

FOLLOWING LENIN'S BEHESTS

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**51st ANNIVERSARY OF THE
GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION**

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on November 6, 1968*

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Comrades, there is nothing in world history that for majesty and historical consequences can rival the Great October Socialist Revolution. The heroic feat which the working class and working peasants of Russia accomplished in October 1917 under the leadership of the Leninist Bolshevik Party marked a turning point in world development.

The October Revolution put an end to the global supremacy of capitalism, ushering in the era of the liberation of the working people from the fetters of exploitation, the era of the downfall of colonial empires.

History knows of no easy roads. Mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism is accompanied by a fundamental breakdown of the old and the birth of new social relations and by an irreconcilable class struggle. Upsurges and temporary ebbs occur in this liberation struggle of the new against the old.

The onward movement of social progress is as irreversible as time. The clock of history is synchronised with the Great October Revolution, and the path blazed by the October Revolution has become the highroad for all mankind, and its ideals have become the militant banner of hundreds of millions of people in all the continents.

Every anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a stage in the Soviet people's steadfast ascent to the heights of the new, communist society. Last year, along with progressive people the world over, the working people of the USSR celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Soviet State. That jubilee was a review of the epoch-making gains of socialism

and the international working class. It was a triumph of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Another year has passed, and by their dedicated labour our people have added yet another glorious page to the history of the Land of Soviets.

DECISIONS OF THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU ARE BEING IMPLEMENTED

The year that opened the second half-century of Soviet power saw a fresh step towards the building of the material and technical basis of communism, a further rise in the level of production and culture and of the living standard of the Soviet people.

In improving and developing scientific methods of economic management, the Party directs the creative initiative and energy of the people towards achieving an all-out enhancement of the efficiency of social production and laying bare and making the fullest use of the advantages and potentialities of the socialist system. The decisions of our Party's 23rd Congress are being successfully carried out thanks to the dedicated labour of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

It will be recalled that fairly high targets were set for the country's economic development under the current Five-Year Plan. It is all the more pleasant to note that our industry is developing in accordance with the Directives of the 23rd Congress. The country's industrial potential continues to grow at a rapid rate. During the three years (and the prospects for the current year are clear in the main) more than a thousand new industrial enterprises and projects have been put into operation. Industrial output is expanding at a good rate.

The output of the means of production is to increase by 30 per cent. Only the increase in the

output of steel during these years is equal to the total steel output in 1940, while the increase in the output of oil and electric power exceeds the total pre-war output of these items by more than 100 and nearly 200 per cent respectively.

Priority has been given to the development of the electronics, instrument-making and chemical industries, where the average annual rate of increase is 13-19 per cent. Considerable headway has been made by the power and mechanical engineering industries.

The enhanced effectiveness in the utilisation of basic assets in the economy is mirrored in a number of key indices. In particular, there has been an accelerated growth of labour productivity and of the national income.

The last few years have witnessed a much faster rate of agricultural development than in the previous five-year plan period. In this, the decisive role has been played by the measures taken by the CC of the CPSU to improve planning and stimulate labour in agriculture, and to supply agriculture with machinery and mineral fertilizers. In the past three years (1966-68), the average annual grain output has been almost 25 per cent higher than in 1961-65, and the output of meat and milk has increased substantially.

This year, total farm output is to reach 80,000 million roubles, the highest level ever attained in our country.

Ahead of schedule, on the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the state plan for the purchase of basic meat products has been fulfilled, and considerably more grain has been sold to the state than was envisaged by the plan. These are noteworthy achievements, but they do not mean that all the problems of agriculture have been resolved.

At its Plenary Meeting several days ago, the CC of the CPSU summed up the work that has been done during the past few years and put forward the task of securing a faster growth of agricultural production. It charted important measures aimed at further re-equipping agriculture with up-to-date machinery,

speeding up the output of mineral fertilizers, consistently carrying out the land improvement programmes and stepping up the efficacy of scientific research in agriculture.

It set the task of removing shortcomings and improving the organisation of purveying and processing agricultural raw materials, raising the economic work at the collective and state farms to a higher level, and improving the training of cadres.

The Central Committee regards all this as a militant programme, as a matter of paramount importance to the entire nation, and calls upon rural workers, scientists, agricultural specialists, and industrial workers, engineers and technicians to pool their efforts in order to secure a further advance in agriculture.

An important feature of Soviet economic development in recent years has been the improvement of the structure and balance of the country's economy. A powerful heavy industry and the rapid growth of industries that determine scientific and technical progress are the foundation, which, with the corresponding corrections in planning, have made it possible to move considerably forward along the road of speeding up the development of industries manufacturing consumer goods.

In the course of three years of the current five-year plan period, the output of consumer goods is to increase by 28 per cent, which is considerably in excess of the annual plan targets. During these three years, the output of fabrics is to increase by 1,100 million square metres, of leather footwear by 113 million pairs, of television sets by 2 million, and of refrigerators by 1,670,000. The range of consumer goods has been considerably widened and their quality is being improved.

In the past three years, as a result of the growth of the national income, the annual consumption fund has increased by 34,700 million roubles, exceeding the annual plan targets; real incomes in terms of per head of population are to grow by more than 20 per cent, and the average cash wage is to rise 16 per cent (the

target for the end of the five-year plan period being 20 per cent); the incomes of the collective farmers from the socialised sector of the economy are to rise 30 per cent.

Housing construction is steadily expanding. In the past three years more than 310 million square metres of living space have been opened for tenancy, and more than 30 million people have been rehoused.

We have every ground for saying that during the current five-year plan period the rate of growth of material blessings used for improving the people's standard of living is unprecedented in the history of our country. This is further evidence of the fact that the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU are being purposefully carried out.

Much has been accomplished, and much is still to be done in the remaining two years of the five-year period. As always, the key conditions for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Five-Year Plan are a high level of organisation, persevering effort to raise labour productivity through the use of new machinery and improved production techniques, a thrifty attitude to socialist property, and a steady improvement of management methods. Without these conditions it is impossible to enhance the efficiency of production and more fully satisfy the country's needs and requirements.

By their work, the Soviet people have upset the forecasts of Western economists, who asserted that our rate of economic growth must inevitably dwindle. But the problems connected with our economic development cannot be reduced exclusively to rates of growth. The scientific and technological revolution has become a major ground in the struggle between the two social systems on a global scale. All the evidence indicates that the capitalists are devoting much of their attention to this.

The US monopolies are spending increasing sums of money on scientific research, and technological improvements, one of the means being to entice scientists from other capitalist countries. They are

seeking to perpetuate the so-called "technological gap" between the economies of the socialist countries and the USA. But these calculations are doomed to failure.

Our social system with its huge industrial base and planned economy, the great gains of the cultural revolution, the availability of excellently trained scientists, engineers and technicians, and the enormous potentialities which an improvement of the mechanism of cooperation among the countries of the socialist community is making it possible to tap, are creating conditions for scientific and technological progress such as cannot exist under capitalism. Socialist society is where science has been given all the conditions for really becoming a major element of the productive forces, for making man more powerful and happier through a planned exploration of the mysteries of nature.

On the eve of the 51st anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet people enthusiastically greeted another cosmonaut and glorious son of the Land of Soviets, Georgi Timofeyevich Beregovoi, and, with him, the scientists, designers and workers who won yet another great victory for Soviet science and technology. It was a triumph of Soviet man's courage and creative ability.

Nobody questions our achievements in the development of science and technology. They evoke the admiration of the whole world not only in the sphere of space exploration but in many other fields as well.

However, the scientific and technological revolution still insufficiently embraces all sectors of our economy and has not everywhere reached the scale required today. The further steady advance of science and technology and the application of their achievements in practice are part and parcel of the worldwide competition between socialism and capitalism.

Our economic reform will unquestionably accelerate the scientific and technological revolution. The experience of tens of thousands of enterprises that have been switched to the new system of planning and

economic incentives has proved its indisputable efficacy and viability.

The transfer of industry to the new system of planning and economic incentives has entered the completion stage. It is important, however, not only to widen the sphere of the reform's application, but also to develop it in depth, to continue improving its mechanism, to still further enhance the organisational role of planning, to correctly combine centralised state planning with local initiative, and to apply more efficiently such economic levers as cost accounting, prices, payment for funds, credits and profit.

The efficiency level of our sectoral ministries must conform to the growing requirements. New possibilities for speeding up economic development lie in a more active utilisation of economic methods, in the use of up-to-date machinery in the processes of planning, accounting and management, in the steadfast implementation of a purposeful technological policy, in a scientific organisation of labour and in making greater demands on personnel.

An improvement of capital construction holds out the promise of fairly large reserves for our economy. Skill in utilising capital investments in the most effective manner, so as to obtain the maximum returns as quickly as possible, is now a decisive state criterion for an evaluation of management in this sphere.

A high level of exactingness, intolerance of shortcomings, and critical analyses are permanent principles of the work of the Party and the Soviet Government. We still have quite a few shortcomings, far from all the reserves of our economy have been tapped, and not all the requirements of Soviet people are being satisfied as all of us would like. But led by the Party, the Soviet people are gradually and steadily solving all the major problems connected with their country's economic development.

By their day-to-day work, year in and year out, by strengthening the might of their country and by raising the banner of socialist emulation still higher, the Soviet people are fulfilling Lenin's behest to turn

economic management into their chief and most thrilling policy.

Comrades, Marxist-Leninists have never reduced the struggle for communism to the creation of its material and technical basis. The strength of socialist society is measured not only in terms of how many million tons of steel, oil and wheat have been produced. It also lies in the cultural wealth of society, in the stability of the people's moral and political unity, in their firm solidarity under their tested leader—the Communist Party.

This strength is measured by the scale on which the working masses participate in the administration of the state, by the deep interest they take in all of their country's achievements, by their ideological convictions and by their organisation. No system can compare with socialism in this respect.

Our Party considers that it is its sacred duty to do all in its power to promote the political activity and initiative of the masses.

The strength of the Leninist Party lies in the fact that it has always been a Party of innovators, a Party that is able, through its adherence to the ideas and theory of Marxism-Leninism and to revolutionary traditions, to see everything new that is being engendered by life. The policies of our Party rest on a firm scientific foundation.

We have no truck with either dogmatism or with the false innovation of revisionists, who have proclaimed as "obsolete" the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and are seeking to belittle the role of the Party in the building of communism.

The adversaries of scientific communism are well aware that to undermine the Party's leading role is to undermine the very foundations of socialism. That is why the leading role of the Party in socialist society, the Party's ideological, political and organisational unity, and democratic centralism and Party discipline are inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism, and we Communists of the Soviet Union unswervingly abide by these principles.

The 51st year of Soviet power has witnessed a further enhancement of the role and responsibility of Party bodies of all levels, including primary Party organisations, more initiative in their work and the growth of the political maturity, initiative and sense of responsibility of millions of Communists. The Party's great vitality comes from these deep-lying sources.

We can with full justification say that this year the Party has still further consolidated the ideological, political and organisational unity of its ranks and has strengthened its ties with the masses.

The decisions passed by the Central Committee at its Plenary Meetings in April and July 1968 have played a prominent role in intensifying the Party's ideological work and educating the entire people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, political vigilance and irreconcilability to all forms of bourgeois ideological influence.

The Leninist style and genuinely Party approach to work is being increasingly consolidated in all spheres of life as a result of the consistent drive to fulfil the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

This is seen chiefly in the unflagging effort to implement the Party's general line, in the clarity of the Party's class positions, in the unwavering aspiration to act in the thick of the masses, in the ability to respond quickly to the people's needs and requirements, in the unity between the Party's words and actions, in self-criticism, and in the Party's ability not only to reveal, but also to remove shortcomings.

The alliance of like-minded and like-acting people, such as the CPSU has always been, rests not on the soil of mutual amnesty and liberal all-forgiveness, but on an exacting foundation of strict demands on oneself and everybody else, on the basis of Bolshevik irreconcilability to any deviations from a genuine Party attitude.

"Communists," L. I. Brezhnev stressed in his report on **50 Years of Great Achievements of Socialism**, "have no privileges save one—that of giving the common cause more than anybody else, and fighting

better and working more for the triumph of the common cause. Communists have no special rights, save one—that of always being in the forefront, of being where it is most difficult.”

It is on these principles that the vanguard role of the Party grows and will continue to grow, that its ties with the people will become stronger. It is due to these qualities that it best of all and most fully expresses the interests of the working class.

The more than half century of struggle for the triumph of socialism irrefutably proves that the remaking of society along communist lines can be completed only under the leadership of the working class, which rallies the working peasants and intellectuals round itself.

The working class is the leading force of the socialist system, the vanguard of working people, a model of organisation and collectivism, of awareness of its duty to society and of selfless service in society's interests.

The revolutionary, transformative activities of the working class not only multiply the country's material wealth but also cement the socialist state.

Thanks to its alliance with the working class, the collective farmers of our country have become an active force in the revolutionary remaking of life.

Our working intelligentsia, which makes an invaluable contribution to the creation of the material and cultural riches of our socialist society, plays such a lofty social role thanks to its unbreakable ties with the working class.

It is the revolutionary traditions of the working class and of its vanguard—the Communist Party—that lend wings to Soviet youth and its foremost contingent, the Leninist YCL, whose 50th anniversary was marked by the entire Soviet people.

The socialist people's state cannot fulfil its historic mission successfully without the leading role of the working class, without the leadership of the Communist Party. For that reason, in the Soviet state there neither is, nor can be, a social group that has the

privilege of assessing its work otherwise than from the standpoint of the objectives and political interests of the working class.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in the genuine florescence of democracy. Socialism is the living, creative work of millions of people, and it is, therefore, inalienable from the broadest democracy.

Lenin urged that a constant effort should be made to learn to implement democracy in practice and draw the masses into effective, direct and universal participation in the country's administration. He saw in this, and only in this, “the full triumph of the revolution and its unswerving, purposeful and systematic advance.”

In its work of rallying and educating the masses, our Party relies on a system of state and mass organisations, primarily on the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions and the Leninist Komsomol. The role of these organisations is steadily enhanced in the process of building communism.

This year, a series of new steps have been taken to extend the rights of the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies and promote their initiative. The organisational, cultural and educational work of the Soviet trade unions is proceeding on a growing scale.

Increasing importance is being acquired by such effective ways of drawing the masses into the administration of social affairs, such as production conferences at factories, people's inspection groups, and cooperative, scientific, technical and cultural associations.

The Party is taking steps to secure the smooth functioning of the state apparatus and sees to it that the work of all its links is under constant supervision from below, and that the suggestions, applications and complaints of citizens are examined carefully and on time. Lenin considered that it was necessary to have a “firm” apparatus, wholly subordinated to the Party's policy, and yet completely free of all signs of obduracy and bureaucracy.

“We,” Lenin stressed, “stand for democratic centralism. It must be clearly understood how far

removed it is from bureaucratic centralism, on the one hand, and anarchism, on the other."

No real steps towards a further development of socialist democracy are possible without ensuring a high level of organisation and strict discipline.

Without discipline there can be no democracy, without responsibility there can be no freedom, and without duties there can be no rights. Individualistic wilfulness, dissoluteness and disregard for law and order are alien to socialist democracy.

The Great October Revolution was the first revolution that based the freedom of the individual on the realistic foundation of emancipated labour and genuine democracy. Our state attaches cardinal significance to the further strengthening of socialist legality, which bears a clear-cut class nature and is directed against everything that undermines the foundations of socialism.

In defending the interests of society and asserting socialist principles, it creates a firm guarantee of the rights and dignity of the individual.

The Party and the Government show special concern for raising the Soviet people's level of communist awareness and education. We shall do everything in our power to multiply our achievements in this field, so as to raise still higher the cultural and educational level of the people.

All the activities of the Communist Party and all the work of Soviet workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, of people of all ages, of the great and unbreakable union of the socialist nations of our country, have the single objective of building a society that would turn the age-old dreams of working people into reality.

Everything great and significant that has emerged from the storms of the 20th century, as a result of the revolutionary work of the masses, is indissolubly associated with Lenin's name.

His teaching is immortal, and the love that Soviet people and all progressive mankind feel for him is everlasting. We are preparing to celebrate Lenin's

centenary, and in honour of that anniversary a socialist emulation movement is spreading throughout the country.

This continuation by the broad masses of the great initiative ensures fresh successes in the building of communism, successes that the founder of our state dreamed of and forecast.

Under Lenin's leadership we accomplished the Great October Socialist Revolution. Under Lenin's banner we were the first in the world to build socialism and we upheld this gain in a grim struggle. Under this banner we are moving forward, to the triumph of communism, and each year of the epoch dating from the October Revolution is a new stage on the road to that bright goal.

TO FIGHT FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS UNDER THE BANNER OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Comrades, the first year of the second half century of Soviet power was one of tense and difficult struggle on the international scene. Our Party and the Soviet state achieved considerable successes in this struggle and have emerged with honour from all trials.

The Soviet Union's positions in the world have been strengthened, the peaceful labour of Soviet people is reliably protected, and the external conditions for further communist construction are ensured.

The 23rd Congress of the Party has instructed the CC of the CPSU and called upon the Soviet Government to do everything to promote the solidarity of the socialist community, consolidate its might and influence, expand economic, scientific and technological cooperation and cultural ties with the fraternal countries, and together with them safeguard socialism's common gains from its enemies. This is the most important foreign policy task of our Party.

The past year has shown once again that this task is being consistently fulfilled.

This year, too, world socialism has had to wage a direct struggle against imperialism, which simultaneously resorted to both direct military actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and provocations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and the more refined methods of exporting "quiet" counter-revolution.

Summing up the principal results of the past year, we can say that the world socialist system has once again passed with honour the test of time and frustrated the imperialist onslaught both in the East and the West.

The military might of the USA, the biggest imperialist power, was unable to crush the determination of the fraternal Vietnamese people in the struggle for the freedom, independence and unity of their country. In their heroic struggle, the Vietnamese people have achieved a major victory thanks to their courage and fortitude and also to the international solidarity of their friends. As of November 1st this year, bombing and other US military actions against the DRV have been stopped.

On the eve of the 51st anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet people extend their warm greetings to the people of heroic Vietnam, who have again shown the complete hopelessness of imperialism's attempts to dictate its will by force of arms to those who have rallied under the banner of socialism.

This year, in the acute struggle against the forces of reaction and war, world socialism encountered another form of escalation in imperialism's subversive activity.

Realising ever more clearly that it is already impossible to overpower the socialist community by a frontal attack, the imperialists have added many innovations to their tactical arsenal in recent years. Among these innovations are the "policy of bridge-building" and its variant—Bonn's so-called new eastern policy.

The employment of this weapon undoubtedly discloses the failure of imperialism's former course. But it is impossible not to perceive the danger of this policy. It is conducted for the purpose of covertly infiltrating imperialist ideology into the socialist countries, shaking the political and "softening" the ideological mainstays of socialism, and undermining our cooperation and solidarity.

Extremist imperialist circles directly regard the "policy of bridge-building" as a method of exporting counter-revolution.

The experience of this year has demonstrated that once again.

External and internal counter-revolutionary anti-socialist forces intended to disrupt the unity of the Czechoslovak working class, to undermine the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and, subsequently, to detach the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from the socialist community. The socialist gains of the Czechoslovak working people were imperiled.

The joint measures, undertaken by the socialist countries to safeguard the socialist gains in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, have shown to the whole world once again that the world socialist community is always prepared to defend its revolutionary gains.

The socialist countries trust the strength of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak working class; they trust that the Agreement between the CSSR and the USSR on the terms of the temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia will help the process of normalising the situation in that country.

This Agreement is directed at creating firm guarantees of Czechoslovakia's security and her socialist gains, and will reliably safeguard the interests of the whole socialist community against the encroachments of the forces of imperialism, reaction and revanchism.

On their part, the Communists of the Soviet Union, and all our people, are prepared to do everything to promote and strengthen our traditional relations of fraternal cooperation, friendship and interna-

tional solidarity with the people of the CSSR, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the profound community of interests of our socialist countries.

Comrades, Lenin had foreseen that historical development will pose the problem of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national into an international one, capable of decisively influencing the entire world policy. Following Lenin's behests, the peoples of the socialist countries united and created the socialist community of equal countries for the very purpose of jointly defending their vital interests and the historical gains of the working people, and to conduct the policy of the working class, the policy of socialism, in the international arena. This is dictated by life itself, by the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism.

In their Bratislava Statement, permeated with the spirit of socialist internationalism, the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia unanimously reaffirmed the principle that support for and consolidation and defence of their gains, which were won at the cost of heroic efforts and self-sacrificing labour of each nation, "are the common internationalist duty of all socialist countries".

Such a formulation of the question also conforms to the Statement of the 1960 Conference of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, where it was emphasised that "every Communist Party which has become the ruling party in the state bears historical responsibility for the destinies both of its country and the entire socialist camp."

Our enemies have sought to portray the developments of the last few months as signs of the weakening of the socialist community. We have heard such prophecies many times. But our community lives and prospers and steadily accumulates strength.

Thus, if we take economy, we shall see that this year the growth of industrial output in just those socialist countries which are members of CMEA will

approximately equal the total annual industrial production of such countries as Italy or Canada.

Consolidating their ties and cooperation, the socialist countries are steadily developing their economy, raising living and cultural standards and strengthening their defence capacity. Our Party and the Soviet Government are making every effort to augment the strength and unity of the world socialist system.

We are convinced that only joint actions, and the close and all-round cooperation of equal and sovereign socialist countries will guarantee each of them a faster rate of material and cultural development and genuine security. We, just as our friends, attach great importance to the cause of promoting a mutually advantageous international socialist division of labour and cooperation in the development of various branches of our countries' economies, and consider it essential to raise economic, scientific and technical cooperation to a higher level, corresponding to the increasingly far-reaching and complex problems of the development of the socialist economy of all the member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

There are major tasks to be tackled in the sphere of further improvement of the mechanism of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation—the basis of the defensive cooperation of the countries of the socialist community; in the sphere of perfecting the forms of political cooperation, coordination of foreign policy and joint actions in the struggle for peace and against imperialism in the world arena.

On the joyous day of the anniversary of the October Revolution, we extend our warmest greetings to the peoples building socialism, and express our firm conviction that the consolidation and further development of fraternal relations between socialist states will bring ever new successes from year to year.

The 23rd Congress of the Party has instructed the CC of the CPSU and the Soviet Government to continue supporting the peoples fighting against colonial oppression and neo-colonialism, and to develop all-round cooperation with countries that have won na-

tional independence. The Communist Party and the Soviet state are consistently fulfilling this injunction and are rendering all-round assistance to the peoples fighting for freedom and against imperialism, to the peoples who have liberated themselves from colonial dependence and are building a new life and their own independent economy; and we are expanding economic and political ties with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is well known that this policy of ours helps the peoples in their fight for freedom, independence and social progress.

The 23rd Congress of the Party has instructed the CC of the CPSU and the Soviet Government to continue making every effort to solve crucial problems of world policy in the interests of the peoples, and for the sake of strengthening universal peace and international security.

Consistently fulfilling these directives and undeviatingly adhering to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government are actively working for a relaxation of international tension, liquidation of the seats of military conflicts and the solution of acute international problems by negotiation.

The correctness and consistency of the Soviet Union's foreign policy have been reaffirmed by the Plenary Meeting of the CC of the CPSU held in October 1968, which unanimously approved and fully supported the foreign policy activity of the Politbureau of the CC of the CPSU.

Attaching supreme importance to the problem of lessening the war danger to the world and averting the outbreak of a world thermonuclear war, the Soviet Union is perseveringly and consistently working for an end to the arms race and for achieving disarmament.

Thanks to the efforts of many countries, it has been possible to draw up and conclude the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We note with satisfaction that, to date, the Treaty has been

signed by more than 80 countries. The current task is to have more countries accede to it, and to have it come into force as quickly as possible.

There has been a world-wide political response to the Soviet Memorandum on specific urgent measures aimed at stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament. This Memorandum contains concrete recommendations, whose implementation would diminish the threat of a large-scale military conflict, particularly a nuclear one.

The Soviet initiative concerning specific measures directed at limiting and subsequently cutting down the strategic means of delivering nuclear weapons have likewise elicited a positive response.

European security is still a problem of paramount importance. In recent years we observe the positive trend of broad sections of the European public coming out ever more decisively for a normalisation of the situation in Europe. Leaders of some West European countries are beginning to realise that such a normalisation is vital.

We welcome this development and, on our part, will continue our efforts to strengthen European security, establish all-round cooperation between European states, promote a constructive dialogue within the European framework, particularly on the basis of the recommendations set forth in the Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries and in the documents of the Conference of the European Communist and Workers' Parties in Karlovy Vary.

The Soviet Union is consistently working for an all-round development of economic, scientific and other ties with all countries, and for establishing and maintaining mutually advantageous and stable relations with them. Today, for example, we have quite good economic relations with France, Italy and Japan, and are successfully promoting our ties with Algeria, Afghanistan, India, Iran, the UAR, Pakistan, Finland and other countries.

As before, we attach great importance to the normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union

and the USA, which would benefit not only our two countries, but also the cause of universal peace.

Yet there are many serious obstacles on the way to this goal, which stem from the aggressive features of the US foreign policy and its attempts to obstruct world social progress.

There is no disregarding the fact that the struggle of the two principal trends in international relations, one of which leads to the alleviation and the other to the aggravation of tension, are also influenced by processes arising in the imperialist camp. The developments of the current year have produced much fresh proof of the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, the intensification of class battles, and the further polarisation of class and political forces in the international arena.

The monopolies not only intensify their offensive against the democratic forces in their own countries, but are also prepared to search once more for a way out of the internal contradictions by increasing international tension and launching military-political gambles. The imperialists are using every pretext to intensify war hysteria and step up the arms race.

But lately they have been finding it increasingly difficult to fan militaristic passions. There is mounting opposition in the Western countries to their policy which sharply contradicts the vital interests of the peoples and the whole of mankind. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to overlook the dangerous activity of the forces that are pushing mankind onto the road of reaction and war, and to relax vigilance.

The world political climate is still being poisoned by the imperialist intervention in South Vietnam and the neighbouring countries. Mankind's conscience cannot rest at ease while the US aggression in Vietnam continues and the blood of the Vietnamese people is being shed. The Soviet Union will continue to work for the complete withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam, it will support and assist the Vietnamese people, consistently act in their interests, and demand that

they be enabled to decide their own destiny themselves.

A dangerous tension persists in the Middle East too because Israel and the imperialist forces behind it are still refusing to comply with the UN decisions. Our state is consistently coming out in support of the Arab peoples who have fallen victim to Israeli aggression, and is demanding the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, the peaceful settlement of the conflict on the basis of the UN Security Council decision of November 22, 1967, and the satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs. The Soviet people resolutely condemn the provocations of the Israeli militarists and express their solidarity with the just fight of the Arab peoples for national and social emancipation and against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

West German revanchism and neo-nazism continue to be a source of grave danger to international security. On the eve of 1969, when the Atlantic Pact is due to expire, the imperialists are making feverish attempts to breathe new life into this instrument of aggression against the socialist countries. Bonn militarists are more and more overtly and persistently laying claims to the role of the second leader of this aggressive organisation and are assuming most bellicose and extremist positions.

They are stubbornly pursuing the line which emerged in the first years of the Federal Republic of Germany, the line of bringing up the country's population in the spirit of irreconcilable opposition to the changes that had taken place in Europe as a result of the Second World War and post-war development. Time and again the FRG leaders resort to gambles, engineer provocations with regard to West Berlin, for example, in an effort to aggravate the situation and impede the establishment of peaceful cooperation between European states and the solution of key international problems. By resorting to these provocations, the West German revanchists want to sound our deter-

mination to defend the positions of socialism and peace in Europe.

The time has come for Bonn to discard its illusions and to realise that its adventuristic policy is fraught with grave consequences, above all for West Germany herself. The Soviet people have not forgotten what they had to sacrifice for the sake of victory over nazism, and they are filled with determination to safeguard peace on the continent, to prevent any attempt to revise the frontiers that had emerged after the Second World War, and to frustrate NATO aggressive actions and the creation of a detonator in the heart of Europe that would set off a nuclear war.

Thus, today many pressing international problems still remain to be solved, and in international development many knots remain to be untied.

But it is not Soviet foreign policy that is to blame. The responsibility rests with those Western functionaries who persist in regarding the continuation of the policy of aggression, military blocs and the arms race, as the apex of state wisdom.

The recently published Statement of the Soviet Government said in part: "The Soviet Union is prepared to develop relations of peaceful cooperation with all countries, big and small, which, on their part, would likewise strive towards this end. Every initiative which strengthens peace and protects the rights and interests of the peoples has always been supported and will be supported by the Soviet Government. But, as in the past, our country will resolutely rebuff the intrigues of the aggressors and encroachments on the gains of socialism, and safeguard the interests of our security and the security of our friends."

The Soviet people, who are engaged in peaceful creative labour, have a mighty and reliable defender—our glorious Armed Forces. The Soviet people can fully rely on them, for they are the true protector of the gains of the October Revolution.

Our Party is doing everything to strengthen fraternal solidarity with the Communist and Workers' Parties, to work together with them for the cohesion of

the communist movement on a principled, Marxist-Leninist foundation and to consolidate the unity of the great army of Communists of the world.

Recent developments have reaffirmed that imperialism is staking on splitting the forces of the anti-imperialist front and primarily on the weakening of the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

A shameful role in the split of the international communist movement is played by the Peking leaders. The group of Mao Tse-tung, which has discarded proletarian class positions for rabid anti-Sovietism, has trampled underfoot the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the relations between Parties, and is openly pursuing its great-power adventuristic line in the international communist movement.

In the aggravated international situation, it is particularly important that the Communist and Workers' Parties should jointly discuss all problems of the fight against imperialism and work out a common line in this struggle. It is this task that the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties is called upon to fulfil. Much has already been done in this respect. A thorough preparation for the international forum of Communists could help solve the important problem of the consolidation of all forces in the struggle against imperialism.

Comrades, the experience of this year has once again brought to the fore the importance of clear-cut ideological positions for our common struggle. In the epoch of confrontation of opposing social systems in the international arena, ideology becomes a very sharp weapon. Continuing the policy of armed provocations, gambles, and economic pressure, imperialism is at the same time concentrating on ideological subversive activity, on promoting a "psychological war" against world communism.

In its defence, bourgeois propaganda is more and more frequently resorting to the embellishment of capitalism and even to clothing it in the guise of socialism.

In their counter-attacks, the imperialist ideologists are now staking on the so-called erosion of socialism, on the gradual transformation of its social nature and structure.

The fight against such strategy and tactics of imperialism is the cause not only of the socialist countries and their Parties, it is the common task of the entire world communist movement. The matter in question is not merely the defence of what has already been won by socialism. We are encountering attempts on the part of world imperialism to change the course of those contingents of the proletariat which have yet to accomplish socialist revolution.

Among the new methods and forms of ideological subversive activity and of deceiving the peoples, methods of "soft penetration", in which the notorious theory of "convergence" is called upon to play an important role, are promoted to first place. The essence of this theory is to foist on the peoples the idea that the differences between socialism and capitalism are gradually washed away in the course of the historical process, and that things, supposedly, lead up to the creation of something "in-between".

There is no doubt as to the real goals pursued by the advocates of this theory. Preaching the mutual "rapprochement" of socialism and capitalism, and propagating the myth of their joining in some sort of a "single industrial society", the bourgeoisie is using refined methods of enforcing **its own** class line, a line aimed at perpetuating **its own** rule.

Precisely for this reason bourgeois propaganda is so zealously lauding to the skies and boosting all sorts of "models" of what it calls "improved", "liberal", "democratic" and "national" socialism.

Imperialism is avidly looking for allies. It is looking for them everywhere, trying to make use of revisionist, nationalist and adventurist elements in the ranks of the liberation and revolutionary movement itself. In this lies the increased danger of Right-wing and "Left-wing" deviations from Marxism-Leninism,

deviations which objectively are turning into instruments of imperialist policy.

The Right-wing revisionists want to replace the leading role of the working class in socialist society with bourgeois democracy and its "free play" of political forces, socialist principles of planned economy with "free manifestation of economic interests", and social property with the notorious "property of enterprises".

One need not be too perspicacious to see what rotten goods these people are offering under the guise of the latest theoretical "novelties". It is quite clear that the "latest" model of the so-called "market", "free" socialism, the model of non-class "pure democracy" has been simply borrowed from old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists, and if it does lead anywhere, it is only back to capitalism.

All the pseudo-socialist "models" that have appeared in abundance in recent years have one feature in common: all are spearheaded against the basic principles underlying the building of socialism. Small wonder that the imperialists laud this sort of "socialism" and are even prepared to guarantee it support.

The very fact that the "liberalisation" and "democratisation" of socialism is so zealously championed by the imperialists, by the very forces which seek to halt genuinely democratic movements with bullets, bombs and napalm, shows what a monstrous piece of deceit this fresh manoeuvre of the capitalists is, and calls on all honest people to be vigilant and give a resolute rebuff to the fresh sorties of the class enemy.

The extremely keen interest that the imperialists are showing in various kinds of theories of "national socialism" is not accidental either. Marxist-Leninists have never denied that in building socialism the national features of the different countries must be taken into account. But the world communist movement has time and again emphasised the decisive significance of the basic laws of socialist construction which are **common** to all countries.

Experience shows that the rejection of the general laws of the proletarian revolution and of the general principles of socialism, under the pretext of national features, would have inevitably led to a departure from Marxism-Leninism and from internationalism to opportunism.

A sacred duty of all Marxist-Leninists, of all contingents of the world communist movement, is to expose imperialist slander against socialism and to wage a consistent, irreconcilable struggle against the ideological subversive activity of the bourgeoisie, against opportunism of all shades.

In this joint struggle, our Party continues, as it has always done, to discharge its duty, and on this front of the class battles it has always been and will be on the offensive.

Comrades, the triumph of the world's first socialist revolution, the victory of the workers and peasants of Russia in 1917 set off a chain reaction of events, which, in the course of half a century, was destined to effect a radical transformation of the world. History has placed great responsibility on the successors of the October Revolution who have taken over the banner of Lenin.

This responsibility is determined by the dangers and possibilities which the present epoch brings to the peoples. Imperialism is still a powerful adversary threatening the peoples with great calamities, even the catastrophe of a thermonuclear world war. Enemies are seeking to capitalise on every miscalculation of the fighters for socialism and progress, on every crack in their ranks.

But the great, historic responsibility borne by Communists springs not only from this. Generations to come will judge our generation of soldiers of the Revolution also by the skill and efficiency with which we shall utilise the new possibilities that have now opened before the peoples. These possibilities, it must be said, are truly inexhaustible.

Never before have such huge masses of people

been united in the struggle against social and national oppression.

Never before have the ideals of peace, freedom of nations and social justice had such mighty champions as the socialist states, the world working-class and communist movement and other powerful present-day democratic movements.

Never before have people been so strong in the struggle against Nature, and never before have science, technology and the productive forces opened such real and immediate prospects of victory over famine, poverty, disease and other age-old scourges of mankind.

The responsibility to history, to present and future generations, is the weightiest that a political party can assume.

Exactly 51 years ago the Leninist Party assumed the responsibility for the destiny of the peoples of Russia. It was not cowed by difficulties, neither in October 1917 when the Bolsheviks assumed power, nor in the stern years of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. Led by this Party Soviet people are courageously and perseveringly bringing their ideals to life and building a new world. Today, Communists and our whole people are fully determined to achieve the complete triumph of the cause of Lenin, of the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Long live the great Soviet people, the builder of communism, the courageous fighter for freedom, peace and happiness of the working people!

May the unity and solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces grow stronger in the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, violence and war!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which bears on high the invincible banner of Lenin!

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На английском языке
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