everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man, give all our strength in building up communism in our country. **(Stormy applause.)**

Comrades,

History has put great responsibility on our Party, on the Soviet people. We are solving tremendous tasks of a vast scale. For nearly half a century our country has been blazing new trails of social development. Each success of ours in communist construction is the contribution of the Soviet people to the common cause of revolutionary struggle of the working people of all countries for peace, freedom, and a happy future of mankind. **(Prolonged applause.)**

Under the guidance of the Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet people will build up a communist society. **(Prolonged applause.)**

For new victories of communism, comrades! **(Applause.)**

Long live the great Soviet people! **(Applause.)**

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, set up by Lenin! **(Applause.)**

Long live the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement! **(Stormy, prolonged applause.)**

Long live world peace!

(A thunderous ovation sweeps the hall. All rise. There are cheers in honour of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Great October Revolution and the Soviet people, in honour of the mighty community of socialist countries.)

(Pravda, November 7, 1964.)