

Volume 1



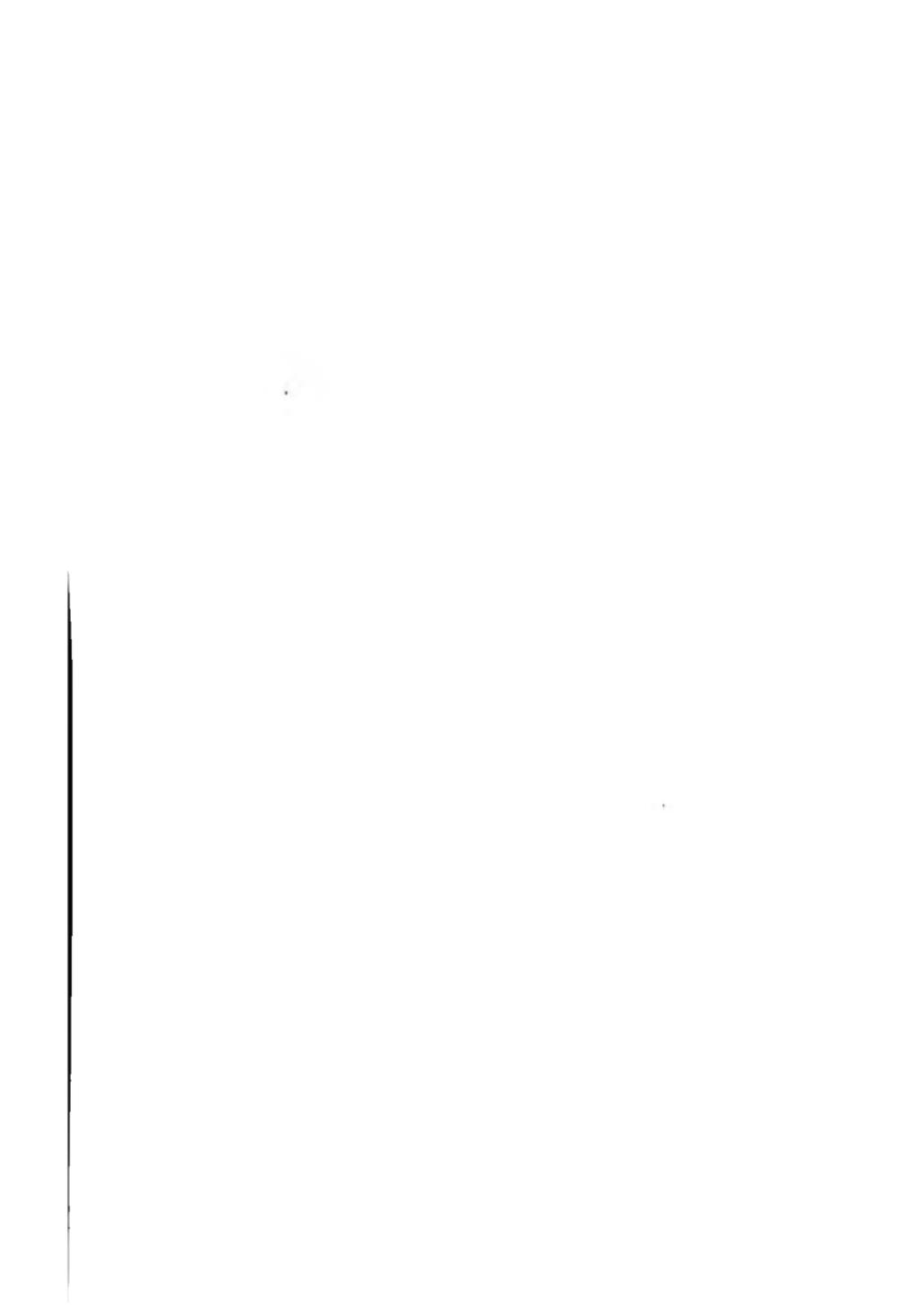
The

DOCUMENTS

of the

GREAT DEBATE

(Feb. 1956 - Jun. 1963)



Workers of all countries, Unite!

**THE
DOCUMENTS
OF THE
GREAT DEBATE**

(FEBRUARY 1956 – JUNE 1963)

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME-1



**ANTARASHTRIYA
PRAKASHAN**

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"...Ever since the birth of the working-class movement, the bourgeoisie has tried its utmost to corrupt the working-class ideologically in order to subordinate the movement to its own fundamental interests, weaken the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries and lead the people astray. For this purpose, bourgeois ideological trends assume different forms at different times, now taking a Rightist form and now a "Leftist" form. The history of the growth of Marxism-Leninism is one of struggle against bourgeois ideological trends, whether from the Right or the "Left". The duty of Marxist-Leninists is to act as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin did, not to run away from the challenge presented by any bourgeois ideological trend, but to smash attacks in the fields of theory, fundamental line and policy whenever they are made and to chart the correct road to victory for the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations in their struggles."

*– More on the Differences between
Comrade Togliatti and Us*

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Today, China has gone far ahead on the capitalist path. It has turned into a capitalist country and the Communist Party of China has become a bourgeois party. The former Soviet Union stands disintegrated.

Capital has taken an offensive against labour on an international scale. American imperialism is leading an imperialist collective which has unleashed a multi-pronged offensive on all fronts – economic, political, military and cultural – in the guise of globalization i.e. imperialist globalization.

The revolutionary situation, on the other hand, is ripening day by day and new struggles against imperialism and capitalism are arising and taking various forms in different parts of the world. Although subjective forces are still weak and disunited they are strengthening themselves and preparing for future battles. It is not very far in the distant future that revolutions are to burst forth.

After the second World War, the balance of class forces was in favour of proletarian and progressive forces the world over and imperialism, on the whole, was on the defensive. Fascist forces had been defeated under the glorious leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Stalin, in alliance with the peace-loving peoples and progressive forces of the world. During this epic struggle a large part of Central and Eastern Europe was liberated by the Red Army in collaboration with proletarian and anti-fascist forces of the respective countries. Communist China came into existence in 1949, further tilting the balance of forces against imperialism. In the Korean Peninsula forces led by American imperialism were routed though not vanquished by Korean people's forces and the People's Liberation Army of China. The United States had to suffer a humiliating defeat here, in 1971, puncturing the myth of the invincibility of American power. The Dollar was de-linked from gold and for the first time in history the United States was forced to resort to a mercenary army system.

The Documents of the Great Debate

In 1956, Khrushchov, in his infamous and viciously slanderous “secret speech”, denounced Stalin and the first cleavage in the International Communist Movement and the socialist camp appeared. Modern Revisionism raised its head in the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in 1956.

The congress put forth the class capitulationist theories of the “three peacefuls”, revising the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania opposed this and fought tooth and nail against it. Thus started the Great Debate in the International Communist Movement.

As Khrushchov’s revisionism spread its tentacles not only in the Soviet Union but throughout the communist parties of the world and even in China itself, it did immense harm to the cause of the proletarian revolution and national liberation struggles the world over. The Communist Party of China led by Mao Tse-tung fought a relentless battle against Khrushchov’s revisionism up to the last. During these struggles numerous documents were produced which are of rare importance to the International Communist Movement. The then leadership of the Communist Party of India suppressed these documents to keep its rank and file in the dark. Most of them were unaware of these documents before 1963. Thus incalculable damage was done to the Indian Communist Movement.

We are publishing these landmark documents beginning with the documents of the 20th Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union which include the infamous “secret speech” of Khrushchov of February 25, 1956. This collection includes all the important documents of the polemic, published after this date till the appearance of “The proposals concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement”, on June 14, 1963. The “General Line” and the “nine comments” elaborating the proposition of the General Line are not included in these volumes as they have been separately published by ‘Sarvahara Prakashan’, in English, in the year 1987 and by ‘Antararashtriya Prakashan’ in Hindi in the year 1997.

The documents compiled in three volumes, have been arranged in chronological order and broadly belong to four categories:

- i) The CPSU documents including reports, resolutions and speeches of the 20th congress and few other articles of a latter

The Documents of the Great Debate

date which underline the further consolidation of revisionism in the CPSU.

- ii) Documents and articles of the CPC that criticise modern revisionism starting from the 20th congress of the CPSU.
- iii) Declarations adopted by the meetings of various communist and workers' parties of the world and
- iv) A document of the Party of Labour of Albania repudiating Khrushchov's revisionism.

We request our readers to point out our mistakes so that they can be rectified. Also if our readers inform us about or send copies of, documents, they think should have been a part of this collection, we will include them in our future edition.

ANTARARASHTRIYA PRAKASHAN

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REPORT

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the
Soviet Union to the Twentieth Party Congress**

Delivered by

N.S. KHRUSHCHOV

First Secretary of the CC of CPSU

Comrades! The period separating us from the Nineteenth Party Congress is not a very long one – only three years and four months. But the amount of work the Party has done and the significance of the events that have taken place during this time both at home and abroad make it one of the important periods in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its efforts to increase the strength of our country, build a Communist society and ensure world peace.

In home policy they were years during which the Party, guided by the interests of the whole people, made a critical appraisal of the situation in agriculture and industry and, on the basis of the successes already achieved, adopted a number of important measures designed to ensure a great new advance in the country's socialist development. In so doing it boldly uncovered shortcomings in different fields of economic, governmental and Party activity, broke down outdated conceptions, resolutely sweeping aside everything that had become outmoded and was hindering our advance.

It is now clear to all that the measures adopted by the Party were correct and timely. They ensure steady development of the socialist economy and a further improvement in the Soviet people's material and cultural standards.

Source : Khrushchov, N.S., *Report*, The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Twentieth Party Congress, Communist Party of India Publication, 1956.

There have also been important developments in world affairs during the period under review. Thanks to the consistent peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries the state of international tension, which was fraught with great danger, has been replaced by a certain *détente*. It was because the Soviet Union and its friends – the People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies – promptly undertook a number of successive diplomatic steps supported by all peace - loving forces that real prospects for improvement opened up in the international arena.

All this shows that our Party takes due account of the urgent needs of both home and foreign policy and prepares prompt measures appropriate to these needs. This clearly indicates our Party's close and unbreakable ties with the people, the wisdom of its Leninist collective leadership, and the all-conquering power of the Marxist-Leninist teaching upon which it bases its activity. Throughout these years the Party has held high the great banner of the immortal Lenin. Fidelity to Leninism is the source of all the successes of our Party.

Let us now examine our country's international position and its internal situation during the period under review.

I

INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

The emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and its transformation into a world system is the main feature of our era. Capitalism has proved powerless to prevent this process of worldwide historic significance. The simultaneous existence of two opposite world economic systems, the capitalist and the socialist, developing according to different laws and in opposite directions, has become an indisputable fact.

Socialist economy is developing towards the everincreasing satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of all members of society, the continuous expansion and improvement of production on the basis of advanced technology, and closer cooperation and mutual assistance between the socialist countries.

The trend of capitalist economy is that of the everincreasing enrichment of the monopolies, the further intensification of exploitation

and cuts in the living standards of millions of working people, particularly in the colonial and dependent countries, of increased militarisation of the economy, the exacerbation of the competitive struggle among the capitalist countries and the maturing of new economic crises and upheavals.

1. THE STEADY ECONOMIC ADVANCE IN THE USSR AND THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

THE period under review was marked by a great expansion in the national economy of the USSR and also in those of the People's Republic of China, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The rates at which industrial output has increased in the Soviet Union and in capitalist countries from 1929 to 1955 can be seen from the following table:

VOLUME OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN USSR AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

[1929=100]

	1929	1937	1943	1946	1949	1950	1952	1955
USSR	100	429	573	466	870	1082	1421	2049
All capitalist Countries	100	104	—	107	130	148	164	193
Of which:								
United States	100	103	215	153	164	190	210	234
Great Britain	100	124	No	118	144	153	153	181
France	100	82	data	63	92	92	108	125
Italy	100	99	pub-	72	108	124	148	194
Western			lished					
Germany	100	114		35	93	117	150	213
Japan	100	169	231*	51	101	115	173	239

*Data for 1944

These statistics show that in a quarter of a century or to be more exact in twenty-six years the Soviet Union increased its industrial output more than twenty-fold despite the tremendous damage done to its national economy by the war. Meanwhile the United States which enjoyed exceptionally favourable conditions was only able to slightly more than double its production, while industry in the capitalist world as a whole failed to register even that growth.

The People's democracies have also considerably surpassed the capitalist countries in rate of growth of industrial production. Last year the prewar level of industrial output was exceeded in Poland more than four times, in Bulgaria more than five times, in Czechoslovakia more than twice, in Hungary three-and-a-half times, in Rumania almost three times, in Albania more than eleven times, and in the German Democratic Republic more than twice.

The People's Republic of China which began to build socialism later than the others has made outstanding progress: its industrial output has more than doubled the prewar maximum and more than quadrupled the 1949 figure.

Much has also been achieved in the building of socialism in Yugoslavia. In 1955 its industrial output was 180 per cent greater than the prewar figure.

Socialism's industrial base is gaining increasing strength. The socialist countries' share in the world's industrial production is steadily increasing. This fact is a material expression of a progressive historical process: the contraction of the sphere of capitalist exploitation and capitalism's world positions and the expansion of socialism's world positions.

High rates of development of industrial production are a guarantee of new successes for socialism in its economic competition with capitalism. The USSR now holds second place in total volume of industrial output. In the production of pig iron, steel, aluminum, copper, machinery, electricity, cement and coal the Soviet Union long ago outstripped France, Western Germany and Britain and is steadily catching up with the United States.

The distinctive feature of the Soviet economy and of that of all the socialist countries is their all-round development and general peaceful trend. The countries of socialism are giving unremitting

attention to the development above all of heavy industry which is the foundation for the continuous expansion of social production as a whole. At the same time they are giving great attention to the growth of agriculture and the light industries. The people's living conditions are steadily improving; culture is flowering.

Still more impressive are the prospects opening up before our peoples. The time is not far distant when in the USSR atomic energy and other achievements of modern science and technology will be placed at the service of man on a large scale, when mineral wealth will be utilised still more fully, when mighty rivers will be tamed and vast new tracts of land developed, which will ensure an abundance of foodstuffs and other consumer goods. We are confident that within a short time, historically speaking, great China will become an industrial country and its agricultural production will, on the basis of cooperatives, reach a high level. All the People's Democracies will make considerable progress along the path of socialism.

The socialist countries' development is distinguished by their complete independence, both political and economic. At the same time, the further strengthening of the economic ties and the extension of cooperation between them is a highly important result of the period under review. The socialist countries have established commercial relations based on equality and mutual advantage. They are exchanging technical experience giving all-round mutual assistance and efficiently coordinating their national economic plans.

Close economic cooperation gives exceptional opportunities for the best possible utilisation of productive and raw material resources and successfully combines the interests of each country with those of the socialist camp as a whole. The development of specialisation and cooperation is of great importance here. Today it is no longer necessary for each socialist country to develop all branches of heavy industry as had to be done by the Soviet Union which for a long time was the only socialist country and existed in a capitalist encirclement.

Now, when there is a powerful community of socialist countries whose defence potential and security is based on the industrial might of the entire socialist camp, each European People's Democracy can specialise in developing those industries and producing those goods for which it has the most favourable natural and economic conditions. This

at the same time creates the necessary pre-requisites for releasing considerable resources to develop agriculture and the light industries and on this basis to satisfy more and more fully the material and cultural requirements of the peoples.

In strengthening their fraternal cooperation the socialist countries are giving each other disinterested aid in economic development. The relations among the countries of socialism differ fundamentally from those in the capitalist world. Under treaties which it has concluded the Soviet Union is now helping the People's Democracies to build 391 enterprises and more than ninety separate workshops and installations. We have granted the People's Democracies long-term credits totalling twenty-one thousand million roubles on the most favourable terms. The Soviet Union is also helping friendly countries to organise the production and peaceful use of atomic energy.

We note China's achievements in socialist industrialisation with great satisfaction. Never before in history has a highly industrialised country voluntarily helped other countries to become industrialised. On the contrary the small group of highly developed countries which emerged in the capitalist world have always hindered the industrialisation of other countries particularly colonies and semi-colonies. That is why the bulk of the countries in Asia, South America and Africa have no large scale industry of their own.

The Soviet Union to which such purposes are alien is doing everything to help the fraternal people of China establish a powerful industry of their own. Our country is helping the People's Republic of China to build within one five-year period alone 156 enterprises and twenty-one separate workshops supplying industrial plant to a total value of about five thousand six hundred million roubles.

In exchange for these deliveries the Soviet Union is receiving products from China and other People's Democracies in which it is interested, the materials and consumer goods customarily exported by these countries.

We shall continue to give one another all-round assistance in economic, technological, scientific and cultural development. We regard this as our fraternal duty to the camp of socialism. The stronger the entire socialist camp the more reliable will be the guarantee of freedom, independence and economic and cultural progress of each

of the countries making up this great camp.

The socialist system is marching forward triumphantly without crises or upheavals. It is bringing great benefits to the peoples of the socialist countries demonstrating its decisive advantages over the capitalist system.

2. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND THE FURTHER AGGRAVATION OF THE CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM

From the table quoted it is clear that in 1955 industrial output in the capitalist world as a whole was ninety-three per cent greater than in 1929.

Does this mean that capitalism has succeeded in overcoming its internal contradictions and acquiring stability? No, it does not. The capitalist world economy is developing extremely unevenly and has become still more unstable.

In the postwar decade old capitalist countries such as Britain and France increased their industrial output but this growth is proceeding slowly and contradictorily. Of the defeated countries Western Germany and Italy regained their prewar level of production only in 1949-50, while Japan's industrial output is approximately on the 1944 level.

Since the war, the United States, the chief capitalist country has experienced three substantial cutbacks in production; a serious economic crisis began in 1948 but was subsequently stopped by an intensified arms drive arising from the war in Korea.

Instability in industrial production is supplemented by financial instability in most capitalist countries by the issuing of an immense amount of paper money and the depreciation of currency.

To this should be added the agrarian crisis in a number of countries and also the stagnation in world trade that has been observed in recent years on the capitalist market.

The general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen. Capitalism's insoluble contradiction – the contradiction between the modern productive forces and capitalist relations of production – has become still more acute. The rapid development of present-day technology does not remove this contradiction but only emphasises it.

It should be said that the idea that the general crisis of capitalism means complete stagnation, a halt in production and technical progress has always been alien to Marxist-Leninists. Lenin pointed out that capitalism's general degenerative trend did not exclude technical progress or an upswing in production in one period or another.

"It would be a mistake to believe", he wrote, "that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray to a greater or lesser degree now one and now another of the tendencies". [*Works*, Vol. 22, p. 286.]

Therefore we must study the capitalist economy attentively and not take a simplified view of Lenin's theses on the decay of imperialism but study the best that the capitalist countries' science and technology have to offer in order to use the achievements of world technological progress in the interests of socialism.

It cannot be said that the growth of production in capitalist countries during the period under review took place on a sound economic foundation. It was due to the operation of the following basic factors:

First, the militarisation of the economy and the arms drive. By no means all industries have been affected by the upswing. The consumer goods industry is lagging seriously while some of its branches are stagnating. Only the industries connected in some way with the manufacture of armaments are expanding.

In five years, from 1950 to 1954, government expenditure on arms orders increased three hundred per cent in the United States, more than three hundred per cent in Britain, and two hundred per cent in France. It is clear that the unusually high level of arms manufacture influenced the general level of industrial output in these countries.

Second, greater economic expansion on the world arena by the main capitalist countries contributed to the growth in production. A favourable situation was temporarily created on the capitalist world market for the United States and in part for Britain and France. Germany, Japan and Italy fell out of the group of competing countries for several years. The postwar ruin in the West European countries created an acute demand for food and other staple commodities. The United States took the maximum advantage of this, setting the Marshall Plan and other machinery in motion.

Third, a big part was played by the renewal of fixed capital. Owing to the crises and depressions of the 'thirties and then to the war the basic industrial plant in the European capitalist countries was not renewed in effect for fifteen-twenty years. Modernisation of the capital equipment which had seriously depreciated and been damaged during the war really began only during 1951-54. This made it possible to increase considerably the manufacture of capital equipment.

Fourth and last, the capitalist countries were able to increase their industrial output by sharply intensifying the exploitation of the working class and reducing the living standard of the working people. In the past four years the average annual output per industrial worker in the main capitalist countries increased from ten to twenty-five per cent. But in a number of capitalist countries real wages are lower than before the war owing to a great increase in prices, rent and other items of expenditure.

The heavy arms burden thrust upon the shoulders of the working people should also be taken into account here. In the United States per capita arms expenditure was three-and-a-half dollars in the 1913-14 fiscal year, seven dollars in 1929-30 and 250 dollars in 1954-55, a more than seventy-fold increase. In Britain per capita arms expenditure increased from one pound fourteen shillings in 1913-14 to two pounds ten shillings in 1929-30 and twenty-nine pounds six shillings in 1954-55. This tremendous expenditure is being covered by steadily mounting direct and indirect taxes.

Unemployment is exerting a strong pressure on the position of the working people. In 1955, in a period which bourgeois economists hailed as one of "steady boom", official statistics gave the number of totally unemployed in the United States to be about three million and the number of part-time as more than nine million. There were about a million totally unemployed in the German Federal Republic last year according to official figures.

In Italy, where unemployment became particularly widespread and chronic after the war, there were in 1955 two million totally unemployed and a similar number of part time. In 1954 Japan had, according to official statistics, six hundred thousand totally unemployed and nearly nine million working part time.

These are the factors which played a special part in the postwar

increase in capitalist production. Today the capitalist world is approaching the point at which the stimulating action of many of the temporary factors is becoming exhausted. Some, for example, the large scale renewal of fixed capital and the favourable situation in foreign markets, operated only during the period directly following the severe and prolonged war. Others are in general capable of bringing about only a temporary increase in production. The operation of internal forces of the capitalist economy, on the basis of which it succeeded in raising production in the past, is becoming weaker and weaker. In order to advance production today, capitalism has increasing need of artificial stimulants.

Based on the present conjuncture, talk about "prosperity" has again begun in some Western circles. They are attempting to prove that the Marxist theory of crises has "become outdated". Bourgeois economists are silent about the fact that only a temporary coincidence of circumstances favourable to capitalism prevented the crisis phenomena developing into a deep economic crisis. Even today, when favourable factors are active, underlying crisis symptoms are evident. Production capacities are by no means being used to the full. In the United States commodity stocks and also consumer credit have reached dangerous proportions.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that huge quantities of farm produce which cannot find a market have accumulated in a number of capitalist countries. Governments, particularly that of the United States, are trying to cut crop areas and reduce harvests by every means.

This is at a time when millions of people in vast areas of South-East Asia and Africa are starving and when in the metropolitan countries too a large section of the population is seriously undernourished. Increasing production, relative technological progress and intensification of labour coupled with a home market which, far from expanding, is becoming relatively narrower, inevitably give rise to new economic crises and upheavals in the capitalist countries.

The capitalists and the learned defenders of their interests are circulating a "theory" that the uninterrupted expansion of arms manufacture brings salvation from economic crisis. The representatives of Marxist-Leninist science have more than once pointed out that this is a hollow illusion. The arms drive does not cure the disease but drives

it deeper. And the more extensive is the militarisation of the economy the graver will be its consequences for capitalism.

The representatives of the capitalist groups repose special hopes in government regulation of the economy. Monopoly capital is establishing direct control over government agencies, sending its representatives to work in them and making the government "regulate" the country's economy in the interests of the monopolies. The government agencies try to sustain business activity, placing orders worth billions of dollars with the corporations, giving them special privileges and subsidies, controlling wages and the prices of many commodities, buying up surpluses and financing exports.

However the State's intervention in economic activity does not eliminate the fundamental defects of the capitalist system. The State is powerless to do away with the objective laws of capitalist economy which lead to anarchy of production and economic crises. Crises are inherent in the very nature of capitalism, they are inevitable.

The perspectives of capitalist economy are in many ways determined by the situation in the capitalist world market. Here substantial changes have taken place during recent years. The United States of America is losing the monopoly position it held during the first postwar years.

As a result of competition from other countries, the United States' share in world exports, after reaching a peak in 1947 (32.5 per cent), later dropped sharply (to nineteen per cent). In 1947-48 United States accounted for nearly three-fifths of the industrial output of the capitalist world but today it accounts for only half. The United States has passed the peak of its postwar economic opportunities; no new markets are in sight. There is therefore no prospect of a further substantial increase in production.

The situation in the capitalist world market has become especially aggravated since the reappearance in it of Western Germany and Japan. They, like Britain and France, have practically regained their prewar positions in the world market. Today a further increase in each country's exports is possible only as a result of fierce struggle against competitors. Britain does not like the growing activity of Western Germany and Japan and Western Germany and Japan are dissatisfied because Britain keeps them out of its markets.

All have more than sufficient reason to be dissatisfied with the United States which has disorganised the world market by carrying on unilateral trade, fencing off its market from foreign imports, prohibiting trade with the East, dumping agricultural produce and resorting to other measures which seriously affect other countries. The economic struggle between the capitalist countries is gaining momentum all the time.

As before the main conflict is that between the United States and Great Britain. Anglo-American antagonism embraces a wide range of questions.

Under the "Atlantic cooperation" slogan the Trans-Atlantic competitors are grabbing the principal strategic and economic positions of the British empire, they are working to obtain a footing on the imperial lines of communication, smother the system of preferential tariffs and get control of the sterling area. It is not surprising therefore that in Britain and in France too there is a growing desire to put an end to the situation in which "Atlantic cooperation" is of advantage only to one partner.

The revival of Western Germany's economic power is especially aggravating the situation in the world market. The experience of two world wars shows that in their struggle for markets the German monopolies will stop at nothing. As a result the situation in Western Europe is also becoming acute, for the emergence of a rapidly developing German competitor bodes no good for France or Britain especially if in addition it is being pushed further along the path of militarisation. Within Western Germany too the situation is becoming acute since the resurgence of the might of the trusts and monopolies enhances the danger of a revival of the forces which once brought fascism to power.

The problem of markets is becoming all the more acute because the frontiers of the capitalist world market are increasingly contracting as a result of the formation of the new and growing socialist world market. Besides, the underdeveloped countries, on casting off the colonial yoke, begin the development of their own industry which inevitably leads to a further narrowing of markets for industrial products. All this means that the struggle for markets and spheres of influence will become still sharper within the imperialist camp.

The steady sharpening of social contradictions is also a feature of the present situation in the capitalist countries.

Despite the fact that the capitalist governments have resorted to particularly harsh anti-labour legislation, to government "regulation" of labour conflicts and to restriction of the rights of trade unions, the strike struggle has assumed much wider proportions during the postwar years than it did before the war. Official figures – of course understated – for eleven countries (the United States, Britain, France, Western Germany, Japan, Canada, Australia, Sweden, Belgium, Holland and Argentina) show that comparing the ten prewar years (1930-39) with the ten postwar years (1945-54), we find that the number of strikes rose from 67,000 to 101,000, the number of strikers from twenty-one million to seventy-three million and the number of mandays lost as a result of strikes from 240 million to 672 million.

As you can see there were fifty per cent more strikes in the ten postwar years than during the same period before the war and the number of strikers and mandays lost increased several-fold. This means that the struggle of the working class against capitalist oppression is all the time becoming more vigorous and stubborn. The strike movement has assumed particularly mass and sharp character in France, Italy, the United States and Britain and also in recent years in Western Germany.

A characteristic feature of the postwar period is the increasingly resolute actions by the working class on fundamental political questions. Many large trade unions regardless of their political complexion are with increasing vigour calling for the lessening of international tension and end to the arms race.

Important successes have been won by the French and Italian working class, the French Communist Party and the Communists and Socialists of Italy in parliamentary elections. These successes show that the working class parties have won the love and trust of wide sections of the population in their countries.

What conclusions should be drawn from an analysis of the situation in the capitalist countries?

The situation in the capitalist world is marked by the intensification of profound contradictions. The contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist appropriation, between the expansion of production and the diminishing effective demand, which leads to economic crises, is becoming greater. The contradictions between the capitalist States are growing and their

struggle for markets and spheres of influence is becoming increasingly acute.

Social contradictions are deepening and the struggle of the working class and the broad masses for their vital rights and interests is becoming more vigorous. Thus capitalism is steadily moving towards new economic and social upheavals.

3. THE IMPERIALIST POLICY OF LINING UP AGGRESSIVE BLOCS AND FANNING THE "COLD WAR". THE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLES FOR RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

Comrades, between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union very important changes have taken place in international relations.

Soon after the Second World War ended, the influence of reactionary and militarist groups began to be increasingly evident in the policy of the United States of America, Britain and France. Their desire to enforce their will on other countries by economic and political pressure, threats and military provocation became dominant. This became known as the "positions of strength" policy.

It reflects the aspiration of the most aggressive sections of present-day imperialism to win world supremacy, to suppress the working class and the democratic and national liberation movements and their plans for military adventures against the socialist camp.

The international atmosphere was poisoned by war psychosis. The arms race began to assume more and more monstrous dimensions. Many big US military bases aimed against the USSR and the People's Democracies were built in countries thousands of miles from the borders of the United States. So-called "cold war" was begun against the socialist camp. International distrust was artificially kindled and nations were set against one another. A bloody war was launched in Korea; the war in Indo-China dragged on for years.

The inspirers of the "cold war" began to establish military blocs and many countries found themselves, against the will of their peoples, involved in restricted aggressive alignments – the North Atlantic bloc, Western European Union, SEATO (military bloc for South-East Asia) and the Baghdad Pact.

The organisers of military blocs allege that they have united for defence, for protection against the "Communist threat". But that is sheer hypocrisy. We know from history that when planning a redivision of the world the imperialist Powers have always lined up military blocs. Today the "anti-Communism" slogan is again being used as a smokescreen to cover up the claims of one Power for world domination.

The new thing here is that the United States wants, by means of all kinds of blocs and pacts, to secure the dominating position in the capitalist world for itself and to reduce all its partners in the blocs to the status of obedient executors of its will.

The inspirers of the "positions of strength" policy assert that this policy makes another war impossible because it ensures a "balance of power" in the world arena. This view enjoys wide circulation among Western statesmen and it is therefore all the more important to thoroughly expose its real meaning.

Can peace be promoted by an arms race? It would seem that the very presentation of the question is absurd. Yet the adherents of the "positions of strength" policy offer the arms race as their main recipe for the preservation of peace! It is perfectly obvious that when nations compete to increase their military might, the danger of war becomes greater not less.

The arms race, the "positions of strength" policy, the lining up of aggressive blocs and the "cold war" – all this could not but aggravate the international situation and indeed it has done so. This has been one trend of world events during the period under review.

But other processes have also taken place in the international arena during these years, processes showing that in the world today by no means everything is under the thumb of the monopolist circles.

The steady consolidation of the forces of socialism, democracy and peace and of the forces of the national liberation movement is of decisive significance. The international position of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries has been further strengthened during this period and their prestige and international ties have grown immeasurably. The international camp of socialism is exerting evergrowing influence on the course of international events.

The forces of peace have been considerably augmented by the

emergence in the world arena of a group of peace-loving European and Asian States which have proclaimed non-participation in blocs as the principle of their foreign policy. The leading political circles of these States rightly hold that to participate in restricted military imperialist alignments would merely increase the danger of their countries being involved in military gambles by the aggressive forces and draw them into the maelstrom of the arms drive.

As a result a vast zone of peace including peace-loving States, both socialist and non-socialist, of Europe and Asia, has emerged in the world. This zone embraces vast areas inhabited by nearly fifteen hundred million people, that is, the majority of the population of our planet.

The vigorous efforts for peace of the broadest masses have greatly influenced international events. For the scale and organisation of the struggle against the war danger waged by the masses, the present period has no comparison in history.

The Communist Parties have proved to be the most active and consistent fighters against the war danger and reaction. Throughout these years, as before, they have been in the very thick of the struggle to preserve peace, to uphold the vital interests of the working people and the national independence of their countries. The Communists in the capitalist countries have endured many hardships and adversities in recent years. But the Communist Parties have withstood these trials with credit.

At the same time many other sections of society are also opposing war. The effectiveness of their activity would naturally be greater should the various forces upholding peace overcome a certain disunity. Unity of the working class, of its trade unions, the unity of action of its political parties, the Communists, socialists and other workers' parties, is acquiring exceptionally great importance.

Not a few of the misfortunes harassing the world today are due to the fact that in many countries the working class has been split for many years and its different groups do not present a united front which only plays into the hands of the reactionary forces. Yet today in our opinion the prospect of changing this situation is opening up.

Life has put on the agenda many questions which not only demand rapprochement and cooperation between all workers' parties but also create real possibilities for this cooperation. The most important of these

problems is that of preventing a new war. If the working class comes out as a united organised force and acts with firm resolution there will be no war.

All this places a historic responsibility upon all leaders of the labour movement. The interests of the struggle for peace make it imperative to find points of contact and on these grounds to lay the foundations for cooperation, sweeping aside mutual recriminations. Here cooperation with those circles of the socialist movement who have views on the forms of transition to socialism differing from ours is also possible and essential.

Among them are not a few people who are honestly mistaken on this question but this is no obstacle to cooperation. Today many social democrats stand for active struggle against the war danger and militarism, for closer relations with the socialist countries, for unity of the labour movement. We sincerely greet these social democrats and are willing to do everything necessary to unite our efforts in the struggle for the noble cause of peace and the interests of the working people.

All international developments in recent years show that big popular forces have risen to fight for the preservation of peace. The ruling imperialist circles cannot but reckon with this factor. Their more far-sighted representatives are beginning to admit that the "positions of strength" policy could not put pressure on the countries against which it was directed and that it has failed.

At the same time this policy weighs heavily on the masses in the capitalist world and has increased the dissatisfaction. The overwhelming majority of mankind rejects the "positions of strength" policy as a policy of gambles directed against the people and enhancing the war danger.

Under the impact of these incontestable facts symptoms of a certain sobering up are appearing among influential Western circles. More and more people among these circles are realising what a dangerous gamble war against the socialist countries may prove for the destinies of capitalism.

Undoubtedly the working class and the labouring masses of the capitalist countries, should their rulers dare to precipitate such a war, would draw decisive conclusions regarding the system which periodically plunges the nations into the bloodbath of war. Nor is it fortuitous that prominent leaders of bourgeois countries with increasing

frequency frankly admit that "there will be no victor" in a war in which atomic weapons are used. These leaders still do not venture to state that capitalism will find its grave in another world war, should it unleash it, but they are already compelled openly to admit that the socialist camp is invincible!

The position of the imperialist forces is growing weaker not only because their aggressive policy is rejected by the peoples of their countries but also because in the last ten years imperialism has sustained defeat in the East where the centuries-old pillars of colonialism are crumbling and the peoples themselves are with increasing boldness beginning to decide their own destinies.

4. DISINTEGRATION OF THE IMPERIALIST COLONIAL SYSTEM

The October Socialist Revolution struck a most powerful blow at the imperialist colonial system. Under the influence of the Great October Revolution the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples developed with particular force, it continued throughout the subsequent years and has led to a deep-going crisis of the entire imperialist colonial system.

The defeat of fascist Germany and imperialist Japan during the Second World War was an important factor stimulating the liberation struggle in the colonies and dependent countries. The democratic forces' victory over fascism instilled faith in the possibility of liberation in the hearts of the oppressed peoples.

The victorious revolution in China struck the next staggering blow at the colonial system; it marked a very grave defeat for imperialism.

India, the country with the world's second biggest population, has won State independence. Independence has been gained by Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, the Sudan and a number of other former colonial countries. More than twelve hundred million people or nearly half of the world's population have been freed from colonial or semi-colonial dependence during the last ten years.

The disintegration of the imperialist colonial system now taking place is a postwar development of world historic significance. Peoples who for centuries were kept away by the colonialists from the high

road of progress followed by human society are now going through a great process of regeneration.

People's China and the independent Indian Republic have joined the ranks of the great Powers. We are the witnesses of a political and economic upsurge of the peoples of South-East Asia and the Arab East. The awakening of the peoples of Africa has begun. The national liberation movement has gained in strength in Brazil, Chile and other Latin-American countries. The outcome of the wars in Korea, Indo-China and Indonesia has demonstrated that the imperialists are unable, even with the help of armed intervention, to crush the peoples who are resolutely fighting for a life of freedom and independence. The complete abolition of the infamous system of colonialism has now been put on the agenda as one of the most acute and pressing problems.

The new period in world history which Lenin predicted has arrived and the peoples of the East are playing an active part in deciding the destinies of the whole world, are becoming a new mighty factor in international relations. In contrast to the prewar period most Asian countries now act in the world arena as sovereign States or States which are resolutely upholding their right to an independent foreign policy. International relations have spread beyond the bounds of relations between the countries inhabited chiefly by peoples of the white race and are beginning to acquire the character of genuinely worldwide relations.

The winning of political freedom by the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies is the first and most important pre-requisite of their full independence, that is, of the achievement of economic independence. The liberated Asian countries are pursuing a policy of building up their own industry, training their own technicians, raising the living standards of the people and regenerating and developing their age-old national culture. Historic prospects for a better future are opening up before the countries which have embarked upon the path of independent development.

These countries, although they do not belong to the socialist world system, can draw on its achievements to build up an independent national economy and to raise the living standards of their peoples. Today they need not go begging for up-to-date equipment to their former oppressors. They can get it from the

socialist countries, free of any political or military obligations.

The very fact that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp exist, their readiness to help the under-developed countries with their industrial development on terms of equality and mutual benefit are a major stumbling block to colonial policy. The imperialists can no longer regard the under-developed countries solely as potential sources for the extraction of maximum profits. They are compelled to make concessions to them.

Not all the countries, however, have discarded the colonial yoke. A big part of the African continent, some countries of Asia, Central and South America continue to remain in colonial or semi-colonial dependence. They are still kept as agrarian raw material appendages of the imperialist countries. The living standards of the population in the dependent countries remains exceedingly low.

The contradictions and rivalry between the colonial Powers for spheres of influence, sources of raw materials and markets for the sale of goods are growing. The United States is out to grab the colonial possessions of the European Powers. South Vietnam is passing from France to the United States. The American monopolies are waging an offensive against the French, Belgian and Portuguese possessions in Africa. Once Iran's oil riches were fully controlled by the British but now they have been compelled to share them with the Americans; moreover the American monopolists are fighting to oust the British entirely. American influence in Pakistan and Iraq is increasing under the guise of "free enterprise".

The American monopolies utilising their dominating position in the Central and South American countries have moulded the economies of many of them in a distorted one-sided way, extremely disadvantageous for the population. They are hampering their industrial development and shackling them with the heavy chains of economic dependence.

To preserve and in some places also to re-establish their former domination the colonial Powers are resorting to the suppression of the colonial peoples by the force of arms, a method which has been condemned by history. They also have recourse to new forms of colonial enslavement under the guise of so-called "aid" to under-developed countries, which brings colossal gains to the colonialists.

Let us take the United States as an example. The United States

renders such "aid" above all in the form of deliveries of American weapons to the under-developed countries. This enables the American monopolies to load up their industry with arms orders. Then the products of the arms industry, worth billions of dollars and paid for from the budget by the American taxpayers, are sent to the under-developed countries.

States receiving such "aid" in the form of weapons inevitably fall into dependence; they increase their armies, which leads to higher taxes and a decline in the living standards of the population of the under-developed countries.

The monopolists are interested in continuing the "positions of strength" policy; the ending of the "cold war" is to their disadvantage. Why? Because the fanning of war hysteria is used to justify imperialist expansion, to intimidate the masses and stultify their minds in order to justify the higher taxes which then go to pay for war orders and flow into the safes of the millionaires. Thus the "cold war" is a means for maintaining the war industry at a high level and for extracting colossal profits.

Naturally "aid" to under-developed countries is granted on definite political terms, terms providing for their integration into aggressive military blocs, the conclusion of joint military pacts and support for American foreign policy aimed at world domination or "world leadership" as the American imperialists themselves call it.

SEATO and the Baghdad Pact are not only aggressive military and political alignments but also instruments of enslavement, a new form of exploitation, colonial in nature, of the under-developed countries. It is obvious that SEATO policy is determined neither by Pakistan nor Thailand nor that of the Baghdad Pact by Iraq, Iran or Turkey.

The establishment of such blocs and the pitting of some countries against others is also one of the means used to divide the economically under-developed countries and to continue the long-standing colonialists' policy of "divide and rule". They try to use the Baghdad Pact as a wedge to split the unity of the countries of the Arab East. With the help of SEATO they seek to divide the countries of South-East Asia.

The struggle of the peoples of the Eastern countries against participation in blocs is a struggle for national independence. It is not

fortuitous that the overwhelming majority of countries in South-East Asia and the Middle East have rejected the importunate attempts of the Western Powers to inveigle them into closed military alignments.

Despite all the efforts to set the peoples of the under-developed countries at loggerheads with each other and with the peoples of the socialist camp their friendship and cooperation is growing ever stronger. The Bandung Conference of twenty-nine Asian and African countries has strikingly demonstrated the growing solidarity of the Eastern peoples. Its decisions reflected the will of hundreds of millions of people in the East. It struck a powerful blow at the plans of the colonialists and aggressors.

The friendship and cooperation between the Eastern peoples who have thrown off the colonial yoke and the peoples of the socialist countries is growing and strengthening. This was graphically revealed by the visits of the representatives of India and Burma to the Soviet Union and by the visit of the Soviet representatives to India, Burma and Afghanistan. Those visits confirmed the identity of views existing between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India, one of the great Powers of the world, and between the Soviet Union, Burma and Afghanistan on the fundamental international issue of today: the preservation and consolidation of universal peace and the national independence of all States.

The exceptionally warm and friendly reception accorded the representatives of the great Soviet people has strikingly demonstrated the deep-rooted confidence and love the broad masses in the Eastern countries have for the Soviet Union. Analysing the sources of this confidence the Egyptian *Al Akhbar* justly wrote not long ago: "Russia does not try to buy the conscience of the peoples, their rights and liberty. Russia has extended a hand to the peoples and said that they themselves should decide their destiny, that she recognises their rights and aspirations and does not demand their adherence to military pacts or blocs".

Millions of men and women ardently acclaim our country for its uncompromising struggle against colonialism, for its policy of equality and friendship among all nations and for its consistent peace-loving foreign policy.

5. THE SOVIET UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Loyal to the Leninist principles of peaceful foreign policy, the Soviet Union has vigorously worked to ease international tension and strengthen peace and has scored big successes. I will recall the most important directions in which the Soviet Union's initiative for peace developed.

First, an improvement in relations between the great powers.

Second, the elimination of the breeding grounds of war that existed in the East and the prevention of the development of new breeding grounds of war and conflict in Europe and Asia.

Third, the adjustment of relations with a number of countries in order to ease tension in Europe (normalisation of relations with fraternal Yugoslavia, conclusion of the State Treaty with Austria, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the German Federal Republic, etc.).

Fourth, the exploration of new ways to settle such questions as the establishment of a collective security system in Europe, disarmament, prohibition of atomic weapons, the German problem, etc.

Fifth, resolute measures to develop closer relations with all countries desiring to preserve peace.

Sixth, the expansion in every way of international contacts: personal contacts between Soviet statesmen and those of other countries; contacts between representatives of our Party and workers' parties of other countries and between trade unions; greater exchange of parliamentary, social and other delegations; the development of trade and other economic ties; and the expansion of tourist travel and increased student exchange.

The peace initiative of the Soviet Union has become one of the most important factors exerting a tremendous influence on international events.

The success of the Soviet Union's peace initiative has been greatly facilitated by the support and joint action of all the peace-loving countries.

A particularly important part in this respect has been and is being

played by the great People's Republic of China, which did so much to end the bloodshed in Korea and Indo-China and has made the well-known proposal for a collective peace pact in Asia. The great Indian Republic has made a big contribution to strengthening peace in Asia and the whole world. Millions of ordinary people in all countries have ardently supported the Soviet steps to put international relations on a sounder basis.

The efforts of the peace-loving States and peoples have not been in vain. For the first time since the war a certain relaxation of international tension has set in. In this atmosphere the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers became possible. The conference demonstrated the vitality and correctness of the method of negotiation between countries. It confirmed the Soviet view that the most intricate international issues can be settled through negotiation given a mutual desire for cooperation and agreement.

Some people are now trying to bury the Geneva spirit. The facts show that certain circles in the West have still not given up hope of putting pressure on the Soviet Union and wresting unilateral concessions from it. But it is high time to understand that such calculations are unrealistic. The Soviet Union has done much to bring the positions of the great Powers closer together. Now it is up to the United States, Britain and France.

This of course does not mean that the Soviet Union will refuse to make further efforts to ease international tension and strengthen peace. On the contrary inasmuch as it has become possible to bring the positions of the Powers closer together on a number of major international issues the Soviet Union will strive with still greater persistence to establish confidence and cooperation between all countries, above all between the great Powers. Equal effort and reciprocal concessions are absolutely indispensable in the relations between the great Powers. The method of negotiation must become the sole method of solving international problems.

The achievement of collective security in Europe, the achievement of collective security in Asia, disarmament – these are the three cardinal problems the solution of which can lay the foundation for lasting and enduring peace.

The establishment of a collective security system in Europe would

meet the vital interests of all European countries large and small and would simultaneously serve as a solid guarantee of peace throughout the world. It would at the same time make it possible to settle the German issue as well. The present situation as regards this problem cannot fail to arouse alarm. Germany still remains divided and the arming of Western Germany is being accelerated.

It is no secret that in reviving German militarism each of the three Western Powers pursues its own ends. But who stands to gain from this short-sighted policy? Above all the imperialist forces of Western Germany. Among the losers however first place should go to France, which this policy seeks to reduce to the status of a third-rate Power. A new Washington-Bonn axis is more and more clearly emerging and aggravating the war danger.

The present situation offers real possibilities for solving the German problem in another way in the interest of peace and the security of the peoples the German people included. The strength of the peace-loving Soviet Union has increased to an unprecedented extent. The countries of South-East Europe which in the past supplied raw materials and man-power reserves to Germany now comprise together with the USSR a strong barrier against possible aggression by the German revenge-seekers. Austria, Germany's ally in the past, has proclaimed a policy of neutrality. Peace-loving forces are at work in all the countries of West Europe.

In Germany itself the alignment of forces is different from what it was in the past. The German Democratic Republic, which is opposed to war, has gained in strength to such a degree that today it is no longer possible to speak of settling the German issue without its participation or at its expense. In the German Federal Republic the working class, many millions strong, together with the other patriotic forces is increasingly resisting the conversion of Germany into a hotbed of a new war.

A collective security system in Europe, renunciation of the Paris agreements, rapprochement and cooperation between the two German States – this is the right way to settle the German question. It is no secret that certain circles want to solve the German problem without the participation of the Germans themselves and to the detriment of the German people's fundamental interests. Such a policy is unquestionably doomed to failure.

The ending of the arms race remains one of mankind's most vital tasks. This of course is an intricate question. But its settlement must be explored with all the greater persistence and energy.

No one can say that the Soviet Union has made little efforts to break the deadlock on disarmament. The Soviet proposals of May 10, 1955, the reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces and other Soviet measures are widely known. The same however cannot be said of the Western Powers.

No sooner did the Soviet Union accept the proposals of Britain, France and the United States on two stages of disarmament and maximum levels for armed forces than the Western Powers began to retreat and not only refused to accept the concrete proposals of the Soviet Union but even disowned their own proposals.

Evidently this is a result of the influence exerted by the most rabid proponents of the "positions of strength" policy who seek to take to the offensive again and to frustrate the relaxation of international tension which has been noted. The peace-loving States naturally had to draw the appropriate conclusions from this situation and to continue reinforcing the security of their countries.

Compelled to pool their forces and resources our States have concluded the Warsaw Treaty which is an important stabilising factor in Europe. They are fully resolved to employ all their forces to protect the peaceful life of their peoples and to prevent the outbreak of another conflagration in Europe.

As for disarmament we will spare no effort to solve this most important problem.

We will continue to work to end the arms drive and ban atomic and hydrogen weapons. Prior to agreement on the most important aspects of disarmament we are willing to take certain partial steps, for example, to discontinue thermonuclear weapon tests, to see that the troops stationed in Germany should have no atomic weapons and to cut military budgets. The nations' implementation of such measures could pave the way to understanding on other more intricate aspects of disarmament.

The Soviet Union is firmly resolved to do everything necessary to safeguard international peace and security.

The establishment of firm friendly relations between the two biggest Powers of the world, the Soviet Union and the United States of

America, would be of great significance for the strengthening of world peace. We think that if the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence were to underlie the relations between the USSR and the United States that would be of truly great importance for all mankind and would of course be no less useful to the people of the United States than to Soviet peoples and all other peoples.

These principles – mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, equality and mutual advantage, peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation – are now subscribed to and supported by a score of States.

We have recently taken new important steps with a view to achieving a fundamental improvement in Soviet-American relations. I have in mind the proposal for the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the United States contained in the letter of Comrade N.A. Bulganin to President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

We want to be friends with the United States and to cooperate with it for peace and international security and also in the economic and cultural spheres. We propose this with good intentions without holding a knife behind our back. We have put our proposal forward not because the Soviet Union cannot live without such a treaty with the United States. The Soviet State existed and developed successfully even when it had no normal diplomatic relations with the United States.

We have proposed a treaty to the United States because the conclusion of such a treaty would meet the profoundest aspirations of the peoples of both countries to live in peace and friendship.

If good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are not established and mutual distrust continues it will lead to an arms race on a still bigger scale and to a still more dangerous build-up of strength on both sides. Is this what the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States want? Of course not.

So far our initiative has not met with due understanding and support in the United States, a fact which shows that those who support the method of settling outstanding issues by means of war are still holding strong positions in the USA and that they are still exerting strong pressure on the President and the Government. But we hope that this peaceful aspiration of ours will be more correctly

appraised in the United States and that matters will take a turn for the better.

As before we intend to work for the further improvement of our relations with Great Britain and France. Our countries, as European countries, have many common interests, above all a common interest in preventing another war. Both world wars started in Europe. Militarist Germany was their breeding ground. The peoples of the Soviet Union, France, Britain together with the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Albania and other European countries shed much blood to defeat the common enemy and to secure peace.

We hold that the USSR, Britain and France as the European great Powers must cherish as sacred the benefits of peace and do everything possible to prevent another war. It is important to recall this particularly today when the revival of a revanchist West German Wehrmacht is being accelerated, directly endangering the security of all the European peoples.

Our country's interest in the safeguarding of lasting peace and security in Europe is not transitory. It creates a reliable foundation for mutual understanding and cooperation for the development of trade and all-round ties between the USSR, Britain and France.

The Soviet Union will continue to strive unswervingly for the extension and strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the Eastern countries. We can note with satisfaction that good friendly relations have developed between our country and the Indian Republic and we are confident that these relations have a great future. We acclaim the desire of the peoples of the Arab countries to uphold their national independence. We also believe that Iran, Turkey and Pakistan will realise that normal relations with the USSR are in their vital interest.

It is our immutable principle to develop and strengthen friendly relations with all countries, which, like us, desire to preserve peace.

We are of the opinion that even under present conditions when military alignments exist the opportunities for improving relations between countries, particularly between neighbours, have by no means been completely exhausted. In this connection the significance of non-aggression treaties or treaties of friendship whose conclusion would help remove existing suspicion and mistrust in relations between countries and normalise the international situation should be emphasised.

For its part the Soviet Union is prepared to conclude such treaties.

The expansion of business and cultural contacts is of great importance for the further improvement of relations between countries. On its part the Soviet government is doing everything possible for the all-round development of these contacts. We can note with satisfaction that business contacts and the exchange of various delegations between the Soviet Union and a number of other countries have substantially expanded of late.

Last year Britain was visited by delegations of Soviet workers from light industry, building and agriculture headed by members of the government, as well as representatives of trade union organisations, many workers in science and culture and sports groups. The British government helped to extend these contacts. The Soviet delegations were well received in Britain.

We assume that British citizens who visited the Soviet Union as members of delegations or individually cannot complain of poor treatment in our country. Relations between the Soviet Union and France, Sweden, Finland, Norway and other countries are developing in the same spirit.

Last year delegations were also exchanged with the United States; in particular the Soviet agricultural delegation was well received there. Delegations of Soviet journalists, builders and medical workers also visited the United States. The development of contacts with the United States however is still insignificant.

Many noted American statesmen, public figures and private citizens came to the Soviet Union during this time. American citizens had every opportunity to visit the Soviet Union and were well received here. But at the same time many Soviet engineers, scientists, writers and artists unfortunately could not avail themselves of invitations received from American firms and organisations because they were not given the necessary permission by the American authorities. It is clear that this does not promote contact between our countries. Let us hope that the situation will change for the better.

Trade should play a big part in extending the basis for businesslike cooperation between our countries. In contrast to the "Let's Arm!" slogan of the North Atlantic bloc we put forward the slogan: "Let's Trade!" Our new Five-year Plan provides for a substantial extension of trade

relations both with the People's Democracies and all other States.

We regard it as our supreme international duty tirelessly to develop and strengthen the fraternal relations between the countries of the socialist camp in the interest of our great common cause – socialism.

6. SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF PRESENT-DAY INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Comrades, I should like to dwell on some fundamental questions concerning present-day international development, which determine not only the present course of events but also the prospects for the future.

These questions are the peaceful coexistence of the two systems, the possibility of preventing wars in the present era and the forms of transition to socialism in different countries.

Let us examine these questions in brief.

THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF THE TWO SYSTEMS

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems has always been and remains the general line of our country's foreign policy.

It has been alleged that the Soviet Union advances the principle of peaceful coexistence merely out of tactical considerations, considerations of expediency. Yet it is common knowledge that we have always from the very first years of Soviet power stood with equal firmness for peaceful coexistence. Hence, it is not a tactical move but a fundamental principle of soviet foreign policy.

This means that if there is indeed a threat to the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social and political systems it by no means comes from the Soviet Union, from the socialist camp. Is there a single reason why a socialist State should want to unleash aggressive war? Do we have classes and groups that are interested in war as a means of enrichment? We do not. We abolished them long ago.

Or perhaps we do not have enough territory or natural wealth, perhaps we lack sources of raw materials or markets for our goods? No, we have sufficient of all those and to spare. Why then should we want war?

We do not want it, as a matter of principle we renounce any policy

that might lead to millions of people being plunged into war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of multi-millionaires. Do those who shout about the “aggressive intentions” of the USSR know all this? Of course they do. Why then do they keep up the old monotonous refrain about some imaginary “Communist aggression”? Only to stir up mud to conceal their plans for world domination, a “crusade” against peace, democracy and socialism.

To this day the enemies of peace allege that the Soviet Union is out to overthrow capitalism in other countries by “exporting” revolution. It goes without saying that among us Communists there are no supporters of capitalism. But this does not mean that we have interfered or plan to interfere in the internal affairs of countries where capitalism still exists. Romain Rolland was right when he said that “freedom is not brought in from abroad in baggage trains like bourbons”. It is ridiculous to think that revolutions are made to order.

We often hear representatives of bourgeois countries reasoning thus: “The Soviet leaders claim that they are for peaceful coexistence between the two systems. At the same time they declare that they are fighting for Communism and say that Communism is bound to win in all countries. Now if the Soviet Union is fighting for Communism how can there be any peaceful coexistence with it?” This view is the result of bourgeois propaganda. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie distort the facts and deliberately confuse questions of ideological struggle with questions of relations between States in order to make the Communists of the Soviet Union look like advocates of aggression.

When we say that the socialist system will win in the competition between the two systems – the capitalist and the socialist – this by no means signifies that its victory will be achieved through armed interference by the socialist countries in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries.

Our certainty of the victory of Communism is based on the fact that the socialist mode of production possesses decisive advantages over the capitalist mode of production. Precisely because of this the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are more and more capturing the minds of the broad masses of the working people in the capitalist countries, just as they have captured the minds of millions of men and women in our country and the People’s Democracies.

We believe that all working men in the world, once they have become convinced of the advantages Communism brings, will sooner or later take the road of struggle for the construction of socialist society. Building Communism in our country, we are resolutely against war. We have always held and continue to hold that the establishment of a new social system in one or another country is the internal affair of the peoples of the countries concerned. This is our attitude, based on the great Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The principle of peaceful coexistence is gaining ever-wider international recognition. This principle is one of the cornerstones of the foreign policy of the Chinese People's Republic and other countries of People's Democracy. It is being actively implemented by the Republic of India, the Union of Burma and a number of other countries.

And this is natural, for there is no other way out in present-day conditions. Indeed there are only two ways: either peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third way.

We believe that countries with differing social systems can do more than exist side by side. It is necessary to proceed further, to improve relations, strengthen confidence between countries and cooperate. The historic significance of the famous five principles advanced by the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India and supported by the Bandung Conference and the world public in general, lies in that they provide the best form for relations between countries with differing social systems in present-day conditions.

Why not make these principles the foundation of peaceful relations among all countries in all parts of the world? It would meet the vital interests and demands of the peoples if all countries subscribed to these five principles.

THE POSSIBILITY OF PREVENTING WAR IN THE PRESENT ERA

Millions of people all over the world are asking whether another war is really inevitable, whether mankind which has already experienced two bloody world wars must still go through a third one? Marxists must answer this question taking into consideration the epoch-making changes of the last decades.

There is, of course, a Marxist-Leninist precept that wars are

inevitable as long as imperialism exists. This precept was evolved at a time when, *first*, imperialism was an all-embracing world system, and *second*, the social and political forces which did not want war were weak, poorly organised and hence unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war.

People usually take only one aspect of the question and examine only the economic basis of wars under imperialism. This is not enough. War is not only an economic phenomenon. Whether there is to be a war or not depends in large measure on the correlation of class, political forces, the degree of organisation and the awareness and resolve of the people.

Moreover in certain conditions the struggle wage by progressive social and political forces may play a decisive role. Hitherto the state of affairs was such that the forces that did not want war and opposed it were poorly organised and lacked the means to check the schemes of the war makers. Thus it was before the First World War, when the main force opposed to the threat of war – the world proletariat – was disorganised by the treachery of the leaders of the Second International. Thus it was on the eve of the Second World War, when the Soviet Union was the only country that pursued an active peace policy, when the other great Powers to all intents and purposes encouraged the aggressors and the Right-wing social democratic leaders had split the labour movement in the capitalist countries.

In that period this precept was absolutely correct. At the present time, however, the situation has changed radically. Now there is a world camp of socialism which has become a mighty force. In this camp the peace forces find not only the moral but also the material means to prevent aggression. Moreover there is a large group of other countries with a population running into many hundreds of millions which are actively working to avert war. The labour movement in the capitalist countries has today become a tremendous force. The movement of peace supporters has sprung up and developed into a powerful factor.

In these circumstances, certainly, the Leninist precept that, inasmuch as imperialism exists, the economic basis giving rise to wars is also preserved, remains in force. That is why we must display the greatest vigilance.

As long as capitalism exists in the world the reactionary forces

representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies will continue their drive towards military gambles and aggression and may try to unleash war. But war is not fatalistically inevitable. Today there are mighty, social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war and if they actually try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans.

To be able to do this all anti-war forces must be vigilant and prepared, they must act as a united front and never relax their efforts in the battle for peace. The more actively the peoples defend peace, the greater the guarantees that there will be no new war.

FORMS OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

In connection with the radical changes in the world arena new prospects are also opening up in respect to the transition of countries and nations to socialism.

As far back as the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin wrote:

All nations will arrive at socialism – this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory or more ridiculous from that of practice than to paint ‘in the name of historical materialism’, *this* aspect of the future in a monotonous grey. The result will be nothing more than Suzdal daubing. (*Works*, Vol. 23, p. 58.)

Historical experience has fully confirmed Lenin’s brilliant precept. Alongside the Soviet form of reconstructing society on socialist lines, we now have the form of People’s Democracy.

In Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and the other European People’s Democracies this form sprang up and is being utilised in conformity with the concrete historical, social and economic conditions and peculiarities of each of these countries. It has been thoroughly tried and tested in the course of ten years and has fully proved its worth.

Many peculiarities in the process of socialist construction are to be found in the Chinese People's Republic, whose economy prior to the victory of the revolution was exceedingly backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial in character. Having taken over the decisive commanding positions, the People's Democratic State is using them in the socialist revolution to implement a policy of peaceful reorganisation of private industry and trade and their gradual transformation into a component of socialist economy.

The leadership of the great cause of socialist reconstruction by the Communist Party of China and the Communist and Workers' Parties of the other People's Democracies, exercised in keeping with the peculiarities and specific features of each country, is creative Marxism in action.

In the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, where State power belongs to the working people, and society is founded on the public ownership of the means of production, specific concrete forms of economic management and organisation of the State apparatus are arising in the process of socialist construction.

It is probable that forms of transition to socialism will become more and more diversified. Moreover the implementation of these forms need not be associated with Civil War under all circumstances. Our enemies like to depict us, Leninists, as advocates of violence always and everywhere.

True, we recognise the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. It is this that distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists from the reformists, the opportunists. There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and Civil War as the only way to remake society.

It will be recalled that in the conditions that arose in April 1917 Lenin granted the possibility that the Russian Revolution might develop peacefully, and that in the spring of 1918 after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin drew up his famous plan for peaceful socialist construction. It is not our fault that the Russian and international bourgeoisie organised counter-revolution, intervention and Civil War

against the young Soviet State and forced the workers and peasants to take to arms. It did not come to Civil War in the European People's Democracies, where the historical situation was different.

Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or the non-use of violence in the transition to socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat.

In this connection the question arises of whether it is possible to go over to socialism by using parliamentary means. No such course was open to the Russian Bolsheviks, who were the first to effect this transition. Lenin showed us another road, that of the establishment of a Republic of Soviets, the only correct road in those historical conditions. Following that course we achieved a victory of worldwide historic significance.

Since then, however, the historical situation has undergone radical changes which make possible a new approach to the question. The forces of socialism and democracy have grown immeasurably throughout the world and capitalism has become much weaker. The mighty camp of socialism with its population of over nine hundred million is growing and gaining in strength. Its gigantic internal forces, its decisive advantages over capitalism, are being increasingly revealed from day to day. Socialism has a great power of attraction for the workers, peasants and intellectuals of all countries. The ideas of socialism are indeed coming to dominate the minds of all toiling humanity.

At the same time the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people. The Right-wing bourgeois parties and their governments suffer fiasco with increasing frequency.

In these circumstances the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interest, to capture

a stable majority in Parliament, and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. In such an event this institution, traditional in many highly developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, democracy for the working people.

The winning of a stable parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes.

In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle.

Whatever the form of transition to socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard. Without this there can be no transition to socialism.

It must be strongly emphasised that the more favourable conditions for the victory of socialism created in other countries are due to the fact that socialism has won in the Soviet Union and is winning in the People's Democracies. Its victory in our country would have been impossible had Lenin and the Bolshevik Party not upheld revolutionary Marxism in battle against the reformists, who broke with Marxism and took the path of opportunism.

Such are the considerations which the Central Committee of the Party considers necessary to set out in regard to the forms of transition to socialism in present-day conditions.

* * *

What are the tasks confronting the Party in the sphere of foreign policy? They are:

First, to pursue steadfastly the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between different States irrespective of their social systems. To work vigorously for the cause of peace and the security of the peoples, for the establishment of confidence between States with a view to transforming the relaxation of international tension achieved to date

into a stable peace.

Second, to strengthen in every way our fraternal relations with the People's Republic of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Mongolian People's Republic, bearing in mind that the greater the unity and might of the socialist countries the more secure is the cause of peace.

To strengthen in every way friendship and cooperation with the fraternal peoples of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

Third, to consolidate untiringly the bonds of friendship and cooperation with the Republic of India, Burma, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Egypt, Syria and other countries which stand for peace; to support countries which refuse to be involved in military blocs; to cooperate with all forces seeking to preserve peace.

To develop and strengthen friendly relations with Finland, Austria and other neutral countries.

Fourth, to pursue a vigorous policy of further improving relations with the United States of America, Britain, France, Western Germany, Japan, Italy, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and other countries with a view to strengthening mutual confidence, extending trade and expanding contacts and cooperation in the sphere of culture and science.

Fifth, to follow vigilantly the intrigues of circles that do not want a relaxation of international tension; to expose in good time the subversive activities, of the enemies of peace and people's security; to take all measures necessary to further strengthen the defence potential of our socialist State; to maintain our defences at the level demanded by present-day armaments and science and to ensure the security of our socialist country.

(The Second Section of N.S. Khrushchov's Report, the Internal Situation of the USSR, has been omitted – Ed.)*

*Ed. Signifies here the editor of the Communist Party Publication.

III THE PARTY

Comrades,

The Soviet people know that the country's immense achievements are due to the correct policy of our Communist Party, its tireless work of organisation. Devoted service to the people has earned the Communist Party of the Soviet Union high prestige not only among our own people, but also in the international Communist and workers' movement, among the masses in West and East. Its policy powerfully influences the whole course of world events.

1. CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S RANKS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF ITS LEADING ROLE IN THE SOVIET STATE.

As of February 1, 1956, The CPSU had a membership of 7,215,505 of whom 6,795,896 were full members and 419,609 candidate members. That is nearly treble the membership at the time of the 13th Congress and 333,000 more than at the time of the 19th Congress. In the period under review the Party has grown still stronger organisationally and ideologically. The Marxist-Leninist training of its members has improved and there has been a significant development of Party cadres – the key factor in Party and Government leadership.

The Communist Party was founded and built up by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our great leader and teacher, as a great inspiring and guiding force of the working people in their struggle for the freedom and happiness of the people, for Communism. Lenin vigorously combated every attempt to belittle or weaken the leading role of the Party in the Soviet State. The Central Committee has always and undeviatingly been guided by Lenin's teachings on the Party. And we can say today that in the period under review our Party has played a still greater role in the affairs of State, in the country's entire political, economic and cultural life.

In the struggle for further consolidation of the Soviet State, for a new advance of the socialist economy and culture, for higher living standards of the working people, the Party has vastly extended its ties with the masses and has formed still closer bonds of kinship with the people.

It would be wrong, however, to think that the period under review was for our Party a triumphal march under clear skies and over a smooth road. Far from it. We have had big victories but also some failures, we have had much to rejoice in, and grieve too. But the Party was not carried away by the victories, nor dejected by the failures. It continues to advance along its chosen road with courage and confidence.

Shortly after the 19th Congress, death took Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin from our ranks. The enemies of socialism hoped there would be confusion in the Party's ranks, discord among its leadership, hesitation in carrying out its internal and foreign policy. However, their hopes came to nought. The Party rallied still more closely around its Central Committee and raised still higher the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The imperialists had placed special hopes on their inveterate agent, Beria, who had perfidiously wormed his way into leading posts in the Party and Government. The Central Committee resolutely put an end to the criminal conspiracy of that dangerous enemy and his accomplices. That was a big victory for the Party, a victory for its collective leadership.

The destruction of this gang of contemptible traitors helped further to strengthen the Party and successfully solve the tasks confronting the country. The Party has become still more monolithic. Its ideological and organisational unity is the earnest (origin) of its invincibility. No enemies and no difficulties are a danger to it when it is united. It can cope with any problem when it acts as a united force which knows no fear in battle, does not hesitate in carrying out its policy and does not give way to difficulties. Today our Party is united as never before, it is closely rallied around the Central Committee and is confidently leading the country along the path indicated by the great Lenin.

The Party's unity has been built up over the course of many years and decades; it grew stronger in the battle with a host of enemies. The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and other malignant enemies of the people, the men who would restore capitalism, tried desperately to undermine the Party's Leninist unity from within – and all of them broke their necks.

Underlying this unity of the Communist Party and its leading core are the moral and political unity of the whole of Soviet society and the bedrock principles of Marxism-Leninism. People join our Party not

for personal gain, but to help achieve the great aim – Communism. The leading core of the Party is not a group of men bound by personal relations or mutual advantage; it is a working collective of leaders whose relations are based on ideas and principles permitting neither of mutual forgiveness nor personal antagonism.

Whenever it was found that a Party leader had made mistakes in his work the Central Committee of the CPSU unanimously took the necessary steps to correct these mistakes. The work of a number of Party organisations and individuals, among them members of the Central Committee, was subjected to Bolshevik criticism, without fear or favour, at Central Committee plenary meetings. Some Party officials, who did not justify the high confidence placed in them by the Party, were removed from the Central Committee. It need hardly be said the unity of the Party, far from losing by it, has actually gained thereby.

Lenin taught us that a line based on principle is the only correct line. Never to deviate a single step in anything from the Party interests – that is the bedrock principle by which the Communists are guided in the struggle for the unity of their ranks. And the fact that in the period under review new and outstanding success has been achieved is the surest proof that the Party and its Central Committee have ably guarded and strengthened the unity of the Communist ranks.

In reviewing the path we have traversed, we can confidently say that in the period under review the Central Committee's political guidance of the country was on a high level. The Party provided correct solutions for the questions of State and Party building and competently led the country along the Lenin path.

The main task of the Party and of its Central Committee was to ensure the further consolidation of the economic might of our socialist country, to make her sacred borders still more impregnable and raise the material and cultural standards of the peoples.

Our Communist Party is a ruling party. The success of every major undertaking depends to a decisive degree on its leadership, on the activity of its local organisations. And in order to cope with the tasks facing the country it was necessary, first of all, to muster all the strength of the Party organisations and imbue every one of its members with the spirit of intolerance for shortcomings.

The plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU,

held regularly during the period under review, played an exceptionally important part in the life of the Party and the country generally. At these, the Central Committee, with Leninist straightforwardness and fidelity to principle, laid bare, before the Party and the people, the serious shortcomings in the development of agriculture and industry and outlined ways and means of eliminating them and of accomplishing the urgent tasks involved in ensuring the country's continued economic progress and raising the material and cultural standards of the working people.

In criticising defects in economic development, the Central Committee proceeded from the belief that the Party should not be afraid to tell the people the truth about the shortcomings and difficulties that beset our forward movement. He is no revolutionary who is afraid to admit mistakes and faults. And there is no need to conceal our shortcomings, for our general line is correct, the work of building Communism is going forward victoriously. Defects will be fewer the more widely we enlist the masses to combat them.

The Central Committee has urged Party organisations to develop criticism and self-criticism in every way, to review the results of the work done with a critical eye, resolutely to combat self-delusion, boasting and conceit. Many of the shortcomings we are now working to eliminate would never have arisen if not for the complacency that at one time gained currency in some links of the Party, and for the tendency to give a rosy picture of the real state of affairs. Principled and open criticism and self-criticism is the surest means of further strengthening the Party, rapidly eliminating shortcomings and registering fresh successes in all sectors of Communist construction.

If Party unity was to be further consolidated and Party organisations made more active, it was necessary to re-establish the Party standards worked out by Lenin, which in the past had frequently been violated.

It was of paramount importance to re-establish and to strengthen in every way the Leninist principle of collective leadership. The Central Committee of the CPSU tried to set an example in this matter. Everyone can see how much the role of the Central Committee as the collective leader of our Party has grown in recent years. The Presidium of the Central Committee began to function regularly as a collective body,

keeping in its field of vision all major questions concerning the life of the Party and country generally.

The Central Committee was concerned to develop the creative activity of Party members and all the working people, and to this end it took steps to explain widely the Marxist-Leninist conception of the role of the individual in history. It vigorously condemned the cult of the individual as being alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, a cult which tends to make a particular leader a hero and a miracle worker and at the same time belittles the role of the Party and the masses and tends to reduce their creative effort. Currency of the cult of the individual tended to minimise the role of collective leadership in the Party and at times resulted in serious drawbacks in our work.

In the words of our Party Anthem, the *Internationale*: "No saviours from on high deliver, no trust have we in prince or peer; our own right hand the chains must shiver..." Reflected in these inspiring words is the correct, Marxist, understanding of the revolutionary and creative role of the masses, the role of the collective. The people, led by the Party armed with the Marxist theory, are a great and invincible force, the builders of a new life, the makers of history.

Application of the Leninist principles in Party affairs has heightened the activity of Party organisations, strengthened their ties with the working people, increased their influence among the masses. The result has been to make our Party organisations stronger still and immensely increase their efficiency in carrying out the tasks of economic and cultural development. And so, in the period under review the Party's unity was further consolidated, its political and organisational role enhanced, its influence among the masses increased. The Party has worked out a comprehensive programme for a new economic upswing and higher living standard; it has mobilised the whole people to implement this programme and has gained substantial success in all fields of Communist construction.

However, today, too, when the strength and prestige of our Party are higher than ever, we must not indulge in complacency. To ensure continued progress, we must keep all our Party organisations highly mobilised and constantly improve and perfect every aspect of Party work. Above all, we must raise the level of the Party's organisational and ideological activities.

2. PARTY ORGANISATIONAL WORK

In all its organisational activity the Party and its Central Committee have proceeded from the great Lenin's teaching that successful leadership of the country requires ability to convince the masses and ability to organise practical implementation of the Party's policy. The Party's efforts are directed towards ensuring, organisationally, the successful fulfilment of tasks, towards helping our cadres master the art of practical organisation of work in all sectors of economic development.

From the day our Party came to power, Lenin constantly linked Party work with economic activity. He described the famous GOELRO Plan, a plan of economic development, as the Party's second programme. "Our programme," Vladimir Ilyich said in that connection, "cannot remain merely a programme of the Party. It must become the programme for our economic development, otherwise it is no good even as a programme of the Party. It must be supplemented by a second programme of the Party, a plan for rebuilding the whole of the national economy and bringing it up to the level of present-day technique." (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 482.)

It must be admitted that over the course of many years our Party cadres were not adequately educated in a spirit of high responsibility for the solution of the practical problems of economic development. The result was widespread armchair, bureaucratic economic leadership; many Party officials did not devote enough time and attention to the organisational aspect of economic development, did not probe deeply into economic matters and it was not infrequent for the very practical task of organising the masses to be submerged in a welter of talk and a sea of paper.

The Central Committee called upon Party cadres and all Party members to make a complete switchover and turn their attention to concrete guidance of economic activity, to put an end to the superficial attitude toward economic matters, to study more thoroughly the technology and economics of industrial enterprises, collective farms, machine and tractor stations and State farms so as to gain profound knowledge for directing their work. Party officials who still insist on babbling about economic tasks "in general", on continuing their armchair

methods instead of earnestly studying their jobs and taking up the practical work of organisation, are now severely criticised. A good many present-day "Mitrofanushkas" (*Mitrofanushka – a pampered boy, the principal character in Fonvizin's comedy "The Minor" –Tr.*) who have preferred to shy away from the real, live work have been removed from leading positions.

As a result of the measures we have adopted, local Party bodies have to some extent improved their organisational work in the key sectors of industry and agriculture. Their work in guiding the economy has become more efficient, more concrete, and more operative.

Unfortunately, in many Party organisations we still find the absurd counterposing of Party political work to economic activity. We come across Party "leaders" who hold that Party work is one thing and economic and Soviet work quite another. These "leaders" even complain that they are being diverted from so-called "pure Party" work and are made to study economics, technology and agronomy, to study production.

Such a conception of Party work is fundamentally wrong and harmful.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the ruling party, and everything that happens on Soviet soil is of vital interest to the Party as a whole and to each of its members. A Communist has no right to be a mere onlooker.

That is why the Party demands of Party cadres that they do not divorce Party work from economic work, that their economic leadership be concrete and based on knowledge of the business. This, of course, does not imply confusing the functions of Party bodies with those of economic bodies, or substitution of Party bodies for economic bodies. That would obliterate personal responsibility and lead to irresponsibility. What is meant is that Party work should be concentrated on organising and educating the masses, on improving guidance of the economy, on promoting the continuous development of our socialist economy, on raising the living standards of the Soviet people and advancing their culture.

If the work of organisation is to be brought to a level commensurate with the tasks confronting the Party, there must be an all-round improvement of the Party apparatus. It is still cumbersome. No little

formalism, harmful in any matter, but especially inadmissible where people are concerned, is still to be found in the functioning of the Party apparatus. Its highly skilled personnel is, as often as not, engaged not so much in the work of organisation, as in the collection of all manner of data, statistical returns, and information, which, in very many cases, are not at all necessary. Much of the work of the apparatus is, therefore, just wasted.

The main thing in the Party's work of organisation is work among the masses – to influence the masses and rally them for the accomplishment of the economic and political tasks set by the Party. We must no longer tolerate a situation when many workers of the Party apparatus, instead of being daily amidst the masses, confine themselves to their offices, produce reams of resolutions, while life passes them by.

In this connection we must speak again and again about the leadership of the collective farms. The Party and the Government have provided all the material and organisational prerequisites for a steep rise in agricultural output. In a short space of time thousands of formerly backward collective farms have advanced to the front ranks. But many collective farms are advancing slower than it is necessary. If we take such a branch of agriculture as livestock farming, we will find that in each district there are collective farms that have made big strides in this field, doubling or trebling meat and dairy output in a single year. But around such farms we see frequently collective farms with exceedingly low output indices.

What, then, prevents us from utilising to the full available potentialities in agriculture and especially in livestock farming? The chief reason is the weakness of our work of organisation.

The defects in leadership find expression in the fact that many district officials do not deal concretely with the position in each collective farm. The leadership they give the collective farms is formal and they lack real knowledge. They often leave out of sight crucial questions – proper planning of the development of each separate farm and the proper organisation of the labour effort of the collective farmers. The result often is that the rudiments of the new break their way through independently, spontaneously. Is this normal? No. First you must study the substance of the best experience and then go to a lagging collective farm or work brigade and do everything to introduce that advanced

experience, to show the collective farmers, by holding up that experience as an example, how to do the job most efficiently. In leadership this is the main thing.

There are still men in leading positions who come in the category of busy “idlers”. At first glance they are very active and, true enough, they work a great deal but to no purpose. Their conferences last late into the night “until the cock crows,” after which they make a lightning tour of the collective farms, chide the laggards, hold more conferences and deliver general speeches – usually prepared in advance – urging the farmers “to pass the test”, “surmount all difficulties”, “bringing about a sharp change”, “justify the trust,” etc. But for all the exertions of such a leader, it turns out at the end of the year that matters have not changed for the better. A man, as the saying goes, “was jumping out of his skin but didn’t advance the length of a pin.”

Another big evil is that an irresponsible attitude to assumed pledges has struck root in the practical activities of many Party and Soviet officials. If we verify how different regions, districts, collective and State farms fulfil their socialist pledges we will find a big gap between words and deeds. In fact, is fulfilment of these pledges verified at all? No, as a rule it is not. No one bears responsibility, either material or moral, for the non-fulfilment of pledges.

Our Press and radio extol and praise those who assume big pledges but nothing is said when they fail to live up to their pledges, though there was every condition for fulfilling them. People should be made to feel more responsible for their pledges. Once you make a pledge you must live up to it at all costs. As the saying goes: “Once you pledge, don’t hedge.”

It follows from the aforesaid that we must seriously improve organisational work, especially at the district level, attentively follow the work of our cadres, their progress and help them master the art of organising the masses.

The Party has always attached great importance to district level Party and Soviet officials because it is on them that fulfilment of Party and Government directives largely depends. Much has been done by the Party in this respect, and as a result considerable cadres, real mass organisers and leaders, have developed in the districts. But there is no overlooking the fact that in many cases the work of

the district organisations is far below present-day requirements.

In the past we rightly pointed to the inadequacy of personnel in machine and tractor stations and of leading personnel in the collective farms. The Party has reinforced these cadres not, of course, to a degree that would allow us to say the job is done; we must continue this work. But under present conditions the biggest defect as regards personnel is at the district level, in the district Party committees, in the district executive committees of Soviets. The organising activities of the Party district committees are not up to the mark.

Now that the country is confronted with tremendous tasks in advancing agriculture, the reinforcement of district organisations with experienced and capable cadres has acquired special significance. District level functionaries work directly in rural primary Party organisations, in machine and tractor stations, collective and State farms. They organise the labour efforts of the men and women who produce material values. Consequently, upon their activities largely depends the success of all our undertakings.

We must see that leading posts in district Party committees and executive committees of district Soviets are filled by well-trained Communists, energetic mass organisers who know production. Without knowledge of farming, district officials cannot do their job properly, nor will they enjoy prestige among the collective farmers and the workers in machine and tractor stations and State farms.

Economic development is one of the major aspects of Party work. The work of a Party official should be judged, in the first place, by the achievements of the economic unit for the success of which he is responsible. Officials who do not appreciate this point are incapable of guiding the efforts to advance the economy, and should be replaced in good time as being insufficiently fit for Party work. We must continue to reinforce district Party organisations with leading cadres both by promoting local workers who have developed in collective and State farms and by drawing people from cities and industrial centres into the work at a district level.

Evidently, comrades, it is necessary also to raise the material responsibility of leading personnel for the job entrusted to them so that their wages should to a certain extent depend on the results achieved. If the plan is fulfilled or over fulfilled they should get more, if not – their

wages should be reduced. Some may object that that principle cannot be applied to Party officials, for their functions lie in the organisational and ideological spheres, and are not tied up directly with the results of economic activity. But can Party organisational work be considered successful if it does not exercise a beneficial influence on production? To carry on Party organisational and ideological work without tying it up with the task of improving production means to carry it on to no purpose.

Defects in Party organisational work are not confined to rural areas, they are to be found also in urban Party organisations. True, in industry the situation on the whole is better. But here, too, alongside of advanced industries and individual plants, there are not a few which lag behind. One of the reasons for this is that the Party organisations in these establishments are not working with sufficient vigour to bring forward new, progressive methods and are not waging a ruthless struggle against backwardness and stagnation.

The level of Party organisational work largely depends on whether its forms are in keeping with the tasks confronting the Party organisations. From this it follows that the methods of work and the structure of Party bodies must be constantly perfected and adapted to changing conditions. This applies not only to local Party bodies but also to the Central Committee of the CPSU.

A number of measures have been adopted during the past period to reshape the structure of Party bodies and reinforce their cadres. To improve the Party's work of organisation in the countryside, the Central Committee has found it necessary to change the structure of rural Party district committees. Instructors' groups, headed by secretaries of Party district committees, have been set up for definite MTS (Machine and Tractor Stations) zones. The idea was that when a Secretary of the Party district committee and instructors in the MTS zones had concrete tasks of organising the Party's political work in a definite group of collective farms, this would tend to improve the work of these farms. Consequently, such a reorganisation was necessary.

But we see that not everywhere has this measure produced favourable results. What is the reason for that? Some see it in the fact that when secretaries of Party district committees were appointed for machine and tractor station zones and instructors' groups introduced, the first secretary of the district committee has found himself, as it

were removed from guidance of the machine and tractor stations and the collective farms and that this has allegedly weakened general guidance of agriculture at district level. But these statements are made by people who would like to bring back the old methods of leadership when personal responsibility for work in the countryside was lacking to a great extent.

The Party district committees and the first secretaries of the district committees, guiding properly the work of the secretaries and instructors for the machine and tractor station zones, will be able to bring about an improvement in the organisational work among the collective farmers. And wherever the reorganisation has been effected properly, this has improved the situation.

The main reason why this reorganisation has not produced tangible results everywhere is that in a number of districts people have been appointed as secretaries of district committees and instructors for machine and tractor station zones who in their political and other qualifications did not measure up to the requirements of their jobs and could not cope with them.

Some of the comrades say that we should again change the structure of the Party district committees. We ought to think twice before undertaking that. It seems to us that it is hardly expedient to carry out a new reorganisation. It is better to reinforce the cadres, selecting wherever necessary for the post of secretaries of district committees good organisers who are able to work well with the people. It is necessary to follow the line of bringing Party leadership closer to production and to completely eliminate lack of personal responsibility in Party work.

The Central Committee holds that there is an urgent need for seriously improving Party leadership in the regions and territories of the Russian Federation. The Federation consists of seventy-eight territories, regions and Autonomous Republics, each with diverse conditions and specific features. A special central Party body is required to assure more concrete and operational leadership in the regions, territories and Autonomous Republics of the Russian Federation. For this purpose the Central Committee considers it necessary to set up a bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU for the Russian Federation.

The Central Committee attaches special significance to the selection and allocation of cadres, to the enhancement of their ideological grounding and general qualifications as a means of improving Party organisational and political work in every way. The Party may be proud of the fact that it has been able to develop, ideologically train and steel numerous cadres for diverse branches of Party, governmental and economic work.

But it would be wrong not to see the serious shortcomings and mistakes in work with cadres. Suffice it to say, for example, that graduates of our Party schools are often ignorant of the fundamentals of concrete economics. The training of cadres in Party schools should be reorganised so that parallel with a thorough study of Marxist-Leninist theory, students should acquire knowledge of the basic elements of production, and students of higher Party schools should in addition to a higher Marxist education, acquire practical knowledge in a definite branch of industry or agriculture equivalent to technical school standard.

Many Party organisations are oblivious of the Party principle that, together with proper utilisation of old cadres, young people who have proved their mettle in practical work should be boldly promoted to leading posts.

Nor can we ignore the fact that a number of Party and Soviet bodies are timid in promoting women to leading posts. Very few women hold leading posts in the Party and the Soviets, specially secretaries of Party committees, chairmen of the executive committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies, managerial posts in industrial establishments, collective and State farms, and machine and tractor stations.

Replacement of cadres is excessive, owing to serious shortcomings in the selection and training of personnel and also to unnecessary shifting of officials from one job to another at times. All too often Party bodies confine themselves to a formal study of cadres, their merits and demerits, and sometimes promote and shift people without taking into account their political and other qualifications.

Proper distribution of Party members in the national economy is of great importance for the successful accomplishment of the tasks confronting the Party. It is an abnormal situation that a considerable proportion of the Communists employed in a number of branches of

the national economy is engaged in work which is not directly connected with the decisive process of production. There are some ninety thousand Communists in coal industry establishments, for example, but only thirty-eight thousand work in the mines, underground. More than three million Party members and candidate members live in rural localities, but less than half actually work in the collective farms, machine and tractor stations and State farms.

A serious drawback in the organisational work of local Party committees is the slackening of attention to regulating the growth of the Party, particularly to increasing the proportion of industrial workers. We must, take a more resolute line in improving the qualitative composition of new members being admitted to the Party, by individual recruitment of front-rank workers notably those in key trades, foremost collective farmers, and the best part of the Soviet intelligentsia.

The Soviet trade unions are called upon to play a big part in educating the millions of industrial, professional and office workers, in marshalling their creative energies to advance and improve production, in raising the living standard of the working people and promoting their cultural and technical advancement. Yet, the level of trade union activity is clearly below the requirements of life and falls short of the tasks set by the Party. The main thing our trade union organisations, including the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions, lack, is militancy in their work, creative fervour, incisiveness, adherence to principle, and initiative in raising fundamental, vitally important questions – whether they be measures for increasing labour productivity, or, say, questions relating to wages, house construction or catering to the everyday needs of the workers and other employees. Collective agreements, as is well known are concluded at every enterprise, but often enough they are not carried out, and the trade unions keep silent, as though everything were right and proper. In general, the trade unions no longer have disputes with industrial executives, there is peace and harmony between them. But one need not be afraid to spoil relations where the interests of the work are concerned; at times a good wrangle is useful.

We must make the trade unions a genuine Leninist school of administration and management, a school of Communism for the millions of factory, office and other workers. It is perfectly clear that to achieve this the Party must render them more practical help in their

work. The trade unions should make much more use than hitherto of production conferences, meetings of activists in industry and other forms of workers' participation in production management.

Our glorious Leninist Young Communist League (Y.C.L.) holds an important place in the country's social life. Uniting in its ranks more than eighteen million young men and women, the Young Communist League takes an active part in economic and cultural development work, helps the Party educate the youth in the Communist spirit. But there are serious shortcomings in the activities of YCL organisations, especially in ideological and educational work. There have been cases of YCL organisations lacking the ability to enlist the youth for practical undertakings; there has been a tendency to replace the live work of organisation by resolutions, pomp and fuss, and so on. If these shortcomings are to be eliminated, it is necessary, first of all, to improve Party guidance of the YCL, because in this lies the chief source of its strength and creative energy.

Certain partial changes, dictated by life, should be introduced in the rules of the CPSU, with the object of further improving the Party's organisational activities. Experience has shown that some provisions of the rules are out of keeping with the standards of Party life as they have taken shape. Party regional committees, territorial committees, and Central Committees in the Union Republics, as well as some district and city committees, have now four or five secretaries instead of the three provided for in the rules. In conformity with the proposals of Party organisations the intervals between plenary meetings of Party committees stipulated in the rules have been changed. This should be reflected in the rules. Party committees in various parts of the country have rightly raised the question of changing the provision in the rules concerning the dates for holding Party conferences. The correct procedure would be to hold congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, and territorial, regional, area and city (in cities subdivided into districts) Party conferences once in two years. Congresses of the Communist Parties in Union Republics which are subdivided into regions (the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan) could be held once in four years.

At the last Congress, the Party Control Commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU was reconstituted into the Party Control

Committee and was given the right to maintain representatives, functioning independently of the local Party bodies, in the Republics, territories and regions. Actual practice has shown that there is no need for such representatives.

I shall not dwell on the other proposals for amending the Party rules, since the draft amendments have been distributed to all the Congress delegates.

In our day-to-day work we must keep a closer watch over adherence to the requirements of the rules by all Party organisations and all Party members. Observance of the rules is a cardinal condition for raising the level of all the Party's organisational and political activities.

3. QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Comrades, the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists, and of the people generally, and the creative development of revolutionary theory are decisive conditions of our successful advance forward.

In the period under review, the Central Committee adopted a number of measures to improve work in the sphere of ideology. Publication of the classics of Marxism-Leninism considerably increased. The first books of the second edition of a thirty-volume collection of the writings by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels have come out. Following the completion of the fourth edition of a thirty-five -volume collection of the works of V.I. Lenin, a new edition of the biography of the great founder and leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet State was published. Study of the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism gives us a deeper understanding of the laws of social development, enables us to see more clearly the prospects ahead, enhances the Soviet People's confidence in the triumph of Communism, and promotes the cause of Communist construction. There has been an improvement in the study by Party members of the decisions of Party Congresses and conferences and Central Committee plenary meetings, in which the home and foreign policy worked out by the Party is set forth.

An important landmark in the ideological life of the Party was the publication of a Marxist textbook of political economy. It has been widely circulated both in our country and abroad.

Despite certain progress in disseminating knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the position in respect to ideological work as a whole is still unsatisfactory. The main shortcoming at present is that it is largely divorced from the practice of Communist construction.

As far back as 1920, the great Lenin, discussing the tasks of propaganda in the conditions of transition to peaceful construction, pointed out that "propaganda of the old type tells, giving examples, what Communism is. But this old propaganda is no good, for we must show in practice how to build socialism. All propaganda must be based on the political experience gained in economic development. This is our most important task and he who would understand it in the old sense of the word, would find himself left behind and unable to carry on propaganda work among the mass of peasants and workers. Our main policy now must be the economic up-building of the State, in order to bring in more poods of grain, to mine more poods of coal, to decide how best to use these poods of grain and coal.... It is on this that all agitation and propaganda must be based". (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 346).

We must be guided by these wise counsels of Lenin in all our activity. While combating indifference to the study and further development of Marxist theory we cannot regard it as dogmatists, divorced from life. Revolutionary theory is not a collection of petrified dogmas and formulae, but a militant guide to action in transforming the world, in building Communism. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that a theory isolated from practice is sterile, and practice which is not illumined by revolutionary theory is blind.

Are our Party workers, and primarily those engaged in ideological work, acquainted with this cardinal precept? Yes, they are. Many have even learned it by rote. Yet, wherever we turn we find Party officials who try to conduct ideological work in the abstract, wholly unconnected with the struggle for the realisation of the practical tasks of Communist construction. More, such people level charges of vulgarisation and utilitarianism against those who endeavour to link their ideological activities with everyday practice, claiming that they thereby underrate the importance of theory.

That things are not well in the economic science either is evident from the fact that our economists have not produced any serious works dealing with various questions of Soviet economy, or taken part in the

discussion of the key issues of industrial and agricultural development at conferences sponsored by the Central Committee of the CPSU. This indicates that our institutes of economics and their staffs have to a considerable extent cut themselves off from the practical work of Communist construction.

Communism, Lenin said, springs from the creative labour of the millions who have been freed from the fetters of capitalism and are building a new life. Not all, however, have grasped this truth. There still are Party members who think that having delivered a lecture on Communism they have fulfilled their duty to the Party. Certainly, we must never cease to disseminate Marxism-Leninism, propagate the theoretical propositions of Communist construction, but we cannot confine ourselves to that. Soviet people look to our propagandists and lecturers also for practical assistance, thorough explanation of the methods applied by the front-rank workers, sound advice on how this experience can be applied at a given plant or collective farm. But to do so, propagandists and lecturers must be acquainted not only with theoretical principles, but also with concrete economic problems; they must not speak generalities, but with a knowledge of the question under discussion. This is the crux of the matter.

Now, when our country is gradually moving on from socialism to Communism it is particularly important not only to study the classics of Marxism, to explain the theory of Marxism-Leninism but to translate theory into practice, work for material and cultural abundance, promote the growth of a Communist consciousness in our citizens. He who thinks that Communism can be built solely through propaganda, without practical day-to-day effort to increase production and raise the well-being of the working people, will find himself slipping into talmudism and dogmatism.

An end must be put to the pointless political phrase-mongering which Lenin so strongly condemned time and again. What Soviet people demand of our executives is that they always match the deed to the word. If a Party member knows how to make resounding speeches about the significance of Marxism-Leninism, but does not help people carry out this great teaching in practice, his value is nil; he will not enjoy prestige among the masses or win their confidence.

Some dogmatists might read in the above remarks underestimation

of the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory. There is no need to enter into polemics with these dogmatists. Guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism the Soviet people have built socialism – an accomplishment of world wide historic significance. Basing ourselves on knowledge of the objective laws of social development, and constantly studying the history and theory of Marxism-Leninism we must make full use of the advantages of the socialist system in order to hasten in every way the creation of a powerful material and production basis for Communism, and multiply the material and cultural benefits accruing to the working people. The Soviet people expect this of us and we must live up to their expectations without fail and within the briefest possible space of time.

Now as always Marxism-Leninism will continue to light the way to our great goal. Only one thing is wanted – revolutionary theory must be applied creatively, not dogmatically, it must be developed further in the process of the practical work of building Communism, on the basis of generalisation of the latest historical experience and analysis of living realities. Regrettably, however, in many spheres this important work is still lagging very much behind.

There is also this: Lenin taught us that at different periods different aspects of Marxism come to the forefront. Now, when our society is working to attain higher productivity of labour and accomplish the country's basic economic task, the economic aspect of Marxist theory, questions of practical economics, come to the fore.

Over the past seventeen years our propaganda was based principally on the History of the CPSU (B), Short Course. In the future, too, the glorious history of the Party must serve as a cornerstone of our work of education. In view of this it is necessary to put out a popular Marxist textbook on Party history, a textbook based on historical facts and giving a scientific generalisation of the epoch-making struggle waged by the Party for Communism and bringing the story up to the present day.

The economic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the concrete problems of the economics of industry, agriculture, construction, transport and trade have assumed cardinal importance at the present time. Indeed the problems of Marxist-Leninist economics, inseparably linked with the practice of Communist construction, must

be the central element of our propaganda.

The training and education of our cadres in higher schools and Party study courses requires a text book on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in which the cardinal principles of Marxist-Leninist theory would be set out in concise, simple and lucid language. Another book we need is a popular exposition of the fundamentals of Marxist philosophy. These books would be very valuable in popularising the scientific materialist outlook and combating reactionary idealist philosophy.

We have a big job ahead of us in drafting a new programme of the Party, which has not been prepared yet. This draft must obviously be drawn up simultaneously with a long-range economic and cultural development plan covering several five-year periods.

The Central Committee found it necessary to correct some people who introduced confusion in certain clear issues which the Party had settled long before. Take for instance, the question of building socialism in the USSR and gradual transition to Communism. Here some people employed erroneous formulations, such as the one that we have laid so far only the basis, the foundation, of socialism.

Yet, it is a well-known fact that by the time the new Constitution of the USSR was adopted in 1936, the socialist system had triumphed and struck firm root in all branches of the national economy. This means that socialist society had been built in the main in our country already by then, and has been developing on the firm foundation of socialist relations of production ever since. Hence, to claim that we have laid only the foundation of socialism would mislead Party members and all Soviet people generally on so crucial a question as the country's prospect for the future.

We encounter another extreme in the treatment of the question of socialist development. For we also have leading workers who interpret gradual transition from socialism to Communism as a signal for implementation of the principles of Communist society already at the present stage. Some hotheads decided that the construction of socialism had already been completed and began to compile a detailed time-table for the transition to Communism. On the basis of such utopian views a negligent attitude to the socialist principle of material incentive began to take root. There were proposals, wholly unfounded, that we accelerate

the substitution of direct products exchange for Soviet trade. In a word, smug self-complacency began to spread. And there were wisecracks who counterposed light industry to heavy industry, arguing that priority for heavy industry had been essential only at the early stages of Soviet economic development, and that the only job now was to force the pace of the development of light industry.

Understandably enough the Party duly rebuffed these attempts to minimise the results achieved in socialist construction and corrected the authors of these extravagant projects and the pipe-dreamers who, divorced from reality, introduced harmful confusion in fundamental issues of socialist economic development.

Only incorrigible braggarts can close their eyes to the fact that we still have not outstripped economically the most highly developed capitalist countries, that our production level is still insufficient to ensure a well-to-do life to all members of society, that there still are many shortcomings and poor organisation in the economic and cultural fields.

It must be realised that theoretical blunders and utopian illusions prevent people from orienting themselves correctly in practical work and strike a false note in our ideological work.

It is incumbent on Party organisations to heighten their vigilance in ideological work, strictly safeguard the purity of Marxist theory, wage a resolute struggle against all throwbacks to bourgeois ideology, intensify the drive against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men and expose their carriers.

In this connection, we cannot pass by the fact that some people are trying to apply the absolutely correct thesis of the possibility of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems to the ideological sphere. This is a harmful mistake. It does not at all follow from the fact that we stand for peaceful coexistence and economic competition with capitalism, that the struggle against bourgeois ideology, against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men, can be relaxed. Our task is tirelessly to expose bourgeois ideology, reveal how inimical it is to the people, show up its reactionary nature.

In the battle which our Party is waging against the moribund ideas and conceptions of the old world, for the dissemination and affirmation of Communist ideology, a major role belongs to the Press, literature and art. While noting the considerable achievements registered in this

field, it must nevertheless be said that our literature and art still lag behind life, behind Soviet reality, for these are immeasurably richer than their reflection in art and literature. It is legitimate to ask: have not some of our writers and art workers been losing contact with life?

Art and literature in our country can and should take first place in the world not only for wealth of content, but also for artistic power and mastery. We cannot reconcile ourselves to pallid works bearing the stamp of haste, as some comrades in art organisations, editorial offices and publishing houses are doing. Mediocrity and insincerity are often not given a sufficient rebuff and this is detrimental to the development of art and the artistic education of the people.

We can note some progress in the cinema. More films are now being produced than before. Yet, in their drive for quantity, cinema workers often are less discriminating as regards the ideological and artistic quality of pictures and turn out feeble superficial productions dealing with petty and insignificant phenomena. This practice must be ended, remembering that the cinema is a powerful instrument of Communist education of the working people.

The Party has combated and will continue to combat untruthful depiction of Soviet reality, both attempts to varnish it and attempts to scoff at and discredit what has been won by the Soviet people. Creative work in literature and art must be permeated with the spirit of struggle for Communism, it must instil buoyancy and firm conviction in people's hearts and minds, cultivate a socialist mentality and a comradesly sense of duty. Particular attention must be devoted to enhancing further the part played by the Press in all aspects of ideological, political and organisational work.

One of our important tasks is improvement of cultural and educational work in rural areas. Cultural activities in the villages are often neglected and such media as the radio, press, clubs and libraries are poorly utilised. Cultural institutions often have no contact with the practical tasks of Communist construction. Party organisations must make the Houses of Culture, clubs or clubrooms, and libraries centres of their mass political, cultural and educational work. By popularising the experience of the best workers and facilitating the study of scientific farming methods, these institutions should play an important part in carrying out the programme for further advancement of agriculture.

We must make more effective use of all available ideological media in order to forge ahead to new successes in Communist construction. The ideological training of our cadres, of the entire Party membership and the people generally, remains the object of the Party's unflagging concern.

And so, in the field of Party building, organisational leadership and ideological and political work we are faced with the following tasks:

1. To continue to enhance in every way the role of the Party as the leading and guiding force of the Soviet people in all fields of State, social, economic and cultural life in the USSR, further expand and consolidate the Party's ties with the masses and raise its prestige still higher; to safeguard and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the Party and its leading core, strictly observe the principle of collective leadership in the Party; to extend criticism and self-criticism, boldly revealing shortcomings in all fields of economic and cultural development.
2. To develop inner-Party democracy and, on this basis, promote initiative and enhance the responsibility of Party organisations and all Party members; to improve the work of organisation conducted by Party units and direct it to the solution of practical tasks of Communist construction; to improve the selection, training and allocation of cadres; to heighten the role of the trade unions and the Young Communist League in accomplishing the tasks of Communist construction.
3. To raise the level of ideological work in all Party organisations, direct it to the solution of practical tasks of Communist construction; to ensure the creative assimilation by Communists of the theory and historical experience of the Party; to increase vigilance in our ideological work, wage an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology; to intensify our efforts in Communist education of the masses and in eliminating the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men; to make fuller and more active use to this end of all ideological media – propaganda, agitation, the press, radio, cultural and educational organisations and institutions, science, literature and art.

Comrades, the Soviet people have travelled a great and glorious path. Under the leadership of their Communist Party, they have achieved great historical gains. Our victories have been won in grim battle with external and internal enemies. The Soviet people have overcome many

difficulties and adversities, and they are consistently and firmly carrying out the plans for the transformation of the country, the majestic plans for developing the socialist economy.

The achievements of the Soviet Union hearten and inspire our people and all our friends. Even our enemies have been forced to change their tone. The first Soviet Five-Year Plan they greeted with irony and disbelief, in the strength of the socialist State; now they are sounding the alarm. Today even the blind can see what gigantic results the working class, working peasantry, the entire people of the Soviet Union have achieved. Having taken their destiny in their own hands and having created, under the leadership of the Party, the world's first socialist State of workers and peasants, our people are working with might and main to build a Communist society, thereby setting an inspiring example to all the peoples of the world.

The Soviet land is now forging rapidly forward. Speaking figuratively, we have risen to such summits, to such a height that we can already see before us broad vistas leading to our ultimate goal, Communist society.

The path our country blazed to reach these heights was arduous and incredibly difficult. But no difficulty could make the Soviet peoples falter or break their will. The grim and courageous struggles they waged to overcome these difficulties further steeled the working folk of the Soviet land. The Soviet people consciously denied themselves much as regards food and clothing, housing and the comforts of life and in many other respects. We are criticised for not always keeping up with the latest Paris fashion and still often wearing wadded jackets which are not very flattering to the wearer, but we see this ourselves and admit that it is so.

We denied ourselves many things; we had no other way out.

To retain and multiply the historical gains of the Great October Revolution we had to create within the briefest possible space of time a mighty socialist industry, the cornerstone of the entire economy of the country and its defence power. We had radically to reconstruct agriculture, create new cadres of intellectuals drawn from the midst of the people, build a socialist society.

Time and again our enemies have sought to test the strength and vitality of the Soviet Socialist State but all these attempts have failed

and the organisers of war gambles broke their necks in the process. The Soviet State is advancing from strength to strength, it towers like a mighty beacon showing mankind the way to the new world.

In the present, Sixth Five-Year Plan period the Soviet Union will take a new great stride forward. While continuing to develop heavy industry, we are laying a broader basis for promoting those branches of the national economy which produce consumer goods.

Our Party is full of creative strength, mighty energy and inflexible resolve to achieve the great aim – the building of Communism. In all human history there has not been, nor can there be, a loftier and nobler aim. Communism will bring about the fullest development of all the productive forces of society; it will be a social system where all the fountains of social wealth will flow freely, where every individual will work with enthusiasm according to his abilities and be compensated for his labour according to his needs. On this basis the prerequisites will be created for the all-round development of the individual, of every member of the Communist society.

That is why the ideas of Communism possess a tremendous magnetic power and attract ever new supporters. There is nothing more absurd than the fiction that people are forced to take the path of Communism under pressure from without. We are confident that the ideas of Communism will triumph and no “iron curtains” or barriers erected by the bourgeois reactionaries can halt their spread to more and more millions.

At the same time we firmly stand for peaceful coexistence, for economic competition between socialism and capitalism; we follow a consistent policy of peace and friendship among nations.

Our Party has many enemies and ill-wishers, but it has a great many more tried and tested friends and loyal allies.

Our cause is invincible! It is invincible because, together with the great Soviet people, many hundreds of millions in fraternal People's China and in all the People's Democracies are carrying it forward. It is invincible because it enjoys the ardent support and sympathy of peoples and countries which have freed themselves of national and colonial oppression. It is invincible because it is supported by the working people of the whole world. No one can intimidate us, compel us to withdraw

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from the positions we occupy, to renounce the defence of peace, democracy and socialism.

The future is with us, for we are confidently marching forward along the only correct path, the path charted for us by our teacher, the great Lenin. Hundreds of millions of men and women, inspired by the ideas of a just social system, the ideas of democracy and socialism, are rallying around us and our friends.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism which is transforming the world, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will lead the Soviet people to the complete triumph of Communism.

SPEECH AT THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

by D.T. SHEPILOV

Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU

February 16, 1956

Comrades,

The central committee's report to the 20th Party Congress gave a profound and comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present international situation and a scientific generalisation of the results of our country's development in the economic, government and cultural spheres. At the same time, it put forward the major national economic tasks for the next few years and elaborated important propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory illuminating our path in the further struggle for the triumph of the ideas of scientific communism.

The report reflects the feeling for the new uncompromising attitude towards shortcomings, and the spirit of creative quest and initiative which are inherent in the Leninist style of party leadership. These features make themselves felt in all the work of the central committee, in the entire activity of our party.

Take the sphere of international relations, for example. What bold initiative and how many important steps the central committee has taken in this sphere in the recent period in order to ease international tension. This has produced beneficial results which are felt by the masses of the people in East and West.

Now take the sphere of home policy. The central committee has very soberly and critically appraised the situation in various branches of the socialist economy, has disclosed colossal untapped reserves lying latent in our economy, and has mobilised the people of the Soviet country

Source : Speech by D.T. Shepilov, Published by Soviet News, 3 Rosary Gardens, London, S.W. 7.

for great constructive effort towards the continued vigorous advance in all fields of socialist production, the foundation of our country's wealth and power. This initiative of the central committee and the party's gigantic organisational and educational work among the masses of the people have yielded abundant fruit.

There exists a decisive and objective index showing that our party's policy is correct, that it expresses the best interests of the country as a whole, the interests of the people. This index is the unanimous support given by the masses of the working people to all the measures carried out by the party; it is the great solidarity of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the Soviet intelligentsia with the party and its central committee.

There is no doubt that, following our congress, the entire party, the whole Soviet people, and the progressive forces the world over will heartily welcome the central committee's report, which strikingly testifies to the great, all-conquering force of the eternally living and eternally developing teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

* * *

Comrade Khrushchov forcefully and convincingly described in his report the laws of development of the two opposite systems – the socialist and the capitalist systems. The whole course of historical development has irrefutably confirmed the thesis of the great Lenin, that the present era is an era of the disintegration and doom of the capitalist system, and of the formation and rapid flowering of the new, socialist system. Today, it is no longer enough to say that capitalism has ceased to be a single, all-embracing system. That was true before the momentous change which took place as a result of the Second World War. Today socialist relations have taken root not only in our country but in a number of other countries of Europe and Asia, and socialism has become a world system which is gaining in stature and strength.

Before the Second World War the socialist system accounted for 17 per cent of the world's territory, about 9 per cent of its population, and only 7 per cent of its industrial production. Today the countries of the socialist camp occupy more than 25 per cent of the world's territory, comprise upwards of 35 per cent of its total population, and account for roughly 30 per cent of its industrial production.

The socialist system is establishing itself at a faster rate than any other social formation in history. Indeed, it took feudalism more than 200 years to demonstrate its advantages over the slave system of economy and to establish itself as the dominant mode of production. It took the capitalist system of economy about a century and a half to demonstrate its advantages over the feudal system, attain a high level of industrial development, and take shape as a world system. In a third of a century, however, the socialist system has not only demonstrated its complete superiority over capitalism but has taken shape as a world system which is steadily developing along an ascending line.

These are historical facts. Yet in defiance of the facts, bourgeois ideologists are attempting to refute the scientific appraisal that present-day capitalism is decaying and dying away, and to represent it as healthy and prosperous. Only recently, on 5 January, a Presidential message to the United States Congress said that America's economy had reached an unprecedented level of prosperity.

But is that really so? Let us turn to the figures. In the past twenty-six years the volume of industrial production in the capitalist world increased by 93 per cent, that is, less than two-fold, while in the Soviet Union it increased more than twenty-fold. But the first question that arises is: on *what* basis did capitalist industry effect this extremely modest expansion? Comrade Khrushchov's report analysed the four basic factors behind this small increase in production. I should like to dwell in greater detail on one of them.

Let us take the most highly developed capitalist country, the United States of America, where industrial output in the past quarter of a century increased by 134 per cent. The facts show that it rose on militarist yeast, that the Second World War turned out to be a goldmine for the American monopolies, which is why industrial production reached its peak by 1943. Immediately after the war, however, American industry was compelled to curtail production by nearly 30 percent. This was followed by two slumps in 1948-49 and in 1953 – and today United States industry is only slightly ahead of the 1943 level.

The American monopolies are trying to stimulate business activity by intensifying the arms drive and militarising the economy. A huge share of the national income is being diverted, through the Federal budget, to pay for arms orders. Various forms of state monopoly

capitalism are growing considerably stronger. A tremendous mass of finished products and raw material resources goes into unproductive military consumption or lies frozen in strategic stockpiles. During the postwar years United States military expenditure has totalled more than \$ 340,000 million.

Huge armaments expenditure necessarily leads to a chronic deficit in national budgets and derangement of financial systems. Compared with before the war, the money in circulation in 1954 had increased as follows: in Britain by 250 per cent; in the United States by 370 per cent; in Canada 6-fold; in France 23-fold; in Italy 80-fold; in Japan 200-fold. The real values of the respective currency units in 1954, compared with 1938, were: the US dollar 46 per cent; the pound sterling 31 per cent; the French franc 3.7 per cent; the Italian lira 2 per cent; the Japanese yen less than 0.5 per cent. In 1955 the national debt and private indebtedness in the United States amounted to more than \$600,000 million, according to American sources. That is more than two-thirds of the entire national wealth of the United States.

All this brings out an inevitable feature of the present stage in the development of capitalism: it demands constant militarist stimulation. Life has shown that government arms orders to the tune of thousands of millions of dollars and direct military aggression can, of course, postpone the onset of an economic crisis for a certain length of time, or even temporarily check its progress. That is what took place in the United States as a result of the war in Korea. It is also taking place today in connection with the efforts to carry out the broad plans for forming and arming West German divisions.

But it is one thing temporarily to postpone the onset of a crisis, and another thing to nullify the operation of objective economic laws.

Here is what the progressive American economist, Hyman Lumer, has said in this respect: "In resorting to war production as a panacea against economic crises, monopoly capital resembles nothing so much as a drug addict in whom a dose of his drug at first produces a pleasant sense of well-being. But this is soon followed by the painful after-effects which in turn can only be relieved by another larger dose of the drug. And with each successive dose the immediate sense of well-being becomes less while the after-effects become more agonising until, through evermore frequent and massive doses of the drug, the addict

ultimately destroys himself.” (Quotations are re-translated from the Russian.)

The entire course of post-war economic development has further intensified the *uneven* and *spasmodic* nature of capitalist development. Large-scale militarisation of the economy, carried out through greater exploitation of the masses of the working people, and growth of the tax burden lead to a still greater drop in effective demand, stagnation in the consumer goods industries, a sharpening of the contradictions between town and country, and one-sided economic development, inevitably paving the way for a grave economic crisis and other social upheavals.

In face of the mounting economic difficulties, the struggle for sources of raw materials and markets is growing particularly bitter. While the capitalist *home* markets are becoming narrower and narrower under the action of the law of the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class and ruination of the peasantry, the transition of a number of countries to the socialist path of development and the continuing disintegration of the imperialist colonial system have contracted the *foreign* markets. By their policy of deliberately breaking up market relations that took shape among various countries of the world through the centuries, and hindering trade with the socialist countries, the United States monopolies are making the problem of markets more acute than ever, which reduces the manoeuvring potentialities of the monopolies. The struggle between the imperialist forces, above all between the United States and Britain, for markets and sources of raw materials has therefore become extremely sharp, and now two such powers as Western Germany and Japan, which have recovered from the upheavals of the war, have entered this struggle.

That is how things stand with respect to the development of the capitalist system if one looks into the *underlying* processes hidden behind external conjunctural phenomena. We cannot now therefore speak of a stabilisation of capitalism, not even partial, conditional, restricted stability, as distinct from the middle twenties.

It does not follow, however, that we should draw simplified conclusions about a steady down-grade in capitalist production. Marxist-Leninists have always decisively rejected the theory of the “stagnation” of capitalism – the erroneous and unscientific view that the decay of capitalism in the imperialist era means the “bottling

up” of productive forces, that a stop is put to technical progress.

The drive for maximum profits and the contraction of the market accentuate the competition between the capitalist countries, between their monopolies, to an unprecedented degree, and this competition inevitably stimulates the *renewal of fixed capital*. Substantial technical progress is taking place in a number of industries: new highly efficient equipment and all manner of improvements are being introduced. Two trends, as Lenin emphasised, are characteristic of imperialism: one towards technological stagnation and decay, and the opposite trend towards technological growth as a result of competition and the drive of the monopolies for maximum profits.

The offensive of the capitalist monopolies against the working people’s vital interests, the high degree of full and partial unemployment in the major capitalist countries, the colossal rise in the cost of living, the increasing ruination of small commodity producers, and the growth of the tax burden – all this inevitably sharpens the contradictions between labour and capital, and intensifies the struggle of the masses of the working people against the arms drive and the entire system of capitalist oppression.

* * *

Comrades, the central committee’s report pointed out that the exacerbation of the contradictions in the strongholds of the capitalist system – the metropolitan countries – is accompanied by a world-historic process of victorious struggle by the peoples of the far-flung colonial world for their freedom and independence.

“Capitalism”, Lenin said, “has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of ‘advanced countries’.” (*Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 22, p.179)

Capitalism built up a huge pyramid of colonial oppression. On its summit stood a few powers of the white race, and then came various other countries, placed according to their dependence on the colonial “masters”, while the entire weight of this structure pressed down unbearably on pariah nations deprived of all human rights.

On the threshold of the twentieth century there arose a situation which was figuratively described by Cecil Rhodes, prominent ideologist of imperialism and “father” of the British Empire, who voiced the

boundless thirst of the colonialists for the seizure of foreign countries. He wrote: "The world is nearly all parcelled out, and what there is left of it is being divided up, conquered, and colonised. To think of these stars that you see overhead at night, these vast worlds which we can never reach. I would annex the planets if I could; I often think of that. It makes me sad to see them so clear and yet so far." The imperialist oppressors regarded the colonialist system as eternal, as a normal, "natural" state. Lord Dalhousie, a British governor-general, arrogantly declared that "so long as the sun shines in the sky, so long will the British flag fly over Burma".

History has shown that the colonialists did not reach the stars, but that here on earth, in vast expanses of the colonial world, the waves of national liberation movements are rising higher and higher.

The October Socialist Revolution dealt imperialism and its rearguard a crushing blow. The gigantic pyramid of colonial oppression is crumbling before our eyes. In 1939 there was still a population of about 1,500 million in colonial and dependent countries. Today more than 1,200 million have already thrown off the yoke of colonial and semi-colonial dependency.

Great China has broken the imperialist and feudal chains and taken to the road of a new life. True, there are some who refuse to recognise the Chinese People's Republic, but, as the people aptly say, the great Chinese revolution is in no need of an American resolution. India, who has the world's second largest population, Indonesia, Egypt, Burma and other countries have also cast off the yoke of colonialism and acquired national independence. A great process of the regeneration of peoples of the Arab East, Africa and Latin America has begun. The entire shameful system of colonial oppression is bursting at the seams.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the forces standing for the preservation of colonialism do not want to reconcile themselves to their defeat, that they are trying to turn back the wheel of history. They want to entrench themselves in important positions in the Asian and African zones and in the Near and Middle East; they are inciting Asian peoples against one another, and Arab peoples against one another.

The colonialists now assign a special place in their plans to Africa. In a book dealing with the African problem the American journalist, John Gunther, says the African continent "is vital to the western world

not merely because it is important strategically and is packed with vital raw materials, but because it is our Last Frontier. Much of Asia has been lost; Africa remains."

The ideologists of colonialism like to talk about the imperialist powers' "mission of civilisation" in the colonial countries. They try to screen the policy of neo-colonialism with a false drapery of economic and cultural "aid" to backward and underdeveloped countries. No drapery, however, can hide the real state of affairs in the colonies and dependent countries. What, for example, have the colonialists brought to Africa? The overwhelming majority of the African population is illiterate. In Nigeria there is one doctor for every 133,000 inhabitants, and in the Transvaal, one for every 150,000. A British magazine has estimated that the average wage of Africans in Nyasaland, after taxes, ranges from 20 to 40 per cent of the local subsistence minimum. In Northern Rhodesia an African miner is paid a fraction of the wages a European miner gets for the same work. The foreign colonialists are making fabulous profits there.

Another large zone of colonial domination which the present-day rulers of the capitalist world like to keep behind a screen is Latin America. Most of the Latin-American countries have been turned into agrarian raw material appendages of the powerful American monopolies; their economies have been developed in an extremely one-sided and distorted manner. The living standards in a number of Latin-American countries are extraordinarily low. In Peru the average life-span is only slightly more than thirty years, according to data published in the American press. The average rate of profit obtained by American monopolies in the Latin American countries, where more than a third of United States capital abroad is invested, is twice as high as the average rate of profit in the United States itself. It is not surprising that the North American monopolies are keeping such a tight grip on their privileges in the Latin-American countries and that, as the Guatemalan events in 1954 showed, they do not balk at direct intervention to suppress the indignation of the oppressed peoples.

That is what the system of domination and subordination in the countries of the capitalist world really looks like. The efforts of the imperialist ideologists to attach the label of "free world" to the world of capitalist exploitation and colonial oppression are therefore the height

of hypocrisy and a mockery of the essence of concepts and human conscience.

* * *

Comrades, the entire course of historical development has demonstrated the indisputable superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

Take, for example, the question of rates of economic development. Over the past twenty-six years (1930-55) the average annual increase in industrial production was 12.3 per cent in the USSR, 3.3 per cent in the United States, 2.4 per cent in Britain, and 0.9 per cent in France. If we take the eleven prewar and nine postwar years, a twenty-year period of, so to say, normal war-free development of the economies of the two worlds, the picture becomes more impressive still. The average annual increase in industrial production was 18 per cent in the USSR, 2.8 per cent in the United States, 3.5 per cent in Britain, and 2.5 per cent in France. In other words, the socialist economy is moving ahead from five to seven and more times as fast as the capitalist economy.

It is on this historically tested experience, on the firm foundation of Marxist economic theory, that we base our profound conviction that socialism will win in the economic competition between the two systems, that we shall accomplish, in a very short time, historically speaking, the USSR's principal economic task, namely to overtake and surpass the most highly developed capitalist countries in industrial production per head of population.

The socialist system implies rapid development of productive forces, abolition of exploitation and parasitic consumption, the absence of economic crises and of wasteful expenditure of the social wealth. It also implies a system under which the aim of social production is man and his requirements, the welfare of the people. That is the first and most fundamental reason for the great attractive force of the ideas of socialism for hundreds of millions of people in East and West.

The second reason is that the socialist system has established a great fraternity of different nationalities, has raised the lowest strata of the people, strata which capitalism has mauled and strangled, to the summits as creators of history, has made them the masters of their destiny. Is it surprising that the common people in all countries associate

all their hopes for a better life with the ideas of socialism?

The great attractive force of the ideas of socialism is based, thirdly, on the fact that socialism is a standard-bearer of peace and friendship among all nations, big and small. Is it surprising that in their struggle against capitalist oppression and the policy of war gambles the masses of the people throughout the world are rallying themselves more and more around the banner of peace and socialism?

The ideas of socialism are taking ever wider possession of the masses of the people and have truly become a powerful motive force of toiling mankind. On the other hand, the incurable evils and ulcers of the capitalist social system and of the imperialist ideology are becoming increasingly apparent. It is these opposite lines of development of the two systems that determine the essence of what might be called the *ideological strategy* of the capitalist world.

Wherein lies the essence of this strategy? The first line of strategy consists in the spokesmen of contemporary capitalism seeking primarily to redecorate the façade of the capitalist edifice in some sort of “popular style”, to inscribe the words “free world” on it in bold letters, and light it up with some attractive illuminations in the hope of counteracting the powerful beacon of the ideas of socialism. An American author, John Fisher, put it in so many words in a book of his. What the United States lacks, he says, is purpose, an ideal, a mirage, if you please, capable of firing the imagination of people in the West.

In *War and Peace*, by John Foster Dulles, the present US Secretary of State, which was published in 1950, we read: “Something has gone wrong with our nation.... What we lack is a righteous and dynamic faith. Without it, all else avails us little. The lack cannot be compensated for by politicians, however able; or by diplomats, however astute; or by scientists, however inventive; or by bombs, however powerful.”

What is the ideal which the spiritual armour-bearers of contemporary capitalism would like to conjure up in order to camouflage the façade of the edifice of capitalism, what is the “dynamic faith” they are yearning for?

In recent years such a newly concocted ideal has been supplied by the myth of a so-called “new capitalism” or, as the imperialist ideologists are more and more frequently calling it, “people’s capitalism”. According to this myth, old-time capitalism has allegedly passed away.

In the twentieth century, the economist Berle claims, there has been a “capitalist revolution”, which has supposedly resulted in fundamental changes in the spheres of both economy and class relations. One set of bourgeois publicists define this “new capitalism” as capitalism “with a planned economy” or “a balanced full-employment economy”. Others claim that the “new capitalism” has itself created a “counter-balance for the vices of capitalism arising from monopoly domination. A third set go so far as to say that this is capitalism without capitalists or workers, inasmuch as both the one and the other, they claim, work alike, only in different spheres.

In the United States the “new capitalism” myth has been elevated to an official state doctrine, and the propagation of this “people’s capitalism” has been assigned to a special government information agency. Washburn, one of the heads of this agency, recently made the noteworthy statement that it is “important that we have a phrase that distinguishes between capitalism today in the United States and capitalism in Europe 100 years ago, when Marx was writing. The favoured phrase is people’s capitalism.” The information agency has even organised a special “people’s capitalism” exhibition, to be put on display at fairs all over the world. Yet “people’s capitalism” is as absurd an idea as fried ice!

How great indeed must the magnetic force of the ideas of socialism be if in that bastion of the capitalist world, the United States of America, prominent government leaders and their spiritual armour-bearers are compelled to cover up the senile and rotting body of capitalism with a “popular” toga!

The imperialist politicians use the fig leaves of “Atlantic unity”, “European community” etc. also to cover up the creation of military blocs like the North Atlantic bloc, SEATO, the Baghdad Pact, and others. Under this cover an incessant attack is being conducted all along the line against the principle of the national sovereignty of the countries of both East and West.

Similar camouflage is employed by the aggressive powers also in regard to the colonial countries. There was a time when the imperialist did not trouble to resort to masks and spoke of the true aims of colonialism with utter brazenness. The well-known British political leader, Joynson Hicks, for instance, once said that Britain conquered

India not for the good of the Indians, and that the glorification of this conquest at meetings of missionaries as something aimed at improving the conditions of the Indians was hypocrisy. Britain, he said, subjugated India in order to find a market for British goods – subjugated it by the sword and had to maintain her power there by the sword.

Now times have changed. In the face of mighty national liberation movements, the present-day colonialists are compelled to camouflage their policy of expansion, the policy of building up aggressive blocs, by pretending to be “friends” and “defenders” of the colonial peoples. But they are finding it harder and harder to deceive the enslaved peoples. Recently, in connection with the Eisenhower-Eden declaration, the Egyptian newspaper *Al Gumhuria* wrote: “The times have gone when the affairs of the Middle East countries could be discussed in London, Paris, and Washington and when Middle East policy changed at the dictate of Western politicians.... The peoples of the Middle East have achieved independence and are capable of solving their problems themselves without foreign interference. They need neither guardians nor mentors.”

The *second line* of ideological strategy pursued by the forces of aggression consists in smearing and distorting scientific socialism, in misrepresenting the great accomplishments of the countries of the socialist camp and the essence of the liberation movements.

One of the most threadbare methods is the attempt to distort the peaceable character of the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist camp, to represent these countries as a source of danger for peace and the aggressive imperialist countries as peacemakers. In this connection the unfounded thesis is dragged out alleging that the Marxist precept, that capitalism must inevitably be succeeded by socialism, is incompatible with the possibility of peaceful coexistence of the two systems – the capitalist and the socialist systems.

No, these two precepts are fully compatible. Lenin discovered and substantiated the law of the unequal economic and political development of the capitalist countries in the epoch of imperialism. The fact that the pre-requisites for the transition to socialism mature in different countries at different times, that all countries do not break away from the capitalist system at once, signifies that the *simultaneous existence* of capitalist and socialist states *is inevitable* in this world of

ours. Whether some people like this or not, it is a law of historical development.

We know that there are a great many people in the bourgeois countries who believe that capitalism is better than socialism. We Soviet people, just as millions of working folk in all corners of the world, are convinced of the contrary. We are certain that in the historical competition of the two systems, the final victory belongs to socialism, as the higher, more progressive social system.

It goes without saying that we offer capitalism no compromise in ideological, programmatic questions. The capitalist and socialist outlooks cannot be reconciled. Nor is this necessary for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. It is the task of our scientists, artists of the written word, all workers in the sphere of ideology to reveal the grandeur of the Soviet socialist ideology, to educate our people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of friendship among peoples, in the spirit of irreconcilability to all forms of slavery, oppression, colonialism, and national and racial discrimination. And we shall do this with all resolution and consistency. Moreover, we categorically reject the "cold war" method which has become so popular with the ideologists of reaction. The controversy over which system is better – capitalism or socialism – cannot be settled by force, by the "cold war" method.

The Soviet State, all the countries of the socialist camp, propose that the advantages of the two social systems be tested in competition in the arena of peaceful economic construction, and not in rivalry on the battlefield. He who rejects this principle, to all intents and purposes stands for war, no matter how loud he may trumpet the word "peace" or the latest formula "peace on the brink of war".

The aforementioned precepts of Marxist-Leninist theory also completely refute the notorious posing of the question of "export of revolution". It is precisely Marxism, as distinct from all bourgeois ideological conceptions, that has shown that revolutions are not made to order, not by the wishful thinking of individuals, but are the result of the laws of historical development.

"Of course," Lenin said, "there are people who think that a revolution can be made in another country to order, by agreement. Such people are either mad or provocateurs.... We know that revolutions

cannot be made to order or by agreement, that they come about when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that they no longer can live as before". (*Collected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 27, p. 441).

The theory of scientific communism teaches us that the transition from the capitalist mode of production to the socialist mode is a revolutionary process effected under the leadership of the working class. This distinguishes Marxists from reformists and opportunists, who on the pretext of propounding gradual, evolutionary transition from one mode of production to another, actually uphold the capitalist system. However, *revolutionary* transformations take different forms.

Comrades, our country was the first in the world to break with capitalism and launch out on the path of socialism. Centuries and thousands of years will pass, but humanity will always pay grateful homage to the working class of Russia, to the heroic Communist Party, to the immortal Lenin, who raised high the sacred banner of struggle for the emancipation of mankind and, ensuring the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, opened a new era in world history – the era of communism.

Nearly four decades have passed since that great historical landmark. In this time the world situation has changed radically. A mighty camp of countries of democracy and socialism, where the ideas of communism constitute the philosophy of many hundreds of millions of people, has come into being. The victorious struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries against imperialist oppression is developing. In the countries where capitalism still prevails, millions of people are drawn with all their being to socialism. Are not the British workers who are following the Labour Party and the trade unions supporters of socialism? Not to speak of the militant, glorious working class of France and Italy, which has given ample proof of its loyalty to socialist ideals.

In these conditions only formalists and those who would make Marxism a dogma can assume that such deep-going transformations as the transition from one social system to another can be effected after a single pattern – in one and the same manner in, say, Denmark and Brazil, Sweden and Malaya. This is a distortion of the *essence* of Marxism, of its creative spirit. History has fully confirmed the foresight of the great Lenin when he said that "the revolution is developing in different

countries in different forms and at different tempos (and it cannot be otherwise)" (*Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 28, p. 56). Everything depends on the concrete conditions in each country.

The masses of the people and the Communist and Workers' Parties have produced much that is new and unique in the course of the profound social changes that have taken place in each of the European people's democracies. Still more is the course of the socialist revolution in China unique. After the revolutionary establishment of the people's power, the Chinese Communist Party, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, concluded that in the conditions of China, "not only individual private property can be replaced by socialist, collective property, but also capitalist property by socialist property by means of peaceful methods, that is, methods of persuasion and education," as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out. Having isolated and made harmless that vicious enemy of the people, the comprador bourgeoisie, the Chinese State is transforming, step by step, private ownership in its various forms into socialist ownership.

From the point of view of pedants whose Marxism is all book learning, such an approach to the question of transforming the property of the exploiters into socialist property is nothing less than a travesty of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, yet actually this is creative Marxism-Leninism in action, the masterly, bold and wise application of Marxist dialectics to the concrete conditions of China by her heroic Communist Party.

There is no doubt that in the future the creative efforts of the millions will produce a still greater variety of forms of transition from capitalism to socialism.

In this connection the precepts set forth in Comrade Khrushchov's report in the section "Some Fundamental Questions of Present-Day International Development", among them the precepts on the forms of transition to socialism in different countries, are of tremendous theoretical and practical significance.

It goes without saying that in the concrete conditions of a country where there is a strong reactionary bureaucratic apparatus of bourgeois dictatorship and a strong military caste, and where the exploiting classes offer desperate resistance to the working people's struggle to remake society along new, socialist lines, the dictatorship of the proletariat will

have to break this resistance by violent means. The sharpest forms of class struggle may prove inevitable in such conditions, forced, as they may be, on the working class by the exploiting classes.

But Lenin repeatedly stressed that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only the use of force against the exploiters, and not even mainly the use of force". (*Collected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 29, p. 386). Civil wars, the most violent forms of the class struggle, are by no means inevitable in all countries and in all situations. Not long before his death, Engels wrote that the working class is capable of turning universal suffrage ".....from a means of deception, which it was before, into an instrument of emancipation". (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 1, p. 101) He pointed out that after winning the support of the masses of toiling peasants and other exploited sections of the population, the working class can develop "into the decisive power in the land before which all other powers will have to bow, whether they like it or not" (*Ibid.*, p. 107).

In the contemporary, new world conditions it is fully possible that a situation may arise in a number of countries when the working class, led by its Communist vanguard, and having rallied around itself all other working people, all the progressive forces, may in the course of the revolutionary struggle transform the parliament into an organ of genuine democracy acting in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation. Leninism demands concrete reckoning with concrete situations.

One of the characteristic features of our time is the combination of the socialist revolution in certain countries with the mass struggle "of all the oppressed and dissatisfied". The great Lenin rejected as "pedantically ludicrous" the view that capitalism will be succeeded by socialism when "one host takes up a certain position and declares 'we are for socialism', and another host another position and declares 'we are for imperialism', and this will be the social revolution!" (*Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 22, p. 340). Actually, in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, many socialist and non-socialist currents and streams which are washing away and undermining the dilapidated edifice of capitalism from different sides are converging into a mighty flood of the people's liberation struggle.

Do these currents and streams differ as to motive forces, ideology

and immediate aims? Unquestionably they do. The attraction of the ideas of socialism has increased to such a measure that, besides Marxist proletarian revolutionaries, political leaders, groups and parties whose understanding of socialism does not coincide with the principles of revolutionary Marxism, but who are ready to fight against imperialism and for the vital interests of the working class and all other working people, declare themselves supporters of socialism. That is why in many cases common interest in the struggle against capitalist oppression, for freedom and democracy, may compel differences and diverging views to recede into the background.

Communists are opposed as a matter of principle to sectarian limitations and narrow-mindedness. They want all contemporary mass movements, whatever their type or shade, to unite against imperialism. Struggle against social oppression, against colonialism, for peace and democracy will bring about the realisation of the great hopes of all oppressed peoples, whether they be Arab, Asian, or Latin-American; of all working people, whether they be Catholics or Protestants, Buddhists or Mohammedans.

Never before has the great watchword of *unity* carried such an active and comprehensive purport. We stand for working class unity and extend the hand of friendship and proletarian solidarity to all workers' organisations and parties, to all who are prepared to help the working class fulfil its historic mission with honour.

* * *

Comrades, the report of the central committee and the draft directives on the Sixth Five-Year Plan put forward new great tasks in economic and cultural development. In 1960 the output of pig iron will be 3.6 times as great as in the prewar year of 1940, the output of steel 3.7 times, and of oil 4.3 times. Numerous new giant enterprises will spring up all over the country. Suffice it to mention such a great construction undertaking included in the new Five-Year Plan as the Bratsk hydro-electric station, with a capacity of 3,200,000 kw. This is five times the capacity of such a large power plant as the Dnieper station. Agriculture is to produce in 1960 no less than 11,000 million poods [62 poods = 1 ton approx.] of grain. What titanic socialist economic might is explicit in these figures!

A major step forward will be taken in raising the material wellbeing and the cultural level of our people. We are looking forward to going over to a seven-hour working day, increasing the national income roughly by 60 per cent, substantially increasing the real wages of workers and other employees as well as the incomes of the collective farmers. A country which not so long ago was still called “bast-sandal Russia” will introduce universal secondary education in both town and country in the current five-year period.

Of course, comrades, we still have many big and complex tasks to solve: productivity of labour is still low, many of the machines, devices and other goods we make are not as good and are more expensive than those made abroad, the housing question is still a serious problem; we have difficulties to cope with and contradictions to overcome. But our party knows what to do and is successfully solving these tasks, overcoming the difficulties and contradictions.

To create an abundance of material and spiritual wealth in our country with the utmost speed, we must resolutely improve all party and government work, the forms and methods of economic management, and all aspects of the party’s ideological work. The role and significance of Marxist-Leninist theory grow steadily in the conditions of the gradual transition from socialism to communism. For communism does not emerge spontaneously, but is created by the labour of the millions of Soviet people, in full conformity with objective economic laws, according to plans and projects drawn up by the Communist Party on the basis of a profound understanding and correct application of these laws. Hence, the most important tasks of all our ideological work are to perceive the laws of economic development, apply the principles of Marxist theory in practice, generalise the results of the practical activities of the masses of the people and disseminate the experience of the best workers.

Marxist theory teaches us that material being, the mode of production of material wealth, is that decisive force which determines the basic features of a society, the level of its development, and its spiritual life. In other words, for all the importance of this work, we must not limit ourselves only to *explaining* Marxist-Leninist theory. We Communists are not passive custodians of the Marxist-Leninist heritage; we are not keepers of ideological archives. Ideological work which is not connected with the pressing tasks of *economic and cultural*

development resolves into either talmudistic and dogmatic repetition of well-known truths and principles or empty phrase-mongering and hosannas. To pull one's weight worthily in the sphere of ideology means to work for new achievements in economic and cultural development, to stimulate the growth of socialist consciousness in Soviet people and on this basis facilitate increased production of coal, steel, oil, electric power, machines, grain, butter, meat, potatoes and other vegetables, so as to meet fully the material and cultural needs of our people.

In this connection I should like to stress particularly the need to put propaganda and the dissemination of advanced experience on a new footing that will really promote the interests of the state. The propagation and wide-scale application of the methods of trail-blazers in production is the shortest way to abundance. Allow me to illustrate the importance of this with a few simple examples.

The average monthly productivity of the coal-cutting combine teams working at the Kuzbas collieries in the last quarter of 1955 was 7,944 tons, whereas the teams at the Polysayevskaya No. 1 pit of the Lenin coal trust brought up in October more than 22,000 tons, in November more than 20,000 tons, and in December more than 25,000 tons. If the productivity achieved by these teams were to be extended to all the pits of this colliery organisation, the *output of coal* in the Kuzbas *would be trebled*.

Take agriculture. In many regions the grain yields in some years range from 8 to 10 centners per hectare [1 centner per hectare = 0.797 cwt. per acre. 1 centner = 1.97 cwt. approx.] and now and then are even less. Yet last year Kirovograd Region harvested an average of 21 centners of grain per hectare, while 388 field teams in the region raised 25-30 centners per hectare; Dnepropetrovsk Region obtained an average grain harvest of 20.7 centners per hectare. A still higher yield was registered last year by the collective farm in Berezovsky District, Odessa Region, where Comrade Posmitny is chairman. This farm obtained from its total area of 1,800 hectares [1 hectare = 2.47 acres.] an average of 35 centners, or 210 poods per hectare.

If we disregard records and set ourselves an aim fully within the reach of every district in our country – to obtain from each hectare not 210 poods, as Comrade Posmitny's collective farm does, but 100 poods of grain *everywhere* – we could raise on our present

cultivated areas more than 12,000 *million poods of grain* annually.

Comrades, thousands of facts testify to the gigantic latent potentialities we possess. Because industry failed to fulfil the Five-Year Plan for growth of labour productivity, the output of our economy in the last year of the Five-Year Plan alone was 40,000 million roubles' worth less than it would have been if the productivity target had been reached: 40,000 million roubles! Or take another example. Owing to indifference to questions of technical progress by our machine builders and leading workers in the field of agriculture, we still mainly use tractor-hauled implements. By going over from this type to tractor-mounted attachments, which is something that was done a long time ago in a number of advanced capitalist countries, we could release the majority of the more than 1 million workers who now operate the tractor-drawn implements.

Such are the gigantic potentialities which we possess but which our scientific institutions, economists, agriculturists, propagandists, writers, and many practical workers often ignore.

Thousands of leading workers, innovators, heroes and heroines of labour have come to the fore in all branches of the national economy, and the entire country is rightly proud of their accomplishments. But speaking of heroes, we often forget that the decisive factor of our economic advance is not records set by leading workers but the growth of the productivity of labour of *all* people engaged in the national economy. Alongside the achievements of the leading workers one can frequently find the most glaring instances of low productivity of labour, and occasionally even downright waste of manpower and material means. In this connection I take the liberty of reading the following unpublished letter written by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and dated 12 April 1922. He writes:

The worst thing we suffer from is an overabundance of generalities in the press and political twaddle while *study* of local experience is neglected to the extreme. Both in the localities and on top there are powerful currents opposed to truthful popularisation and fair appraisal of this experience....

What is needed is more and still more concreteness in the study of local experience, detail, trifles, practical work, management of affairs; deeper acquaintance with real life in the uyezds (County

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Districts.), volosts (Rural districts.), and villages alike; we must go into every real, however small, improvement achieved in the face of abysmal poverty and ruin and establish who accomplished it, where and why (by what means); we must not fear to expose mistakes and incapability; we must popularise and *advertise* in every way each local worker who has distinguished himself even in the slightest, set him up as an example. The more work of this kind is done and the more we go into living practice... the more successfully will the improvement of our press and all our construction proceed....

With Communist greetings
Lenin.

It must be mentioned that some of our people are inclined to what can be called Communist conceit and cocksureness, to looking down on the great creative contribution of the masses of the people, as well as the achievements of science and engineering abroad. Such tendencies prevent our cadres from mastering living experience, with a view to placing the achievements of the best workers and enterprises that are promoting technical progress, as well as the achievements of world science and engineering, at the service of the construction of communism.

It is necessary resolutely and with the utmost speed to put an end to such an attitude. At the same time our party demands that all workers in the sphere of ideology combat lack of principle and political alertness, all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, with still greater fervour and firmness. Our ideological work must be truly creative.

* * *

Comrades, the attention of the entire Soviet people is concentrated on the 20th Congress of our party. The hearts of hundreds of millions of our friends throughout the world reach out to it, for time and again they have seen for themselves that the congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are not only important landmarks in the life of the Soviet people but exert a powerful influence on the entire course of world development.

The historical significance of the 20th Party Congress is tremendous. The highest party body has advanced the task of overtaking and surpassing the most highly advanced capitalist countries in production per head of population as the pressing task of our time. And we propose to the capitalist world that it compete with us in the sphere

of peaceful economic and cultural development. We are fully convinced of the victory of our new, young, thriving system. The Communist always matches the deed to the word, for the tasks advanced by the Communist Party are always an expression of pressing historical necessity, of the vital interests of the masses of the people, the dictates of social progress.

As it launches on a new Five-Year Plan, our party is filled with inexhaustible energy, great plans of construction, of life-asserting optimism.

How many of the political groups and parties that have appeared in the world arena in recent decades have failed to withstand the test of time and have either met with complete bankruptcy or are dragging out a miserable existence! Only our party, the Communist Party, which started out as a small closely knit body of men rallied around Lenin, has become the mightiest party of our time, a party with a membership of many millions. This is due to the fact that our party derives its strength from two life-giving fountains. The first fountain is the eternally young and all-powerful teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which guides all the practical activities of the party and in turn is constantly enriched by practice. The second is the party's inseparable and ever-strengthening bonds with the broad masses of the people.

The immortal Lenin created the Bolshevik Party at the borderline between two centuries. A great epoch called to life a great party. Is it not a fact that the heroic accomplishments of the Leninist party are the glory and honour of our time, the pride and hope of all progressive mankind?

Leninism has become the battle standard of our time, the ideology of hundreds of millions of people, a great prime mover of the masses of the people, who are reaching out to a new life, to light and progress.

Long live Leninism!

SPEECH AT THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

by G.M. MALENKOV
February 17, 1956

Comrades, in the Central Committee's report Comrade Khrushchov summed up the results of the great constructive work the Soviet people have accomplished under the tried and tested guidance of our Communist Party since the Nineteenth Congress. These results speak of the Soviet Union's new achievements both in international and domestic affairs.

In the international sphere the Soviet Union, in close cooperation with the People's Republic of China and all the People's Democracies, has scored big successes in the lofty cause of upholding and strengthening peace.

The policy of developing contacts and peaceful relations with all states consistently pursued by the Soviet Union, is a salient feature of the past years. All peoples see the Soviet Union's energetic efforts to strengthen peace throughout the world. The USSR has convincingly demonstrated that it strictly adheres in its entire foreign policy to the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems. The peace initiative and steadfast peace policy of the Soviet Union have considerably strengthened the positions of the USSR and the entire socialist camp in the international arena.

In the domestic sphere the period under review is characterised by a fresh upsurge of the national economy and rise in the material well-being of the Soviet people. The immense work accomplished by the Communist Party has resulted in an enhancement of the might of our socialist state, further consolidation of the moral and political unity of Soviet society and the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and in the strengthening of Soviet law and socialist democracy.

Source : Malenkov, G.M., Speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, February 17, 1956, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956.

In the report, Comrade Khrushchov rightly noted that during the period under review the political leadership of the Party Central Committee was on an adequate level, that the Party devised correct solutions of problems pertaining to the development of the state and the Party, and competently led the country along the Leninist path.

The general results of the country's development since the Nineteenth Party Congress show that the rate of growth of the Soviet Union's economy remains at a level unprecedented in capitalist countries. The advance of its national economy is continuous, and is based on the implementation of a programme of peaceful construction.

Guided by the injunctions of our leader and teacher V.I. Lenin, the Communist Party is unswervingly pursuing the policy of transforming the Soviet Union into an advanced, ever mightier industrial country. The successes scored by the USSR are truly immense. We are indebted for them to the constant concern of our Party and its Central Committee in the greatest possible progress of heavy industry which is the cornerstone of development in all branches of the national economy and of a further rise in the material and cultural well-being of the Soviet people. The line of priority development of heavy industry has been, and remains, the general line of our Party.

The past years were featured by a programme of concrete measures to eliminate failings in a number of major branches of the national economy, by a policy of ensuring technical progress in all spheres of socialist construction and the realisation of important measures to advance agriculture. The Party is waging a purposeful battle all down the line for a rapid and all-round development of socialist farming and animal husbandry. The disclosure of big mistakes and the serious improvement in the management of agriculture both in the centre and locally, the consistent and correct application of the principle of material incentive to collective farms and their members, the elimination of shortcomings in this respect—all this is already producing positive results and will no doubt enable us to overcome the lag in agriculture in quick time and ensure its steep upswing.

In the report Comrade Khrushchov not only summed up the great results of the work accomplished, but also outlined the major tasks confronting our Party and the Soviet people. The report indicated the ways for a further consolidation of the material and technical basis of

communism, raised the principal problems of advancing our country's productive forces, and set forth the most important measures of the Party for a further rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The fundamental principles formulated in the report on the questions of peaceful co-existence of the two systems, the possibility of preventing wars in the present era, and the forms of transition of different countries to socialism, fully conform to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and are a creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism in the new, present-day situation.

As for the Party's internal life, there is no doubt that the entire Party membership has received with great satisfaction the important measures taken by the Central Committee during the period under review, measures designed to resolutely eliminate grave abnormalities in Party life and in methods of Party leadership, to secure strict adherence to the principles of Party guidance and standards of Party life worked out by Lenin, and the strictest observance of the supreme principle of Party leadership – collective leadership. We all realise that the firm line taken by the Central Committee against the cult of the individual, which is alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, is of fundamental and vital importance. The report rightly emphasises that the cult of the individual is a distortion of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. This distortion inevitably tends to belittle the role of the Party and its leading centre and to stifle the creative activity of the Party rank and file. Needless to say, the weakening and, all the more so, the rejection of the methods of collective leadership, the distortion of the Marxist conception of the role of the individual, and the cult of the individual – all led to peremptory one-man decisions, to arbitrariness, and in the course of a definite period did great harm to the guidance of the Party and the country.

Only the collective political experience and collective wisdom of the Central Committee, which relies on the scientific foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory, ensures correct leadership in building communism in our country and makes for inviolable unity of the Party ranks.

Our Party is strong through the unity of its ranks and its inseverable bonds with the people. We are confident of the strength and advantages of our system, and for this reason boldly promote criticism and self-criticism. The interests of the people are supreme for our Party.

Everything else must be subordinated to that. It is to the credit of the Central Committee that, guided by the Leninist principles and for the good of our common cause, it lays bare mistakes, whoever commits them, that it does so resolutely, irrespective of personalities, and in all justice corrects anyone who makes these mistakes.

Not only our friends but also our enemies understand the decisive importance the unity of our Party and of its leadership has for the cause of building communism. The enemies of the Soviet Union have always dreamt of disharmony in the ranks of the Communist Party and its leadership. But their speculations on differences in our midst always suffer utter failure. It is known that the imperialists laid a big stake on Beria, that malign enemy of our Party and the people. The exposure of this dyed-in-the-wool imperialist agent and his accomplices was a big victory for the Party and its collective leadership. The Party has rallied its ranks still closer round the Central Committee, the guiding collective of our Party, which is leading the Soviet people under the banner of Marxism-Leninism to the great victories of communism.

The genuinely Bolshevik atmosphere of solidarity and Party unity, founded on Leninist principles, which prevails at our Congress, imbues all of us with the greatest vigour and confidence. (*Stormy applause.*)

There is no doubt that the Party will successfully accomplish the tasks confronting it, and will confidently lead the country to new victories for the good and happiness of the Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

ELECTRIFICATION – MAJOR REQUISITE OF HIGHER LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY

Comrades, the accomplishment of the basic economic task of the USSR demands a further vast expansion of production, which should first of all be based on a sharp rise in the productivity of labour.

In the report and the Draft Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan submitted to the Congress, the Central Committee of the Party, in full conformity with the injunctions of the great Lenin, again and again stresses that the task of raising labour productivity confronts us now in all its decisive significance. The multi-fold increase in production that is necessary to surpass economically the most developed capitalist

countries, can be attained only to a small degree by increasing the number of workers. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan it is higher labour productivity that must account for 85 per cent of the increase in industrial output.

In the Soviet Union a systematic and rapid increase in labour productivity, coupled with a continuous expansion of production, is the principal means of satisfying to the utmost the rising requirements of the people, and at the same time it is the principal method of achieving a superior rate of increase in per capita production as compared with the United States of America.

The struggle for higher labour productivity is the most important aspect of our peaceful economic competition with the capitalist system, in which the advantages of the new social system must be triumphantly revealed.

The peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist camps means economic competition between the two world social systems, whose results will ultimately decide the historical destinies of all mankind. Our firm conviction that socialism will triumph in this great historical competition rests upon a scientific understanding of the advantages of a social system founded on public ownership of the means of production, a system alien to exploitation and racial and class inequality, and capable of satisfying the requirements of the working masses to the highest possible degree.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the ability of the socialist system of economy to ensure a higher level of labour productivity, as compared with capitalism, is the economic foundation of the victory of socialism in this competition. The full significance of the Leninist proposition that "capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished, by the fact that socialism creates a new and much higher productivity of labour" (*Works*, Vol. 29, p. 394), is now revealed in all its entirety more than ever before.

The course of historical development has fully confirmed the correctness of this remarkable Marxist proposition, which Lenin so daringly advanced at the time of the gravest economic chaos in our country, when labour productivity was at its lowest.

A little more than a third of a century has passed since our people, on accomplishing the Great October Socialist Revolution, for the first time in the history of human society undertook to build socialism. We

must not forget the conditions of the past brief historical period in which the Soviet people carried on their constructive endeavours of building socialist society. The country was exhausted by the first imperialist war. The sanguinary struggle imposed on the young Soviet Republic by the interventionists representing fourteen capitalist powers, which rendered armed support to the old system during the Civil War, still more undermined our country's economy. Fresh in the memory of all of us is the hardest period in the history of our Motherland, the Second World War, when the brigand attack of fascist Germany inflicted immense damage upon our industry, agriculture and transport, upon our entire national economy.

And yet, in spite of such obviously unfavourable conditions, our new social system has demonstrated its ability to ensure superior rates of increase in labour productivity as compared with the industrially most advanced capitalist countries. Today labour productivity in the USSR is 8 times higher than in 1913. During the same time labour productivity in the United States has increased 2.2 times, in Britain 1.4 times and in France 1.75 times.

It may be said that in 1913 the level of labour productivity in Russia was low, and that the high rates of increase achieved in the USSR are not surprising. Indeed, in 1913 labour productivity in the United States was 9 times, in Britain 4.9 times, in Germany 4.7 times and in France more than 3 times higher than in Russia. However, the rate of increase of labour productivity in the USSR has been such that now we have outstripped Britain and France in this respect, but as yet lag behind the United States.

The rapid rise in labour productivity achieved in our country is the result of the superiority of the socialist mode of production, of the great creative efforts of our Party to secure the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy, and of the electrification of the country.

It is common knowledge what tremendous importance Lenin attached to the country's electrification. His famous formula: "*Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country,*" most vividly expresses the views of our leader and teacher on the decisive part of power engineering in building communism.

Lenin teaches us that electrification is the foundation for the construction of the material and technical base of communism. In the

theses of his report to the Third Congress of the Communist International Lenin wrote:

Large-scale mechanised industry, capable of reconstructing agriculture as well, can be the only material foundation of socialism. But we must not confine ourselves to this general proposition. It must be defined. Large-scale industry conforming to the latest technical level and capable of reorganising agriculture, presupposes electrification of the entire country. (*Works*, Vol. 32, p. 434.)

We know from Lenin's works and from the Party decisions based on his teaching that electrification of the entire country means not only the building of a mighty power industry, but also the reconstruction of all branches of the national economy on the basis of the latest techniques. At the Third Congress of the Young Communist League, Lenin said:

We know that communist society cannot be built unless we regenerate industry and agriculture, and they must not be regenerated in the old way. They must be regenerated on a modern basis, in accordance with the last word in science. You know that this basis is electricity, and that only when the whole country, all branches of industry and agriculture have been electrified, only when you have mastered this task will you be able to build for yourselves the communist society which the older generation cannot build up. (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 264.)

Let me remind you of one more document which shows what exceptional attention Lenin demanded of all Party, government and economic organisations in coping with the practical tasks connected with the country's electrification programme. I am referring to the well-known recommendations of the Council of Labour and Defence to local government bodies. In the section "Electrification," of these recommendations, Lenin asks the local bodies:

Has your local, regional or district library the 'Plan for the Electrification of the Russian Federation,' the 'Report to the Eighth Congress of Soviets'? How many copies? If not, the local delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets are either dishonest people who should be driven out of the Party and removed from all important posts, or such loafers that they need a term in prison to teach them how to discharge their duty. (1,500-2,000 copies were distributed for local libraries at the Eighth Congress of Soviets).

What measures have been taken in pursuance of the decision of the Eighth Congress of Soviets on extensive propaganda of the

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electrification plan? How many articles have local newspapers published on the subject? How many reports? The number of people who heard them?

Have all local workers with a theoretical or practical knowledge of electricity been mobilised to make such reports and to teach in this subject? How many such workers are there? How is their work carried on? Are local or nearby electric stations utilised for lectures or studies? Their number?

How many educational establishments have entered the study of the electrification plan into their curriculum, in accordance with the decision of the Eighth Congress of Soviets?

Has anything practical been done to carry out the plan, and what exactly? Or of electrification work outside the plan?

Is there a local plan and a time-table of electrification work?
(V.I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 373-374.)

That shows how intently Lenin regarded the daily attention and constant concern to the country's electrification in 1921, at the time of economic chaos.

The Leninist understanding of the substance and significance of electrification stems from a deep-going assessment of the role of electric power as the foundation of the latest technology, and the rise of labour productivity in the national economy. The transforming role of electricity in the process of saving labour and raising its productivity, consists, above all, in that electricity offers the most perfect basis for the mechanisation of labour and is the most perfect carrier of power to major technological processes.

That is exactly why the electric power supply per worker is a gauge and a major factor in the rise of labour productivity. It may be considered as definitely established that a faster rate of growth of the power supply per worker than that of labour productivity is of decisive importance for increasing labour productivity.

We can cite the following examples from the experience of the capitalist countries. While labour productivity in the manufacturing industry in the United States rose 31 per cent from 1939 to 1953, the power supply per worker increased by 60 per cent. American economic literature contains data that a 35 per cent growth of labour productivity in US industry by 1962, as compared with 1950, requires an 84 per cent

increase of the power supply per worker. The British, whom the Americans are now ousting from export markets and from the markets in Britain herself, explain their lag first and foremost by the inadequate level of the power supply per worker and regard it as the chief reason for the substantially lower productivity of industrial labour in Britain than in the United States.

Our lag in labour productivity behind the United States is closely bound up with the still inadequate power supply per worker.

The report of the Central Committee points out that we have not yet succeeded in building up power capacities at a faster rate than the development of the entire national economy. The Directives of the Nineteenth Congress for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provided for a 70 per cent increase in total industrial output and for an 80 per cent increase in the production of electric power. Actually, however, the growth in total industrial output and electricity production turned out to be the same and amounted to 85 per cent; that is, there was no superior rate of increase in electric power production during the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

The insufficient rate of development of power facilities, as compared with the expansion in production, undoubtedly had a restraining effect on the growth of labour productivity.

The Party has set the task of ensuring the further expansion of power capacities in a way that the power industry should run ahead of the development of other industries. In other words, we must so plan the development of the national economy that the necessary reserves would be built up in the power systems from year to year. We must bear in mind that in the next several years consumption of electric power by industry will rise steeply, especially in view of the rapid development of enterprises that consume much electricity – iron and steel mills, aluminum plants, works producing special alloys and other power-consuming plants. We must also bear in mind that the consumption of electricity in the transport services and agriculture, the public utilities, and for household needs, should rise steeply in the near future.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALL THE REQUISITES TO CATCH UP AND SURPASS THE UNITED STATES IN POWER PRODUCTION IN AN HISTORICALLY SHORT PERIOD

The prospects outlined in the report and the Sixth Five-Year Plan Draft Directives submitted by the Central Committee for the consideration of the Twentieth Party Congress mark a big step forward in the electrification of our country. During the five-year period power production is to increase by 150,000 million kwh. While the 1960 industrial output will increase by 65 per cent, the output of Group A industries by 70 per cent, and the output of the engineering and metal-working industries by 80 per cent, power production is to rise by 88 per cent.

This rate of growth of the power industry will enable us to broaden the electrification of all branches of the national economy and ensure a 65 per cent increase in the power supply per industrial worker, while the target in labour productivity is a rise of approximately 50 per cent.

In drafting our electrification programmes we must not fail to consider the fact that today the USSR, as you know, lags behind the United States in power production.

The question naturally arises, what conditions and grounds we have to assert that the USSR is capable of overcoming this lag in a comparatively short time, of fully meeting the electric power requirements of the national economy and the population, of catching up, and then surpassing, the United States in power production?

It should firstly be pointed out that our country's present-day power industry has been built entirely during the Soviet years. Pre-revolutionary Russia's fuel and power industry was extremely backward and irrationally organised; in 1913 the electric stations of Russia had a total capacity of 1,000,000 kw, with an output of about 1,900 million kwh. At that time the United States had stations with a capacity of 6,000,000 kw, and generated 22,000 million kwh.

It took the United States 27 years (from 1913 to 1940) to increase output from 22,000 million to 170,000 million kwh. The Soviet Union needed 20 years (from 1935 to 1955), a period that includes the war years, to achieve a similar increase. Taking into account the fact that

during this time we spent six years in restoring the prewar output in view of the severe damage inflicted upon our power industry by the fascist invaders, it is to be considered that the Soviet Union took about 14 years, or nearly half the time it took the United States, to step up the output from 22,000 million to 170,000 million kwh.

By the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union was generating about 47 per cent less electricity than Italy, 62 per cent less than France, 67 per cent less than Britain; 82 per cent less than Germany, and 95.2 per cent less than the United States. In 1928 even such a small country as Switzerland turned out more electric power than the USSR.

The first and second five-year plans, when our country reconstructed and built up its power industry anew, radically changed the situation. The targets set by the GOELRO plan were reached in 1930. In another ten years the USSR was competing with Germany for first place in Europe and second place in the world. Today the USSR firmly holds second place in the world with a power output approximately equal to the combined output of Great Britain and Western Germany, the two most highly industrialised capitalist countries in Europe.

When our country started building up its power industry it did not have an electrical manufacturing industry. We imported all the basic equipment for our power stations: turbines, boilers, transformers and machinery. We did not always have the possibility of making use of the best engineering achievements of other countries. Today we have our own highly-developed industry manufacturing turbines, boilers, and electrical engineering equipment. Our factories can today design and build all types of the most up-to-date plant. The equipment for the first steam power station with 150,000-kw turbines, the giant turbines, generators, and transformers for the major hydroelectric stations on the Volga, and the equipment for the world's longest and most powerful 400-kilovolt Kuibishev-Moscow transmission line, were all designed and built by Soviet workers and engineers at Soviet factories. Besides satisfying our home needs, the production capacity of the Soviet power machinery works enables us to render considerable assistance to the People's Republic of China and many People's Democracies, and to export equipment to other countries.

As for such a decisive factor as power resources, the Soviet Union has enough of them to enable it to outstrip the United States in power production.

The recorded reserves of such sources of power as solid fuel, oil, natural gas and water power comprise, in terms of conditional fuel, 1,590,000 million tons in the USSR, 1,550,000 million tons in the United States, 730,000 million tons in Europe excluding the USSR, 175,000 million tons in Britain, and 245,000 million tons in Western Germany. Furthermore, it should be noted that the natural riches of the USSR have been explored to a much smaller extent than those of the United States and Europe, and that, therefore, our power resources are far from exhaustively recorded, while their best part is being utilised to a much smaller degree than in the United States and Europe.

As for the exploitable water power resources of the Soviet Union, they are set at 1,700,000 million kwh, with their most effective part, whose use is possible chiefly in large hydroelectric stations, estimated at 1,200,000 million kwh. That, in international terminology, is the economic water power potential. This potential has been fixed for Europe, excluding the USSR, at 514,000 million kwh, for the United States at 491,000 million kwh, and 325,000 million kwh for Canada. The USSR's economic water power potential is thus nearly equal to that of Europe, the United States and Canada put together.

We should also bear in mind the following circumstance of no little, or, to be more exact, of great importance. Hydroelectric stations abroad, particularly in the United States and Canada, are built chiefly with a view to utilising the most effective part of the water power resources, at favourable construction sites with rock foundations. In the USSR, owing to historical conditions, use has been primarily made of the water power resources in the region of the plains, which entails the construction of hydropower plants on soft foundations. Soviet specialists have worked out the technical fundamentals of hydro-construction on non-rock foundations. The power projects on rivers flowing through plains required relatively larger capital investments, and were relatively less efficient, than the American hydroelectric stations.

The United States has already harnessed its most effective water power resources to a considerable degree. According to the Edison

Institute all the economical water power sites, particularly in the eastern part of the country, are already put to use.

The Soviet Union has an advantage in that its most effective water power resources, situated in the country's eastern regions, are as yet practically untapped. The same applies to our fuel resources. We have immense reserves of coal, particularly in the eastern regions, where they have been hardly tapped at all.

Special mention should be made in this connection of the attention Comrade Khrushchov rightly devoted in the report to the geographical distribution of our country's industries.

Indeed, proper geographical distribution of the industries is of the greatest importance to a more rapid and successful accomplishment of our principal economic aim. As is known, the policy of intensified industrial development and of opening up the eastern regions of the country is the Party's basic line in the sphere of the geographical distribution of productive forces. Substantial gains have been made in this respect. It should be noted, however, that during the fifth five-year period the share in the country's total industrial output of regions with such abundant raw-material and power resources as Siberia and the Far East grew to an insignificant degree. Their share in power production has remained practically unchanged during the past years.

In order radically to improve the distribution of industries and of the power supply, to increase labour productivity and cut down the time required to outstrip the United States economically, our national economy must draw on Siberia's vast natural riches on a large scale.

The point is that in Eastern Siberia, and primarily in the regions of the Angara and Yenisei rivers, the Soviet Union has truly unparalleled resources of water power, fuel and raw materials. More than 40 per cent of the country's total power resources are concentrated there. The water power potential of the East Siberian rivers – the Yenisei, Angara, Lena, Vitim and others – is greater than that of the United States, Canada and Japan, which possess the greatest water power reserves among the capitalist countries. The Angara and Yenisei rivers are particularly suitable for power projects. The scheme approved by the Government for harnessing the Angara provides for the construction of hydroelectric stations with a total capacity of more than 10,000,000 kw and an output of about 70,000 million kwh. The first plant in the Angara chain, the

660,000-kw Irkutsk Hydroelectric Station, is to be commissioned this year. Its dam will raise the level of Lake Baikal and form a huge reservoir that will efficiently regulate the water supply to all the lower hydroelectric stations. Construction of the world's biggest Bratsk Hydroelectric Station is well under way.

Still larger hydroelectric stations, with an aggregate capacity of about 20,000,000 kw and an output of 130,000 million kwh, can be built on the Yenisei.

The hydroelectric stations planned on the Angara and Yenisei will in all generate much more electricity than produced in 1955 by all the power stations in the USSR, and equivalent to the extraction of roughly 120,000,000 tons of fuel per annum. This power will be obtained at a specific capital investment of about 35 to 40 kopeks per kwh of the average annual output, and a production cost of about 1 kopek per kwh, or at one-half to one-third of the expenditure incurred at the hydroelectric stations in other regions of the USSR.

The Angara-Yenisei region has large deposits of coal suitable for open-cast mining. Labour productivity in coal mining there is from 2 to 2.5 times as high as the average registered in open-cast coal mining in the USSR as a whole. The cost of Kansk-Yenisei and Irkutsk-Cheremkhovo coals is from 66 to 80 per cent lower than that of coal of the other main fields of the USSR. Highly-efficient steam power stations with capacities of upto 1,500,000 kw each can be built to operate on this low-cost fuel.

Besides its abundant power resources, Siberia, and particularly its eastern part, has immense raw material reserves which can ensure the development of major branches of the heavy industry on a tremendous scale. It possesses large resources of iron ore and raw materials for the production of aluminium, magnesium, nickel, calcium carbide, synthetic rubber, chlorine and so forth. This natural wealth, however, has hardly been tapped. The nephelines, bauxites, magnesites and iron ores are not as yet being used at all.

A most important element in the economic development of Siberia is the projected establishment of a huge Siberian power ring encompassing the main electric stations and industrial centres of the Angara-Yenisei area and Kuznetsk basin. By the time the Bratsk and Krasnoyarsk hydroelectric stations, with a total capacity of 6,400,000

kw, go into operation, we shall have built 400- kilovolt transmission lines connecting the Bratsk station with the Irkutsk-Cheremkhovo ring, and then the Bratsk station with the Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station (through the Taishet-Kansk districts), and the Krasnoyarsk station with the Kuznetsk basin. Subsequently, high-tension transmission lines will hook up the Bratsk Hydroelectric Station with the big Ust-Ilim and Boguchansk hydroelectric stations on the Angara, which are to have a capacity of approximately 3,000,000 kw each, and with the Yenisei Hydroelectric Station on the Yenisei, with a capacity of about 5,000,000 kw. Siberia's giant power ring, comprising huge hydroelectric and steam stations, with a total capacity of more than 50,000,000 kw, will be an unsurpassable highly-efficient source of power, and a mighty factor in the industrial development and substantial growth of labour productivity in the national economy. Fifteen to twenty years from now the amount of power generated by that ring can be brought upto 250,000-300,000 million kwh. Furthermore, in addition to supplying big centres of the aluminium, magnesium, titanium, ferro-alloy and other power-consuming industries, the Siberian ring will be able to deliver from 30,000 million to 40,000 million kwh to the Urals, which will radically improve the power supply there.

The Soviet Union is developing its power industry, like all the other branches of the socialist economy, on a new and higher technical level.

It is primarily a matter of going over to the construction of large power stations with big-capacity units operating on steam at high pressures and temperatures. A number of steam power-houses, with capacities ranging from 500,000 to 600,000 kw, were erected during the past five-year period. But now we must go further and build bigger steam power-houses with capacities ranging from 900,000 to 1,200,000 kw. Construction of such plants in fuel-producing districts has already begun. Turbine units with capacities of 150,000, 200,000 or 300,000 kw each, and high-efficiency boilers will be installed in them. The main advantage of building large power stations, apart from the considerably lower construction costs, is that this substantially increases the rate of power capacity expansion as compared with stations of average capacity. The rapid growth of power production in the United States in recent years was chiefly brought about by the construction of large-capacity

steam plants with big turbine units of 150,000-260,000 kw each. Our electrical manufacturing industry must rapidly organise serial production of powerful turbine units, and boilers, as outlined in the programme, so that a turbine of any capacity could operate with one boiler. That will ensure a large saving in fuel and capital investments.

A highly important element of technical policy in ensuring a rapid expansion of our country's power industry is the development of power networks and the hooking up of power rings. The economic advantage of inter-ring transmission lines is tremendous. Suffice it to say, for example, that non-simultaneous transmission of peak loads in the Urals and Central rings, and the possible reduction of required reserves after they are linked will allow a reduction of the total rated capacity of the future combined ring by approximately 500,000 kw.

The establishment of a unified power ring for the European part of the USSR will ensure maximum flexibility and thrifty operation of the national power supply, and, in this sense, marks the re-conversion of the power industry to a higher technical stage.

Broad vistas open up in connection with nuclear energy, that new and extraordinarily rich source of power mastered by our scientists and engineers. This source, in whose peaceful uses the USSR has forged ahead of other countries, including the United States, offers large additional possibilities of expanding power capacities. The commissioning of the world's first atomic power station and the experience gained in its operation, combined with new research by Soviet scientists and engineers have enabled us to undertake the designing and construction of a number of large atomic power stations. Another one of our advantages in this field is that the socialist economy offers the most favourable conditions for large-scale application of nuclear energy in the country's general power supply, which serves peaceful development.

Thus, speaking in terms of the period under review, the Soviet Union has demonstrated its ability to achieve a comparable level of power production, and development of the power industry as a whole, in a considerably shorter time than the United States. During the present five-year period we shall make a big new step forward in electrification by nearly doubling power production. The USSR now has its own powerful and steadily expanding electrical manufacturing industry. It

possesses practically inexhaustible natural power resources, which are being tapped on an ever-increasing scale. We have a large army of highly qualified workers, engineers and scientists, who are capable of ensuring continuous technical progress. All this permits us to increase power production to a level that will fully meet the needs of all the branches of the national economy and the population.

We can say that the aim of outstripping the United States in power production is fully feasible for the Soviet Union, and that it can be achieved in a comparatively short time.

MARXISM-LENINISM—THE ALL CONQUERING TEACHING

Comrades! We live at a time when the link between Marxism-Leninism and the practical tasks of the epoch has become exceptionally clear. Marxism-Leninism teaches us to comprehend reality in its revolutionary development. At every new turn in history we see especially clearly how Marxism-Leninism, the most advanced teaching, exerts its creative influence on the process of world civilisation, on all aspects of the development of human society.

What profound justice there is in Lenin's words, particularly now, that the "history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling 'sectarianism' in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine, which arose *away from* the highroad of development of world civilisation." (*Works*, Vol. 19, p. 3.)

In our times the great gains of world civilisation, linked with scientific development and the progress of engineering, show with the utmost clarity the correctness of the Marxist thesis that, as Lenin put it, "day by day and on an everincreasing scale the technique of capitalism *outgrows* the social conditions which condemn the working people to wage slavery." (*Works*, Vol. 19, p. 42.) In our times, as justly stressed in the report, the basic contradiction of capitalism — the contradiction between the modern productive forces and the capitalist production relations — has become more acute.

The historic role of the Marxist teaching is that it gives a scientific substantiation of the inevitability of the victory of labour over capital.

“While increasing the dependence of the workers on capital, the capitalist system creates the great power of combined labour”; “capitalism has triumphed all over the world, but this triumph is only the prelude to the triumph of labour over capital.” (V.I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 6-7) It was thus that in the day when capitalism was in its heyday, at the dawn of the revolutionary movement in Russia, Lenin expressed the essence of Marx’s discovery, the greatest discovery in the life of human society – the discovery of the social forces capable of getting rid of capitalist oppression.

In the lifetime of a single generation events and facts of world importance testify to the correctness and great vital force of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, which guides the Communist Party in its activity.

The philosophy of Marxism is dialectical materialism. “The latest discoveries of natural science – radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements – have remarkably confirmed Marx’s dialectical materialism, despite the teachings of the bourgeois philosophers with their ‘new’ reversions to old and rotten idealism,” so wrote V.I. Lenin at the turn of the twentieth century (*Works*, Vol. 19, p. 4). In our day the discovery of the inner forces of the atom, and the harnessing and mastery of these forces testify to new knowledge of the quality of matter, and are a great triumph for Marxist dialectics, the teaching – as Lenin expressed it – “of development in its most complete and profound form, free of any one-sidedness, the teaching of the relativity of human knowledge, which provides us a reflection of eternally developing matter.” (*Works*, Vol. 19, p. 4.)

The collapse of the capitalist pillars of society in a great many countries with a population of more than 900 million people, and the successful transformation of society in these countries on new, socialist foundations, is a genuine triumph for Marxism-Leninism. The main feature of our epoch, as pointed out in the Central Committee report, is the emergence of socialism beyond the borders of a single country and its transformation into a world system.

A number of countries which do not belong to the socialist camp maintain friendly good-neighbour relations with us. Many of them are actively fighting for peace, and coming out against colonialism; some of them, still backward industrially, are carefully studying the experience of other countries, seeking social and technical means of achieving a

rapid rise in the standard of living of their peoples. The peace-loving policy of these countries substantially restricts the imperialist circles in the matter of unleashing new military adventures.

The broad popular movement in all countries for peace, for disarmament, and for peaceful co-existence, is a powerful force which the imperialist powers cannot afford to ignore. The signal cooperation of the champions of peace is growing stronger and stronger before our eyes. It is spreading out more and more, overcoming all kinds of sectarian prejudices and limitations, uniting and rallying people of good-will and moral duty. The mass vigilance of the millions of peace champions is a new thing in history and offers extraordinary possibilities of safeguarding and strengthening peace.

As we see, internationally the forces of peace and socialism have become so strong, and the capitalist system so sapped, that in the great competition of the two systems – socialism and capitalism – the progressives throughout the world have every reason to look ahead cheerfully, and confidently wage the struggle for humanity's bright future. Events are developing in favour of the new social system, in favour of socialism. Capitalism cannot triumph over socialism. The striking examples of the achievements in building the new society in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all the People's Democracies, the successes of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist camp in the sphere of international life and policy, is increasingly convincing the peoples of the world of the inevitability of the victory of socialism, of the liberation of mankind from capitalist oppression.

The Central Committee report stresses that all the essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the development of society, which the enemies of the communist world outlook seek to distort in every way, precludes any imposition from without, by means of force, of the new form of social relations, of the new social system. A desire to dictate to other people this or that form of social life, this or that form of rule, is utterly alien to the theory of scientific socialism by which the Soviet people are guided.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that radical social changes and the conversion from one social system to another are possible only when the necessary objective and subjective conditions have matured for it,

and when the people of the given country are convinced of the need for social changes, and work for them.

The Soviet state has always been guided by this thesis of Marxist-Leninist science. "Export of revolution," "communist expansion," the "threat of Soviet communism" and similar assertions, endlessly repeated by spokesmen of aggressive policy, are foul inventions.

To us the policy of friendship and good-neighbour relations, the principles of peaceful co-existence and economic competition between countries with differing social systems are not something transient or fortuitous. This policy and these principles are based on the solid foundation of the fundamentals of scientific socialism and are confirmed by the entire history of the relations of the Soviet state with countries big and small, near and distant.

It should be borne in mind, however, that peaceful coexistence is a two-way process, and its preservation depends not only on the Soviet Union, but also on countries of the capitalist world. It was precisely these countries which, viewing our country tortured by the first imperialist war as easy prey, violated the principles of peaceful coexistence. As is known, the rulers of America and Britain countered the victory of the Great October Revolution with far-reaching extraordinary actions. It was they who organised the armed intervention in our country. The young worker-peasant state had scarcely been born, the Soviet social system had barely emerged from the initial phase of its establishment, when influential American and British circles hurled themselves upon it at the head of international reaction, and tried to crush the revolution, dismember the country and reduce it to the status of a colony. As regards the Soviet state, it has strictly pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence throughout its history.

Socialism cannot be imposed by force of arms, just as the old, outmoded social system cannot be maintained for long by force of arms.

Lenin teaches us that the transition from capitalism to socialism, as the historical process of replacing one world social system by another, constitutes a whole epoch of long coexistence and economic competition between socialism and capitalism.

We are convinced that socialism will triumph in peaceful competition, but not by means of "export of revolution," not by means of guns and invasions, but because it represents a type of social

organisation of labour that is higher than capitalism, and because it is capable of ensuring mankind a much higher standard of life than capitalism; it will triumph because it represents a society of people linked by bonds of peace, friendship and mutual aid, whereas capitalism brings the people devastating wars and exploitation, ruin and poverty, social and racial oppression.

On the basis of the scientific theory of social development and on the basis of the experience of the development of human society we know that the replacement of the capitalist system by socialism, a higher social formation, is inevitable. When and how this will take place, what forms the transition to socialism will adopt – is a matter for the people in the capitalist countries to decide. They alone can determine the destiny of their state. The Soviet Union and the countries of the democratic camp have no intention of interfering in any way in the internal affairs of other states.

Consequently, peaceful competition does not, and should not, necessarily, hold out the prospect of growing into armed competition, that is, into war.

The platform of peaceful coexistence harmonises with the genuine aims and intentions of the Soviet Union in international relations; it opens up before mankind the possibility of avoiding a new world war, while the attitude of the adversaries of peaceful co-existence holds out but one prospect – the prospect of war.

All peoples should know that there is a possibility of safeguarding peace for a long time, provided international relations are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence first advanced and theoretically elaborated by V.I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state. This Leninist conclusion concerning the possibility of peaceful co-existence is the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy.

The entire essence of peaceful coexistence boils down to this: is war inevitable or not as things are today, given the existence of countries with different social systems? The spokesmen of the countries of the socialist camp affirm that war can be avoided. For this reason they suggest that the relations between countries be based on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

In this connection it is necessary to turn again and again to the important thesis set forth and substantiated in Comrade Khrushchov's

report that war is not inevitable, that war can, and must be prevented. This thesis derives from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of that which is new, that which is distinctive for our epoch. And the new feature is that imperialism is no longer an all-embracing world system. The camp of socialism and the social and political forces that have no interest in war are so strong that given the necessary organisation they can compel the imperialists to refrain from war, and if the latter should, nevertheless, want to begin it, to deliver a crushing rebuff to any reckless attempts of the imperialists to violate peace.

Due attention was given in the report to questions of relations between the USSR and the USA. This is understandable. To eliminate international tension, terminate the arms drive, avert the danger of a new war, and ensure lasting peace between nations – all depends in large measure on whether an end can be put to the abnormal relations between the USSR and the USA., and whether the two peoples firmly take the path of developing their friendship.

As noted in the report, our efforts to improve substantially the relations between the USSR and the USA. have not yet met with the necessary understanding and support in the United States, a fact which testifies to the strength in that country of the supporters of settling outstanding issues by means of war, and shows that these forces are still able to exert strong pressure on the President and the Administration. But we should like to hope, as Comrade Khrushchov stated, that our peace-loving efforts will be correctly assessed in the United States and that things will change for the better.

It goes without saying that the line of peaceful co-existence of the two systems is incompatible with the policy of negotiating “from strength,” and also with the policy of forming exclusive military combinations of one group of states obviously aimed against another group.

Peaceful co-existence presupposes cooperation and mutual action: but the policy of negotiating “from strength,” the policy of forming exclusive military combinations of states is designed to deepen the rift, accentuate the differences and counterpose one group of states to another.

The supporters of the “position from strength” policy allege that it is designed to secure a “balance of power” in the world, and thereby rule out the possibility of another war, strengthen peace and international

security. But is it not clear that these statements are utterly false? In reality, the policy of negotiating "from strength" is not only the chief cause of international tension, but is fraught with very grave consequences. Clearly, when one group of countries engages in an unrestrained armaments drive, pursues a line of strategic encirclement of another group of countries, establishes a system of jumping-off grounds and military bases in the vicinity of the latter, then the threatened countries are confronted with the task of safeguarding their national security with all the means at their disposal, and ensuring and systematically maintaining a firm and growing superiority in force. The idea of establishing a "balance of power" through the "position from strength" policy is an essentially incorrect and dangerous idea. Therein lies the fundamental feature of the competition on the international arena; such competition precludes the possibility of a "balance of power" and leads directly to world war. History supplies convincing proof of this. At the beginning of this century the struggle for superiority in power was waged between the coalition consisting of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy (the Triple Alliance) and the coalition consisting of Britain, France and Russia. How did the struggle end? It ended in the First World War. In the thirties the struggle for superiority in power was waged between the "tripartite axis" of Germany-Italy-Japan and the Western powers. How did that struggle end? It ended in the Second World War.

There can be no reconciliation between the line of peaceful co-existence and the policy of negotiating "from strength."

The policy of negotiating "from strength," the policy of exclusive military combinations, is needed by those who are waging an offensive against peace. But we prefer to wage an offensive against war, to make sure that there will be no war, that peace shall triumph and that the peoples shall not be deceived.

Consequently, the Soviet Union counters the "position from strength" policy with the only correct policy, the only policy capable of averting a new world conflagration — the policy of peaceful co-existence, the policy of effective and universal disarmament, the policy of a thorough-going system of collective security.

Our sacred aim is to eliminate war from international relations, to ensure a durable peace that will enable mankind to look calmly and

confidently to the morrow, to employ its boundless creative possibilities exclusively to the benefit and all-round development of civilisation.

That is our prospect of preserving and consolidating peace, in which we believe, and for which we shall persistently fight in close cooperation with all peace-loving peoples. But should the adventurers in the camp of imperialism try to violate peace and kindle the flames of a third world war, then the blame will rest with them. There can be no doubt that a third world war would lead to the complete collapse of the capitalist world system. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades! We are living in really splendid times, splendid above all because among the masses in all countries faith is spreading and gaining strength in the successful solution of the chief task posed by the adherents of the communist world outlook – the establishment of a social organisation on earth that will enable the peoples to live in peace and prosperity.

Soviet people confidently and proudly look to the future. In close cooperation with all the peoples of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, under the tried leadership of our Communist Party, brought firmly together by the great revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, closely rallied round their Central Committee, our Soviet people are marching forward to new victories in the struggle of building communist society. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH AT THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

by L. M. KAGANOVICH

February 18, 1956

Comrades, the importance of the Central Committee's report, and of the Twentieth Congress itself, extends far beyond the bounds of the Party and our country. That is because our Party guides the mighty Soviet state, which plays a big part in international affairs and exercises an increasingly decisive influence on the course of world events. It is also because the Twentieth Congress has met at a new and major stage in the building of communism by the Soviet people under the leadership of our Party.

The Central Committee's report, made by Comrade Khrushchov, has shown clearly and convincingly what an inexhaustible creative force our mighty Bolshevik Party, beloved by the people, possesses. (*Applause.*)

The period under review was a complex and difficult period in the life of our Party and country.

It should be remembered that shortly after the Nineteenth Congress, the enemies of the USSR, the enemies of communism and of peace, based their underhand schemes on a crisis in our Party, in its leadership, on discord between the working class and the peasantry and among the peoples of our multi-national state.

Today the whole world can see how both the masters and the hysterical crystal-gazers of imperialism have – for the nth time – failed ignominiously.

The great Party, seven million strong, has come to its Twentieth

Source : Kaganovich, L.M., *Speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU*, February 18, 1956, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956.

Congress a united, monolithic whole, closely rallied around the Leninist Central Committee and its Presidium, which are consistently applying the principle of collective leadership. (*Stormy applause.*)

The alliance between the working class and collective-farm peasantry and the friendship among the peoples of our country have grown immensely stronger. The Soviet people have rallied around our Party more closely than ever.

With the aid of the tried and tested Bolshevik method of bold criticism and self-criticism the Party and its Central Committee have found correct solutions for the biggest and most complicated urgent problems that faced the Party and the country.

The criminal activity of the Beria gang of fascist provocateurs was boldly and resolutely exposed and curbed, and thereby the Party and the Soviet state were strengthened.

The serious disproportion between the expansion of industry, the people's requirements and the lagging of agriculture was pointed out with profound determination and practical thoroughness; measures for correcting the situation in agriculture have been worked out and to a certain extent have already been effected.

The question of technological progress in industry, transport and agriculture has been given prominence; measures have been worked out to remedy the situation and to do away with the shortcomings in industry.

On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary conditions, great initiative and activity have been boldly developed in Soviet foreign policy, in the struggle for peace.

The chief result registered by the Twentieth Congress is that the peoples of the Soviet Union, led by the Party and backed by the achievements in the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture, have fulfilled the Fifth Five-Year Plan of national-economic development successfully and ahead of schedule.

Another big step forward has been made in the raising of the people's living standards and in the victorious building of communism.

The great People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies: the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Albania, the

German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, have strengthened still more their ties of everlasting fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union – the main leading force of the mighty socialist camp. The Soviet Union has won important victories in the struggle for peace, security and friendship among the peoples of the world.

The Twentieth Congress – the Party's supreme body – has every reason to approve, with great satisfaction, the work of the Party's Central Committee, which is successfully leading the Party and the whole people along the path charted by the great Lenin. (Prolonged applause.)

I

The Central Committee's report gives a clear picture and a profound Marxist analysis of the Party's major achievements in its struggle for universal peace, international security, and friendship among the peoples, for peaceful co-existence of all states regardless of their social and political systems.

Our foreign policy owes its successes to the fact that the Central Committee correctly and consistently pursues the far-sighted Leninist policy.

The strength of our Party's foreign policy consists in that it is deeply scientific, is based on Lenin's analysis of imperialism as moribund and decaying capitalism. Revealing the laws of development of world economics and politics, and taking into account the changes in the correlation of class forces in the international arena, our Party and Government are setting themselves new tasks in good time and are successfully solving them, ensuring the strengthening of the position of the USSR and of the whole socialist camp, and that means weakening the position of imperialism.

Lenin, the great leader of our Party and of the Soviet state, pointed out that after the split of the world, as a result of the victory of the October Revolution, into two opposite systems – the socialist and the capitalist – world affairs would develop along two lines, one of them expressing the striving of the exploiting classes, which are doomed by history, to maintain their domination over the working class and working

masses of "their own" countries and keep the enslaved and oppressed peoples of other countries in subjection.

The other line expresses the firm resolve of the working class and the oppressed peoples to replace the society which is based on exploitation, slavery and oppression and which gives rise to war, crises, unemployment and impoverishment and starvation of the masses, by a new society in which free and independent peoples, delivered from social and national oppression, will develop their relations on a basis of peace, fraternal cooperation, respect and mutual assistance.

Karl Marx, the great teacher of the proletariat, demonstrated scientifically that such a society would inevitably be established. "In contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium," he wrote, "a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same – *Labour!*" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 449.)

The whole development of world events confirms the correct foresight of the founders of scientific communism. New proofs of this are cited in the Central Committee's report to the Twentieth Congress.

In the period between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Congresses of the Party, the Soviet Union's international prestige and its influence on the course of world events have risen tremendously, and the international position of the socialist camp countries, headed by the USSR and the People's Republic of China, has grown stronger. Friendly and fraternal relations have been re-established with Yugoslavia.

On the other hand the general crisis of capitalism has become aggravated, and the colonial system of imperialism is cracking up.

The fundamental changes which have taken place in the world arena have opened up still more favourable prospects and conditions for greater efforts to promote peaceful co-existence of states with different social and political systems, to prevent war.

Hence, by applying Marxism-Leninism not dogmatically but creatively, not metaphysically but dialectically, taking into account the changes which have taken place, cardinal questions are now correctly raised in a new way in the Central Committee's report delivered by Comrade Khrushchov. These are the questions of peaceful co-existence,

the possibility of preventing war and the ways and forms of transition to socialism. All these are closely interlinked.

The question of war and peace is of decisive importance, for it is a burning question, one of vital significance for the scores and hundreds of millions of people in every corner of the globe who have gone through two world wars in the 20th century.

It goes without saying that we stand, as before, on the class, Marxist-Leninist position in our understanding of the causes giving rise to war, especially under imperialism.

To the Soviet state, a desire for war with the aim of forcing its ideology and social and political system on other peoples, of settling international issues by force of arms, and the more so of seizing foreign territory and enslaving other peoples, is thoroughly alien because of its class nature.

As for imperialism, it is inherent in its nature to engender war. But even imperialism is not always able to give free rein to its nature, for it brings into being its antipode, the working class, which restrains the manifestations of the bestial aspects of imperialism's nature, and if necessary will break that nature.

The decisive barrier to new wars is the peoples. And the weight of this force, the will of the peoples for peace and their inflexible determination not to permit another world war of extermination, have grown immensely of late. That is why it is absolutely correct to conclude from the present correlation of forces that there is no fatal inevitability of war. We are convinced that if the peoples take the preservation of peace into their own hands and uphold it to the end, peace will be preserved and consolidated. (*Applause.*)

The peoples of all countries and the Soviet people primarily, must at the same time take into account the adventurist nature of imperialism's reactionary forces and must therefore exercise the greatest vigilance.

The possibility of preventing war, which is what we are striving for, will be the more realistic the more we expose the reactionary aggressive forces of imperialism and work for disarmament, and until agreement on disarmament is reached, we shall strengthen the defensive power of our country, perfect our valorous Armed Forces, and turn the Soviet Union into an ever mightier and more reliable bulwark of universal peace, security and friendship of the peoples.

(Prolonged applause.)

A fact of historic importance is that the peoples of three great powers, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the Republic of India, peoples bound by ties of close fraternal friendship, as well as the peoples of many other countries, are advocating peaceful co-existence of all states regardless of their social and political systems.

Analysing the prospects of world development in his article "Better Fewer, But Better," Lenin wrote 33 years ago:

"In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured." (*Works*, Vol. 33, p. 458.)

Today the whole world can see how this scientific prophecy made by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, genius of mankind, is coming true. (*Stormy applause.*)

If Lenin could have seen how the peoples of India welcomed Comrades Khrushchov and Bulganin, the envoys of the socialist Soviet state, and the political rapprochement which has been established between the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and the Republic of India, he would joyfully say, "That is just what I dreamed of." (*Applause.*)

An important fact is that within the capitalist countries class antagonisms are growing more acute, and the working class and the broad masses of the people are waging a more intense struggle not only for their economic interests but also against the arms drive, for peace and relaxation of international tension.

There is a growing striving among the working class for unity, for unifying all patriotic and democratic forces on the basis of defence of national independence and refusal to submit to foreign imperialism. All this is especially clearly shown in France and Italy where the Communist Parties have won brilliant victories in the parliamentary elections, victories in which our Party and the whole Soviet people sincerely rejoice. (*Applause.*)

We stand, as always, on our revolutionary class positions. Socialism will inevitably take the place of capitalism; socialism alone will rid the peoples of the horrors of exploitation, oppression, impoverishment, wars, crises, unemployment, and so on.

However, the question of the forms of transition to socialism must be decided concretely, by each country for itself, taking into account the new historical experience.

That is the great experience of China and of the People's Democracies. Backed by the revolutionary mass movement of the proletariat, of the working masses, the people's governments in those countries are victoriously building socialism, making use also of the parliamentary forms, but giving them a new content, namely, people's democracy. The Soviet people and our Party rejoice wholeheartedly in the historic victories of our brothers, victories ensured by such a decisive condition as political leadership by the working class, headed by its revolutionary vanguard. (*Applause.*)

All this has become possible only because socialism has triumphed in the USSR. Today, when countries embracing practically half of mankind have become a fortress of socialism, favourable conditions have been created for the possibility of some countries passing over from capitalism to socialism without civil war, under certain conditions.

We believe that it is possible to make use of parliamentary forms by winning a stable majority backed by the revolutionary mass movement of the proletariat which, headed by its revolutionary vanguard, exercises political leadership of all the working people.

Under present historical conditions Lenin's strategic and tactical principles, especially those set forth in his splendid work "*Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, have assumed special importance.

Lenin teaches Communists "to learn to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *peculiar* relations between classes and parties, to the *peculiar features* of the objective development towards communism which are characteristic of each country and which must be studied, discovered, divined." He also stresses the need "of making all and every form – new and old – a weapon for the complete, final, decisive, and irrevocable victory of communism." (*Works*, Vol. 31, pp.69-70, 83)

The way fundamental questions of contemporary international development are posed in the Central Committee's report is of major theoretical and practical-political importance not for our Party alone, but for all fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

By taking into account the changed international situation and basing themselves on the growing desire of the working class for unity, the striving of all genuinely democratic progressive forces for unity in the struggle for national independence and social progress, for peace, and against war, our fraternal parties can register substantial accomplishments.

Let us then wholeheartedly wish our fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties success in achieving unity of the working class, in their noble struggle for peace and for socialism. (*Applause.*)

There can be no doubt that the Twentieth Party Congress will endorse the questions of principle raised in the Central Committee's report delivered by Comrade Khrushchov. Such a decision by the Twentieth Congress will still further strengthen the position of our Party and the Soviet Government in the effort for peaceful co-existence, for the prevention of war, for friendship among the peoples of the world, for unity of the working class in the struggle for socialism. (*Stormy applause.*)

II

Comrades, we have strengthened and improved our international position by, first, developing our industry which did not lag behind the United States in manufacturing the most up-to-date defence material, and in some cases doing even better, and, second, by strengthening the country's internal political situation, and gaining important successes in developing agriculture and industry.

Following the Nineteenth Party Congress, the Central Committee, with Bolshevik straightforwardness and energy, worked out, adopted and is carrying out a number of highly important, historic decisions on agriculture. It devoted four Plenary Meetings to problems of increasing the output of grain and animal products, the development of virgin and long-fallow land, and the further strengthening of collective and state farms.

This concentration of forces and means by the Party and the Government to ensure a steep upswing in agriculture was due to the fact that our war-ravaged agriculture was in a difficult situation.

Among the measures adopted by the Central Committee after the Nineteenth Party Congress, of specially great importance were the decisions to bring vast tracts of virgin and long-fallow land under cultivation, to strengthen the collective farms by means of new personnel, etc. The series of economic measures has considerably increased the material incentive of collective farmers in advancing collective-farm production. The Party has succeeded in strengthening the Leninist alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Workers of MTSs and state farms make up today a fairly large contingent of our country's working class. The MTSs themselves have been considerably strengthened, have been equipped with a large quantity of up-to-date machinery. The Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for a steep increase in agriculture's technical equipment, and this task must be carried out by all means.

Now, the Central Committee has set as the main task a sharp increase in crop yield at all collective and state farms, particularly those in densely-populated areas. It is necessary to supply considerably more mineral fertilisers to agriculture and therefore to enhance the part played by the chemical industry. This question will have to be taken up again in the process of carrying out the five-year plan, in order to exceed the targets.

The Party and its Central Committee did a big and important job to strengthen the collective farms by sending some 30,000 executives to the countryside and recommending them for posts as board chairmen of lagging collective farms.

The 25,000 workers sent to the countryside during the struggle for collectivisation, and also the people sent to work in the political departments of the MTSs and state farms, were chiefly political organisers. Today executives sent to work in the countryside have engineering and agronomic knowledge in addition to their political experience. We must continue to help them in every way, improve their qualifications, and not lose contact with them, and this major organisational measure taken by the Party will yield important results in the further advancement of socialist agriculture.

In the sphere of industry, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government elaborated and carried out during the period under review a number of important measures which ensured the successful fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan targets set by the Nineteenth Party Congress.

Of particularly great importance was the decision of the July 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, which charted the fundamental path for the further progress of socialist industry, and especially heavy industry as the firm foundation for developing the whole economy, strengthening the country's defensive power, and advancing agriculture and the consumer goods industries.

This is the path of technological progress on the basis of extensive introduction of new techniques and the achievements of home and world science, and a steep increase in labour productivity on that foundation. Implementation of the Central Committee's decisions on industry and agriculture and of the tasks set by the Sixth Five-Year Plan will ensure a new upswing of our socialist economy and faster transition of the country from socialism to communism.

III

The growth of our country's national economy, the continued powerful development of heavy industry and the implementation of the highly important measures adopted by the Party and the Government for the advance of agriculture and greater output of consumer goods – this new upswing of the entire socialist economy is inseparably bound up with, and greatly depends on, the further improvement of the transport system.

Like our entire industry and rising agriculture, the transport system registered significant achievements for the Twentieth Party Congress.

Though our transport services are coping in the main with the freight carriage requirements of the national economy, it would be wrong to overlook the fact that the railways have certain shortcomings and already now operate at a considerable strain in handling shipments. The "rationing" system in distributing cars between freight shippers has not been eliminated as yet. The situation is strained primarily on

the lines of the Urals, Siberia and the Donbas and at the outlets of these lines. Meanwhile the streams of freight are mounting.

To fully satisfy the freight carriage requirements of the economy the transport workers, railwaymen in the first place, have to increase the traffic and carriage capacity of the lines, and especially concentrate efforts on eliminating the technical backwardness of the transport system, on reconstructing it and improving operation.

The Central Committee of the Party rightly and resolutely raised the question of transferring the railways to electric traction on a large scale, which is a major element in the technical reconstruction of rail transport and its development on the basis of higher techniques.

The adopted 15-year railway electrification programme calls for the transfer to electric traction of the most important sections with an overload of traffic – from Moscow to the South and the East, mountain lines, trunk-lines with heavy freight and passenger traffic and suburban sections around the big cities.

The electrification of the railways and the introduction of diesel locomotives are a major factor in increasing the carrying capacity of the lines. The new 8-axle 5,700-h.p. electric locomotive will haul trains weighing 3,500-4,000 tons at a speed of 90 km. per hour, and along the steepest gradients at 42-43 km. per hour. In 1960 electric and diesel locomotives will haul 40-45 per cent of all rail freight, as compared with 14 per cent now.

In his report Comrade Khrushchov rightly criticised the railwaymen and their leading personnel for the lag in electrifying the lines and introducing new techniques.

I am confident that the railwaymen will take the Central Committee's just criticism in a Bolshevik spirit, and will work with revolutionary fervour to introduce electric traction, to carry out the remarkable electrification programme and ensure another advance in the Soviet Union's railway system.

It goes without saying that, together with reconstructing the traction services, the latest techniques must be introduced in all the other branches of the railway system, otherwise electrification will not be fully effective. Traffic automation has to be introduced more vigorously: automatic blocking, centralised traffic control, centralised electric switches, mechanisation of marshalling yards, automatic stopping, radio

communication, television service at stations, and so forth. We have 120,000 switchmen, but when electrification of switches is completed hardly any will be left. When this occupation disappears, so also will the saying, "The switchman is to blame for everything." (*Animation.*)

Centralised traffic control is the best and latest method; from his booth a dispatcher handles the passage of trains, manipulates the signals and the switches of 15-20 intermediary stations on a section of up to 200 kilometres. On these stations almost the entire traffic service staff, including the switchmen, will be unnecessary, and only one stationmaster will remain.

The introduction of automatic blocking and centralised traffic control must go hand in hand with the development of electric and diesel traction.

We need cars with a capacity of 100 tons, more gondola cars and general-purpose cars. Agricultural expansion will bring about a substantial increase in the carriage of vegetables, fruit, meat, and other perishable goods. This will require a large-scale introduction of refrigerator cars and trains.

The question of passenger coaches is acute. Over 40 percent of the coaches are of obsolete design; there are many uncomfortable, old coaches in local and suburban trains. We have to work out a programme for replacing the old coaches and improving passenger traffic in every way, and install air-conditioning equipment in coaches.

Simultaneously, the capacity of the railway lines and railway stations must be expanded, and second track and new lines built, first of all in sections with heavy traffic and in newly developed areas. By 1960 we have to build, for example, the following new lines: The Magnitogorsk-Sterlitamak-Abdulino line, which will provide a direct westward outlet to freights from the Southern Urals and Karaganda, the Kurgan-Sinarskaya-Krasnoufimsk district line, which will relieve the traffic on the Sverdlovsk line, a line from Alma-Ata to the USSR frontier, which will provide one more communication artery with the People's Republic of China, and others.

The most burning problem is that of the roadbed, which limits the introduction of powerful locomotives, big capacity cars and higher speeds. It is necessary to reconstruct the roadbed, to expedite the laying of heavy rails and to change over from a sand to a gravel foundation.

Inland water transport is confronted with no less important tasks. One big advantage of the socialist economy is the possibility of the most effective planned cooperation and interaction of all modes of transport, so that they operate as a unified USSR transport network.

The share of shipments by the cheapest modes of transport – water and pipe-line – remains low as yet. The use of the so-called small rivers for local shipments is particularly unsatisfactory.

Notwithstanding the radical reconstruction of the Volga and the creation of new shipping canals and reservoirs, far from sufficient use is being made of the waterways. We cannot tolerate a situation when tens of millions of tons of freight are carried during the navigation season by railway lines running parallel to the Volga and other rivers. Big possibilities for reducing excessively long freight carriage by rail to the Far East will be afforded by better utilisation of the Arctic waterway and bigger shipments from Black Sea ports.

The establishment of a unified interrelated and interacting transport network will make for shorter and cheaper freight haulage, but to do this the water transport system must be improved.

The leading personnel of the Ministries of Inland Water Transport and Merchant Marine must display greater energy and persistence in improving and reconstructing the fleets, in introducing better, more powerful and faster freight and passenger boats.

Port and wharf facilities are the most backward element in the water transport system; their lag is even greater than that of the fleet. These facilities must be extensively developed.

In motor transport we have few powerful lorries and especially trailers. We must introduce bigger lorries with a capacity of 10, 20 and more tons.

It should be noted that we have few up-to-date motor roads. The problem of developing a network of motor roads awaits solution. Initiative by local bodies should play a big part in the building, repair and maintenance of roads. It is necessary to increase the share of freight carriage by specialised motor transport organisations through reducing shipments by motor vehicles belonging to different government departments.

Pending the technical reconstruction of the transport system we must not slacken the efforts to make better use of reserves in rail, river,

marine, and motor transport, otherwise we will not be able to assure the necessary shipments.

To cope with freight carriage, we must effect an economy in shipments, make bigger and better use of the advantages our socialist economy affords for reducing shipments, secure better distribution of the productive forces, bring industry closer to the raw-material sources and consumer districts, see to the comprehensive development of districts, expand the processing of raw material on the spot, which together with an improvement in the planning of shipments and sales will make it possible to avoid haulages to and from the same districts, repeated shipments, and excessively long and other irrational shipments. This is an important task of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

To accomplish the big tasks confronting the transport system we must substantially improve construction in this field, introduce industrial methods, improve designing, accelerate the commissioning of units, and, what is most important, cut construction costs.

The technical reconstruction of the transport system should first of all yield a big effect in increasing traffic speeds, which is of great national-economic importance.

Higher speeds reduce the cost of shipments, make it possible to save considerable sums on transportation expenses and release for freight carriage additional large numbers of cars, locomotives, boats and lorries and, what is especially important, raise the carrying capacities of the railways and ports.

Higher speeds of transportation release from the sphere of circulation vast material resources, accelerate the turnover of goods, and bring the producing and consuming districts closer together in point of time. Consequently, this facilitates cooperation in industry and assures additional output through faster shipment of the means of production; in the case of passenger traffic it saves the people's time for productive labour and leisure.

IV

The problem of speed and the saving of time in general is of importance for the entire national economy. Marx wrote that "all saving in the final count resolves into a saving in time... the saving in time,

just as the planned distribution of working time in different branches of production, remains the first economic law underlying collective production.” (*Archives of K. Marx and F. Engels*, Vol. 4, p. 119.)

This is of particularly great importance in the historic conditions when we are working to carry out the slogan of the great Lenin: to overtake and outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically, that is, in per capita production.

During the years since this slogan was formulated – except the war period when the main task was to overtake Hitler in Berlin and speed him to his grave, a task splendidly discharged by our glorious army – we have made great progress in realising that slogan and have reduced our lag behind the principal capitalist countries in per capita production.

Accomplishment of the task of overtaking and surpassing those countries is assured by a higher rate of economic development in the Soviet Union than in the capitalist countries, by the laws of development of socialism, which differ from those of capitalism.

The socialist economy is more economical than the capitalist, first of all because it does not have the losses in production and circulation that follow from the very nature of capitalism – from crises, unemployment, anarchy in production, and competition.

Although we do have many losses both in production and circulation we know the way to reduce them and we will work successfully to reduce and eliminate them. This way is strict economy in all spheres. Strict economy, as before, remains a major task in the work of the Party, the governmental apparatus and the whole national economy. It is a matter of reducing expenses in non-productive activities, cutting managerial expenses, pruning the apparatus and improving its work, and lowering the expenses of circulation and transportation, in which spheres no new material values are created.

This is a matter of the greatest importance: the saving of living and materialised labour in production, which is expressed in the most telling qualitative indice of socialist production – in reduction of production costs.

The basic economic task can be accomplished only by attaining higher labour productivity than under capitalism.

The troubadours of present-day capitalism loudly publicise the

slogan of raising labour productivity on the basis of a "spirit of industrial unity" between employers and workers. This is an old tune in a new arrangement, for, labour productivity interests the capitalists not as a means of improving the life of society as a whole but of increasing their super-profits.

For us, for the socialist camp, higher labour productivity is of decisive significance in increasing the output of the national economy, as a means of improving the people's well-being.

The great Lenin stated as early as 1919 that labour productivity is the most important, the chief thing for the victory of the new social system. He saw in labour productivity the decisive collective requisite of the victory of socialism, the sum total of the new material basis as represented by large-scale industry, the cultural advancement of the entire population, discipline and work skills, and better organisation of labour, that is, the *sum total of all the technical, economic, organisational, cultural, and political activities of the Party and the Soviet state.*

In the relatively brief span of history since Lenin proclaimed that slogan we have made big progress in realising it. From 1913 to 1955 labour productivity in Soviet industry increased 8 times over, and with account of the shorter working day, 10 times.

But we could have achieved still more if the labour productivity targets in the past five-year plan had been fully reached by all enterprises and industry as a whole.

To utilise the available reserves for increasing labour productivity it is necessary, of course, to introduce new techniques at a faster pace, and on this point the Central Committee laid particular emphasis during the period under review: it held a special conference, called an *active* of workers in industry, thoroughly analysed the problem at the C.C. Plenary Meeting in July 1955, and sent a special letter to Party organisations.

The national economy was supplied with new plant on a large scale during the previous five-year plans, which made it possible to mechanise the main labour-consuming jobs. But a substantial number of industrial workers to this day work by hand. This is explained not only by a shortage of machines and unsatisfactory progress in designing and manufacturing new machinery and equipment, but also by the fact

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that in many industries which are considered mechanised, mechanisation actually covers only some of the key operations.

Coal mines, for instance, are constantly getting new machinery and equipment, in the first place, coal-cutting combines. But other operations, both underground and on the surface, are done by hand.

The combine is serviced by a crew of 14: two operate the combine, while the other twelve service the other equipment by hand.

In the slate industry the main processes are mechanised, but three-quarters of the work is not.

In the timber industry felling is mechanised. One man with an electric saw fells so much timber in one day that 20 trimmers go after him with axes and cut the branches by hand.

Consequently, our principal task in this field is to introduce comprehensive mechanisation.

Automation must become a big factor in raising labour productivity. The installation of automatic machine lines at the First State Bearings Plant in Moscow, mechanisation and automation of operations, the employment of progressive technology and new equipment made it possible to raise labour productivity at that plant by 60 per cent during the Fifth Five-Year Plan; compared with the prewar level total output of this plant doubled, while the number of workers was reduced by 29 per cent.

Introducing automatic machine lines and building automatic factories, we must effect on a large scale the technical reconstruction of operating establishments, and first of all introduce new types of machines and modernise and replace obsolete equipment. This will open up big opportunities for faster operation and for raising labour productivity.

The task of introducing new equipment and technological processes and mechanising arduous and labour-consuming jobs confronts not only industry, transport, and construction, but also agriculture.

V

New machinery, however powerful, is inert without human labour. The active influence of labour on the means of production depends on

the social form of labour. Whether the machine will produce more or less depends not only on the machine itself, but to no less degree on the nature of the labour – whether it is the labour of the wage slave in capitalist society or the free labour in socialist society.

The relations of production in our country and in the countries building socialism give scope for the development of social production and provide the conditions for a constant increase in the creative activities of the working masses themselves, for the spread of socialist emulation. Lenin regarded the organisation of emulation as a task of utmost importance to the state.

Socialist emulation has been taken up by the entire people in the USSR. Our achievements are in large measure a result of the widespread socialist emulation.

Notwithstanding these indisputable achievements, however, it would be wrong not to see that there are many shortcomings which hamper progress in socialist emulation and can hamper it to a still greater degree in the future. The main drawback is that in a number of industries the best experience of the foremost workers, the front-rankers in socialist emulation, is insufficiently popularised and applied.

Figures are sometimes cited showing that we still lag behind the United States in the level of individual labour productivity. Yet the fact is that our innovators in a number of industries and the transport system have reached, and in many cases surpassed, the labour productivity in corresponding trades in the United States. This proves that if the experience of the innovators is widely introduced we can swiftly overtake and surpass the United States in level of labour productivity as well. But there is often a bureaucratic approach at industrial establishments and ministries to the large-scale introduction of the methods of innovators.

The foremost coal combine operators, Comrade Bushchinsky and Comrade Velichko, and their teams working in the Karaganda area have brought up the monthly output to 26,000 tons per combine, that is, almost 3 times as much as the average for the Karaganda area and nearly 5 times as much as the average for the ministry as a whole. They have achieved this productivity not through physical over-exertion but by perfecting their combine and improving the working process. These combine teams earn twice as much as the others in the Karaganda fields.

If the Ministry of the Coal Industry would introduce this advanced method widely, it could get many additional millions of tons of coal annually from the faces worked with combines, while the labour productivity of the operators would rise by more than 60 per cent.

I could cite many similar examples, but I shall only mention one more interesting case. I am referring to Comrade Seminsky, a turner at the Krasny Ekskavator Plant in Kiev, who is a delegate to the Twentieth Party Congress.

We have such remarkable initiators of high-speed metal-cutting as Comrade Bykov and Comrade Bortkevich, but I am taking the case of Comrade Seminsky because he operates an ordinary lathe which is widely used in our industry. For 10 years now he has been exceeding his quota by 5 to 6 times. He has achieved this chiefly by reducing the time spent on auxiliary operations.

In the work of turners, machining time usually amounts to 20-35 per cent and auxiliary time to 65-80 per cent. With Comrade Seminsky it is the opposite: machining time amounts to 65-70 per cent and auxiliary time to only 30-35 per cent. He does this by using simple but ingenious fixtures and tools of his own design which mechanise and automatise the process of turning.

Closely connected with this are Comrade Seminsky's wages: he earns two and a half times as much as the average for turners at his plant.

In conversation with me Comrade Seminsky said that if all turners were provided with the appropriate rapid-action fixtures and tools and with the conditions necessary for operating their machines at higher speeds, they could work the same way he does, and labour productivity of the turners would increase 2-3 times.

There is no justification for inaction and neglect with regard to this remarkable development. This applies first of all to the engineering ministries. They know very well this and other pioneering proposals, but they are weighted down by inertia, routine, and bureaucracy, which are still to be found among industrial executives.

True, industrial managers have their difficulties in popularising and introducing the experience of innovators, but these difficulties can be overcome given good economic guidance.

It is necessary to give due prominence to the introduction of

foremost production experience, make it a law, in conformity with the injunction of the great Lenin that "the power of example should be a moral model in the first place, and then also an enforced model..." (*Works*, Vol. 27, p. 177.)

The distinctive features of the present stage in the development of socialist emulation are determined by the substantial expansion in the technical facilities of the national economy, the cultural and technical advancement of the working class, and the higher level of labour productivity.

In these new conditions the production innovators themselves have developed as well. Socialist emulation has risen to a new, considerably higher level. This calls for a different, higher level of guidance and organisation.

Yet we have serious shortcomings in the organisation of widespread socialist emulation. The main ones are:

Violation of Lenin's demand to ensure publicity and comparability of the results of emulation. Popularisation of the results of emulation has declined. Fewer individual pledges are taken, which reduces the moral responsibility of each worker to the collective for the socialist pledges he assumes.

There is insufficient moral and material encouragement of the results attained in the emulation. Little use is made of the numerous forms of moral encouragement; it must be said that not enough workers who lead in emulation are awarded Orders or Medals for outstanding achievements in production. Frequently the funds received by industrial enterprises which win in the countrywide socialist emulation are improperly distributed.

The initiative of the engineers and technicians who put much effort into ensuring the success of the leading workers is by far not always rightly assessed. This shortcoming is especially intolerable at the present stage of emulation when workers' achievements in improving equipment and technological processes, in improving the organisation of labour and production, are simply inconceivable without close cooperation with the engineering and technical personnel, without their guidance.

The serious shortcomings in the organisation of labour and production which hamper socialist emulation give rise, first and

foremost, to uneven operation of enterprises throughout the month and even throughout the day, rush work during the last ten days of the month, and big losses of working time, amounting in industry to an hour or as much as an hour and a half and even two hours a day per worker.

These shortcomings are especially intolerable now. Our Party has taken an important decision on the introduction of the seven-hour work-day. We are confident that our Soviet worker will respond to this historic decision of his Party by still greater enthusiasm and heroic labour for the good of the Motherland and for the success of communism. (*Applause.*)

But to translate this enthusiasm into concrete deeds it is necessary to do away with the tremendous losses of working time we have now. The elimination of these serious shortcomings demands decisive improvement in leadership by industrial executives and also trade-union and Party organisations.

It is the industrial executives in the first place who are responsible for ensuring the normal, smooth, uninterrupted operation of their establishments. Besides concerning himself with the techniques and organisation of production, each executive must deal directly with socialist emulation, keep in close touch with people and be attentive to their needs. He himself must seek and establish contact with people, with the Party, trade-union and other organisations, without waiting for these organisations to establish contact with him.

Each industrial executive should work, together with the Party and trade-union organisations, to raise the level of labour discipline and at the same time do everything to eliminate the causes of many breaches of discipline by providing normal housing and living conditions for the workers and other employees, improving labour protection and so forth.

Special stress should be laid on the part industrial executives play in production conferences, which are of great significance. The nature of production conferences is determined by the essence of our socialist system. Only in our society can there be such a form of direct participation of the working masses in production management.

Industrial executives, trade-union and Party officials and front-ranking and rank-and-file workers get together, and should get together, at well organised production conferences held at regular intervals. These

conferences should be a major centre for drawing up organisational and technical measures to raise labour productivity, cut costs, bring to light potentialities for effecting economies, and increase the resources for further advancing the material well-being of the workers, specifically the funds of industrial enterprises which go for improving the workers' living conditions.

Production conferences are, and should be the most important centre for the popularisation, study, and introduction of the best work methods.

It is the direct duty of each industrial executive, Party official, and, particularly, trade-union official to take an active part in production conferences, give careful consideration to the proposals made by workers, engineers, technicians, and other employees, and give effect to the adopted proposals.

VI

Rapid growth of labour productivity and development of socialist emulation are seriously hindered not only by the factors considered above, but also by serious shortcomings in the organisation of wages and the fixing of output quotas.

Comrade Khrushchov was right when he said that there is confusion in the question of wages. We are now working to clear it up. This is a serious matter. In some districts, and in some industries, too, wages have jumped forward, while in others they have lagged behind; within the same ministry, turners employed at different factories get different wages. We need time and a deep analysis, and, besides everything else, naturally, material resources. We must deal with this question with great pertinacity and must first of all eliminate the most obvious shortcomings. We must proceed from the principle of personal material incentive.

The principle of personal material incentive in the results of labour and its significance in raising labour productivity were put forward by Lenin and legislatively confirmed in decrees signed by him in the very first years of Soviet power.

Now, too, during the gradual transition from socialism to communism, personal material incentive retains its full validity as a

cardinal principle of socialist economic management, for the principle of distribution according to the work performed remains in force in this period as well.

As our productive forces have grown, the material living standard of the working people has risen, contrary to what happens under capitalism where the growth of productive forces leads to enrichment of the bourgeoisie and impoverishment of the proletariat. This is clearly and graphically demonstrated in Comrade Thorez's study of the recent figures on the impoverishment of the working people in France.

The foundations laid by Lenin for the organisation of wages in socialist society have fully justified themselves. They remain in force at present, but life is going forward and introducing amendments which we are obliged to take into account.

In substance, we have not changed the wage-rate system since the wage-rate reform in 1932. As a result much of it has grown out of date and a number of essential amendments are needed in its application.

The main shortcoming in the organisation of wages is that the wage-rate system is out of date. This applies particularly, in most industries, to the wage rates, which are the basis of wages. The average wages of workers and office workers in industry increased more than twofold from 1940 to 1955. During that period there was hardly any change in the wage rates.

As a result there is a big discrepancy between the increased actual wages and the workers' wage rates. In order to conform to the level of wages reached, output quotas are kept at a low level.

Thus, the wage rates and output quotas are no longer a fully effective basis for raising the productivity of labour and wages, since nearly half the wages is derived from over-fulfilment of output quotas, from premiums and other supplementary payments. Owing to various modifications over the past twenty years the wage scale contains elements of levelling.

The discrepancy between the low wage rates and actual wages is one of the reasons why the fixing of new output quotas and implementation of important engineering measures which would enable the workers to fulfil them are unsatisfactory.

The considerable shortcomings now observed in the whole system of wages and which act as a brake on raising labour productivity urgently

call for careful preparation and carrying out of measures to bring order into this matter, or for what is now called, a reform of rates and wages and output quotas. This is not an easy job; it requires time and, possibly, funds, but it has to be done.

An important task is to implement the Central Committee's splendid decision to increase the wages of low-paid workers. This will have great significance for raising the living standard of these groups of workers.

It is also necessary, as the report of the C.C. points out, to elaborate the wage system from the viewpoint of giving the managerial staff in the workshop and enterprise a greater material incentive to improve the operation of the workshop or enterprise.

All the questions discussed at the Congress in connection with the report of the C.C. and the discussion to follow on the Draft Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan concern the vital interests of all the working people in our country. It must be stressed that at this congress a number of points are raised and solved which are of immediate and vital significance for every worker.

I have in mind such questions raised at the Congress by decision of the C.C. as the introduction of a seven-hour working day, the raising of the wages of low-paid workers, a serious improvement in the system of pensions and an improvement in the working and living conditions of women.

The Draft Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan provide for an average rise of about 30 per cent in the real wages of factory, office and other workers, an average increase of at least 40 per cent in the incomes of collective farmers, a twofold increase in the building of dwelling houses and a further extension of construction for social and cultural needs

All these decisions are first and foremost an expression of the victory of socialism in our country, of the indisputable superiority of the socialist system, of our victories in the Patriotic War and our success in the building of communism. They are the fruits of the whole policy and practice of our Party, the aim of which is the maximum satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of the great Soviet people.

We have no doubt that our heroic working class, our collective-farm peasantry and all the working people, the builders of communism, will respond to the solicitude of the Party and their Government with a new surge of creative activity, will consolidate the might of our Motherland and will bring us still nearer to the victory of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

VII

At present, favourable objective possibilities have been created in our country for accelerating the transition from socialism to communism. The translation of these possibilities into reality depends in a decisive measure on a subjective factor, on the raising of the standard and efficiency of leadership in all spheres of economic and political life.

The role of the trade unions is especially great, for they are the largest mass organisation of the working class, linking up our Party with the class. At present, the trade unions unite in their ranks more than 42 million factory, office and other workers.

Our trade unions have indisputably attained great achievements in their work and rendered great services to the working class, the Party and the state. They are in many ways a model for the fraternal trade unions in the People's Democracies and rightfully play a leading role in the international working-class movement.

However, it would be incorrect not to see in the work of the trade unions serious shortcomings, the elimination of which should considerably raise the role of the trade unions in communist construction.

The July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party pointed to the necessity for improving the work of the trade unions in directing socialist emulation, eliminating formalism in this matter, propagating more widely the methods of front-rank workers and innovators in production, and strengthening labour discipline, thereby raising the productivity of labour and the material welfare of the factory, office and other workers.

The trade unions must show much greater initiative, insistence and fighting spirit than up to now, in the enterprises as well as at the centre, to disclose and eliminate major shortcomings in fixing output

quotas and wage rates, in the fight against a bureaucratic attitude to work and to the life of the working people, and in the protection of labour.

The trade unions must be more attentive to questions of labour and production questions immediately connected with it. In this respect, the trade unions must play a great role at production conferences, the work of which must be livened up and considerably improved.

All the work of the trade unions from top to bottom must be penetrated with a Bolshevik non-compromising spirit towards bureaucratic distortions, towards an indifferent attitude to workers who are innovators in production. They must promote the satisfaction of the growing demands and requirements of the workers and other working people.

By their active share in communist construction the trade unions must more than ever justify the definition of them given by the great Lenin as a school of communism, a school, Lenin said, of an altogether unusual type, a school of management and economic direction, a school of communism. (*Applause.*)

The remarkable victories with which our country has met the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union underline with new vigour the grandeur and the decisive role of our Party, as the principal inspiring and organising force of Soviet society, which is building communism.

Party organisations must improve their leadership of the work of the trade unions and other mass organisations, without doing the work for them or decreasing their responsibility.

Party organisations must educate all economic executives, trade-union and Y.C.L. leaders, all factory, office and other workers in a spirit of high responsibility for the fulfilling of the tasks confronting us; they must carry out their organisational and Party work among the masses in such a way that it will exert concrete influence on the Communists, and through the Communists on the entire non-Party collective.

On the basis of a deep understanding of the technology and economics of production, the Party organisations must lead and direct the growing creative activity and initiative of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals in order to develop socialist emulation, introduce and make better use of new machinery and the methods of

innovators, raise productivity, lighten the labour of Soviet people and raise their material and cultural standards.

Close and indissoluble connection with the people, the ability to listen to their voice and to find out their pressing needs, not only to teach the masses, but also to learn from them – this always was and still is one of the main sources of the power and invincibility of our Party. A good Bolshevik is above all a good organiser of the masses.

The work of the Central Committee in the period under review is a vivid example of contact with life and with the masses and of the ability to express and to realise their creative initiative and strivings.

In spite of the definite successes achieved by our Party and the Government in the effort to improve the state apparatus and cut its maintenance costs, there are still serious shortcomings in its work. The chief of these is that, part of its leading personnel has insufficient contact with the masses and with life, and is affected with bureaucracy.

We must see to it that executives, beginning with the ministries and ending with enterprises, collective farms, MTSs and state farms, should more often visit people at work, should address them and answer the questions which interest and worry them. Then the executives themselves will have a clearer approach to their own work.

I should like to point out still another question which I think is important. There are great shortcomings in the consideration of letters and complaints sent in by the people. We must see to it that leading officials receive the public, acquaint themselves with their letters, complaints and statements, and give them thoughtful and effective consideration.

The Soviet people, the working people, have always been the main object of our Party's attention. Our Party has not and cannot have any interests other than the interests of the people, than the struggle for the happiness of all the working people. That is why the people love and support, and will continue to support, their Communist Party. (*Prolonged applause.*)

VIII

The fact that we have numerous qualified cadres in all spheres of our governmental and economic activity, cadres who are selflessly

devoted to the Party and the people, is one of our biggest conquests, and at the same time one of the most important guarantees that the tasks set out in the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be successfully accomplished. We must now work still harder to improve these cadres, to raise the level of their technical, political and economic qualifications.

In this connection, the vigorous way in which Comrade Khrushchov raised in his report the question of improving the Party's ideological work, and of liquidating the mutual loss of contact between theory and practice, is of great significance. The correction of these shortcomings in the spirit of the demands of the Central Committee will most certainly bear fruit. Our cadres will improve their theoretical knowledge and will have greater success in carrying out the tasks of building communism. Theory will benefit from this, for it will be enriched with new experience, with the practice of communist construction; practice will benefit too, for it will be better illuminated by theory.

The Central Committee's report was made on a high ideological and theoretical level, and this completely reflects the work of the Central Committee during the period under review and all the life of the Party.

We know that during this period the Central Committee studied and raised a number of major questions of principle and theory. They were questions of the future development of our heavy industry, of the appraisal of the present stage of communist construction, questions of international policy and others.

After the Nineteenth Party Congress, the Central Committee daringly (I mean from the ideological and theoretical points of view, from the viewpoint of principle) raised the question of combating the cult of the individual. This is not an easy question. But the Central Committee gave it the right, Marxist-Leninist, partisan answer. The cult of the individual is a dangerous cult, it deprecates the masses, the Party and its leading cadres.

The exposure of the cult of the individual, the correct Marxist-Leninist conception of the role of the popular masses, the role of the Party and its leading cadres, the role of leaders, is of exceptional importance for the consolidation of the unity of the Party. The fight against the cult of the individual has proved to be a most important factor in forming and cementing the collective leadership of our Party.

The collective leadership of our Party guarantees correct leadership, an all-round deep analysis and a Leninist decision of the major questions in the life of the Party and the state.

What is most important is the fact that the collective leadership of the Party is united and cemented on a partisan, Marxist-Leninist basis of principle.

The strengthening of the unity of the Party was promoted and will be still more promoted by the restoration of the Leninist standards of inner-Party life, which were elaborated during decades of the Party's struggle and which form the basis of the whole activity of the Party as the main inspiring and organising force of Soviet society, which is victoriously building communism. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the specific feature of the Twentieth Congress of the Party is that, basing itself on the successes achieved, it is in a position to develop a practical programme for creating, in a very short period, an abundance of industrial wares and foodstuffs, a programme for accelerating the transition from socialism to communism.

The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU marks a new, higher stage in the Party's work of carrying out Lenin's brilliant plan for the construction of communist society. The Twentieth Congress will go down in the history of the Party as the congress of the victorious builders of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Central Committee's Report and the Draft Directives of the Twentieth Congress for the Sixth Five-Year Plan open up majestic prospects for accelerating our country's progress in the fields of technology, economics, social life, culture and science, for raising the Soviet people's living standards, and for consolidating the might of the socialist state. These prospects enhance still more the prestige of our Party and our Motherland in the eyes of the peoples of the whole world; they fill the heart of every Communist and every Soviet man with legitimate patriotic pride and joy. (*Applause.*)

This Soviet patriotism is inseparable from proletarian internationalism, for we are building communism in close brotherly friendship with the great Chinese people, the working peoples of the countries of People's Democracy, and with the sympathy and support of all the working people in all countries of the world.

(*Applause.*)

The Documents of the Great Debate

During the period under review, the strength of our Party, the strength of its leadership, was tried time and again. And this trial has proved that the people have a Party which is true to them, a united, monolithic Leninist Party. The Party has a strong, united Leninist Central Committee, steeled in battle, worthy of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Strong in its unity, our great Party, led by the Leninist Central Committee, and the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union, led by the Party, will achieve the complete victory of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

REPORT ON DIRECTIVES OF THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU FOR THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR 1956-1960

N.A. BULGANIN
February 21, 1956

Comrades, the Central Committee of the Party submits for the examination of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU Draft Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the Soviet Union (1956-1960).

Before setting forth the objectives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, it is necessary to dwell on the results of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, and, in this connection, on some fundamental problems of our economic policy.

In the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU Comrade N.S. Khrushchov presented a vivid picture of what our country has accomplished since the Nineteenth Party Congress. That period extended over a good part of the last five-year period.

In addition to giving a deep analysis of the international position of and the internal situation in the Soviet Union, and the activities of our Party, the report correctly raised and comprehensively discussed at the right time highly important questions of Marxist-Leninist theory – peaceful co-existence of the socialist and capitalist world systems, the possibility of preventing war in modern times, and the forms of transition to socialism by various countries.

The great Lenin bequeathed us an invaluable ideological treasure-store; he defined the ways and means of building a new social system.

Source : Bulganin, N.A., Report on Directives of the 20th Congress of the CPSU for the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the development of the USSR 1956-1960, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956.

But he always called on his disciples not to be passive guardians of the Party's ideological heritage, but creatively to develop and enrich it by analysing the new conditions of social development, the new facts of history and scientifically to generalise the experience of the masses who are building communism.

From the standpoint of scientific substantiation of policy, Lenin considered it absolutely essential to take accurate, objective account of the correlation of classes and the concrete distinguishing features of each historical moment. In his famous "Letters on Tactics," written in April 1917, Lenin criticised the doctrinaires who clung to old theoretical propositions and formulae and looked back instead of ahead: "... it is necessary to understand the indisputable truth," he pointed out, "that the Marxists must take account of real life, of verified facts of *reality*, and not keep on clinging to the theory of yesterday, which, like any other theory, goes at best no further than outlining the basic, the general, and only *comes close* to embracing the complexity of life." (*Works*, Vol. 24, p. 26.)

The great power of Marxist-Leninist theory has consisted, and consists, in that it always keeps pace with life and gives clear answers to the new questions posed by the course of the development of society.

To Lenin and the Leninists, Marxist theory has always been a guide to action, not a dogma.

From the standpoint of this postulate of Lenin's, the report of the Central Committee is a model of bold elaboration of pressing problems of Marxism-Leninism, which in present-day conditions are of great theoretical and practical importance both for our Party and for fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

The Central Committee's report provides an extensive programme for the future work of our Party, a programme imbued with a deep and firm confidence in the triumph of the great cause for which we are working – the cause of communism. And the fact that the debate on the report was marked by full unanimity and ardent support of the Central Committee's political line and practical work attests the monolithic unity and mighty strength of our Party. (*Stormy applause.*)

The fruitful work carried out by the Central Committee during the last years is due to the fact that the C.C. has invariably followed Lenin's instructions on collective leadership in our Party.

Having resolutely condemned the cult of the individual, a practice contradictory and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the Central Committee of the Party and its Presidium carried into effect the principle of collective leadership in taking all decisions, no matter whether it was a question of international politics, the internal situation in our country, or inner-Party life. All important decisions were taken on the basis of a thorough and critical exchange of views.

Adherence to the Leninist principles of collective leadership and to the rules of Party life in the future as well, will guarantee the Party from serious errors and ensure us further progress in communist construction.

The source of our Party's strength is its inseverable ties with the broad masses. The Soviet people know that the Party places, and always has placed, the good of the people, the prosperity of our great Motherland, above all else. That is why the Soviet people have boundless trust in their Party and confidently follow it along the path of victorious communist construction.

In the eyes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there is no higher approbation of its activity than this boundless trust and support of the broad masses of the people. On the other hand, the trust of the people lays a great obligation on our Party. It is our duty not to flatter ourselves with our achievements, not to give way to smugness and complacency, but to work still better and maintain still closer contact with the people.

Thanks to the devoted labours of the heroic Soviet people and to our Party's colossal organisational work, we have registered big achievements in the development of all branches of the national economy. The Directives adopted by the Nineteenth Party Congress for the Fifth Five-Year Plan were successfully fulfilled and, in many important respects, overfulfilled.

It would be wrong to suggest that we won this great victory easily and simply, without effort, without having to combat difficulties. The Party brought to light major shortcomings in a number of spheres of economic construction – in industry and, to a greater extent, in agriculture. Boldly and openly it spoke to the people about those shortcomings and mustered up the mighty force of the creative initiative of the masses in order the sooner to remove the defects, to bring out

and put into operation the immense inner reserves which exist in all branches of the socialist national economy.

Relying on the labour activity of our glorious working class and our engineering and technical personnel, the Party in the fifth five-year period achieved a further powerful rise in socialist industry. The five-year plan assignment for increasing industrial output was fulfilled ahead of schedule – in four years and four months. In the last five-year period, as in all the preceding five-year periods, our economic development was based on the priority expansion of heavy industry, whose output increased to a greater extent than envisaged by the five-year plan. The five-year plan target for production of consumer goods was likewise exceeded.

In the past five-year period agriculture developed more slowly than envisaged in the Directives of the Nineteenth Party Congress, and the agricultural targets of the five-year plan were not attained.

In 1955, thanks to the implementation of the measures outlined by Plenary Meetings of the C.C., CPSU, agricultural output began to advance. We can now say with full assurance that we have created the necessary conditions for rapid progress in this important branch of the national economy as well.

The targets of the Fifth Five-Year Plan for freight carriage by rail, sea, and motor transport were exceeded.

The five-year plan in respect of capital investment in the national economy was fulfilled. Investments increased substantially from year to year, thus creating a basis for continued expansion of social production and for raising the living standards of the people.

The five-year plan targets for national income, real wages of factory, office, and other workers, and collective farmers' incomes were exceeded, and the plan for retail trade was over-fulfilled. The volume of retail trade last year was more than twice as great as in 1940. In the five-year period retail prices were reduced 26 per cent, which is more than was envisaged in the Directives of the Nineteenth Party Congress.

The scale of house-building in the last five-year period was very extensive. With funds assigned under the government plan alone, houses with a total floor space of 105 million square metres were built. In addition, a large volume of housing was built with funds assigned by enterprises and with other non-centralised resources, as well as by urban

dwellers at their own expense or with the help of government credits. In the five-year period, more than two million houses were built by collective farmers and rural professional workers. The country's housing facilities expanded appreciably, although the housing problem continues to be very acute.

The last five-year period was marked by considerable achievements in the field of culture. The Directives of the Nineteenth Party Congress provided for the transition to universal secondary education in the capitals of the republics and the big cities, and this provision was in the main fulfilled. Our higher educational establishments trained a large number of specialists.

Further big achievements were registered by Soviet science, and it played a bigger part in economic and cultural development. The international prestige of our science was enhanced, and contacts between Soviet scientists and the scientists of other countries were broadened and strengthened.

Many new hospitals, holiday homes, sanatoria, and child institutions were built in the fifth five-year period. In this period there was a high birth-rate in our country, while the death-rate steadily declined and has now dropped to less than half of what it was in 1940.

In the sphere of foreign trade, the Soviet Union continued in the past five-year period to adhere to its policy of expanding economic relations with all countries on a mutually beneficial basis. Last year our country's total foreign trade was nearly double that of 1950. Our trade relations with the People's Democracies were broadened and strengthened. The value of our trade with them in 1955 totalled 19,500 million roubles, as against 10,600 million in 1950.

Trade with some of the capitalist countries was conducted in unfavourable conditions. The United States and, under its pressure, a number of West European countries practiced discriminative measures designed to restrict, and even stop, trade with the Soviet Union. Notwithstanding this, many capitalist countries were greatly interested in selling us their goods and buying ours, and trade with them, far from diminishing, substantially increased.

By effectively carrying out the Fifth Five-Year Plan, our country has made a big step forward in the gradual transition from socialism to communism. The economic and defensive might of the Soviet state has

greatly increased, and its international position has grown stronger.

In the fifth five-year period, the Soviet Union registered outstanding achievements not only in the fields of economic and cultural development, but also in the carrying out of its peaceful foreign policy, in its effort to lessen international tension and promote world peace.

The great socialist camp has become still stronger and more united. The countries which have embarked on the path of socialism are successfully developing their economies on the basis of government plans. The great people of China are enthusiastically and with tremendous vigour carrying out their first five-year plan. The European People's Democracies – Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, and also the German Democratic Republic, are fulfilling and overfulfilling their long-term plans. The Mongolian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam have made notable progress in the development of their economies.

The peoples of Yugoslavia are successfully following the path of socialist construction.

The results of the Fifth Five-Year Plan are a source of deep satisfaction to the Soviet people, to our loyal friends – the working people of the countries of the socialist camp, to the whole of progressive mankind. These results are due to the great and vigorous work of the industrious Soviet people, inspired and led by the Communist Party, headed by its Leninist Central Committee. (*Stormy applause.*)

I

PRINCIPAL AIMS OF THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

A well-known instruction of Lenin's, states that it is impossible to work without a long-term plan designed to assure serious success. Our practice in drawing up and carrying out five-year plans follows this instruction by Lenin.

Life has borne out the feasibility of our plans. Each five-year period the Soviet Union rose to a higher level of economic development, became richer and stronger, and its international prestige grew more and more. The superiority of the socialist planned economy enables us to set ourselves increasingly bigger tasks in economic and cultural construction.

The Soviet Union embarks on its Sixth Five-Year Plan, possessing a powerful and comprehensively developed system of socialist production, extensive material resources and, what is particularly valuable, a numerous body of skilled personnel both in town and country.

Now that it has a powerful heavy industry, our country possesses all the conditions for rapidly developing the production not only of means of production but of consumer goods, for multiplying considerably its social wealth, and thus advancing further towards the establishment of a communist society.

The principal aims of the USSR's Sixth Five-Year Plan are to ensure, by priority development of heavy industry, continuous technical progress and higher labour productivity, a further powerful expansion of all branches of the national economy and a rapid advance in agricultural production, and on this basis, to achieve a substantial rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

The Draft Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan rest on a scientific basis and conform with the requirements of the objective economic laws which govern the development of the socialist mode of production.

As before, the leading role in the development of the socialist economy will be played by industry – primarily heavy industry, the production of means of production. Without a relatively faster growth of heavy industry, it is impossible to ensure extended reproduction in all branches of the national economy, continuous technical progress, steady development of the productive forces, or a continuous rise in labour productivity, to ensure our country's unbreakable defence capacity, to raise the living standards of the people. This we are taught by the Marxist-Leninist political economy, and by the whole past experience of our socialist state.

It was by firmly and unswervingly adhering to Lenin's general line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry that we achieved a momentous victory: we converted our once backward, agrarian country into first-class industrial power with a large-scale, highly mechanised agriculture, built a socialist society, and are now confidently advancing, step by step, along the road to communism. (*Applause.*)

A characteristic of our times is the unprecedentedly rapid

development of technology in all branches of production. If the nineteenth century was the age of steam, the twentieth century – the age of electricity – is becoming the age of atomic energy, which has unlimited potentialities for the development of the productive forces.

We Communists must fully place the greatest discovery of the twentieth century – atomic energy – at the service of that cause whose effectuation is the ultimate programmatic objective of our Party – the cause of building communism. (*Applause.*) In the peaceful uses of atomic energy, our country is ahead of other countries. This lead we must keep in the future as well.

The necessity of accelerating technical progress and raising labour productivity in industry was strongly emphasised at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee last July. Its decisions are reflected in the Draft Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan. It must now be our aim to ensure rapid technical progress in all branches of the national economy and, on this basis, to raise labour productivity to the maximum.

One of the principal aims of the Sixth Five-Year Plan is a steep rise in agricultural production.

If the growing food requirements of the population and raw-material requirements of the light and food industries are to be fully satisfied, we must develop our agriculture far more rapidly than in the fifth five-year period. The production of cereals, industrial crops, vegetables, including potatoes, and animal products must be substantially increased.

The continued powerful expansion of industry, agriculture, transport, trade – of the entire national economy – rapid technical progress, and higher labour productivity are the main conditions necessary to carry out, in the new five-year period, the principal aim of socialist production: to steadily raise the material and cultural standards of the people.

The realisation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be an important stage in the achievement of the basic economic task of the USSR, which is, through peaceful economic competition, to overtake and outstrip in an historically short period the most developed capitalist countries in per capita production.

This problem has its source in the far-reaching historical backwardness of the entire social and economic system of pre-

revolutionary landlord-capitalist Russia as compared with the advanced countries of the time.

In "The Impending Catastrophe and How To Combat It," an article which he wrote even before the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out most emphatically the necessity of overtaking and surpassing the most developed countries in the economic sphere. After the socialist revolution that task found expression in a number of instructions that Lenin gave on development of heavy industry as a requisite for raising the country's productive forces and for transforming our Motherland into an economically powerful state.

As a result of the fulfilment of the first two five-year plans the Soviet Union became an advanced industrial power and moved up to second place in the world in gross volume of industrial output. Thus conditions were created which enabled the Eighteenth Party Congress in March 1939 to set the task of overtaking and surpassing the most developed capitalist countries economically, that is, in per capita industrial production.

Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union and the war imposed upon us inflicted a colossal loss on our national economy and retarded for 10 to 11 years the fulfilment of that basic economic task of the USSR.

Now that we have not only recovered the prewar economic level but greatly exceeded it, our people will be working for the basic economic task of the USSR in conditions different from those before World War II. The situation today is different; it is more favourable to us. The Soviet Union's material and technical base is much broader. Suffice it to say that last year industrial production in our country was more than three and a half times as great as in 1939, when the basic economic task was practically set. Building up its economic might from year to year, the Soviet Union has left the principal European capitalist countries far behind in absolute scale of production.

In setting the task of overtaking and surpassing the most developed capitalist countries economically, our Party naturally takes into consideration the fact that, since the end of the war, the economies of those countries have not been marking time, either. In the United States, the volume of industrial production is approximately twice as great as before the war. Production has increased in other capitalist countries

too. We know that this expansion was due to temporary, transient factors; that it is one-sided, extremely unstable, extending mainly to those branches of industry which are in one way or another connected with militarisation of the economy; that far from eliminating, it is sharpening the fundamental contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production. All this is undeniable. Nevertheless, we must clearly realise that the accomplishment of the basic economic task of the USSR now requires a much higher rate in the expansion of production than we had planned before the war.

A feature of the present stage in the accomplishment of the basic economic task of the USSR is that, as distinct from prewar times, our country is working for this aim in a great era of history when it is no longer a case of only one socialist country competing with the capitalist world, but of peaceful economic competition between *two world systems* – the socialist and the capitalist.

Nearly half the population of Europe and Asia have definitely and irrevocably broken with capitalism. More than one-third of the human race has firmly taken the path of socialist construction. This is a momentous, history-making fact.

There are distinctive features, of course, in the economic development of the various countries embraced by the socialist world economic system, features which derive both from the past history and from the specific conditions in each country. But despite the distinctions, the countries of the socialist camp have one paramount, fundamental thing in common. It is that all these countries are following the path of building socialism and communism, that the power in all these countries is held by the working class, which maintains an alliance with the peasantry, and is led by a Marxist party.

The economic relations between the sovereign states of the socialist camp are based on mutual and friendly cooperation. This cooperation extends to broad and diverse fields. They include the most rational utilisation, in the common interest, of economic resources and production capacities, coordination of plans for the development of various branches of economy, industrial specialisation and cooperation, exchange of scientific and technical information and advanced production methods, and so on. This friendly cooperation and mutual assistance is the source of the growing economic might of the socialist

world system, which is immune to crises, unemployment, and the other incurable maladies inherent in the capitalist system.

The breaking away, as a result of the Second World War, of a number of countries from the capitalist system noticeably reduced the sphere of domination of capitalist relations. Of special significance is the fact that we are witnessing the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, whose inevitable downfall Lenin foresaw so perspicaciously.

Thus, in economic competition with capitalism, the Soviet Union, and the socialist camp as a whole, has immense advantages. The decisive advantage is that the socialist system of economy provides the broadest scope for the development of the productive forces, for the all round development of the talents and abilities of millions of working people, the creators of all material and spiritual values.

To make the most of these colossal, really unlimited opportunities, it is necessary persistently to improve and perfect the entire work of our Party, Soviet, and economic organisations in guiding the industries, transport, and agriculture. Lenin said he very much wanted more engineers and agronomists to take the floor at our congresses, and our congresses and conferences to become agencies checking up our economic progress, agencies where we could properly learn how to build up our economy. The Party and the Soviet people have carried this desire of Lenin into effect.

Look at our Congress, Comrades, see how businesslike and concrete is the manner in which the report of the Central Committee is discussed, in what great detail the delegates are dealing with practical problems of industry and agriculture.

This is an indication of the tremendous work of organisation done by the Party, by its Central Committee which, in recent years, has been steadily calling the attention of our cadres to economic problems of production, to the study of advanced experience, to applying that experience on a mass scale. Be more concrete! This Leninist principle is now of decisive importance. It is the pivot of all our economic administration.

Our Party and all the Soviet people are firmly convinced that, in the historic competition between the two systems, it is the socialist system that will win, as being the more progressive. But, of course,

victory will not come of itself. In order to win, we must continue to maintain a high rate of development in all branches of the economy, lead the other countries in technical progress and in raising labour productivity, and tirelessly improve our day-by-day work of organisation.

Fulfilment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan targets will enhance the economic might of the Soviet Union. It will, in addition, contribute to further economic progress in all the countries of the great socialist camp, to the strengthening of the entire socialist world economic system.

II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR IN THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

INDUSTRY

The continued rise in all branches of the national economy depends primarily on the rapid development of socialist industry.

The Draft Directives provide for a 65 per cent increase in industrial production in the sixth five-year period. This means that in 1960 – the last year of the five-year plan – industrial output in our country will be 3 times as great as in 1950, and 5.3 times as great as in the prewar year 1940.

The primary aims of the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the sphere of industry are to expand, primarily, the iron and steel, non-ferrous metal, oil, coal, and chemical industries, ensure a rate of construction of power stations that will keep power supply ahead of demand, and rapidly increase the production of machinery, particularly of technically up-to-date machine tools, forging equipment, automation equipment, and instruments.

In all, production of means of production (Group A) in the five-year period is to increase by approximately 70 per cent. Compared with 1940, production of means of production will increase 6.6-fold.

This powerful expansion of heavy industry, coupled with a rapid increase in agricultural output, will make it possible to accelerate the development of the industries producing articles of general consumption.

Production of consumer goods will increase by approximately

60 per cent. In 1960, production of consumer goods (Group B) will be three and a half times as great as in 1940.

In 1960, as a result of implementation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the Soviet Union will produce more steel, power, cement, and fuel than now produced by Britain, France, and Western Germany together and will have come considerably closer to the United States in volume of industrial output.

Our Party has always attached exceptional importance to the *iron and steel industry*, on which, in the final analysis, the development of all branches of the national economy depends.

Our aim in the sixth five-year period is to substantially exceed the level of production of iron and steel already attained. In 1960, our country will produce approximately 53,000,000 tons of pig iron, or 3.6 times as much as in 1940; 68,300,000 tons of steel, or 3.7 times as much as in 1940; 52,700,000 tons of rolled steel, or 4 times as much as in 1940.

But greater iron and steel output as a whole is not the only thing. In the sixth five-year period our metallurgists must sharply raise the production of alloy and low-alloy steel, electric steel and other types of high-grade metal, which is of great importance for the country's economy and defence. They will also have to enlarge considerably the assortment of metal products and increase the production of the most economical rolled shapes. All this will make it possible to use our metal resources more effectively, to reduce the weight of machines and metal structures, and develop more up-to-date equipment.

In the fifth five-year period our metallurgists made no little effort to produce more metal with existing plant. The results were good, but it must not be forgotten that the iron and steel industry still has extensive unused reserves.

More than one-third of the increase in iron output and about one half of the increase in steel output planned for the sixth five-year period are to be obtained solely as a result of more effective utilisation of existing capacities, modernisation of obsolete equipment, and improved technological processes.

Serious attention will be given in the sixth five-year period to expanding the *non-ferrous metal industry*.

Large quantities of copper, lead, and aluminum will be required

for new electric power stations and power networks, for telephone and telegraph cable lines, for accumulators, for electrification of railways, and for other fields of the economy. Higher production of nickel, tungsten, molybdenum, niobium, and other non-ferrous and rare metals is essential for expanding the production of the alloy steels and heat-resisting alloys used in the manufacture of high-pressure steam turbines, gas turbines, and other machines.

The production of non-ferrous and rare metals must be rapidly expanded in the new five-year period, as the Draft Directives provide. The average annual increase in output of non-ferrous metals must be much greater than in the previous five-year periods.

In order to increase the production of non-ferrous and rare metals, it is necessary to expand ore mining, improve comprehensive utilisation of the raw materials, and ensure fuller extraction of the metal from the ore.

An important task of the non-ferrous metallurgists is to increase the production of highly pure non-ferrous and rare metals, essential for the development of electronics, radio engineering, and the production of heat-resisting alloys.

Fuel Industry

Of our total fuel supply in 1955, 65 per cent consisted of coal, 22.5 per cent of oil, and 2.5 per cent of natural gas. As you see, oil, and especially gas, constitutes a small proportion of our fuel supply. Yet these are the cheapest and most effective fuels. The cost of producing natural gas, for example, is only one-eighth the cost of producing coal. Furthermore, oil and gas are valuable raw materials from which many chemical products can be obtained.

We are therefore making it our policy to accelerate the expansion of the oil and gas industries to the maximum. The Draft Directives envisage increasing coal production in 1960 by 52 per cent compared with 1955, the production of oil by 91 per cent, and of gas nearly 4-fold.

The Soviet Union now possesses a powerful and well-equipped *coal industry*.

However, coal production in the fifth five-year period did not keep up with the requirements of the national economy, and this created

difficulties in maintaining supplies of fuel for industry and transport. The disparity between supply and demand was particularly felt in the European part of the USSR.

It is planned to produce 593 million tons of coal in 1960, or half as much again as in 1955. This is a very big task. Its accomplishment will enable us not only to satisfy the coal requirements of the national economy, but to enlarge the government stockpiles.

With a view to sharply reducing coal transportation from the eastern areas to the European part of the country, it is planned to provide for more rapid expansion of the coal industry in the Donbas. As before, the Donbas coal basin will continue to play a most important role in supplying the country with fuel. Coal production in the Donbas in 1960 is to amount to 212 million tons, or 77 million tons more than in 1955. But since Donbas coal is expensive, harder to mine, and extraction costs are higher, we must, in addition to developing coal output in the Donbas, broaden and reinforce the power-producing resources of the Ukraine by exploiting other coal-fields in the republic.

This raises the question of exploiting to the utmost the Ukrainian coal deposits at the Alexandriya field near Kirovograd, the Lvov-Volynsky, and other coal deposits on the right bank of the Dnieper and in the western areas of the Ukraine.

We must make the fullest use of the hydropower and natural gas resources in the Ukraine.

In addition to the existing Dnieper and Kakhovka hydroelectric stations, power stations are to be built in the sixth five-year period at Kremenchug and Dnieprodzerzhinsk, and construction work begun on the station at Kanev. A substantial expansion in production of natural gas in the Western Ukraine is also envisaged.

The Government has instructed the State Planning Commission to make a further study of the question of utilising the water-power resources in the Ukraine. It may be that supplementary measures will have to be taken in that direction.

Hydropower and natural gas development in the Ukraine is of great economic importance, since it will enlarge the country's fuel and power resources and allow the replacement of large quantities of costly Donbas coal by cheaper kinds of fuel.

In the sixth five-year period many industrial plants and power

stations will be built and large-scale railway construction undertaken in the eastern part of the country. This will greatly increase the demand for coking and non-coking coal.

There are rich deposits of such coals in the eastern part of the country, where it is possible to develop mines with a smaller capital expenditure and mine coal at a lower cost than in the European part of the USSR. Besides, many deposits can be worked by the open-cast mining. We aim at a big expansion of production in the Kuznetsk, Karaganda, and other eastern coal-fields.

The 1960 production of *oil* is to be 135 million tons, or nearly four and a half times as much as in 1940.

During the previous five-year plans we created the necessary conditions for the continued swift expansion of the oil industry. New big oil-fields have been discovered and opened up, with the result that in the post-war years our industrial reserves have increased more than four-fold. We have built up a powerful oil-machinery industry, capable of supplying the oil industry with up-to-date equipment.

Development of the very rich oil deposits in the Urals, and especially in the Volga area, is proceeding apace. In 1960, 75 per cent of the country's oil is to come from these areas.

It is to our advantage to expand the oil industry in the Urals and the Volga area at a high speed. Cost of production in these areas is 3 to 4 times lower than in the old oil-producing regions.

However, our decision to rapidly develop oil production in the eastern areas of the country does not mean that we may relax our attention to the old sources of supply, Baku and Grozny, which provide the country with the better grades of oil.

It must be our serious concern in the sixth five-year period to develop the oil processing industry on a big scale and effect its expansion through the building of big refineries with three to five times greater capacity than those we have built hitherto. This will greatly expedite and lower the cost of refinery building.

The big targets set for the production of oil will necessitate a big expansion of pipe-line transportation of oil and oil products. In the sixth five-year period it is planned to lay more than 14,500 kilometres of arterial pipe-line. The share of pipe-lines in total transportation of oil will increase more than 2.5-fold.

The gas industry will be advanced on a big scale in the sixth five-year period. Within five years gas production will increase to 40,000 million cubic metres. The new Stavropol, Shebelinsk (near Kharkov), and Steпноye (near Saratov) gas deposits will be opened for industrial use, and the Berezovo deposit along the lower reaches of the Ob will be prepared for exploitation. A total of about 9,000 kilometres of arterial gas-line must be laid.

Electrification

The Central Committee of the Party consistently adheres to Lenin's instructions concerning the electrification of the country.

In 1955, the total output of the power stations of the Soviet Union was 170,000 million kilowatt-hours, or three and a half times as much as in 1940. Nevertheless, the demand for power was met only with great difficulty.

It will be necessary in the sixth five-year period to ensure a rapid increase of power-producing capacity so as to fully satisfy the growing demand of the national economy and create reserve power capacity. While total industrial output will increase 65 per cent, production of electric power is to increase 88 per cent, and power plants' capacity, 120 per cent.

Our country has abundant hydropower resources. Hydroelectric stations are profitable since they require no fuel and produce power at the lowest cost.

Great attention will be paid in the sixth five-year period to the building of hydroelectric stations, whose capacity will increase 2.7-fold.

In the European part of the USSR, utilisation of the power resources of the Volga and the Kama will be carried further. In addition to completing the Kuibishev, Gorky, Stalingrad, Molotov, and Votkinsk stations, construction work will be started on the Saratov and Cheboksary hydroelectric stations on the Volga, and the Nizhne-Kama hydroelectric station on the Kama.

In Siberia, large-scale work will be developed on the erection of huge hydroelectric stations at Bratsk on the Angara and at Krasnoyarsk on the Yenisei. Each of these stations will have a capacity of 3,200,000 kw and will generate annually as much power as the Kuibishev and

Stalingrad stations combined. It is proposed to use the low-cost power produced by the Siberian stations for the development of a number of power-consuming industries.

As to steam-power plants, the objective is to build powerful stations, with generating units of 100,000, 150,000, and 200,000 kw capacity using steam at high pressures and temperatures. Such big power stations are economically more profitable than stations with smaller capacities.

A large number of electric networks is to be established in the sixth five-year period. In the early years of Soviet power development, power rings were confined to individual districts. Later, inter-district rings were formed by linking together the systems of several districts.

In the sixth five-year period, we are setting ourselves an interesting and important aim, namely, to establish a single power ring for the whole European part of the USSR by connecting the Kuibishev and Stalingrad hydroelectric stations with the Central, Southern, and Urals rings through 400,000-volt transmission lines.

In 1960, about half the electricity generated in the Soviet Union will be produced by the stations coming within the single power ring for the European part of the country.

In the sixth five-year period the beginnings are to be made in establishing a single ring for Central Siberia. This ring will link up the hydroelectric stations on the Angara and the Yenisei with the steam and hydropower stations of the Kuzbas, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, and Krasnoyarsk.

The establishment of unified power systems will make the supply of power much more reliable and the operation of the stations more economical, render it possible to build big power stations instead of a multiplicity of less economical small and medium plants, and to extend electrification to new areas where there is now a shortage of power.

A noteworthy feature of the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be the broad construction and utilisation of atomic power stations. The Draft Directives propose to build several atomic power stations with an aggregate capacity of 2-2.5 million kilowatts, which is about one and half times as great as the capacity of all the power stations whose construction was envisaged by the famous GOELRO plan.

Chemical Industry

Chemistry is playing an increasingly important part in various branches of industry and agriculture. Rapid development of the chemical industry has long become an essential requisite for technical progress.

The present state of our chemical industry cannot satisfy us, and it is therefore proposed to accelerate its development in the sixth five-year period.

One of the most important tasks in this industry is to increase the production of mineral fertilisers which will help raise crop yields. The production of mineral fertilisers is to be expanded to nearly 20 million tons in 1960, or a 6.5-fold increase compared with 1940 and a more than 2-fold increase compared with 1955.

We must organise the production of new and more effective chemicals for plant disease and pest control, and also the large-scale production of chemical weed killers, so as to sharply reduce expenditure of labour on weeding crops.

An important task of the chemical industry is to greatly expand the production of synthetic alcohol, synthetic rubber, solvents, varnishes, high-quality detergents, and other products of oil gas and natural gas. At present we are expending grain, potatoes, and edible fats for these purposes. The obtaining of synthetic products from oil gas and natural gas will, in the five-year period, greatly reduce and subsequently completely cut expenditure of grain and vegetable oil for industrial purposes.

Chemical industry workers must develop large-scale production of materials for the manufacture of consumer goods, such as artificial silk, footwear, and haberdashery. During the sixth five-year period, production of synthetic materials for the manufacture of artificial fibre is to be increased almost 6-fold.

We must extend the range and output of synthetic materials for the engineering, radio engineering, and aircraft industries, and expand the production of high-quality electric insulation materials and plastics which reduce the weight of machines and products and save non-ferrous metals.

The national economy still experiences an acute shortage of automobile tyres. The two-fold increase in tyre production envisaged

in the Draft Directives must be regarded by the chemical industry workers as a minimum.

Development of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and also of the fuel and chemical industries requires an extensive raw material base. Our extraction industry commands vast surveyed reserves of diverse minerals. The Soviet Union leads the world in known resources of iron and manganese ore, copper, lead, bauxite, nickel, tungsten, potassium salts, and phosphates.

Large-scale *geological survey* has resulted in the discovery of new large deposits of coal, oil, ferrous, non-ferrous and rare metals, and other minerals, on the basis of which we are building big heavy industry plants.

Our geologists must be given their due. They have worked well in the last five years and have achieved quite good results. For example, in Kustanai Region, rich deposits of iron ore, non-coking coals, and bauxite have been discovered in an area which is exceptionally favourable for industrial development. To give an idea of the importance of this discovery, it will suffice to say that the Kustanai iron ore reserves are estimated by the Ministry of Geological Survey and Conservation of Mineral Resources to be greater than the known resources of the Urals, including Mount Magnitnaya.

The Directives propose, on the basis of the Kustanai deposits, to develop an iron-ore industry with an annual capacity of 10 million tons of ore, to open up a big bauxite mine and build an aluminium plant, and also to organise the large-scale mining of non-coking coals.

Big deposits of coking coal and iron ore have been found in the southern part of the Yakut Autonomous Republic and east of Lake Baikal.

Of great importance is the discovery of big deposits of natural gas in the Eastern Ukraine, in the Stavropol Territory, and near the Northern Urals.

One of the most remarkable discoveries in recent years is rich diamond deposits in the Yakut Autonomous Republic.

The search for new deposits of oil, gas, coking coal, ferrous, non-ferrous, and rare metals, and other minerals must be continued in the various economic regions of the country, primarily in the East. This is necessary in order that the extraction industry should be more evenly

distributed throughout the country, and that our enterprises, existing and in construction, should have guaranteed reserves of minerals for a long time to come.

Engineering

At the July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee last year, the engineering ministries were severely, and rightly, criticised for lagging behind in the development and production of up-to-date equipment and instruments.

The development of the engineering industry, especially the manufacture of tools and machine tools, must keep ahead of other industries. Therefore, the Sixth Five-Year Plan envisages an 80 per cent increase in the output of the engineering and metal-working industries.

Big tasks confront the engineering industry in the new five-year period. The engineering plants must be rapidly re-equipped with the latest high-efficiency machines. This applies primarily to metal-cutting lathes, forging equipment, foundry equipment, and automatic and semi-automatic lines.

Output of metal-cutting lathes will be almost doubled. Not less than half of the total output of machine tools will consist of the most advanced types of metal-cutting lathes. For instance, production of multi-position lathes, which machine parts with many cutting tools simultaneously, will increase nearly two and a half times, while the production of automatic and semi-automatic lines and of equipment for automatic shops and factories will increase approximately five times.

The task during the five-year period is approximately to double the production of forging equipment, and to increase the output of heavy presses at least four-fold. In place of the outmoded drop hammers we must introduce mechanical forging presses with a drop weight of several thousand tons, which will permit the employment of advanced methods of making precision stampings and effect a substantial economy of labour and metal.

In the foundry shops, the arduous and low-productive hand labour of moulders, founders, and cleansers must be replaced by machines. Accordingly, the output of up-to-date foundry equipment must be increased eight-fold, and a large number of specialised foundries and foundry shops built in various parts of the country.

The Documents of the Great Debate

By re-equipping foundries, we shall be able to obtain precision castings that require very little machining. This will release tens of thousands of metal-cutting lathes, and save hundreds of thousands of tons of metal which is now reduced to shavings.

A no less important task of the engineering industry is to develop the production of up-to-date equipment for other branches of the national economy.

The machine-builders must provide the metallurgists with highly efficient mechanised and automatised rolling mills of various descriptions, measuring up to the best world standards.

Powerful up-to-date machines must be supplied to the ore and coal-mining industries. In the last five-year period we produced drag-line excavators with a 14-cu.m. bucket. These machines can excavate 800 cu.m. of earth per hour. In the new five-year period, the machine-builders must supply the metallurgists, coal miners, and builders with still more powerful machines that will excavate over 1,200 cu.m. of earth per hour. These excavators will need to be serviced by 40-50 ton tip-up lorries, which our automobile industry must produce in the sixth five-year period.

The machine-builders will have the difficult task of developing super-capacity equipment for steam-power stations. They must design and begin production of economically-operating unit systems combining 200,000-300,000 kw turbines and boilers producing up to 900 tons of steam per hour at a pressure of 300 atmospheres and a temperature of 650°.

In the last five-year period, our power engineers designed 105,000 kw turbines for the Kuibishev Hydroelectric Station. They must design even more powerful turbines in the sixth five-year period. The Bratsk Hydroelectric Station will require turbines of over 200,000 kw capacity. Some idea of these machines may be given by the following comparison: only five of them will have an aggregate capacity equal to that of all the power stations in pre-revolutionary Russia, and will generate three and a half times as much electricity as was generated in tsarist Russia.

The Draft Directives provide for a considerable increase in the output of steam, hydraulic, and gas turbines, and of generators for these turbines, including generators for steam turbines of tremendous capacity – up to 300, 000 kw – fitted with hydrogen cooling systems.

In designing and producing lathes, machines, and equipment, the machine-builders must pay particular attention to lowering expenditure of metal by improving designs, using economical rolled shapes, and replacing metal by plastics.

We cannot effectively cope with the highly important problem of automation if we do not have sufficient quantities of the most diverse and up-to-date instruments and radio-engineering products. In the sixth five-year period, therefore, it is necessary to expand the instrument-making and radio-engineering industries at a rapid rate.

In order to increase the production capacity of the instrument-making industry, 32 specialised plants will be built and research and laboratory facilities enlarged.

With a view to more efficient administration of this industry, the Ministry of the Machine-and Instrument-Making Industry has been divided into two ministries: the Ministry of Instrument Making and Means of Automation and the Ministry of Machine-Building.

One of the most important and urgent tasks of the instrument-making industry is to satisfy the needs of science and production for sufficient quantities of rapid computation machines, which are a new means of automatising mathematical computation and production processes.

The radio-engineering industry must pay particular attention to developing high-quality semi-conductor instruments, which in many cases are effective substitutes for radio valves. Semi-conductor instruments are of much smaller size and weight than radio valves and increase the reliability of radio apparatus, computation machines, and other appliances.

Semi-conductor instruments deserve to be taken up seriously. But the Ministry of the Radio-Engineering Industry is unpardonably slow in developing their production, while the Ministry of the Non-Ferrous Metal Industry is putting out absolutely inadequate quantities of the chemically pure substances needed for this purpose.

The production of *building materials* was considerably expanded during the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Nevertheless, the demand of the national economy for these materials is still not being fully satisfied. There is a great shortage of cement, wall and roofing material, and even of window glass.

As everyone now knows, in order to build quickly, cheaply, and efficiently, industrial methods must be applied on a broad scale and the use of pre-cast reinforced concrete structures greatly increased, and this requires a lot of cement.

We produced some 6 million tons of cement in 1940, and more than 22 million tons in 1955: in 1960, it is planned to raise the output to 55 million tons. For comparison's sake, it should be said that in 1955 the United States produced about 52 million tons of cement.

In the sixth five-year period, the production of pre-cast reinforced concrete structures will be increased nearly six-fold, while production of finishing material, slate, sanitary and plumbing fixtures, and other building materials will be more than doubled.

The Timber Industry

The Soviet Union has the largest timber reserves in the world. Lumbering in our country is conducted on a big scale. For example, some 300 million cubic metres were produced and transported last year.

Nevertheless, we are experiencing a shortage of timber, primarily because it is utilised very uneconomically. In no other country is timber used so wastefully as in ours. On every one million roubles' worth of building work our builders expend 480 cubic metres of timber, whereas our friends in the People's Democracies expend considerably less.

Timber must be economised – primarily by making broader use of plain and reinforced concrete.

One of the main reasons for the irregular supply of timber to the national economy is that the principal producer – the Ministry of the Timber Industry – systematically fails to fulfil its plan. The amount of timber supplied by the Ministry to the national economy was about 80 million cubic metres below plan in the fifth five-year period alone.

It must be pointed out that the Ministry of the Timber industry receives and continues to receive constant assistance in developing its production base. In the last five years, capital investment in the timber industry totalled 12,500 million roubles. The principal lumbering processes were much more highly mechanised. However, the Ministry of the Timber Industry has done all too little to mechanise auxiliary labour-consuming processes, with the result that much of the work in the forests is done by hand.

In the sixth five-year period, the Ministry is to increase timber production by 42 per cent, chiefly in heavily forested areas, and considerably expand timber-sawing there.

One of the chief tasks of the industry is to complete the all-round mechanisation of lumbering operations and to go over to year-round operation in the forests with permanent staffs of workers.

The timber industry is closely associated with the *paper and wood-working industry*.

In the sixth five-year period new pulp mills and cardboard factories will be built, and a number of existing pulp and paper mills will be reconstructed, with a view to substantially increasing the output of pulp and paper. Output of typographical paper and newsprint is to increase by more than 50 per cent and of cardboard by 180 per cent.

Until now it was our practice to build pulp and paper mills chiefly in forested areas, and the paper and cardboard had to be transported in quantity over long distances, to all parts of the country. In the sixth five-year period we must start building pulp mills and cardboard factories also in unwooded areas, using big local supplies of rushes as raw material. In this way we can increase the output of paper and cardboard and reduce long-distance transportation of these products.

The paper industry must widely develop the production of cardboard for packing purposes, so that about half the wooden packing cases may be replaced by cardboard containers in the sixth five-year period. This will give us an annual saving of about 7,000,000 cubic metres of wood.

In the sixth five-year period we must provide for broad expansion of production in all branches of the *light and food* industries, without exception. This will be a new big advance towards ensuring an uninterrupted supply of our trading organisations with manufactured goods and foodstuffs. We have all requisites for this.

Our rapidly developing heavy industry will supply both the existing light industry plants and those under construction with up-to-date machines, equipment, and appliances. On the other hand, the advance of all branches of agriculture will make it possible substantially to increase the supply of all kinds of agricultural raw materials to the textile, leather and footwear, meat and dairy, canning, and other light and food industries.

The workers of the food industry must greatly increase the output of meat and meat products, butter, cheese, milk and milk products, fish and fish products, sugar, confectionery, and canned goods of all kinds. This will entail the erection of many new factories both in urban areas and in the areas where agricultural raw materials are procured.

Important tasks confront the workers of the industries producing manufactured consumer goods. They must ensure a more than 50 per cent increase in the production of footwear and garments, and substantially expand the output of linens and especially high-grade woollens, the demand for which is not being entirely satisfied.

Production of artificial and synthetic fibres is to be expanded on a particularly big scale. In the sixth five-year period there is to be a three-fold increase in the output of artificial fibre and a five-fold increase in synthetic fibre, at the very least.

There must be a big increase in the manufacture of such articles as clocks and watches, bicycles, motorcycles, sewing machines, washing machines, radio sets, and other goods that go to meet cultural requirements and household needs.

Besides expanding production, the light industries must considerably improve the quality of their products and secure their timely output. People must be provided with an opportunity to buy clothing, underwear, footwear according to season.

All branches of the light and food industries must make much more efficient use of their productive capacities, persistently introduce new techniques, and sharply reduce wastage of raw material.

These, comrades, are the principal aims of the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the different branches of industry.

TECHNICAL PROGRESS IN INDUSTRY

The technical equipment of our industry was greatly expanded in the previous five-year plan periods. But now this is far from enough. Technology cannot stand still; it must advance all the time. Only by broad introduction of up-to-date machinery and methods can we quickly and substantially increase labour productivity and volume of production. This lends exceptional importance to the targets for technical progress in industry outlined in the Draft Directives.

The July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee pointed out that raising the technical level of industry to the maximum, constant striving for technical progress, is as important a duty of Party, governmental, and economic organisations as ensuring the fulfilment of the national economic plans.

What is implied by technical progress in industry at the present stage?

Technical progress is inseparably connected with electrification and implies, primarily, continuous improvement of machinery and equipment, adoption of the most up-to-date technological methods, comprehensive mechanisation and automation, fullest and most rational utilisation of raw material and power resources, and, as a result of all this, steadily increasing output of high-quality products.

But machinery and equipment are only one side of the matter. In order that machinery may be properly utilised and rapid technical progress guaranteed, it must be our constant concern to train highly qualified workers, technicians, engineers, and scientists, promote continuous scientific advancement, and perfect the organisation of production.

One might cite many examples to illustrate our big achievements in the sphere of technical progress. But it is not this that should engage our attention today. We must now concentrate our efforts on removing the shortcomings in this field, and make provision for the technical advancement of all branches of the economy in the sixth five-year period.

I shall begin with the present state of our *machinery and equipment*.

During the first and second five-year plans, our industries were equipped with what was for that time the most up-to-date machinery, which was largely imported from abroad. More than twenty years have passed since then. During the war very little was done in the way of re-equipping our industries. Since the war we have supplied them with new machines, but for all that we still have many old turning lathes operating at a speed of 150-400 revolutions per minute, as against the 1,500-2,000 revolutions of modern machine tools. We still do not have enough automatic or semi-automatic machines, modern boring, gear-cutting, grinding, and forging equipment.

Our foundry equipment is likewise below modern standards. The

foundry machines with which our engineering plants are mostly equipped have only one-third or one-quarter of the productivity of modern automatic and semi-automatic machines.

In the sixth five-year period we must broadly replace, with newer models, the metal-working and foundry equipment of our engineering factories, the technical equipment of our light and food industries, the rolling stock of our railways, and the tractors and machines on our farms.

Parallel with the instalment of up-to-date machinery, we must resolutely set to work to *modernise* the existing machines and raise their efficiency.

The efficiency of our machine tools and other machines will be greatly enhanced by fitting them with more powerful motors and with appliances that lighten work and accelerate operation. Modernisation of equipment has not attained the scope it should, however. The ministries and the plants which supply equipment are doing little to assist the factories whose equipment needs modernisation, with the result that the latter do the work themselves, more or less in an amateurish way. But even so, the effect is considerable.

At the First Ball Bearing Plant, for instance, improvements in the design of certain parts of the semi-automatic turning lathes, which are more than twenty years old, make it possible to operate the lathes at much higher speeds. As a result, their efficiency has been raised 25 per cent, and spoilage has been greatly reduced.

This question of modernising equipment is of great importance to the state, and Party and economic organisations must give it their serious attention.

A great deal will have to be done in the sixth five-year period in the field of *technology*, the introduction of new and more advanced methods.

The importance of this task may be seen from the following examples.

A number of our engineering works still make steel and iron castings in earth moulds, and their forgings with drop hammers, methods which are obsolete and of low efficiency. This entails a large expenditure of labour and considerable subsequent machining, which results in a great deal of wastage.

A number of plants, on the other hand, have already adopted new

and progressive methods of producing castings and forgings which considerably increase labour productivity and save much metal. But the industry generally is adopting these new methods slowly.

Another example: today molten steel is poured into iron moulds, and the ingots are rolled in blooming mills, and then in section or sheet mills.

But the Krasnoye Sormovo plant and the Novo-Tula steel works employ the more up-to-date method of continuous steel-pouring: they cut out the pouring into the moulds and the blooming process and obtain billets for rolling straight from the molten steel.

If the pouring of steel by this progressive method can be brought up to 12,000,000-15,000,000 tons in 1960, which is fully feasible, then, according to the calculations of the State Commission on New Techniques, the output of rolled stock can be increased by approximately 1,000,000 tons, with an economy of about 2,000 million roubles.

The additional equipment required for continuous steel-pouring will pay for itself in less than one year. Furthermore, this will make it possible to do away with arduous hand labour in the pouring departments, curtail personnel in the melting shops, and reduce expenditure of refractories.

Another example. The enterprises of the iron and steel industry produce the bulk of their tin plate by the old-fashioned, non-mechanised method under which about 40 man-hours are required for the hot rolling, tearing, and sorting of one ton of tin plate, and 20 kilograms of tin for the hot tinning of one ton of plate. Yet the improved technology of rolling and electrolytic tinning, which has been mastered at the Zaporozhstal works, reduces labour expenditure 25 to 40-fold and expenditure of tin 2.5-fold.

In the sixth five-year period we must broadly introduce electrical and chemical techniques, and extend the use of radioactive radiation in industry, notably for the control of quality of materials, for the control of production processes.

Progressive technological methods considerably raise labour productivity, lower the cost of production, and improve the quality of the product. Every new advance in technology must be taken up more resolutely and without delay.

One of the important trends in technical progress is the

mechanisation of arduous and labour-consuming processes.

This is not the first time the Party and the government have drawn attention to the necessity of mechanising production processes to the utmost. Much has been done in this direction. But the level of mechanisation is insufficient, and the proportion of hand labour is very high.

The coal industry has been spoken about here. In the postwar years it has indeed received a large number of up-to-date machines. But there are still many shortcomings in the way these machines are being utilised. The most serious of them is that comprehensive mechanisation is being introduced very slowly. The technological chain thus includes some unmechanised labour-consuming processes. This, among other reasons, is why labour productivity is still low and cost of production high in the coal industry, despite the large number of coal-cutting machines, combines, and other equipment it has at its disposal.

Nor is the situation as regards all-round mechanisation any better in the transport, building, and other industries.

It should be noted that the delays in introducing all round mechanisation are due chiefly to the fact that the necessary sets of machines covering the main and auxiliary technological processes have not yet been designed for a number of our industries. During the sixth five-year period our engineering industry must get down in earnest to carrying out this important task.

The Draft Directives emphasise the necessity of substantially speeding up mechanisation, of introducing all round mechanisation of the main and auxiliary processes in all industries on a large scale. They pay particular attention to the comprehensive mechanisation of handling operations, which now absorb an inordinate number of workers.

The next and higher stage after mechanisation, in the process of technical development, is *automation*.

The essence of automation is that the production process is carried out with a minimum expenditure of physical labour; the worker is freed from heavy labour and his duties are chiefly regulation. Thanks to automation one worker, or a few workers, can tend a large number of machines. Automation changes the nature of the worker's labour, and the more extensively it is introduced the more will his labour approximate that of the technician and the engineer.

Large-scale automation opens up prospects for an unprecedented increase in labour productivity, and, under socialism, makes for a rise in the cultural and technical standards of the working people. In addition, it leads to better quality and lower cost of production; furthermore, it brings greater reliability and continuity in production.

The control of operations in atomic installations, and also in a number of branches of the chemical and other industries where the work cannot be regulated directly by the personnel, is possible only with the help of automation.

The results of automation may be seen on the example of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station, whose nine hydro turbines with an aggregate capacity of 650,000 kilowatts, and a number of other machines, are serviced by shifts of only six operatives. At the Orjonikidze cascade in Uzbekistan, two or three operatives control four hydroelectric stations from a single panel-board.

The economic effect of automation in engineering mills is high. Our up-to-date automatic production lines make it possible to reduce the number of workers by approximately 5 to 10-fold and to curtail working time in processing to the same extent. Automation must be widely employed in all industries. This task confronts the heavy, light, and food industries alike.

Automatic computing machines which can themselves determine the most advantageous regimen of production processes and maintain it, and also establish and control quality assignments, must play a particularly important role in carrying out automation.

The development of automation is thus of great importance to our country. The ministries and departments are not yet paying proper attention to it, however.

The Draft Directives set the task of introducing automation in industry on a large scale, of proceeding more rapidly from the automation of machines and operations to the automation of factory departments and technological processes, and the construction of fully automatized plants, which will make for a tremendous rise in labour productivity.

The ministries and the State Commission on New Techniques must take more decisive measures to introduce automation in all branches of the national economy.

In addition to replacing old equipment, perfecting technological

processes and introducing mechanisation and automation, we must improve the *quality* of new machines, equipment, materials, and other products and bring them into conformity with the latest scientific and technical standards, while obsolete types of machinery, equipment and materials must be withdrawn from production without delay and replaced by more up-to-date models and materials.

It should be said that an anti-scientific theory to the effect that there is no moral depreciation of machinery under socialism is current among a section of our economists. The advocates of this harmful theory, who have even made their way into the pages of the *Big Soviet Encyclopedia*, claim that the phenomenon of "moral depreciation" of machines is inherent only in the capitalist economy, and that in the socialist economy "technical development does not give rise to 'moral depreciation,' and the latter is not taken into account in the depreciation of the basic funds." (*BSE*, Vol. 2, p. 291) (*Animation.*)

It is not difficult to see that this "theory" serves as a justification of inertness and conservatism. It sets out to demonstrate that it is advantageous for socialist society to employ outmoded equipment which does not measure up to the high technical level attained at the leading enterprises in our country. But who does not know that to lag in the introduction of new techniques means using social labour wastefully, means halting the rise of labour productivity.

Technical progress leads to an economy of social labour, making it possible to produce more goods with a smaller expenditure of labour. But, instead of working on the problem of the economic effect yielded by new techniques, which ensure the victory of socialism in its competition with capitalism, some of our would-be economists turn the use of outmoded machines into a law of the development of socialist economy. It will not be superfluous to remind these "economists" of Lenin's wise words: "... the economist must always look ahead, in the direction of technical progress, or else he will prove to be backward, for he who does not want to look ahead turns his back to history; there is no middle path here, nor can there be." (*Works*, Vol. 5, p. 125.)

Technical progress is in a very large degree dependent on *science*.

The necessity of accelerating technical progress calls for the broadest development of research, major scientific discoveries, and the

generalisation of advanced production experience. Our achievements in this field have been quite considerable. For all that, science is now faced with new and very big tasks.

While duly appreciating the invaluable contribution made by our scientists to our economic and cultural advancement, it is important that defects in the way scientific work is organised and conducted should be pointed out.

We cannot reconcile ourselves, for example, to the fact that some of our research institutions and scientists have been working fruitlessly for many years. A number of research institutes and scientific workers have little connection with industry. A spirit of smug complacency and self-satisfaction has taken root in some scientific institutions. It would be a good thing if these institutions were swept by the fresh breeze of criticism and self-criticism, and if they went in more for creative discussion of scientific problems. This is the only way to eliminate the shortcomings which retard the development of science and, in particular, to put an end to the misguided tendency of certain scientists to act as the sole arbiters in their particular branches of science.

In order to accelerate technical progress, we must increase the number of scientific workers in such industries as machine-building, instrument-making, and electrical engineering.

Our methods of training scientific workers must be improved. The time has come to introduce serious correctives in the system of training scientific personnel through post-graduate studies, to raise the standard of requirements for academic degrees and titles, in a word, to place this important matter on a proper basis.

Many scientific organisations are legitimately urging that broader powers be given to the directors of scientific-research institutions, who are unable, in view of the incorrect methods now current, to decide elementary questions relating to the rational employment of scientists and the financing of research.

At the July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, we decided the question of broadening the powers of the directors of industrial enterprises. The Council of Ministers must take a similar decision with respect to the directors of scientific research institutions.

With a view to securing capable scientists for research work, and to relieving research institutions of people who produce nothing useful

for years on end, we must introduce the practice of periodical appointment, on a competitive basis, to scientific posts in all research institutes.

In order to raise science to a higher level and widen the scope of research work, we must enlist new scientific forces, and scale new summits of science on a much broader front. How is this to be done?

If we confine our effort solely to enlarging existing research institutes or establishing new ones, this will require a great deal of time – and we cannot wait. We must therefore more broadly enlist our universities and colleges and the experimental designing bureaus of the industrial ministries in research work. What is needed is to reinforce the laboratory facilities of the universities and colleges, of the experimental designing bureaus and of the various industries, and utilise them more extensively for research work. By these means we can rapidly widen the front of research work, and at the same time substantially improve the qualifications of our scientific personnel.

In scientific work, it is of great importance to have broad and systematic information on what is being done in the given and allied branches of knowledge. Science cannot develop without broad exchange of opinion. But in many cases this is handicapped by the fact that the data is unnecessarily regarded as secret. Unreasonable secrecy leads to parallelism in research work; sometimes it offers unconscious workers protection against criticism. (*Applause.*) Of course, I am not suggesting that publicity should be given to information which really ought to be kept secret.

Exchange of methods, opinions, and information among our scientific institutions must be intelligently organised; the connections of our research institutes with one another, and with research institutions and leading scientists abroad, must be extended. More foreign technical literature must be acquired and published in the USSR, the technical information services of the ministries, research institutes, and industrial plants must be improved, the pooling of advanced methods and achievements must be properly organised.

The system of scientific institutions as it has developed in our country – comprising about 3,000 institutes of the Academies and in various branches of the national economy, research laboratories, and other scientific institutions – has never been examined as a whole, and

is probably very far from being the most rational, economical, and productive system. In the report of the Central Committee, Comrade Khrushchov quite rightly spoke of the excessive and unjustified concentration of research institutes and higher educational establishments in the centre of the country, especially Moscow. In addition to what has been said, the following characteristic facts may be adduced.

More than a third of the research institutes of the ministries and departments, and two-thirds of the scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences are located in Moscow, Leningrad and the Moscow and Leningrad regions. Over 60 per cent of the scientific workers of the ministries and departments, and over 85 per cent of the scientific workers of the Academy of Sciences, are concentrated in these institutions.

Two-thirds of the research institutes of the USSR Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metal Industry are located in Moscow and Leningrad. We have about the same situation in the ministries of the chemical, timber, and paper and wood-working industries.

In Leningrad, for instance, we have the Refractories Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of the Iron and Steel Industry. In Moscow and its environs we have the Trapping Industry Research Institute of the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, the Horse-Breeding Research Institute of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Fur and Antler Animal Research Laboratory of the USSR Ministry of State Farms (*Animation, Laughter*), and a large number of similar research institutes connected with industries and pursuits which are not carried on in the vicinity of Moscow or Leningrad. The same may be said of a number of higher educational establishments.

The ministries, the State Planning Commission, the State Commission on New Techniques, and the USSR Academy of Sciences must consider measures and make decisions for the improvement of the organisation of research work both in the institutes of the Academy of Sciences and in the higher educational establishments and research institutes of the industrial ministries. They must, in particular, submit their views as to the most rational territorial location of research institutes and higher educational establishments, with a view to bringing them closer to the industries with which they are allied.

We have most favourable conditions in our country for the

promotion of science. We have a large army of highly qualified researchers who are desirous of assisting the development of the national economy, of actively participating in the building of a communist society. All that is needed is to organise this tremendous force skilfully and properly, and to render our scientific personnel everyday assistance.

The carrying out of the broad programme of technical progress in industry outlined in the Draft Directives will largely depend on the extent of *industrial specialisation and cooperation*.

Modern high-efficiency machinery can be utilised most effectively only when a uniform type of product is turned out in large quantities, by the mass production method. This purpose is served by specialisation and cooperation.

A certain progress has been made in specialisation in our industry during the previous five-year plans. But there are many shortcomings in this field. The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee held last July subjected these shortcomings to detailed criticism, and outlined comprehensive measures for extending specialisation and cooperation in industry.

After the Plenary Meeting, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR carried out a number of practical measures for specialising the Ministries on more clear-cut lines and concentrating within their enterprises the production of uniform items. This applies to diesel engines, instruments, and certain other products. But this is not enough.

The heads of certain ministries and the directors of many plants are afraid of specialisation and broad-scale cooperation, because they involve a change in the established forms of production organisation.

There are also some who would like to put off specialisation to the future, to have it applied to the new specialisation plants that will be built, while the existing plants go on operating exactly as before.

We cannot allow such a situation to continue. We must vigorously pursue a policy of large-scale specialisation and cooperation in industry, rationally organise production contacts between enterprises, and strictly observe state discipline in carrying out the programme of cooperative deliveries.

The Draft Directives envisage broad measures of industrial

specialisation. The engineering industry is the first that needs to be put in order. To this day the production of one and the same type of machine is handled by different ministries and departments.

The plants of many ministries and departments manufacture highly important items which are entirely outside their line of production. The Ministry of Agriculture, for instance, turns out about 10 per cent of all the metal-cutting machines, and 24 per cent of all the forging equipment produced in the country. The machines made by the plants of this ministry are often technically obsolete and their cost of production is high, since they are put out in small batches, and the technological methods are inefficient.

Large quantities of castings, forgings, metal articles, tools, and other items used on a large scale are produced by many plants themselves, which is very costly and does not ensure high quality of the product. This is because there are no specialised foundries and forging-equipment factories, and because the metal article and tool-making industries are insufficiently developed, as is also the specialised production of electrodes, fittings, and dies.

Some industrial managers consider that the sole purpose of specialisation is to reduce the assortment of products. That is not true. As technology advances, the number of types and sizes of product grows more rapidly than the number of new plants. The aim must be to have every plant producing technically uniform products, to standardise parts and units to the maximum, and to organise their mass production at specialised plants.

We find references to the progressive role of specialised production in the works of Lenin. He wrote:

To increase the productivity of human labour in, for instance, the manufacture of some part of a product, the manufacture of that part must be specialised, must become a special operation entailing mass production and, therefore, permitting (and calling for) the employment of machines, etc. (*Works*, Vol. 1, p. 84.)

The Draft Directives provide for the establishment, in various economic areas of the country, of specialised plants and departments for the production of castings, forgings, and stampings, standard – tools, spare parts, wooden and plastic details, bolts and nuts, and other items. It is also proposed to build specialised plants for making automatic

production-line and mechanisation equipment.

The various branches of industry must be rationally distributed among the ministries, and plants producing the same type of product must be concentrated in one and the same ministry, this applying in the first place to plants manufacturing metal-cutting machines, forging equipment, and turbines.

The Central Committee considers that a long-term plan should be drawn up for the furtherance of industrial specialisation and cooperation in the various economic areas of the country and in the big industrial centres. The Party, governmental, and economic organisations of the union republics, territories, and regions must take an active part in the compilation of this plan.

The programme of new advances in industry calls for much work in ascertaining the *latent reserves* in all industrial enterprises and exploiting them to the utmost.

In certain branches of industry production capacity is by no means being used to the full. Many plants are bringing their full designed capacity into operation extremely slowly, their equipment being used inefficiently and often being allowed to stand idle.

The industrial ministries and factory managers are not taking the necessary measures to ensure rhythmic operation, to cut out loss of working time, or to utilise their auxiliary labour force more effectively. These shortcomings must be decisively eliminated.

By installing up-to-date machinery, eliminating "bottle-necks," improving production organisation and broadly publicising the methods of foremost plants and production innovators, we shall open up new possibilities for increasing the output of existing plants in the current five-year period.

The State Planning Commission estimates that it is possible, through better organisation of production and more efficient utilisation of producing facilities, to obtain in 1960, at a minimum, an additional 7,000,000 tons of pig iron, 11,000,000 tons of steel, 70,000,000 tons of coal, some 100,000 tractors, over 10,000,000 tons of cement, 42,000,000 pairs of leather footwear, and large quantities of other items of national economic importance.

If we had to secure this additional quantity of product at new plants, we should have to build more than 10 blast furnaces and 35

open-hearth furnaces, sink 200 coal pits, and erect 2 tractor works, 17 cement works and 8 shoe factories. This construction work would necessitate an expenditure of many thousands of millions of roubles.

Comrades, the working people of our country are directly interested in continuous technical progress, for it is a sure means of lightening labour and raising its productivity in the interest of all society.

Technical progress is not a matter only for the scientists, engineers, technicians, and the staff of research institutes and designing bureaus. No, it is the task of all of us: Party, governmental, and economic organisations, scientists, engineers, worker-innovators, rationalisers, and inventors. We must all put our shoulders to the wheel.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR consider that we must mobilise all our forces for the important task of furthering technical progress.

The socialist economic system and modern scientific achievements open before us boundless potentialities for technical development. All Soviet people, headed by our great Party, must exploit these potentialities to the full and win the leading position in the sphere of technical progress. This we can do, and must do.

AGRICULTURE

One of the chief objectives in the sixth five-year period is to ensure a steep rise in agricultural output.

In the report of the Central Committee, Comrade Khrushchov thoroughly analysed the situation in agriculture, and gave a detailed outline of the tasks set by our Party in this sphere.

The report gave a circumstantial account of the measures adopted by the Central Committee to eliminate the errors and faults in the direction of the collective farms, machine and tractor stations, and state farms, and also of the measures for vigorous progress in our socialist agriculture. The programme drawn up by the Party for a steep rise in agricultural output is being adhered to unswervingly.

In the sixth five-year period, gross agricultural output is to be increased by approximately 70 per cent, that is, the rate of increase will be much faster than in the fifth five-year period. The targets for the major branches of agriculture are as follows.

The gross *grain* harvest is to be raised to 11,000 million poods in 1960. It is planned to enlarge the maize crop area to at least 28 million hectares in 1960, and to organise the large-scale production of hybrid maize seed, as a means of substantially increasing the per-hectare yield.

A harvest of 11,000 million poods of grain will enable us to satisfy the growing demand for breadstuff, to increase government reserves, create the necessary stocks in the collective farms, expand exports to friendly countries, and set aside sufficient grain for cattle feed.

Big targets are set for the *industrial crops*: cotton, flax, and sugar beet. Flax production is to be increased by more than one-third, and cotton production by more than one-half.

Particular attention must be paid to expanding the production of sugar beet. Per-hectare yield must be raised, and the crop area enlarged in the main sugar-beet regions and also in other regions where conditions are favourable for this crop.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government recently passed an important decision to assure a larger output of potatoes and other vegetables. By this decision, the procurement prices for potatoes have been nearly trebled, on the average, and the wholesale purchasing prices raised 70 per cent. The procurement and whole-sale purchasing prices of vegetables have been increased 70 per cent on the average. Other measures are provided to make it profitable for the collective and state farms to expand the production of potatoes and other vegetables.

With a view to improving the supply of potatoes and other vegetables and whole milk to the urban population, it is intended to extend the existing dairy and vegetable zones around big cities and industrial centres, and to establish new ones.

In the sphere of *animal husbandry*, sharp output increases are planned, so as to fully satisfy the demand for meat, milk, and other animal products.

Meat production is to be doubled, primarily by expanding pig-breeding. The collective and state farms must organise the breeding and fattening of pigs on a large scale. In addition, the available possibilities for increasing the production of beef and mutton should be broadly utilised.

The production of milk is to be nearly doubled, primarily by substantially raising the yield per cow and enlarging the cow population.

In the past two years, collective farms in the Voronezh, Ternopol, Chelyabinsk, Kursk, and other regions have raised milk yield per cow by 600-900 kilogrammes, which shows what big reserves the collective farms possess for rapidly increasing milk production, if they set about it with a will.

The production of wool is to be increased by more than 80 per cent by further enlarging the flocks yielding fine and semi-fine wool in the old sheep-breeding areas of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, and also in Eastern Siberia, Central Asia, and the Transcaucasus.

The fundamental condition for the rapid progress of animal husbandry is an expansion of fodder production. The aim is to ensure supplies for all types of livestock and poultry, and also to supply feed for the personally-owned livestock of the collective farmers. It is very important to create emergency stocks of fodder in the collective farms and state farms.

The decisive factor in creating a stable supply of fodder is maize. By sharply increasing its production, we shall be in a position better to supply our livestock with concentrated feed, silage, and green fodder.

In the areas where perennial and annual grasses produce good yields, their cultivation must be expanded.

The Draft Directives envisage a further big increase in the output of produce by the *state farms*. In 1960, they are to deliver to the state 915 million poods of grain, 1,500,000 tons of meats, 6,800,000 tons of milk, and about 80,000 tons of wool.

All state farms must put their lands to the most rational use, sharply cut material and labour expenditure in production, and become highly profitable establishments.

In the sixth five-year period agriculture will be supplied with a large variety of more up-to-date machines in ever-increasing quantity.

It is planned to supply agriculture with approximately 1,650,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), including 680,000 row-crop tractors; with 560,000 grain combines, 250,000 maize and silage combines, and many other machines.

The question of providing agriculture with machines for large-scale two-stage harvesting, an extremely important factor in combating grain losses during harvesting, deserves special attention.

The Draft Directives provide that during the five-year period agriculture shall be supplied with 180,000 tractor-drawn windrowers and 400,000 combine pickups, but evidently this number is not enough.

The Government discussed the question the other day, and it instructed the State Planning Commission, the State Economic Commission, and the Ministries of Agriculture, State Farms, and Tractor and Agricultural Machine-Building Industry to make a further painstaking study of the matter, to ascertain more fully how many two-stage grain harvesting machines are required.

This is a very important and progressive task. Everything must be done to carry it out.

The large consignments of various farm machines that have been planned will be a great help to agriculture from our industry. As we know, it was in 1929 that we began supplying agriculture with tractors in relatively large quantities. Under the first, second, third, and fourth five-year plans we supplied 1,375,000 tractors. Now, in the sixth five-year period alone, the Government plans to supply agriculture with 275,000 more tractors than in the first four five-year plans taken together.

It was in 1931 that our industry began supplying agriculture with grain combines, and since then, down to 1955 inclusively, it delivered 505,000 units. Now, in the sixth five-year period alone, 55,000 more grain combines will be supplied than in all the previous 25 years. (*Applause.*)

But quantity is not the only thing. We shall introduce on our farms the most economically-operating diesel tractors, tractors with pneumatic tyres, combines of the latest design, mounted implements operated directly by the tractor driver, and large quantities of up-to-date machines for the preparation of fodders, for mechanising labour-consuming processes in animal husbandry, etc.

All this will raise agriculture to a new and higher technical level, and will make it possible to improve the efficiency of all branches of agriculture.

When speaking of perfecting the technical equipment of agriculture, we must include such an important question as the application of electricity for the mechanisation of many types of work, especially in animal husbandry. It must be admitted that we have not done enough in rural electrification.

No small part of the blame for this lies with the Ministry of Agriculture, which has not raised these questions persistently. What is more, funds assigned for the development of rural electrification were often used for other purposes.

Electrification of agriculture must be carried out both by connecting collective and state farms to state power stations, and by the construction of local power plants with the participation of collective farms.

The Draft Directives provide that the number of collective farms with industrial power supply is to be doubled, and the electrification of the state farms and machine and tractor stations completed. Industry will therefore have to expand the production of electric-driven farm machines that are economical and reliable in operation.

One of the most important tasks of agriculture in the sixth five-year period is to increase the per-hectare yield of all crops. This will largely depend on the application of mineral fertilisers. Their supply is to be not less than doubled. The industrial production of peat and lime for these purposes should be organised on a big scale.

The agricultural targets call for further improvement in the work of the machine and tractor stations and for the enhancement of their role in collective farming, also for strengthening the collective farms organisationally and economically, and raising the labour productivity of the collective farmers.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government have carried out a number of measures for improving the work of the machine and tractor stations and enhancing their role in the development of collective-farm production.

Recently the Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers passed a decision laying on the machine and tractor stations full responsibility for procurements in the collective farms.

The gradual transfer of the machine and tractor stations to a cost-accounting basis, which will increase the sense of responsibility of their personnel for the work they carry out in the collective farms, as well as the stations' material interest in the results of collective-farm production, will be an important factor in further improving the work of the machine and tractor stations.

Comrades, in order to ensure a steep rise in agricultural output,

the experience of the foremost collective farms, machines and tractor stations, and state farms must be drawn upon more extensively. They give practical lessons in how to achieve vigorous progress in agriculture.

The broad masses of the collective farmers, the MTS and state-farm workers, and other agricultural specialists look upon the aim set by the Party of bringing about a steep rise in agricultural output as their own vital cause, and are seeking ways and means of fulfilling the targets of the new five-year plan ahead of schedule.

In this respect, every encouragement should be given to the valuable initiative of the collective farmers and other agriculturists in the Voronezh Region. Having ascertained their resources and potentialities, they have undertaken to double meat production in one year, and milk production in eighteen months.

The patriotic initiative of the Voronezh people is meeting with hearty support everywhere. In their speeches here Comrades Kirichenko, Patolichev, Brezhnev, Kapitonov, Suslov, Ignatyev, and other delegates assured the Congress that the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, Krasnodar Territory, and the Moscow and other regions will be able to fulfil the agricultural production targets of the Sixth Five-Year Plan much earlier than provided for by the Draft Directives.

Our people will receive with great satisfaction these assurances made from the lofty platform of the Twentieth Party Congress. It remains to wish all the republics, territories, and regions success in carrying out their pledges.

(Applause.)

There can be no doubt that, with the guidance and active assistance of the Party and governmental bodies, our farmers, developing socialist emulation, will successfully achieve, and exceed, the Sixth Five-Year Plan targets.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The powerful expansion of the national economy in the sixth five-year period will result in a substantial increase in goods traffic.

The principal role in freight haulage will be played, as hitherto, by the *railways*. The increase in rail-borne freight alone will amount to

over 400,000 million ton-kilometres, which is roughly equivalent to the total freight carried by our railways in 1940.

In order to cope with this large volume of freight, the carrying capacity of the railways will have to be sharply expanded. Hence, the cardinal task in the field of rail transport is to further improve its technical equipment.

The chief trend of technical progress in rail transport is conversion to electric and diesel traction, broad introduction of automatic and centralised control of traffic, and improvement of the permanent way.

Under a 15-year general programme adopted by the Central Committee of the Party for the electrification of the railways, it is intended to convert to electric traction the major freight carrying lines, mountain lines, main lines with heavy passenger traffic, and the suburban lines of big industrial centres.

The first stage of this programme for the technical equipment of the railways is to be completed in the sixth five-year period.

It is planned to electrify 8,100 kilometres of railway lines, or 3.6 times the length electrified in the fifth five-year period. The electrification of the Moscow-Kuibishev-Chelyabinsk-Omsk-Novosibirsk-Irkutsk line, an arterial railway of national importance, is to be completed. The Moscow-Kharkov-Donbas and other railways are also to be converted to electric traction.

Diesel traction is to be introduced on a big scale. The length of railways using diesel locomotives is to be increased from 7,000 to 25,000 kilometres during the five years.

Technical reconstruction of the traction service should make it possible, already in 1960, to haul 40 to 45 per cent of the total freight by electric and diesel locomotives, as against 14 per cent in 1955.

One of the important things the railways have to do is to improve their permanent way. The Draft Directives provide for the laying of 65,000 kilometres of new rails on operating lines, including 58,000 kilometres of heavy rails, and also for the broad introduction of reinforced concrete sleepers. This means that heavier rails will be laid on nearly half the length of the principal railways, which will greatly increase their carrying capacity, cut down labour expenditure on maintenance and repair, and sharply reduce operation costs.

It is planned to supply the railways with not less than 2,000 electric

locomotives, 2,250 two-section diesel locomotives, 255,000 freight cars, and 18,600 passenger cars.

The Draft Directives provide for the further expansion of the railway network. It is proposed to lay and put into operation 6,500 kilometres of new line, or approximately twice the length laid in the fifth five-year period. The following important lines are to be put into operation:

Magnitogorsk-Sterlitamak-Abdulino, which will provide a direct outlet from the South Siberian trunkline to the European part of the country, by passing the Che-lyabinsk-Ufa line, on which traffic is very heavy;

Stalinsk-Abakan, an important section of the South Siberian trunkline, designed to carry ore to the Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works and to bring coal from the Tom-Usinskoye deposits;

Barnaul-Omsk, a new outlet from the Urals to the Kuzbas, by-passing the overloaded Novosibirsk-Omsk line;

Guryev-Astrakhan, a line connecting the Orenburg and Orjonikidze railways, and cutting the freight route from the Urals to the Caucasus by 500 kilometres.

It is also planned to build a railway from Alma-Ata to the USSR border, so as to provide a new connection with the western areas of China by the shortest route. This will be the third railway connecting our country with the People's Republic of China.

In addition to the building of new railways, second tracks will be laid with an approximate length of 6,600 kilometres, or 40 per cent more than in the fifth five-year period.

Sea Transport

The volume of sea-borne freight is to be more than doubled in the five-year period.

Development of trade with the People's Republic of China, the People's Democracies, the Republic of India, the Union of Burma, and other countries will result in a larger volume of export and import goods being carried in Soviet ships. There will be a big increase in freight carriage between our Black Sea, Far Eastern, and other basins, and via the Northern Sea route.

The achievements of our scientists in the field of atomic energy

put in the hands of our seamen and arcticians new means for subduing the stern Arctic. In the sixth five-year period we shall build a powerful atomic ice-breaker, which will make it possible to lengthen the navigation season in the Arctic and enable our ships to negotiate heavy ice.

New and up-to-date ships will be supplied to our merchant marine in large numbers. It will receive in the five years freight ships to a total of 1,600,000 tons, or 80 per cent more than in the fifth five-year period. We shall build new big motorships, tankers, timber-carriers, and other vessels. We must therefore pay more attention to developing our shipbuilding industry.

The Draft Directives provide for improving the technical facilities of seaports and increasing their handling capacity.

River Transport

It is planned to increase the volume of river-borne freight by 80 per cent in the five years. Our river transport workers must considerably increase the carriage of grain, timber, oil, coal, and other mass goods. One of their important tasks is to make proper use of the new deep-water routes provided by the building of hydroelectric stations on the Volga, the Kama, the Dnieper, and other rivers.

In the sixth five-year period, the Ministry of Inland Water Transport must bring its port and wharf facilities up to proper standard, and in the first place develop the ports and wharves on the Volga, the Kama, and the Siberian rivers.

The Ministry of Inland Water Transport will receive self-propelled freight vessels, tugs, and passenger ships to a total of 900,000 h.p., and towed vessels with a total carrying capacity of more than 2,000,000 tons. Seeing that our country has 500,000 kilometres of riverways suitable for navigation or timber-floating, river transport must be widely extended and be the cheapest.

Road Transport

Road transport is to develop further; during the five-year period road-borne freight traffic is to increase approximately 100 per cent, and passenger carriage more than 200 per cent.

In 1960, the automobile industry is to turn out 650,000 motor

trucks, passenger cars, and motorbuses. The output of truck and tractor trailers is to increase several times over. It is proposed to replace older models of automobiles, motorbuses, and engines by more efficient models.

It is planned to expand the construction and reconstruction of hard-surface motor roads. We must build more concrete roads which are more durable than asphalted concrete roads.

The targets for *air transport* are to increase freight carriage 100 per cent and passenger carriage approximately 280 per cent, to provide the airlines with larger and faster up-to-date passenger planes.

Communications

The Draft Directives provide for a considerable expansion and reconstruction of communication facilities on the basis of the latest technical achievements. During the five years we plan to build, for example, at least 10,000 kilometres of radio-relay communication lines, which will permit as many as 1,200 telephone conversations in each direction simultaneously, and also long-distance telecasting.

The increase in the capacity of automatic telephone stations in the sixth five-year period is to be approximately double that of the previous five years. It is also planned to enlarge the number of post offices and expand telephone and radio-relay facilities in the rural areas.

CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

The following data on capital investment under our previous five-year plans (in the prices of July 1, 1955) will enable you to judge the scale of capital construction under the present plan.

State capital investments for the First Five-Year Plan amounted to 58,000 million roubles; the figure for the Second was 132,500 million, 131,000 million for the three and a half years of the Third, 311,000 million for the Fourth, and 594,000 million for the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

The present, Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for 990,000 million roubles of capital investment. (*Applause.*)

It will be seen from these figures that the present volume of capital investment exceeds that of the fourth and fifth five-year programmes taken together.

Out of these 990,000 million roubles for capital investments in the entire national economy, over 600,000 million will be directed to industry; this is 70 per cent more than in the fifth five-year period. The bulk of these capital investments will be used for the construction of new capacities in the power, chemical, ferrous and non-ferrous metal, oil, coal, building materials, and timber industries. Investments in these industries will exceed 400,000 million roubles.

The light and food industries will get 75 per cent more investments than under the preceding five-year plan, and transport and communications over 70 per cent more.

Investments in agriculture will be upwards of 120,000 million roubles, or nearly double the Fifth Five-Year Plan figure. In addition, the collective farms will invest approximately 100,000 million roubles out of their own resources.

There are to be considerably larger capital allocations for the construction of houses and public utilities, schools, hospitals, child institutions, and cinema theatres. All in all, over 200,000 million roubles are to be spent under this head, as against 120,000 million in the fifth five-year period.

Large allocations are being made for new, higher efficiency equipment. Though capital investment generally is being increased 67 per cent, appropriations for new machinery and equipment will increase 80 per cent.

In recent years the building industry has been put on a firm technical basis and builders have been provided with new-type machinery and equipment. The industry has acquired more skilled workers, engineers, and technicians. At present, over 80 per cent of all construction work is contracted out to special building organisations.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan envisages an immense industrial construction programme. For one thing, considerably more power capacity is to be brought into operation than in all the preceding five-year plan periods combined. In the coal industry, the plan calls for the commissioning of new pits and open-cast mines of a total capacity of 240 million tons, which is substantially more than the aggregate figure for the fourth and fifth five-year plans.

Very big targets have been set in introducing new capacities. It should be observed, in this connection, that many ministries and building

organisations were behind their commissioning schedules in the fifth five-year period. That must be stopped, and in the current five-year period it must become a law for each ministry, central administration and enterprise to bring new capacities into operation strictly according to schedule. To do that, the vast material and financial resources directed to capital construction must be used to much better effect.

In the last five-year period, the building industry failed to meet its cost-reduction assignments. Many building organisations have been working at a loss year after year and making unproductive expenditures.

Our aim in the sixth five-year period is to cut building costs at least 7 per cent by improving organisation, raising labour productivity and reducing overhead charges and thus save some 30,000 million roubles.

Some of our building experts recently visited the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Sweden, and other countries, where they saw many new and interesting things. Our builders should utilise the best experience of other countries.

The Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers devote much attention to the building industry. They have adopted a series of decisions outlining a comprehensive programme for improving construction work.

They have also taken important organisational measures. Five new ministries have been set up: Ministry of Electric Power Station Construction, Ministry of Oil Industry Construction, Ministry of Coal Industry Construction, Ministry of Transport Construction and Ministry of Town and Village Construction. The Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Construction of Metallurgical and Chemical Works have been reorganised into union-republican ministries.

Building organisations in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev have been amalgamated into larger, territorial units: Glavmosstroï, Glavleningradstroï and Glavkievstroï. Amalgamation has led to a substantial reduction in administrative and office personnel and has made for wider use of industrialised construction techniques. Before amalgamation, the building organisations of Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev systematically fell short of their annual programmes; now they are fulfilling them well. They overfulfilled last year's assignments for increased labour productivity and reduced construction costs by 70

million roubles as compared with the estimates.

Similar amalgamations in Rostov-on-Don, Komsomolskon-Amur and other cities have likewise produced good results.

Despite the obvious advantages of larger building organisations, amalgamation is proceeding slowly. There is still a multiplicity of small building organisations, duplicating each other and operating at a loss, under various ministries and departments. In Sverdlovsk, for instance, there are 74 building organisations, and 84 in Novosibirsk.

That larger building organisations are desirable is clear. Why, then, is amalgamation making such slow progress?

A serious handicap is the mistaken, and purely departmental, attitude of many ministries and departments, whose approach to the whole problem is that of the narrow-minded private businessman. Nor, I should say, is the Committee on Construction showing the required degree of persistence in this matter of combining building organisations into larger units.

We must strike out against these retrograde tendencies, and against the bureaucrats who are hampering such an important national undertaking.

The cardinal tasks in capital construction are drastically to cut building time, prevent the diffusion of allocations on a host of projects, combat extravagance in designing and building, continue to industrialise building operations through wide use of ferro-concrete parts of factory manufacture, and introduce all-round mechanisation to the maximum.

The technical facilities of building organisations should be increased, notably in the eastern areas, district enterprises for the manufacture of building materials and structural elements should be organised; more energetic efforts made to amalgamate building organisations, improve the general direction of building operations, and ensure stricter observance of state discipline.

The quality of building must be bettered, particularly in housing and municipal and cultural projects; building costs must be cut and building organisations made to pay their way; all available machinery must be used to the full, and the supply of materials and technical equipment improved. The responsibility of designing, research, and construction organisations for applying the achievements of science and technology must be increased.

Comrades, I have set forth the principal tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan for industry, agriculture, transport, communications, and capital construction.

They are on a scale unprecedented, and their accomplishment will bring our entire national economy a long way forward, increase our material, food, and financial resources and further strengthen the economic might of our great Motherland.

III HIGHER LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY AND BETTER MANAGEMENT

The Party's policy of accelerated technical progress should find expression in a further rise in labour productivity, for it is only on this basis that the continued and rapid expansion of socialist production can be assured.

Our people are vitally interested in increasing the productivity of their labour, which constitutes a firm foundation for higher real wages and salaries, higher incomes for collective farmers, and better living standards for all.

Since the war, labour productivity in industry has increased nearly 2.3-fold, and has doubled in construction and on the railways. However, the productivity objectives outlined in the Nineteenth Party Congress Directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan have not been fully attained. In industry, productivity rose 44 per cent, whereas the target was 50 per cent; the figures for building are 45 and 55 per cent respectively. Agriculture likewise fell short of its productivity goals.

During the sixth five-year period we must cope with the task of increasing labour productivity more rapidly.

The Draft Directives envisage an increase of at least 50 per cent in industrial productivity, at least 52 per cent in building, and significant increases in agriculture and transport.

Higher labour productivity under the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be attained, chiefly, by the broad introduction of new, modern machinery in industry, agriculture, transport, the building trades and other branches of the economy, which will place more technical facilities at the disposal of the worker. I need only say that electric power per industrial worker will increase by more than 60 per cent over the five years.

A more rational system of output quotas and wage rates would do much to increase productivity.

Indeed, can the situation be regarded normal when – even with the big defects in work organisation and considerable waste of working time – at many of our engineering plants output quotas are fulfilled 180-200 per cent or more, while labour productivity targets are frequently not fulfilled? Take the Kharkov Machine-Tool Plant; in 1955 average fulfilment of output quotas was 190 per cent, and only 86 per cent in productivity assignments.

It goes without saying that this kind of overfulfilment of quotas has nothing to do with the achievements of innovators, advanced production workers, with whom considerable overfulfilment of quotas is necessarily attended by a corresponding rise in labour productivity.

Considerable overfulfilment of such deliberately low output quotas creates the illusion that all's well, and tends to divert workers, foremen, and engineers from effective efforts to raise productivity. The present practice is to make output quotas correspond in effect to a definite wage level, not to the technical and efficiency levels already achieved.

It cannot be considered normal that the proportion of basic wages in the total earnings of a worker is no more than 40-60 per cent, or even less in many plants. No time should be lost in bringing order into the wage-rate system in industry and clearing the way for mass-scale introduction of technically substantiated output quotas.

Parallel with this, we should eliminate the discrepancy in the payment of workers in one and the same trade, and often in one and the same locality.

The system of payment must provide material incentives for higher productivity and higher skill. It must be so designed that every worker will be paid in accordance with the quality and quantity of his labour.

There is also room for considerable improvement in existing systems of payment and bonuses for engineers, technicians, and economic executives. Our aim here, as N.S. Khrushchov indicated in the report of the Central Committee, should be that part of the remuneration received by this category be strictly dependent on the basic performance indices of the given shop, plant or industry.

Thus, comrades, we are faced with a very important and urgent

task: to readjust the system of output quotas and wage rates for the factory and office workers and the engineering personnel.

The heads of ministries and departments and the State Labour and Wages Committee should apply themselves more vigorously to carrying out the decisions of the July Plenary Session of the C.C. on these matters.

An essential condition for carrying out our economic development plan is fulfilment of the assignments for reducing production and distribution costs.

The Draft Directives provide for a cut of not less than 17 per cent in industrial production costs, railway operating expenditures and distribution charges in state and cooperative trade. Taking all branches of the economy, this should add up to approximately 500,000 million roubles over the five-year period, or to more than half of total capital investments under the sixth five-year programme. It is therefore of vital importance that the assignments for lowering production and distribution costs be met.

If existing potentialities for reducing production costs are to be properly used, and if they are to be turned into effective sources of accumulation, Party and economic organisations must concentrate on improving every aspect of industrial administration, on stringent economy by every single enterprise, more effective cost-accounting, uprooting all vestiges of bureaucracy, incompetent management and extravagance in expenditure of labour power and material resources, on securing better utilisation of equipment, raw materials, semi-fabricates, fuel and power, on promoting wider use of substitutes for metal, leather, natural fibre, and food-industry raw materials.

The principal thing our Party requires of all executives is that they always and everywhere be guided by the interests of socialist society, that they be unremitting in their efforts for plan fulfilment, that by their activities they contribute to higher production and to greater prosperity for our people.

IV

HIGHER MATERIAL AND CULTURAL STANDARDS

Comrades, continuous concern for the welfare of the people is supreme law for the activities of our Party. The great plans for economic and cultural development, which are being carried out in our country,

are designed to steadily improve the well-being of the Soviet people, continuously to raise the cultural standards of all the Soviet people, and more fully to satisfy their material and spiritual requirements.

We are faced with this task in the present five-year period as well. A substantial rise in the material well-being of the Soviet people, expanded housing construction, and higher cultural, educational and health standards are one of the principal objectives of the new five-year plan.

The most general index of the economic development of any country, and the source of its public wealth, is, as we know, the national income. Under socialism the whole of the national income constitutes the income of the people in the full sense of the term. The Sixth Five-year Plan envisages an increase of approximately 60 per cent in the national income of the Soviet Union.

This will mean higher personal incomes for the population. There will be an approximately 30 per cent increase in real wages and salaries over the five-year period. The incomes of collective farmers, in cash and in kind, will increase by not less than 40 per cent, primarily as a result of a larger revenue from collective farming, paid out against work-day units.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have by their selfless work in recent years immeasurably increased the economic might of the country and multiplied its social wealth. This, as you know, has enabled the Party Central Committee to submit to this Congress exceedingly important measures for further raising the people's living standards and improving their working conditions, namely:

- to raise the wages of the low-income categories of workers and, along with this, effect a general adjustment of wages and salaries;

- to go over in the current five-year period, beginning with 1957, to a seven-hour working day, or, in some branches, to a five-day week with an eight-hour working day and two days off;

- to reduce, beginning with 1956, the working day on Saturdays and on the eves of holidays by two hours; to re-establish the six hour working day for adolescents between 16 and 18;

- to radically improve the pension system, considerably increasing the low pensions, and give more attention to the disabled and aged;

- to improve the working and living conditions of women; in particular, to prolong the paid maternity leave;

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to abolish, beginning with the new school year, tuition fees in higher educational establishments, specialised schools and the senior forms of ten-year school.

All these proposals of the Central Committee have met with enthusiastic support from our people, and there is no doubt that the Twentieth Congress will unanimously include them in the Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan as new vivid evidence of the unflagging concern of the Party and the Government for providing better standards of living for the Soviet people. (*Applause.*)

The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government are certain that the people of our country will respond to this concern by greater labour activity and that they will do their utmost to fulfil and overfulfil the Sixth Five-Year Plan targets. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the rise in incomes of workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals must be accompanied by expansion of trade and by an increase in the quantity of goods sold through state and cooperative trading establishments.

The objective is a 50 per cent increase in the total volume of retail trade over the five-year period. However, the task is not only to expand trade, but also improve it qualitatively.

That is why the Draft Directives stipulate a higher rate of increase in sales of such items as butter, meat, milk, cheese, and sugar, and also woollen and linen fabrics, footwear, and furniture. More radio and television sets, household refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines and motor cars will be sold.

Trading organisations must make a better study of consumer requirements and ensure proper allocation and timely delivery of merchandise to the shops. Our trading organisations should function in such a manner that goods are available, in full variety, in communities throughout the country.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for rapid development of public catering, for more dining-rooms and restaurants. Our purpose is to cater not only to people who work, but to their families as well, and make things easier for the women. More school dining-rooms and lunch counters will be opened.

The present plan sets particularly big goals in housing development.

We know that state housing construction, before and after the war, has been on an impressive scale. But, as I have already pointed out, the need is still acute, and improvement of housing conditions is a matter of special concern for the Party and the Government.

In the sixth five-year plan period, 205 million square metres of new housing will be built out of government appropriations alone. This is nearly double the figure for the preceding five years.

The state will encourage and in every way assist home construction by individuals out of their own savings and with the aid of government loans. We should expand house building in rural areas. Collective farms should more actively help their members build homes out of their own savings and, where necessary, grant them loans for this purpose. We intend substantially to expand the sale of building materials to collective farms and the population at large—such items as cement, timber, metal, glass, slate, wall elements, and so on.

The big house-building programme calls for a steep rise in the manufacture of furniture and for an improvement in its quality.

The present supply of furniture is inadequate, and the industry is not coping with the rising demand in a satisfactory manner. It is therefore necessary to organise, and without further delay, mass production of low-cost but convenient and attractive furniture, with due account to consumer tastes. The manufacture of combined furniture units should also be stepped up.

Apart from this, we must make it a rule that designs of new apartment houses should make provision for good, convenient built-in furniture, and in this respect we must draw on what is good in foreign experience.

One of the key problems in our cultural development is further advancement of public education.

Seven-year schooling is already universal in our country. In the preceding five-year period we began, and in the current five-year period intend basically to complete, the introduction of universal secondary schooling in town and country.

In addition to the regular secondary schools, general and specialised, there will be further expansion of correspondence and evening courses, so as to enable people to obtain training and general education in their spare time.

Our secondary schools will graduate 6,300,000 in the current five-year period, or more than double the figure for the preceding five years.

A paramount task confronting our public educational agencies is maximum development of polytechnic training in the general school. What we accomplished in this field in the last five-year period was only a beginning, and it must be admitted that the situation is still unsatisfactory. Many schools do not teach their pupils the elements of manual labour, nor do they train in them proper respect for work. The result is that many of the young men and women graduating secondary school are ill-equipped for practical activity.

Much has to be done to provide more schools and equipment. In the sixth five-year period we plan to build, out of state funds, new schools in towns and rural areas with accommodation for approximately 4,000,000 pupils, which is twice as many as under the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Collective farms should be enlisted to take a more active part in building and equipping village schools.

Universal secondary education is a matter that concerns the country as a whole. And the chief figure in this very important work is the schoolteacher. Our schoolteachers, whose number exceeds 1,700,000, belong to one of the most honourable professions, for it is their mission to educate the future builders of communist society. Party, governmental, economic and Y.C.L. organisations must show constant concern for schools and schoolteachers.

The five-year plan outlines far-reaching objectives in the training of specialists for the economy.

At present there are over 5,500,000 of these specialists at work in the economy. We are proud of them, for they are our gold fund, and we prize them highly. It is not for nothing that some capitalist spokesmen are expressing alarm over the fact that their countries are lagging behind us in the training of technical and scientific personnel.

The current five-year period will see a considerable increase in the number of specialists trained by our higher and specialised secondary schools. The total for the five years is set at 4,000,000, or nearly the combined figure for the two preceding five-year periods.

Industry, building, transport, and agriculture will receive over 650,000 college-trained specialists, or twice as many as in the preceding five years.

Serious attention is being devoted to the training of experts in such new realms of science and engineering as automation, telemechanics, radio and radar, and peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Correspondence and evening courses conducted by higher and specialised secondary schools will be broadly developed. With an ever-increasing number of secondary school graduates going into industry, there will be ample opportunities for enrolling into these courses young people with a good general education and practical production experience.

Economic and cultural development requires a marked improvement in the training of specialists; they must be conversant with the latest achievements of Soviet and foreign research and engineering. What is needed is a much more intimate combination of theoretical training and practical knowledge of production, including its economic and organisational aspects.

The measures envisaged by the Draft Directives for the development of the cinema, the press, radio, television, and also for improving the work of our libraries, clubs, and other cultural institutions represent an important factor in raising cultural standards.

We plan an improvement and further expansion of publishing. More books, magazines and newspapers will be printed.

Big tasks confront us in the sphere of public health in this five-year period.

The Draft Directives call for extensive construction of medical centres. The number of hospitals and child institutions to be built in the sixth five-year period will be nearly 3 times and 2.4 times respectively as great as in the previous five years. Kindergartens and nurseries will be able to take care of approximately 45 per cent more children, which should make things still easier for women workers and enable them to take a more active part in production and in cultural, political and other public activity. Safety and disease prevention measures in industry should be improved, and more effective measures taken to prevent the pollution of water and air. Hygienic standards of towns and rural communities should be heightened.

Many complex problems confront our medical science, from which the people expect new discoveries.

Medical workers, research institutions and the medical industry

should intensify their work in evolving and widely applying new curative and prophylactic media and improved equipment.

The steps taken by the public health authorities towards better service for the population will meet with support and assistance from the Party Central Committee and the Government.

Physical culture and sports are likewise important factors in raising national health standards, and we should in every way encourage their development, paying special attention to improving physical-culture work among the youth.

Our Party will adopt all the measures necessary to implement the sixth five-year period's far-reaching programme for a further rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

V

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNION REPUBLICS AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES

Comrades, correct geographical distribution of the productive forces is basic to the new, powerful advance of the Soviet economy.

The Nineteenth Party Congress Directives provided for more rational geographical distribution of new industrial enterprises, the aim being to bring industry closer to raw-material and fuel sources. The need for more rational distribution of the country's productive forces was again stressed by the Party Central Committee at its Plenary Meeting last July.

The success of our industrialisation policy and the development of the vast raw-material, fuel, and power resources in the eastern regions made it possible, already before the war, to set up a new coal and metal base and large-scale engineering, to build aluminium and chemical plants, and major railway lines there. This signified a radical improvement in the distribution of productive forces. In the Great Patriotic War, our eastern industries, particularly in the Urals and Siberia, were an important source of supply for the Soviet Army, and in the Fourth Five-Year Plan were of inestimable value in rebuilding the war-damaged areas.

Further progress in rational distribution of productive forces was made during the previous five-year period.

Under the new plan, the Party will take further resolute measures to this end and to secure comprehensive economic development of the various areas. In common with our earlier five-year programmes, this one, too, envisages faster development of the eastern regions, with their colossal potential supplies of coal, bauxite, water power, timber, iron ore, non-ferrous and rare metals, and chemical raw materials.

This vast wealth of our eastern regions must be made to serve the national economy to a much greater degree than hitherto. Accordingly, capital investment in these areas is to be more than doubled under the new plan, and will make up about half of the total for the whole of the USSR.

In 1960 the eastern areas should produce more coal and iron than the whole of the USSR produced in 1950, and considerably more electric power and cement than was produced throughout the country in 1954. Over 100 engineering plants will be built in the East in these five years.

Grain production in the eastern parts is to be expanded, and by the close of the five-year period the gross grain crop in the Urals, Siberia, and Kazakhstan should be double that of 1954, which was a record year for these regions.

The Party Central Committee and the Government, as you know from Comrade N.S. Khrushchov's report, attach special importance to the continued economic development of Siberia.

The finest minds of Russia pointed to the incalculable riches and the glowing future of Siberia. It was Lomonosov who said, "it is Siberia that will multiply Russia's might"; and Radishchev wrote: "How richly endowed Siberia is by nature. What a mighty country! As soon as it is populated it will play a great role in the annals of the world."

The dreams of our great forebears are coming true. In the Soviet years, Siberia has developed from a backward farm country into one of the chief industrial-agrarian regions of the USSR

And the present five-year programme envisages further and all-round development for this land of abundance.

The Party's policy with regard to distribution of productive forces is aimed at maximum economic and cultural development and consolidation in the union republics.

All the conditions have been created for the continuous economic, political, and cultural advancement of all the union republics, and the

rate of this advancement is strikingly illustrated by the data cited in the Central Committee's report.

In this respect, the achievements of the union republics are indeed impressive. It is particularly gratifying that all of them have trained skilled personnel who have mastered modern techniques.

The Party Central Committee and the government have implemented a number of important organisational measures lately to heighten the part played by the union republics in the administration of the economy. New union-republican ministries have been established; many units of the coal, timber, oil, metallurgical, meat-packing, dairy products, light, textile, food, and building-materials industries, and many motor-transport and communications facilities have been transferred from USSR to republican ministries. In recent years, over 11,000 industrial enterprises were placed under republican control.

In effecting all these measures, the Party Central Committee was guided by the Leninist principle of combining centralised direction with a greater degree of independence and initiative for local organisations in matters concerning economic and cultural progress.

With the transfer of a large number of factories and mills from union to republican administration, certain union-republican ministries have been left with hardly any enterprises under their direct control. This being the case, it is evidently necessary to think not only about sharply reducing the central apparatus but of whether the continued existence of certain union-republican ministries is expedient in general. (*Animation. Voices: Quite right!*)

It must be mentioned that the steps taken to obviate excessive centralisation in the administration of the economy are encountering resistance from some top executives in union and union-republican ministries who want centralised control, as if they are in a position, being "on top," better to judge the situation than the people in the union republics.

The steps taken at present by the Party and the Government to heighten the role of the union republics in guiding economic and cultural construction fully correspond to the Leninist principle of our Party's national policy.

The idea of establishing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a voluntary association of free, equal and sovereign nations, belongs

entirely to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great founder of our Party and the Soviet state. (*Applause.*) He advanced this idea, substantiated and developed it. As a matter of fact, already in 1922 Lenin warned against the possibility of excessive centralism, against bureaucratic perversions which might hinder the broad, over-all development of the union republics' initiative.

This injunction of Lenin's is extremely important to us even now.

We should continue unswervingly to follow this policy of heightening the part played by the union republics in the administration of the economy, and more boldly transfer industrial establishments from central to republican control.

This will make the guidance of our economy and culture more concrete and operative and will contribute to the further strengthening of fraternal cooperation between the republics. In addition, the measures taken by the Party to eliminate excessive centralism and enhance the role of the union republics in economic administration signifies the establishment of a closer contact between the state apparatus and the masses and is a further important step in developing and consolidating our multi-national socialist state. (*Applause.*)

While organising apparatuses in the republics for the guidance of enterprises, we must not, of course, blindly follow the pattern of the union ministries, as Comrade Razzakov, Secretary of the Party Central Committee of Kirghizia, has pointed out here.

Kirghizia is not the only republic where union-republican ministries have been set up in cases where the number of enterprises is small. For example, a Ministry of the Light Industry with an apparatus of 27 persons and directing only six enterprises has been established in the Tajik Republic. (*Laughter.*) In the Turkmen Republic the Ministry of the Textile Industry controls ten enterprises. The Moldavian Republic has a Ministry of the Timber Industry with an apparatus of 32 persons. It directs only eight enterprises, including four lumber camps, two of which are in the Russian Federation and the Ukraine. (*Laughter.*)

The Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics must carefully look into the matter, eliminate excesses and decide whether the existence of one ministry or another in the republics is expedient.

I fully support the proposal, formulated by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov in the report, for the establishment of an authoritative inter-

republican agency—an Economic Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet—to work out considered decisions on questions involving the economic interests of the union republics. The needs of each republic will thus be more fully taken into account.

In drawing up the Draft Directives, which envisage powerful economic expansion in all the union republics, the Central Committee of the Party proceeded from the belief that the Directives should define only their basic industrial and agricultural targets.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and their Councils of Ministers should, taking the Directives as a basis, formulate more detailed economic and cultural objectives for the current five-year period and work out their own five-year development programmes.

The sixth five-year period must see a further economic and cultural efflorescence of our union republics.

Achievement of the targets set for them, and more rational distribution of productive forces, will raise the economy of each republic to still higher levels, further enhance the might of the Soviet state and cement the friendship and fraternal cooperation of its many nations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, successful fulfilment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan depends on the people—on the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, on their selfless labour. In framing the Draft Directives the Central Committee of the CPSU took account of the suggestions made by the workers of many thousands of industrial enterprises and collective farms. The patriotic initiative and varied production experience of our workers in town and country, who actively participated in drafting and discussing these proposals, helped the Party Central Committee more fully to define the targets for the various sections of the economy and to bring to the surface the vast potentialities inherent in our socialist industry and agriculture.

As you know, the Draft Directives worked out by the Central Committee were published in our press a month in advance of this

Congress. During that month, there was an animated and earnest discussion of the Draft Directives at Party congresses and conferences, at Party *actives* and meetings, at factory, collective-farm, MTS and state-farm meetings.

The Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the State Planning Commission, and newspaper offices received an enormous number of letters from workers, collective farmers, engineers and technicians, teachers, doctors, students, pensioners, and Soviet Armymen on a great variety of Sixth Five-Year Plan problems.

Many of the letters dealt with improvement of organisation of labour and higher wages for low-income categories of workers. There were many proposals for improving cultural and welfare services, the pension system, the health services, for modernising cities, towns and industrial communities. All the proposals were prompted by concern for the development of the socialist national economy, science, culture, and public education.

Unanimously approving of the programme for a powerful development of the Soviet economy in the sixth five-year period, the working people of our country discussed the Draft Directives, revealed new major reserves existing in the national economy, disclosed and rightly criticised shortcomings, and suggested ways to further improve all our work.

Everyone knows that the Directives only outline the fundamental assignments for the development of the Soviet national economy over the next five years. The Directives will underline a five-year plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR to be framed, with much more detailed annual indices, for the ministries and departments. In drafting the five-year plan for the whole of the Soviet Union and the Union Republic five-year plans, account should be taken of the numerous valuable suggestions made by the people, by Party organisations, factory, collective-farm, MTS and state-farm meetings.

The country-wide socialist emulation in honour of the Twentieth Congress showed once again how many efficient people our country has, and how great is the value of advanced experience.

It is the duty of all Party, governmental, trade-union, and Y.C.L. organisations to render every assistance and encouragement to this constructive activity of the masses, to develop to the full, and effectively

direct, the socialist emulation movement in every field of the economy for fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan assignments.

The enthusiasm and initiative of millions of workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals must be supported and complemented by a competent leadership, correct selection of personnel, systematic verification of fulfilment of decisions—by all that makes up our Party's work of organisation.

In the previous five-year periods, the Communist Party gave excellent leadership and did excellent organisational work. There can be no doubt that now, too, it will prove equal to its tasks. (*Applause.*)

The work of organisation must be directed, first and foremost, at securing strict observance of state discipline, introduction of the latest achievements of science and engineering, wide dissemination of advanced work methods, and higher labour productivity.

Every passing year improves our economy and its individual branches. New and increasingly complex machinery is being introduced on a wide scale. Hence, under present conditions, it requires expert knowledge, thorough study of all the details, to be able effectively to organise and direct production. Only one who possesses these qualities can give concrete and skilled leadership.

No executive can work successfully if he is not closely linked with the masses and does not seek their support. One must attentively heed every critical remark, quickly remove shortcomings as they are detected, actively support production innovators, inventors, and authors of rationalisation proposals.

The moral and political unity of Soviet society, the monolithic unity of our people around the Communist Party and the Soviet government, the further strengthening of the alliance of the working class and collective-farm peasantry, the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country – these constitute the earnest of our continued advance towards the great goal – communist society. (*Applause.*)

The tasks formulated by the Party for the Sixth Five-Year Plan are evidence of the great strength of the Soviet system, which offers truly inexhaustible opportunities for the development of social production and the attainment of higher prosperity standards.

The Draft Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan are expressive

of the aspirations and will of all Soviet citizens. In every one of the assignments of this remarkable document they see the unflagging solicitude of the Party and the Government for the welfare of the people. And they know that realisation of the new plan will mean another big forward step in socialist economic development, in creating an abundance of consumer goods – a big step forward in the great cause of building communism. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the Sixth Five-Year Plan of economic development will be of immense importance not only for our own country, but internationally as well. What V.I. Lenin, the great founder of our Party and of the Soviet state, foretold has now come true: the Soviet Union is, primarily by its economic policy, exerting an increasing influence on world developments, on the history and destinies of the human race.

Its record of economic and cultural achievement has won the Soviet people millions of friends in every part of the world. For in this record the peoples see an expression of the Soviet Union's peaceable intentions, a manifestation of the great efficacy and advantages of the socialist economic system, which offers boundless opportunities for developing the productive forces in the interests of the worker.

As for certain elements in the capitalist countries, for them every new five-year plan comes as an unpleasant, but nevertheless very real, fact and one with which they are constrained to reckon. There need be no doubt that our five-year plans have cooled many a hothead and dampened the belligerent ardour of many a spokesman of the capitalist world.

Every new five-year plan has strengthened the position of socialism, the might of the Soviet state. It is therefore only natural that our five-year plans should always evoke such heightened interest not only among our friends, of which there are more and more, but among our enemies, too.

The Draft Directives of the Twentieth CPSU Congress for the Sixth Five-Year Plan have been the subject of lively comment, but comment of a different kind than that which accompanied publication of our early five-year plans.

Many of you no doubt remember what the bourgeois press and political leaders and economic experts in the capitalist world had to say about these early five-year programmes. "Fantasy," "utopia,"

“propaganda stunt” – these were some of the appellations they used, and there was a loud cry that the plans were doomed to failure. True, when they had been successfully accomplished the tone changed: sneers and gloomy forecasts gave way to consternation and alarm. And now, when we are entering the sixth five-year period, even our most outspoken ill-wishers do not dare question the reality of our objectives, or predict the failure of our plans. Even they declare that the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled, and are seriously alarmed by the prospect. What particularly distresses the bourgeois press and certain circles in the capitalist countries is that the Sixth Five-Year Plan represents a big step forward in accomplishing the basic economic task of the USSR.

As for our friends – the great Chinese people and the working folk in all the People’s Democracies – they greeted the Draft Directives with joyous and unanimous approval. And understandably, for the successful carrying out of the present programme will strengthen not only the Soviet Union, but the whole socialist world system, and will make for new great victories in socialist construction in all the lands of People’s Democracy. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is gratifying to know that our Indian, Burmese, and Afghan friends deeply appreciate the peaceful nature of our economic objectives.

Our grand development plans stem from the very nature of our economic and social system, from our ideology of enduring peace and friendship among all countries and peoples.

Thanks to the consistent peace policy of the countries belonging to the socialist camp, there has been a measure of relaxation in international tension, and there is a realistic prospect for consolidating universal peace.

Not always did our proposals towards this end meet with favourable response among those to whom they are addressed. We deeply regret that, but are nonetheless determined to explore new avenues to international cooperation. We will continue, consistently and unswervingly, to abide by the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence, firmly convinced that it is the only path to greater international confidence and stable peace. (*Applause.*)

We will strengthen still more our fraternity, friendship and cooperation with the People’s Democracies in our common interests.

The Documents of the Great Debate

We will continue to work for better relations with the United States, Britain, France, and other countries; we will extend and strengthen friendly cooperation with the Republic of India, Burma, Afghanistan, and with all countries that are desirous of maintaining and consolidating peace; we will broaden economic relations with all nations through maximum development of mutually advantageous trade.

Comrades, stupendous targets have been set by the Central Committee of the Party. Their accomplishment will require much effort and intensive labour from the Party and the people as a whole. It would be wrong to imagine that once the objectives have been formulated and explained, all the rest will come of itself, easily and simply. That is not how things are in real life. There will be no small number of difficulties in implementing the plan, but no one need doubt that we can overcome them and creditably cope with all the tasks mapped out by the Party. (*Prolonged applause.*) We possess all the conditions needed for that.

We have all the necessary natural resources, and in sufficient quantities.

We have a powerful producing apparatus, built up by the efforts of our people in the preceding five-year periods.

We have a large body of scientists and technicians capable of solving the most intricate problems of research and engineering.

Our peaceful labours are reliably guarded by our valorous Armed Forces. (*Applause.*)

Our heroic working class and glorious collective-farm peasantry, our splendid intellectuals, are united by an indestructible community of will and purpose, are full of creative energy, and are firmly confident in their strength.

The Soviet people have such a tested and far-seeing leader as our glorious Communist Party, armed with the great and immortal teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which inspires us and illumines our path to the radiant future – communism.

(*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

ON THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

**SPECIAL REPORT TO THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
CLOSED SESSION, FEBRUARY 24-25, 1956**

**by NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHOV
First Secretary,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Comrades! In the report of the Central Committee of the party at the 20th Congress, in a number of speeches by delegates to the Congress, as also formerly during the plenary CC/CPSU (Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) sessions, quite a lot has been said about the cult of the individual and about its harmful consequences.

After Stalin's death the Central Committee of the party began to implement a policy of explaining concisely and consistently that it is impermissible and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to elevate one person, to transform him into a superman possessing supernatural characteristics, akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, sees everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is infallible in his behaviour.

On February 24-25, 1956, at midnight, Nikita S. Khrushchov, delivered a report on Stalin and the "cult of the individual", to a closed session of the Party's Twentieth Congress. Fraternal delegates from Foreign Communist Parties were barred from this session. This special session was so secret that it was never mentioned even on the columns of Pravda. The original Russian text of the report has never been officially published. The text here follows the US State Department version released on June 4, 1956.

Source: The Stalin Question, Ed. Banbihari Chakrabarti, December 1979, Katha Shilpa, Calcutta

Such a belief about a man, and specifically about Stalin, was cultivated among us for many years.

The objective of the present report is not a thorough evaluation of Stalin's life and activity. Concerning Stalin's merits, an entirely sufficient number of books, pamphlets and studies had already been written in his lifetime. The role of Stalin in the preparation and execution of the Socialist Revolution, in the Civil War, and in the fight for the construction of socialism in our country, is universally known. Everyone knows this well.

At present, we are concerned with a question which has immense importance for the party now and for the future – with how the cult of the person of Stalin has been gradually growing, the cult which became at a certain specific stage the source of a whole series of exceedingly serious and grave perversions of party principles, of party democracy, of revolutionary legality.

Because of the fact that not all as yet realise fully the practical consequences resulting from the cult of the individual, the great harm caused by the violation of the principle of collective leadership of the party and because of the accumulation of immense and limitless power in the hands of one person, the Central Committee of the party considers it absolutely necessary to make the material pertaining to this matter available to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Allow me first of all to remind you how severely the classics of Marxism-Leninism denounced every manifestation of the cult of the individual. In a letter to the German political worker, Wilhelm Bloss, Marx stated: "From my antipathy to any cult of the individual, I never made public during the existence of the International the numerous addresses from various countries which recognised my merits and which annoyed me. I did not even reply to them, except sometimes to rebuke their authors. Engels and I first joined the secret society of Communists on the condition that everything making for superstitious worship of authority would be deleted from its statute. Lassalle subsequently did quite the opposite."

Sometime later Engels wrote: "Both Marx and I have always been against any public manifestation with regard to individuals, with the exception of cases when it had an important purpose; and we most

strongly opposed such manifestations which during our lifetime concerned us personally.”

The great modesty of the genius of the Revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, is known. Lenin had always stressed the role of the people as the creator of history, the directing and organisational role of the party as a living and creative organism, and also the role of the Central Committee.

Marxism does not negate the role of the leaders of the working class in directing the revolutionary liberation movement.

While ascribing great importance to the role of the leaders and organisers of the masses, Lenin at the same time mercilessly condemned every manifestation of the cult of the individual, inexorably combated the alien to Marxism views about the “hero” and the “crowd,” and countered all efforts to oppose the “hero” to the masses and to the people.

Lenin taught that the party’s strength depends on its indissoluble unity with the masses, on the fact that behind the party follows the people – workers, peasants and intelligentsia. “Only he will win and retain the power,” said Lenin, “who believes in the people, who submerges himself in the fountain of the living creativeness of the people.”

Lenin spoke with pride about the Bolshevik Communist Party as the leader and teacher of the people; he called for the presentation of all the most important questions before the opinion of conscious workers, before the opinion of their party. He said: “We believe in it, we see in it the wisdom, the honour, and the conscience of our epoch.”

Lenin resolutely stood against every attempt aimed at belittling or weakening the directing role of the party in the structure of the Soviet state. He worked out Bolshevik principles of party leadership and norms of party life, stressing that the guiding principle of party leadership is its collegiality. Already during the pre-revolutionary years, Lenin called the Central Committee of the party a collective of leaders and the guardian and interpreter of party principles. “During the period between congresses,” pointed out Lenin, “the Central Committee guards and interprets the principles of the party.”

Underlining the role of the Central Committee of the party and its authority, Vladimir Ilyich pointed out: “Our Central Committee constituted itself as a closely centralised and highly authoritative group.”

During Lenin’s life the Central Committee of the party was a real

expression of collective leadership of the party and of the nation. Being a militant Marxist-revolutionist, always unyielding in matters of principle, Lenin never imposed by force his views upon his co-workers. He tried to convince; he patiently explained his opinions to others. Lenin always diligently observed that the norms of party life were realised, that the party statute was enforced, that the party congresses and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee took place at the proper intervals.

In addition to the great accomplishments of V. I. Lenin for the victory of the working class and of the working peasants, for the victory of our party and for the application of the ideas of scientific communism to life, his acute mind expressed itself also in this – that he detected in Stalin in time those negative characteristics which resulted later in grave consequences. Fearing the future fate of the party and of the Soviet nation, V. I. Lenin made a completely correct characterisation of Stalin, pointing out that it was necessary to consider the question of transferring Stalin from the position of the Secretary General because of the fact that Stalin is excessively rude, that he does not have a proper attitude toward his comrades, that he is capricious and abuses his power.

In December 1922, in a letter to the Party Congress, Vladimir Ilyich wrote:

After taking over the position of Secretary General, Comrade Stalin accumulated in his hands immeasurable power and I am not certain whether he will be always able to use this power with the required care.

This letter – a political document of tremendous importance, known in the party history as Lenin's "testament" – was distributed among the delegates to the 20th Party Congress. You have read it and will undoubtedly read it again more than once. You might reflect on Lenin's plain words, in which expression is given to Vladimir Ilyich's anxiety concerning the party, the people, the state, and the future direction of party policy.

Vladimir Ilyich said:

Stalin is excessively rude, and this defect, which can be freely tolerated in our midst and in contacts among us communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in one holding the position of the Secretary General. Because of this, I propose that the comrades

consider the method by which Stalin would be removed from this position and by which another man would be selected for it, a man who, above all, would differ from Stalin in only one quality, namely, greater tolerance, greater loyalty, greater kindness and a more considerate attitude towards the comrades, a less capricious temper, etc.

This document of Lenin's was made known to the delegates at the 13th Party Congress, who discussed the question of transferring Stalin from the position of Secretary General. The delegates declared themselves in favour of retaining Stalin in this post, hoping that he would heed the critical remarks of Vladimir Ilyich and would be able to overcome the defects which caused Lenin serious anxiety.

Comrades! The Party Congress should become acquainted with two new documents, which confirm Stalin's character as already outlined by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in his "testament." These documents are a letter from Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya to (Leo) Kamenev, who was at that time head of the Political Bureau, and a personal letter from Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to Stalin.

I will now read these documents:

Lev Borisovich!

Because of a short letter which I had written in words dictated to me by Vladimir Ilyich by permission of the doctors, Stalin allowed himself yesterday an unusually rude outburst directed at me. This is not my first day in the party. During all these 30 years I have never heard from any comrade one word of rudeness. The business of the party and of Ilyich are not less dear to me than to Stalin. I need at present the maximum of self-control. What one can and what one cannot discuss with Ilyich I know better than any doctor, because I know what makes him nervous and what does not, in any case I know better than Stalin. I am turning to you and to Grigory (E. Zinoviev) as much closer comrades of V. I. and I beg you to protect me from rude interference with my private life and from vile invectives and threats. I have no doubt as to what will be the unanimous decision of the Control Commission, with which Stalin sees fit to threaten me; however, I have neither the strength nor the time to waste on this foolish quarrel. And I am a living person and my nerves are strained to the utmost.

N. Krupskaya

Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote this letter on December 23, 1922. After two and a half months, in March 1923, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin sent Stalin the following letter:

To Comrade Stalin:

Copies for : Kamenev and Zinoviev.

Dear Comrade Stalin!

You permitted yourself a rude summons of my wife to the telephone and a rude reprimand of her. Despite the fact that she told you that she agreed to forget what was said, nevertheless Zinoviev and Kamenev heard about it from her. I have no intention to forget so easily that which is being done against me; and I need not stress here that I consider as directed against me that which is being done against my wife. I ask you, therefore, that you weigh carefully whether you are agreeable to retracting your words and apologizing or whether you prefer the severance of relations between us.

March 5, 1923

Sincerely

Lenin

(Commotion in the hall.)

Comrades! I will not comment on these documents. They speak eloquently for themselves. Since Stalin could behave in this manner during Lenin's life, could behave thus towards Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya – whom the party knows well and values highly as a loyal friend of Lenin and as an active fighter for the cause of the party since its creation – we can easily imagine how Stalin treated other people. These negative characteristics of his developed steadily and during the last years acquired an absolutely insufferable character.

As later events have proven, Lenin's anxiety was justified: in the first period after Lenin's death, Stalin still paid attention to his advice, but later he began to disregard the serious admonitions of Vladimir Ilyich.

When we analyse the practice of Stalin in regard to the direction of the party and of the country, when we pause to consider everything which Stalin perpetrated, we must be convinced that Lenin's fears were justified. The negative characteristics of Stalin, which, in Lenin's time, were only incipient, transformed themselves during the last years into a grave abuse of power by Stalin, which caused untold harm to our party.

We have to consider seriously and analyse correctly this matter in order that we may preclude any possibility of a repetition in any form

whatever of what took place during the life of Stalin, who absolutely did not tolerate collegiality in leadership and in work, and who practised brutal violence, not only toward everything which opposed him, but also toward that which seemed, to his capricious and despotic character, contrary to his concepts.

Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his viewpoint and the correctness of his position, was doomed to removal from the leading collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation. This was especially true during the period following the 17th Party Congress, when many prominent party leaders and rank-and-file party workers, honest and dedicated to the cause of communism, fell victim to Stalin's despotism.

We must affirm that the party had fought a serious fight against the Trotskyites, the Rightists and Bourgeois Nationalists, and that it disarmed ideologically all the enemies of Leninism. This ideological fight was carried on successfully, as a result of which the party became strengthened and tempered. Here Stalin played a positive role.

The party led a great political-ideological struggle against those in its own ranks who proposed anti-Leninist theses, who represented a political line hostile to the party and to the cause of socialism. This was a stubborn and difficult fight but a necessary one, because the political line of both the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc and of the Bukharinites led actually toward the restoration of capitalism and capitulation to the world bourgeoisie. Let us consider for a moment what would have happened if in 1928-1929 the political line of right deviation had prevailed among us, or orientation toward "cotton-dress industrialisation", or toward the kulak, etc. We would not now have a powerful heavy industry, we would not have the *kolkhozes*, we would find ourselves disarmed and weak in a capitalist encirclement.

It was for this reason that the party led an inexorable ideological fight and explained to all party members and to the non-party masses the harm and the danger of the anti-Leninist proposals of the Trotskyite opposition and the rightist opportunists. And this great work of explaining the party line bore fruit; both the Trotskyites and the rightist opportunists were politically isolated; the overwhelming party majority

supported the Leninist line and the party was able to awaken and organise the working masses to apply the Leninist party line and to build socialism.

Worth noting is the fact that, even during the progress of the furious ideological fight against the Trotskyites, the Zinovievites, the Bukharinites and others, extreme repressive measures were not used against them. The fight was on ideological grounds. But some years later, when socialism in our country was fundamentally constructed, when the exploiting classes were generally liquidated, when the Soviet social structure had radically changed, when the social basis for political movements and groups hostile to the party had violently contracted, when the ideological opponents of the party had long since been defeated politically – then the repression directed against them began. It was precisely during this period (1935-1937-1938) that the practice of mass repression through the Government apparatus was born, first against the enemies of Leninism – Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, long since politically defeated by the party – and subsequently also against many honest communists, against those party cadres who had borne the heavy load of the Civil War and the first and most difficult years of industrialisation and collectivisation, who actively fought against the Trotskyites and the rightists for the Leninist party line.

Stalin originated the concept “enemy of the people”. This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men engaged in a controversy be proven; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent, against those who had bad reputations. This concept “enemy of the people” actually eliminated the possibility of any kind of ideological fight or the making of one’s views known on this or that issue, even those of a practical character. In the main, and in actuality, the only proof of guilt used, against all norms of current legal science, was the “confession” of the accused himself; and as subsequent investigation proved, “confessions” were acquired through physical pressures against the accused. This led to glaring violations of revolutionary legality and to the fact that many entirely innocent persons, who in the past had defended the party line, became victims.

We must assert that, in regard to those persons who in their time had opposed the party line, there were often no sufficiently serious reasons for their physical annihilation. The formula "enemy of the people" was specifically introduced for the purpose of physically annihilating such individuals.

It is a sad fact that many persons who were later annihilated as enemies of the party and people had worked with Lenin during his life. Some of these persons had made errors during Lenin's life, but despite this, Lenin benefited by their work; he corrected them and did everything possible to retain them in the ranks of the party; he induced them to follow him.

In this connection the delegates to the Party Congress should familiarise themselves with an unpublished note by V. I. Lenin directed to the Central Committee's Political Bureau in October 1920. Outlining the duties of the Control Commission, Lenin wrote that the commission should be transformed into a real "organ of party and proletarian conscience."

"As a special duty of the Control Commission there is recommended a deep, individualised relationship with, and sometimes even a type of therapy for, the representatives of the so-called opposition – those who have experienced a psychological crisis because of failure in their Soviet or party career. An effort should be made to quiet them, to explain the matter to them in a way used among comrades, to find for them (avoiding the method of issuing orders) a task for which they are psychologically fitted. Advice and rules relating to this matter are to be formulated by the Central Committee's Organisational Bureau, etc."

Everyone knows how irreconcilable Lenin was with the ideological enemies of Marxism, with those who deviated from the correct party line. At the same time, however, Lenin, as is evident from the given document, in his practice of leading the party demanded the most intimate party contact with people who had shown indecision or temporary non-conformity with the party line, but whom it was possible to return to the party path. Lenin advised that such people should be patiently educated without the application of extreme methods.

Lenin's wisdom in dealing with people was evident in his work with cadres.

An entirely different relationship with people characterised Stalin.

Lenin's traits – patient work with people, stubborn and painstaking education of them, the ability to induce people to follow him without using compulsion, but rather through the ideological influence on them of the whole collective – were entirely foreign to Stalin. He discarded the Leninist method of convincing and educating, he abandoned the method of ideological struggle for that of administrative violence, mass repressions and terror. He acted on an increasingly larger scale and more stubbornly through punitive organs, at the same time often violating all existing norms of morality and of Soviet laws.

Arbitrary behaviour by one person encouraged and permitted arbitrariness in others. Mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear and even despair.

This, of course, did not contribute toward unity of the party ranks and of all strata of working people, but, on the contrary, brought about annihilation and the expulsion from the party of workers who were loyal but inconvenient to Stalin.

Our party fought for the implementation of Lenin's plans for the construction of socialism. This was an ideological fight. Had Leninist principles been observed during the course of this fight, had the party's devotion to principles been skilfully combined with a keen and solicitous concern for people, had they not been repelled and wasted but rather drawn to our side, we certainly would not have had such a brutal violation of revolutionary legality and many thousands of people would not have fallen victim to the method of terror. Extraordinary methods would then have been resorted to only against those people who had in fact committed criminal acts against the Soviet system.

Let us recall some historical facts.

In the days before the October Revolution, two members of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party – Kamenev and Zinoviev – declared themselves against Lenin's plan for an armed uprising. In addition, on October 18, they published in the Menshevik newspaper, *Novaya Zhizn*, a statement declaring that the Bolsheviks were making preparations for an uprising and that they considered it adventuristic. Kamenev and Zinoviev thus disclosed to the enemy the decision of the Central Committee to stage the uprising, and that the uprising had been organised to take place within the very near future.

This was treason against the party and against the Revolution. In this connection, V. I. Lenin wrote: "Kamenev and Zinoviev revealed the decision of the Central Committee of their party on the armed uprising to Rodzyanko and Kerensky" He put before the Central Committee the question of Zinoviev's and Kamenev's expulsion from the party.

However, after the Great Socialist October Revolution, as is known, Zinoviev and Kamenev were given leading positions. Lenin put them in positions in which they carried out most responsible party tasks and participated actively in the work of the leading party and Soviet organs. It is known that Zinoviev and Kamenev committed a number of other serious errors during Lenin's life. In his "testament" Lenin warned that "Zinoviev's and Kamenev's October episode was of course not an accident." But Lenin did not pose the question of their arrest and certainly not their shooting.

Or, let us take the example of the Trotskyites. At present, after a sufficiently long historical period, we can speak about the fight with the Trotskyites with complete calm and can analyse this matter with sufficient objectivity. After all, around Trotsky were people whose origin cannot by any means be traced to bourgeois society. Part of them belonged to the party intelligentsia and a certain part were recruited from among the workers. We can name many individuals who, in their time, joined the Trotskyites; however, these same individuals took an active part in the workers' movement before the Revolution, during the Socialist October Revolution itself, and also in the consolidation of the victory of this greatest of revolutions. Many of them broke with Trotskyism and returned to Leninist positions. Was it necessary to annihilate such people? We are deeply convinced that, had Lenin lived, such an extreme method would not have been used against any of them.

Such are only a few historical facts. But can it be said that Lenin did not decide to use even the most severe means against enemies of the Revolution when this was actually necessary? No; no one can say this. Vladimir Ilyich demanded uncompromising dealings with the enemies of the Revolution and of the working class and when necessary resorted ruthlessly to such methods. You will recall only V. I. Lenin's fight with the Socialist Revolutionary organisers of the anti-Soviet uprising, with the counter-revolutionary kulaks in 1918 and with others,

when Lenin without hesitation used the most extreme methods against the enemies. Lenin used such methods, however, only against actual class enemies and not against those who blunder, who err, and whom it was possible to lead through ideological influence and even retain in the leadership. Lenin used severe methods only in the most necessary cases, when the exploiting classes were still in existence and were vigorously opposing the Revolution, when the struggle for survival was decidedly assuming the sharpest forms, even including a civil war.

Stalin, on the other hand, used extreme methods and mass repressions at a time when the Revolution was already victorious, when the Soviet state was strengthened, when the exploiting classes were already liquidated and socialist relations were rooted solidly in all phases of national economy, when our party was politically consolidated and had strengthened itself both numerically and ideologically.

It is clear that here Stalin showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power. Instead of proving his political correctness and mobilising the masses, he often chose the path of repression and physical annihilation, not only against actual enemies, but also against individuals who had not committed any crimes against the party and the Soviet Government. Here we see no wisdom but only a demonstration of the brutal force which had once so alarmed V. I. Lenin.

Lately, especially after the unmasking of the Beria gang, the Central Committee looked into a series of matters fabricated by this gang. This revealed a very ugly picture of brutal wilfulness connected with the incorrect behaviour of Stalin. As facts prove, Stalin, using his unlimited power, allowed himself many abuses, acting in the name of the Central Committee, not asking for the opinion of the Committee members nor even of the members of the Central Committee's Political Bureau; often he did not inform them about his personal decisions concerning very important party and governmental matters.

Considering the question of the cult of an individual, we must first of all show everyone what harm this caused to the interests of our party.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin had always stressed the party's role and significance in the direction of the Socialist government of workers and peasants; he saw in this the chief precondition for a successful

building of socialism in our country. Pointing to the great responsibility of the Bolshevik party, as the ruling party of the Soviet state, Lenin called for the most meticulous observance of all norms of party life; he called for the realisation of the principles of collegiality in the direction of the party and the state.

Collegiality of leadership flows from the very nature of our party, a party built on the principles of democratic centralism. "This means," said Lenin, "that all party matters are accomplished by all party members – directly or through representatives – who, without any exceptions, are subject to the same rules; in addition, all administrative members, all directing collegia, all holders of party positions are elective, they must account for their activities and are recallable."

It is known that Lenin himself offered an example of the most careful observance of these principles. There was no matter so important that Lenin himself decided it without asking for the advice and approval of the majority of the Central Committee members or of the members of the Central Committee's Political Bureau. In the most difficult period for our party and our country, Lenin considered it necessary regularly to convoke congresses, party conferences and plenary sessions of the Central Committee at which all the most important questions were discussed and where resolutions, carefully worked out by the collective of leaders, were approved.

We can recall, for an example, the year 1918 when the country was threatened by the attack of the imperialistic interventionists. In this situation the 7th Party Congress was convened in order to discuss a vitally important matter which could not be postponed – the matter of peace. In 1919, while the civil war was raging, the 8th Party Congress was convened, which adopted a new party programme, decided such important matters as the relationship with the peasant masses, the organisation of the Red Army, the leading role of the party in the work of the Soviets, the correction of the social composition of the party, and other matters. In 1920, the 9th Party Congress was convened which laid down guiding principles pertaining to the party's work in the sphere of economic construction. In 1921, the 10th Party Congress accepted Lenin's New Economic Policy and the historical resolution called "About Party Unity."

During Lenin's life, party congresses were convened regularly;

always, when a radical turn in the development of the party and the country took place, Lenin considered it absolutely necessary that the party discuss at length all the basic matters pertaining to internal and foreign policy and to questions bearing on the development of party and government.

It is very characteristic that Lenin addressed to the Party Congress as the highest party organ his last articles, letters and remarks. During the period between congresses, the Central Committee of the party, acting as the most authoritative leading collective, meticulously observed the principles of the party and carried out its policy.

So it was during Lenin's life. Were our party's holy Leninist principles observed after the death of Vladimir Ilyich?

Whereas, during the first few years after Lenin's death, party congresses and Central Committee plenums took place more or less regularly, later, when Stalin began increasingly to abuse his power, these principles were brutally violated. This was especially evident during the last 15 years of his life. Was it a normal situation when over 13 years elapsed between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses, years during which our party and our country had experienced so many important events? These events demanded categorically that the party should have passed resolutions pertaining to the country's defence during the Patriotic War (World War II) and to peacetime construction after the war. Even after the end of the war a Congress was not convened for over seven years. Central Committee plenums were hardly ever called. It should be sufficient to mention that during all the years of the Patriotic War not a single Central Committee plenum took place. It is true that there was an attempt to call a Central Committee plenum in October 1941, when Central Committee members from the whole country were called to Moscow. They waited two days for the opening of the plenum, but in vain. Stalin did not even want to meet and talk to the Central Committee members. This fact shows how demoralised Stalin was in the first months of the war and how haughtily and disdainfully he treated the Central Committee members.

In practice, Stalin ignored the norms of party life and trampled on the Leninist principle of collective party leadership.

Stalin's wilfulness *vis-à-vis* the party and its Central Committee became fully evident after the 17th Party Congress which took place in 1934.

Having at its disposal numerous data showing brutal wilfulness toward party cadres, the Central Committee has created a party Commission under the control of the Central Committee Presidium; it was charged with investigating what made possible the mass repressions against the majority of the Central Committee members and candidates elected at the 17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

The Commission has become acquainted with a large quantity of materials in the NKVD archives and with other documents and has established many facts pertaining to the fabrication of cases against communists, to false accusations, to glaring abuses of socialist legality, which resulted in the death of innocent people. It became apparent that many party, Soviet and economic activists, who were branded in 1937-1938 as "enemies", were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers, etc., but were always honest communists; they were only so stigmatised and, often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges – falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes.

The Commission has presented to the Central Committee Presidium lengthy and documented materials pertaining to mass repressions against the delegates to the 17th Party Congress and against members of the Central Committee elected at that Congress. These materials have been studied by the Presidium of the Central Committee.

It was determined that of the 139 members and candidates of the party's Central Committee who were elected at the 17th Congress, 98 persons, *i.e.* 70 per cent, were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937-1938). (Indignation in the hall.) What was the composition of the delegates to the 17th Congress? It is known that 80 per cent of the voting participants of the 17th Congress joined the party during the years of conspiracy before the Revolution and during the Civil War; this means before 1921. By social origin the basic mass of the delegates to the Congress were workers (60 per cent of the voting members).

For this reason, it was inconceivable that a congress so composed would have elected a Central Committee, a majority of whom would prove to be enemies of the party. The only reason why 70 per cent of Central Committee members and candidates elected at the 17th Congress were branded as enemies of the party and of the people was because

honest communists were slandered, accusations against them were fabricated, and revolutionary legality was gravely undermined.

The same fate met not only the Central Committee members but also the majority of the delegates to the 17th Party Congress. Of 1,966 delegates with either voting or advisory rights, 1,108 persons were arrested on charges of anti-revolutionary crimes, *i.e.*, decidedly more than a majority. This very fact shows how absurd, wild and contrary to common sense were the charges of counter-revolutionary crimes made out, as we now see, against a majority of participants at the 17th Party Congress.

(Indignation in the hall.)

We should recall that the 17th Party Congress is historically known as the Congress of Victors. Delegates to the Congress were active participants in the building of our socialist state; many of them suffered and fought for party interests during the pre-Revolutionary years in the conspiracy and at the Civil-War fronts; they fought their enemies valiantly and often nervelessly looked into the face of death.

How, then, can we believe that such people could prove to be "two-faced" and had joined the camps of the enemies of socialism during the era after the political liquidation of Zinovievites, Trotskyites and Rightists and after the great accomplishments of socialist construction? This was the result of the abuse of power by Stalin, who began to use mass terror against the party cadres.

What is the reason that mass repressions against activists increased more and more after the 17th Party Congress? It was because at that time Stalin had so elevated himself above the party and above the nation that he ceased to consider either the Central Committee or the party.

While he still reckoned with the opinion of the collective before the 17th Congress, after the complete political liquidation of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites, when as a result of that fight and socialist victories the party achieved unity, Stalin ceased to an ever greater degree to consider the members of the party's Central Committee and even the members of the Political Bureau. Stalin thought that now he could decide all things alone and all he needed were statisticians; he treated all others in such a way that they could only listen to and praise him.

After the criminal murder of Sergei M. Kirov, mass repressions

and brutal acts of violation of socialist legality began. On the evening of December 1, 1934, on Stalin's initiative (without the approval of the Political Bureau – which approved it two days later, casually), the Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, Yenukidze, signed the following directive:

1. Investigative agencies are directed to speed up the cases of those accused of the preparation or execution of acts of terror.
2. Judicial organs are directed not to hold up the execution of death sentences pertaining to crimes of this category in order to consider the possibility of pardon, because the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR does not consider as possible the receiving of petitions of this sort.
3. The organs of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs are directed to execute the death sentences against criminals of the above-mentioned category immediately after the passage of sentences."

This directive became the basis for mass acts of abuse against socialist legality. During many of the fabricated court cases, the accused were charged with "the preparation" of terroristic acts; this deprived them of any possibility that their cases might be re-examined, even when they stated before the court that their "confessions" were secured by force, and when, in a convincing manner, they disproved the accusations against them.

It must be asserted that to this day the circumstances surrounding Kirov's murder hide many things which are inexplicable and mysterious and demand a most careful examination. There are reasons for the suspicion that the killer of Kirov, Nikolayev, was assisted by someone from among the people whose duty it was to protect the person of Kirov.

A month and a half before the killing, Nikolayev was arrested on the grounds of suspicious behaviour but he was released and not even searched. It is an unusually suspicious circumstance that when the Chekist assigned to protect Kirov was being brought for an interrogation, on December 2, 1934, he was killed in a car "accident" in which no other occupants of the car were harmed. After the murder of Kirov, top functionaries of the Leningrad NKVD were given very light sentences, but in 1937 they were shot. We can assume that they were shot in order to cover the traces of the organisers of Kirov's killing.

(Movement in the hall.)

Mass repressions grew tremendously from the end of 1936 after a telegram from Stalin and [Andrei] Zhdanov, dated from Sochi on September 25, 1936, was addressed to Kaganovich, Molotov and other members of the Political Bureau. The content of the telegram was as follows:

We deem it absolutely necessary and urgent that Comrade Yezhov be nominated to the post of People's Commissar for Internal Affairs. Yagoda has definitely proved himself to be incapable of unmasking the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc. The OGPU (Secret Police) is four years behind in this matter. This is noted by all party workers and by the majority of the representatives of the NKVD.

Strictly speaking, we should stress that Stalin did not meet with and, therefore, could not know the opinion of party workers.

This Stalinist formulation that the "NKVD (OGPU) is four years behind" in applying mass repression and that there is a necessity for "catching up" with the neglected work directly pushed the NKVD workers on the path of mass arrests and executions.

We should state that this formulation was also forced on the February-March plenary session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1937. The plenary resolution approved it on the basis of Yezhov's report, "Lessons flowing from the harmful activity, diversion and espionage of the Japanese-German-Trotskyite agents", stating:

The plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) considers that all facts revealed during the investigation into the matter of an anti-Soviet Trotskyite centre and of its followers in the provinces show that the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs has fallen behind at least four years in the attempt to unmask these most inexorable enemies of the people.

The mass repressions at this time were made under the slogan of a fight against the Trotskyites. Did the Trotskyites at this time actually constitute such a danger to our party and to the Soviet state? We should recall that in 1927, on the eve of the 15th Party Congress, only some 4,000 votes were cast for the Trotskyite-Zinovievite opposition while there were 724,000 for the party line. During the 10 years which passed between the 15th Party Congress and the February-March Central Committee plenum, Trotskyism was completely disarmed; many former

Trotskyites had changed their former views and worked in the various sectors building socialism. It is clear that in the situation of socialist victory there was no basis for mass terror in the country.

Stalin's report at the February-March Central Committee plenum in 1937, "Deficiencies of Party Work and Methods for the Liquidation of the Trotskyites and of Other Two-Facers," contained an attempt at theoretical justification of the mass terror policy under the pretext that as we march forward toward socialism class war must allegedly sharpen. Stalin asserted that both history and Lenin taught him this.

Actually Lenin taught that the application of revolutionary violence is necessitated by the resistance of the exploiting classes, and this referred to the era when the exploiting classes existed and were powerful. As soon as the nation's political situation had improved, when in January 1920 the Red Army took Rostov and thus won a most important victory over [White commander Anton] Denikin, Lenin instructed [Cheka chief Felix] Dzerzhinsky to stop mass terror and to abolish the death penalty. Lenin justified this important political move of the Soviet state in the following manner in his report at the session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee on February 2, 1920:

We were forced to use terror because of the terror practiced by the Entente, when strong world powers threw their hordes against us, not avoiding any type of conduct. We would not have lasted two days had we not answered these attempts of officers and White Guardists in a merciless fashion; this meant the use of terror but this was forced upon us by the terrorist methods of the Entente.

But as soon as we attained a decisive victory, even before the end of the war, immediately after taking Rostov, we gave up the use of the death penalty and thus proved that we intend to execute our own programme in the manner that we promised. We say that the application of violence flows out of the decision to crush, the big landowners and the capitalists; as soon as this was accomplished we gave up the use of all extraordinary methods. We have proved this in practice.

Stalin deviated from these clear and plain precepts of Lenin. Stalin put the party and the NKVD up to the use of mass terror when the exploiting classes had been liquidated in our country and when there were no serious reasons for the use of extraordinary mass terror.

This terror was actually directed not at the remnants of the defeated

exploiting classes but against the honest workers of the party and of the Soviet state; against them were made lying, slanderous and absurd accusations concerning “two-facedness,” “espionage,” “sabotage,” preparation of fictitious “plots,” etc.

At the February-March Central Committee plenum in 1937 many members actually questioned the rightness of the established course regarding mass repressions under the pretext of combating “two-facedness”.

Comrade Postyshev most ably expressed these doubts. He said:

I have philosophised that the severe years of fighting have passed. Party members who have lost their backbones have broken down or have joined the camp of the enemy; healthy elements have fought for the party. These were the years of industrialisation and collectivisation. I never thought it possible that after this severe era had passed Karpov and people like him would find themselves in the camp of the enemy. (Karpov was a worker in the Ukrainian Central Committee whom Postyshev knew well.) And now, according to the testimony, it appears that Karpov was recruited in 1934 by the Trotskyites. I personally do not believe that in 1934 an honest party member who had trod the long road of unrelenting fight against enemies for the party and for socialism, would now be in the camp of the enemies. I do not believe it.... I cannot imagine how it would be possible to travel with the party during the difficult years and then, in 1934, join the Trotskyites. It is an odd thing....

(Movement in the hall.)

Using Stalin’s formulation, namely, that the closer we are to socialism the more enemies we will have, and using the resolution of the February-March Central Committee plenum passed on the basis of Yezhov’s report, the *provocateurs* who had infiltrated the state-security organs, together with conscienceless careerists began to protect with the party name the mass terror against party cadres, cadres of the Soviet state and ordinary Soviet citizens. It should suffice to say that the number of arrests based on charges of counter-revolutionary crimes had grown ten times between 1936 and 1937.

It is known that brutal wilfulness was practised against leading party workers. The Party Statutes, approved at the 17th Party Congress, were based on Leninist principles expressed at the 10th Party Congress. They stated that, in order to apply an extreme method such as exclusion

from the party against a Central Committee member, against a Central Committee candidate and against a member of the Party Control Commission, "it is necessary to call a Central Committee plenum and to invite to the plenum all Central Committee candidate members and all members of the Party Control Commission"; only if two-thirds of the members of such a general assembly of responsible party leaders find it necessary, only then can a Central Committee member or candidate be expelled.

The majority of the Central Committee members and candidates elected at the 17th Congress and arrested in 1937-1938 were expelled from the party illegally through the brutal abuse of the Party Statutes, because the question of their expulsion was never studied at the Central Committee plenum.

Now, when the cases of some of these so-called "spies" and "saboteurs" were examined, it was found that all their cases were fabricated. Confessions of guilt of many arrested and charged with enemy activity were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures.

At the same time, Stalin, as we have been informed by members of the Political Bureau of that time, did not show them the statements of many accused political activists when they retracted their confessions before the military tribunal and asked for an objective examination of their cases. There were many such declarations, and Stalin doubtless knew of them.

The Central Committee considers it absolutely necessary to inform the Congress of many such fabricated "cases" against the members of the party's Central Committee elected at the 17th Party Congress.

An example of vile provocation, of odious falsification and of criminal violation of revolutionary legality is the case of the former candidate member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau, one of the most eminent workers of the party and of the Soviet Government, Comrade Eikhe, who was a party member since 1905.

(Commotion in the hall.)

Comrade Eikhe was arrested on April 29, 1938 on the basis of slanderous materials, without the sanction of the Prosecutor of the USSR, which was finally received 15 months after the arrest.

Investigation of Eikhe's case was made in a manner which most

brutally violated Soviet legality and was accompanied by wilfulness and falsification.

Eikhe was forced under torture to sign ahead of time a protocol of his confession prepared by the investigative judges, in which he and several other eminent party workers were accused of anti-Soviet activity.

On October 1, 1939, Eikhe sent his declaration to Stalin in which he categorically denied his guilt and asked for an examination of his case. In the declaration he wrote: "There is no more bitter misery than to sit in the jail of a government for which I have always fought."

A second declaration of Eikhe has been preserved which he sent to Stalin on October 27, 1939; in it he cited facts very convincingly and countered the slanderous accusations made against him, arguing that this provocatory accusation was on the one hand the work of real Trotskyites whose arrests he had sanctioned as First Secretary of the West Siberian Krai (Territory) Party Committee and who conspired in order to take revenge on him, and, on the other hand, the result of the base falsification of materials by the investigative judges.

Eikhe wrote in his declaration:

... On October 25 of this year I was informed that the investigation in my case has been concluded and I was given access to the materials of this investigation. Had I been guilty of only one hundredth of the crimes with which I am charged, I would not have dared to send you this pre-execution declaration; however, I have not been guilty of even one of the things with which I am charged and my heart is clean of even the shadow of baseness. I have never in my life told you a word of falsehood, and now, finding my two feet in the grave, I am also not lying. My whole case is a typical example of provocation, slander and violation of the elementary basis of revolutionary legality....

The confessions which were made part of my file are not only absurd but contain some slander toward the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and toward the Council of People's Commissars, because correct resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and of the Council of People's Commissars which were not made on my initiative and without my participation are presented as hostile acts of counter-revolutionary organisations made at my suggestion....

I am now alluding to the most disgraceful part of my life and to my really grave guilt against the party and against you. This is my confession of counter-revolutionary activity.... The case is as follows: Not being

able to suffer the tortures to which I was submitted by Ushakov and Nikolayev and especially by the first one who utilised the knowledge that my broken ribs have not properly mended and have caused me great pain, I have been forced to accuse myself and others.

The majority of my confession has been suggested or dictated by Ushakov, and the remainder is my reconstruction of NKVD materials from Western Siberia for which I assumed all responsibility. If some part of the story which Ushakov fabricated and which I signed did not properly hang together, I was forced to sign another variation. The same thing was done to Rukhimovich, who was at first designated as a member of the reserve net and whose name later was removed without telling me anything about it; the same was also done with the leader of the reserve net, supposedly created by Bukharin in 1935. At first I wrote my name in and then I was instructed to insert Mezhlauk. There were other similar incidents

... I am asking and begging you that you again examine my case, and this not for the purpose of sparing me but in order to unmask the vile provocation which, like a snake, wound itself around many persons in a great degree due to my meanness and criminal slander. I have never betrayed you or the party. I know that I perish because of vile and mean work of the enemies of the party and of the people, who fabricated the provocation against me.

It would appear that such an important declaration was worth an examination by the Central Committee. This, however, was not done, and the declaration was transmitted to Beria while the terrible maltreatment of the Political Bureau candidate, Comrade Eikhe, continued.

On February 2, 1940 Eikhe was brought before the court. Here he did not confess any guilt but said as follows:

In all the so-called confessions of mine there is not one letter written by me with the exception of my signatures under the protocols, which were forced from me. I have made my confession under pressure from the investigative judge, who from the time of my arrest tormented me. After that I began to write all this nonsense.... The most important thing for me is to tell the court, the party and Stalin that I am not guilty. I have never been guilty of any conspiracy. I will die believing in the truth of party policy as I have believed in it during my whole life.

On February 4, Eikhe was shot.

(Indignation in the hall.)

It has been definitely established now that Eikhe's case was fabricated; he has been posthumously rehabilitated.

Comrade Rudzutak, candidate-member of the Political Bureau, member of the Party since 1905, who spent 10 years in a tsarist hard-labour camp, completely retracted in court the confession which was forced from him. The protocol of the session of the Collegium of the Supreme Military Court contains the following statement by Rudzutak:

... The only plea which he places before the Court is that the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) be informed that there is in the NKVD an as yet not liquidated centre which is craftily manufacturing cases, which forces innocent persons to confess; there is no opportunity to prove one's non-participation in crimes to which the confessions of various persons testify. The investigative methods are such that they force people to lie and to slander entirely innocent persons in addition to those who already stand accused. He asks the Court that he be allowed to inform the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) about all this in writing. He assures the Court that he personally had never any evil design with regard to the policy of our party because he had always agreed with the party policy pertaining to all spheres of economic and cultural activity.

This declaration of Rudzutak was ignored, despite the fact that Rudzutak was in his time the chief of the Central Control Commission which was called into being in accordance with Lenin's concept for the purpose of fighting for party unity.... In this manner fell the chief of this highly authoritative party organ, a victim of brutal wilfulness; he was not even called before the Central Committee's Political Bureau because Stalin did not want to talk to him. Sentence was pronounced on him in 20 minutes and he was shot.

(Indignation in the hall.)

After careful examination of the case in 1955, it was established that the accusation against Rudzutak was false and that it was based on slanderous materials. Rudzutak has been rehabilitated posthumously.

The way in which the former NKVD workers manufactured various fictitious "anti-Soviet centres" and "blocs" with the help of provocatory methods is seen from the confession of Comrade Rozenblum, party member since 1906, who was arrested in 1937 by the Leningrad NKVD.

During the examination in 1955 of the Komarov case Rozenblum revealed the following fact: When Rozenblum was arrested in 1937, he was subjected to terrible torture during which he was ordered to confess false information concerning himself and other persons. He was then brought to the office of Zakovsky, who offered him freedom on condition that he make before the court a false confession fabricated in 1937 by the NKVD concerning "sabotage, espionage and diversion in a terroristic centre in Leningrad." (*Movement in the hall.*) With unbelievable cynicism, Zakovsky told about the vile "mechanism" for the crafty creation of fabricated "anti-Soviet plots."

"In order to illustrate it to me," stated Rozenblum, "Zakovsky gave me several possible variants of the organisation of this centre and of its branches. After he detailed the organisation to me, Zakovsky told me that the NKVD would prepare the case of this centre, remarking that the trial would be public. Before the court were to be brought 4 or 5 members of this centre: Chudov, Ugarov, Smorodin, Pozern, Shaposhnikova (Chudov's wife) and others together with 2 or 3 members from the branches of this centre...."

"... The case of the Leningrad centre has to be built solidly, and for this reason witnesses are needed. Social origin (of course, in the past) and the party standing of the witness will play more than a small role."

"'You, yourself,' said Zakovsky, 'will not need to invent anything. The NKVD will prepare for you a ready outline for every branch of the centre; you will have to study it carefully and to remember well all questions and answers which the court might ask. This case will be ready in four-five months, or perhaps a half year. During all this time you will be preparing yourself so that you will not compromise the investigation and yourself. Your future will depend on how the trial goes and on its results. If you begin to lie and to testify falsely, blame yourself. If you manage to endure it, you will save your head and we will feed and clothe you at the Government's cost until your death.' "

These are the kind of vile things which were then practised.

(*Movement in the hall.*)

Even more widely was the falsification of cases practised in the provinces. The NKVD headquarters of the Sverdlov Oblast "discovered" the so-called "Ural Uprising Staff" – an organ of the bloc of rightists,

Trotskyites, Socialist Revolutionaries, church leaders – whose chief, supposedly, was the Secretary of the Sverdlov Oblast Party Committee and member of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Kabakov, who had been a party member since 1914. The investigative materials of that time show that in almost all *krais*, *oblasts* [provinces] and republics there supposedly existed “rightist Trotskyite, espionage-terror and diversionary-sabotage organisations and centres” and that the heads of such organisations as a rule – for no known reason – were first secretaries of *oblast* or republic Communist Party committees or central committees.

(Movement in the hall)

Many thousands of honest and innocent communists have died as a result of this monstrous falsification of such “cases,” as a result of the fact that all kinds of slanderous “confessions” were accepted, and as a result of the practice of forcing accusations against oneself and others. In the same manner were fabricated the “cases” against eminent party and state workers – Kossior, Chubar, Postyshev, Kosaryev and others.

In those years repressions on a mass scale were applied which were based on nothing tangible and which resulted in heavy cadre losses to the party.

The vicious practice was condoned of having the NKVD prepare lists of persons whose cases were under the jurisdiction of the Military Collegium and whose sentences were prepared in advance. Yezhov would send these lists to Stalin personally for his approval of the proposed punishment. In 1937-1938, 383 such lists containing the names of many thousands of party, Soviet, Komsomol, Army and economic workers were sent to Stalin. He approved these lists.

A large part of these cases are being reviewed now and a great part of them are being voided because they were baseless and falsified. Suffice it to say that from 1954 to the present time the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court has rehabilitated 7,679 persons, many of whom were rehabilitated posthumously.

Mass arrests of party, Soviet, economic and military workers caused tremendous harm to our country and to the cause of socialist advancement.

Mass repressions had a negative influence on the moral-political condition of the party, created a situation of uncertainty, contributed to

the spreading of unhealthy suspicion, and sowed distrust among communists. All sorts of slanderers and careerists were active.

Resolutions of the January plenum of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), in 1938 had brought some measure of improvement to the party organisations. However, widespread repression also existed in 1938.

Only because our party has at its disposal such great moral-political strength was it possible for it to survive the difficult events in 1937-1938 and to educate new cadres. There is, however, no doubt that our march forward toward socialism and toward the preparation of the country's defence would have been much more successful were it not for the tremendous loss in the cadres suffered as a result of the baseless and false mass repressions in 1937-1938.

We are justly accusing Yezhov for the degenerate practices of 1937. But we have to answer these questions:

Could Yezhov have arrested Kossior, for instance, without the knowledge of Stalin? Was there an exchange of opinions or a Political Bureau decision concerning this?

No, there was not, as there was none regarding other cases of this type.

Could Yezhov have decided such important matters as the fate of such eminent party figures?

No, it would be a display of naiveté to consider this the work of Yezhov alone. It is clear that these matters were decided by Stalin, and that without his orders and his sanction Yezhov could not have done this.

We have examined the cases and have rehabilitated Kossior, Rudzutak, Postyshev, Kosaryev and others. For what causes were they arrested and sentenced? The review of evidence shows that there was no reason for this. They, like many others, were arrested without the prosecutor's knowledge.

In such a situation, there is no need for any approval, for what sort of an approval could there be when Stalin decided everything? He was the chief prosecutor in these cases. Stalin not only agreed to, but on his own initiative issued, arrest orders. We must say this so that the delegates to the Congress can clearly undertake and themselves assess this and draw the proper conclusions.

Facts prove that many abuses were made on Stalin's orders without reckoning with any norms of party and Soviet legality. Stalin was a very distrustful man, morbidly suspicious; we know this from our work with him. He could look at a man and say: "Why are your eyes so shift today?" or "Why are you turning so much today and avoiding to look me directly in the eyes?" The sickly suspicion created in him a general distrust even toward eminent party workers whom he had known for years. Everywhere and in everything he saw "enemies", "two-facers" and "spies." Possessing unlimited power, he indulged in great wilfulness and choked a person morally and physically. A situation was created where one could not express one's own will.

When Stalin said that one or another should be arrested, it was necessary to accept on faith that he was an "enemy of the people". Meanwhile, Beria's gang, which ran the organs of State security, outdid itself in proving the guilt of the arrested and the truth of materials which it falsified. And what proofs were offered? The confessions of the arrested. And the investigative judges accepted these "confessions". And how is it possible that a person confesses to crimes which he has not committed? Only in one way – because of application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this manner were "confessions" secured.

When the wave of mass arrests began to recede in 1939, and the leaders of territorial party organisations began to accuse the NKVD workers of using methods of physical pressure on the arrested, Stalin dispatched a coded telegram on January 20, 1939, to the committee secretaries of *oblasts* and *krais*, to the Central Committees of republic Communist parties, to the People's Commissars of Internal Affairs and to the heads of NKVD organisations. This telegram stated:

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) explains that the application of methods of physical pressure in NKVD practice is permissible from 1937 on in accordance with permission of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) ... It is known that all bourgeois intelligence services use methods of physical influence against the representatives of the socialist proletariat and that they use them in their most scandalous forms.

The Documents of the Great Debate

The question arises as to why the socialist intelligence service should be more humanitarian against the mad agents of the bourgeoisie, against the deadly enemies of the working class and of the *kolkhoz* workers. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) considers that physical pressure should still be used obligatorily, as an exception applicable to known and obstinate enemies of the people, as a method both justifiable and appropriate.

Thus, Stalin had sanctioned in the name of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) the most brutal violation of socialist legality, torture and oppression, which led as we have seen to the slandering and self-accusation of innocent people.

Not long ago – only several days before the present Congress – we called to the Central Committee Presidium session and interrogated the investigative judge, Rodos, who in his time investigated and interrogated Kossior, Chubar and Kosaryev. He is a vile person, with the brain of a bird, and morally completely degenerate. And it was this man who was deciding the fate of prominent party workers; he was making judgments also concerning the politics in these matters, because, having established their “crime,” he provided therewith materials from which important political implications could be drawn.

The question arises whether a man with such an intellect could alone make the investigation in a manner to prove the guilt of people such as Kossior and others. No, he could not have done it without proper directives. At the Central Committee Presidium session he told us: “I was told that Kossior and Chubar were people’s enemies and for this reason I, as an investigative judge, had to make them confess that they are enemies.” (*Indignation in the hall.*)

He could do this only through long tortures, which he did, receiving detailed instructions from Beria. We must say that at the Central Committee Presidium session he cynically declared: “I thought that I was executing the orders of the party.”

In this manner, Stalin’s orders concerning the use of methods of physical pressure against the arrested were in practice executed.

These and many other facts show that all norms of correct party solution of problems were invalidated and everything was dependent upon the wilfulness of one man.

The power accumulated in the hands of one person, Stalin, led to serious consequences during the Great Patriotic War.

When we look at many of our novels, films and historical “scientific studies”, the role of Stalin in the Patriotic War appears to be entirely improbable. Stalin had foreseen everything. The Soviet Army, on the basis of a strategic plan prepared by Stalin long before, used the tactics of so-called “active defense”, *i.e.*, tactics which, as we know, allowed the Germans to come up to Moscow and Stalingrad. Using such tactics, the Soviet Army, supposedly, thanks only to Stalin’s genius, turned to the offensive and subdued the enemy. The epic victory gained through the armed might of the land of the Soviets, through our heroic people, is ascribed in this type of novel, film and “scientific study” as being completely due to the strategic genius of Stalin.

We have to analyse this matter carefully because it has a tremendous significance not only from the historical, but especially from the political, educational and practical point of view.

What are the facts of this matter?

Before the war, our press and all our political-educational work was characterised by its bragging tone: When an enemy violates the holy Soviet soil, then for every blow of the enemy we will answer with three blows, and we will battle the enemy on his soil and we will win without much harm to ourselves. But these positive statements were not based in all areas on concrete facts, which would actually guarantee the immunity of our borders.

During the war and after the war, Stalin put forward the thesis that the tragedy which our nation experienced in the first part of the war was the result of the “unexpected” attack of the Germans against the Soviet Union. But, comrades, this is completely untrue. As soon as Hitler came to power in Germany he assigned to himself the task of liquidating Communism. The fascists were saying this openly; they did not hide their plans.

In order to attain this aggressive end, all sorts of pacts and blocs were created, such as the famous Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. Many facts from the prewar period clearly showed that Hitler was going all out to begin a war against the Soviet state, and that he had concentrated large armed units, together with armoured units, near the Soviet borders.

Documents which have now been published show that by April 3, 1941, Churchill, through his Ambassador to the USSR, Cripps, personally warned Stalin that the Germans had begun regrouping their armed units with the intent of attacking the Soviet Union.

It is self-evident that Churchill did not do this at all because of his friendly feeling toward the Soviet nation. He had in this his own imperialistic goals – to bring Germany and the USSR into a bloody war and thereby to strengthen the position of the British Empire.

Just the same, Churchill affirmed in his writings that he sought to “warn Stalin and call his attention to the danger which threatened him.” Churchill stressed this repeatedly in his dispatches of April 18 and on the following days. However, Stalin took no heed of these warnings. What is more, Stalin ordered that no credence be given to information of this sort, in order not to provoke the initiation of military operations.

We must assert that information of this sort concerning the threat of German armed invasion of Soviet territory was coming in also from our own military and diplomatic sources; however, because the leadership was conditioned against such information, such data was dispatched with fear and assessed with reservation.

Thus, for instance, information sent from Berlin on May 6, 1941, by the Soviet military attaché, Captain Vorontsov, stated: “Soviet citizen Bozer ... communicated to the deputy naval attaché that, according to a statement of a certain German officer from Hitler’s headquarters, Germany is preparing to invade the USSR on May 14, through Finland, the Baltic countries and Latvia. At the same time Moscow and Leningrad will be heavily raided and paratroopers landed in border cities....”

In his report of May 22, 1941, the deputy military attaché in Berlin, Khlopov, communicated that “...the attack of the German Army is reportedly scheduled for June 15, but it is possible that it may begin in the first days of June....”

A cable from our London Embassy dated June 18, 1941 stated: “As of now Cripps is deeply convinced of the inevitability of armed conflict between Germany and the USSR, which will begin not later than the middle of June. According to Cripps, the Germans have presently concentrated 147 divisions (including air force and service units) along the Soviet borders....”

Despite these particularly grave warnings, the necessary steps were

not taken to prepare the country properly for defense and to prevent it from being caught unawares.

Did we have time and the capabilities for such preparations? Yes, we had the time and capabilities. Our industry was already so developed that it was capable of supplying fully the Soviet Army with everything that it needed. This is proven by the fact that, although during the war we lost almost half of our industry and important industrial and food-production areas as the result of enemy occupation of the Ukraine, Northern Caucasus and other western parts of the country, the Soviet nation was still able to organise the production of military equipment in the eastern parts of the country, install there equipment taken from the western industrial areas, and to supply our armed forces with everything which was necessary to destroy the enemy.

Had our industry been mobilised properly and in time to supply the Army with the necessary material, our wartime losses would have been decidedly smaller. Such mobilisation had not been, however, started in time. And already in the first days of the war it became evident that our Army was badly armed, that we did not have enough artillery, tanks and planes to throw the enemy back.

Soviet science and technology produced excellent models of tanks and artillery pieces before the war. But mass production of all this was not organised, and, as a matter of fact, we started to modernise our military equipment only on the eve of the war.

As a result, at the time of the enemy's invasion of the Soviet land, we did not have sufficient quantities either of old machinery which was no longer used for armament production or of new machinery which we had planned to introduce into armament production.

The situation with anti-aircraft artillery was especially bad; we did not organise the production of anti-tank ammunition. Many fortified regions had proven to be indefensible as soon as they were attacked, because the old arms had been withdrawn and new ones were not yet available there.

This pertained, alas, not only to tanks, artillery and planes. At the outbreak of the war we did not even have sufficient numbers of rifles to arm the mobilised manpower. I recall that in those days I telephoned to Comrade Malenkov from Kiev and told him, "People have volunteered for the new Army and demand arms. You must send us arms."

Malenkov answered me, "We cannot send you arms. We are sending all our rifles to Leningrad and you have to arm yourselves."

(Movement in the hall.)

Such was the armament situation.

In this connection we cannot forget, for instance, the following fact: Shortly before the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite army, Kirponos, who was chief of the Kiev Special Military District (he was later killed at the front), wrote to Stalin that the German armies were at the Bug River, were preparing for an attack and in the very near future would probably start their offensive. In this connection, Kirponos proposed that a strong defense be organised, that 300,000 people be evacuated from the border areas and that several strong points be organised there: anti-tank ditches, trenches for the soldiers, etc.

Moscow answered this proposition with the assertion that this would be a provocation, that no preparatory defensive work should be undertaken at the borders, that the Germans were not to be given any pretext for the initiation of military action against us. Thus, our borders were insufficiently prepared to repel the enemy.

When the fascist armies had actually invaded Soviet territory and military operations had begun, Moscow issued the order that the German fire was not to be returned. Why? It was because Stalin, despite evident facts, thought that the war had not yet started, that this was only a provocative action on the part of several undisciplined sections of the German Army, and that our reaction might serve as a reason for the Germans to begin the war.

The following fact is also known: On the eve of the invasion of the territory of the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite Army, a certain German citizen crossed our border and stated that the German armies had received orders to start the offensive against the Soviet Union on the night of June 22, at 3 o'clock. Stalin was informed about this immediately, but even this warning was ignored.

As you see, everything was ignored: warnings of certain Army commanders, declarations of deserters from the enemy army, and even the open hostility of the enemy. Is this an example of the alertness of the chief of the party and of the state at this particularly significant historical moment?

And what were the results of this carefree attitude, this disregard

of clear facts? The result was that already in the first hours and days the enemy had destroyed in our border regions a large part of our Air Force, artillery and other military equipment; he annihilated large numbers of our military cadres and disorganised our military leadership; consequently we could not prevent the enemy from marching deep into the country.

Very grievous consequences, especially in reference to the beginning of the war, followed Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders and political workers during 1937-1941 because of his suspiciousness and through slanderous accusations. During these years, repressions were instituted against certain parts of military cadres beginning literally at the company and battalion commander level and extending to the higher military centres; during this time the cadre of leaders who had gained military experience in Spain and in the Far East was almost completely liquidated.

The policy of large-scale repression against the military cadres led also to undermined military discipline, because for several years, officers of all ranks and even soldiers in the party and Komsomol cells were taught to "unmask" their superiors as hidden enemies.

(Movement in the hall.)

It is natural that this caused a negative influence on the state of military discipline in the first war period.

And, as you know, we had before the war excellent military cadres which were unquestionably loyal to the party and to the Fatherland. Suffice it to say that those of them who managed to survive, despite severe tortures to which they were subjected in the prisons, have from the first war days shown themselves real patriots and heroically fought for the glory of the Fatherland; I have here in mind such comrades as Rokossovsky (who, as you know, had been jailed), Gorbatov, Maretskov (who is a delegate at the present Congress), Podlas (he was an excellent commander who perished at the front), and many, many others. However, many such commanders perished in camps and jails and the Army saw them no more.

All this brought about the situation which existed at the beginning of the war and which was the greatest threat to our Fatherland.

It would be incorrect to forget that, after the first severe disaster and defeat at the front, Stalin thought that this was the end. In one of his

speeches in those days he said: "All that which Lenin created we have lost forever."

After this Stalin for a long time actually did not direct the military operations and ceased to do anything whatever. He returned to active leadership only when some members of the Political Bureau visited him and told him that it was necessary to take certain steps immediately in order to improve the situation at the front.

Therefore, the threatening danger which hung over our Fatherland in the first period of the war was largely due to the faulty methods of directing the nation and the party by Stalin himself.

However, we speak not only about the moment when the war began, which led to serious disorganisation of our Army and brought us severe losses. Even after the war began, the nervousness and hysteria which Stalin demonstrated, interfering with actual military operation, caused our Army serious damage.

Stalin was very far from an understanding of the real situation which was developing at the front. This was natural because, during the whole Patriotic War, he never visited any section of the front or any liberated city except for one short ride on the Mozhaisk highway during a stabilised situation at the front. To this incident were dedicated many literary works full of fantasies of all sorts and so many paintings. Simultaneously, Stalin was interfering with operations and issuing orders which did not take into consideration the real situation at a given section of the front and which could not help but result in huge personnel losses.

I will allow myself in this connection to bring out one characteristic fact which illustrates how Stalin directed operations at the fronts. There is present at this Congress Marshal Bagramyan, who was once the Chief of Operations in the headquarters of the southwestern front and who can corroborate what I will tell you.

When there developed an exceptionally serious situation for our Army in 1942 in the Kharkov region, we had correctly decided to drop an operation whose objective was to encircle Kharkov, because the real situation at that time would have threatened our Army with fatal consequences if this operation were continued.

We communicated this to Stalin, stating that the situation demanded changes in operational plans so that the enemy would be prevented from liquidating a sizeable concentration of our Army.

Contrary to common sense, Stalin rejected our suggestion and issued the order to continue the operation aimed at the encirclement of Kharkov, despite the fact that at this time many Army concentrations were themselves actually threatened with encirclement and liquidation.

I telephoned to Vasilevsky and begged him: "Alexander Mikhailovich, take a map" – Vasilevsky is present here – "and show Comrade Stalin the situation which has developed." We should note that Stalin planned operations on a globe.

(Animation in the hall.)

Yes, comrades, he used to take the globe and trace the front line on it. I said to Comrade Vasilevsky: "Show him the situation on a map; in the present situation we cannot continue the operation which was planned. The old decision must be changed for the good of the cause."

Vasilevsky replied, saying that Stalin had already studied this problem and that he, Vasilevsky, would not see Stalin further concerning this matter, because the latter did not want to hear any arguments on the subject of this operation.

After my talk with Vasilevsky, I telephoned to Stalin at his villa. But Stalin did not answer the telephone and Malenkov was at the receiver. I told Comrade Malenkov that I was calling from the front and that I wanted to speak personally to Stalin. Stalin informed me through Malenkov that I should speak with Malenkov. I stated for the second time that I wished to inform Stalin personally about the grave situation which had arisen for us at the front. But Stalin did not consider it convenient to raise the phone and again stated that I should speak to him through Malenkov, although he was only a few steps from the telephone.

After "listening" in this manner to our plea, Stalin said: "Let everything remain as it is!"

And what was the result of this? The worst that we had expected. The Germans surrounded our Army concentrations and consequently we lost hundreds of thousands of our soldiers. This is Stalin's military "genius"; this is what it cost us.

(Movement in the hall.)

On one occasion after the war, during a meeting of Stalin with members of the Political Bureau, Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan mentioned that Khrushchov must have been right when he telephoned concerning

the Kharkov operation and that it was unfortunate that his suggestion had not been accepted.

You should have seen Stalin's fury! How could it be admitted that he, Stalin, had not been right! He is after all a "genius", and a genius cannot help but be right! Everyone can err, but Stalin considered that he never erred, that he was always right. He never acknowledged to anyone that he made any mistake, large or small, despite the fact that he made not a few mistakes in the matter of theory and in his practical activity. After the Party Congress we shall probably have to re-evaluate many wartime military operations and to present them in their true light.

The tactics on which Stalin insisted without knowing the essence of the conduct of battle operations cost us much blood until we succeeded in stopping the opponent and going over to the offensive.

The military know that already by the end of 1941, instead of great operational manoeuvres flanking the opponent and penetrating behind his back, Stalin demanded incessant frontal attacks and the capture of one village after another.

Because of this, we paid with great losses until our generals, on whose shoulders rested the whole weight of conducting the war, succeeded in changing the situation and shifting to flexible-manoeuve operations, which immediately brought serious changes at the front favourable to us.

All the more shameful was the fact that, after our great victory over the enemy which cost us so much, Stalin began to downgrade many of the commanders who contributed so much to the victory over the enemy, because Stalin excluded every possibility that services rendered at the front should be credited to anyone but himself.

Stalin was very much interested in the assessment of Comrade Zhukov as a military leader. He asked me often for my opinion of Zhukov. I told him then, "I have known Zhukov for a long time; he is a good general and a good military leader."

After the war Stalin began to tell all kinds of nonsense about Zhukov, among other things the following, "You praised Zhukov, but he does not deserve it. It is said that before each operation at the front Zhukov used to behave as follows: He used to take a handful of earth, smell it and say, 'We can begin the attack,' or the opposite, 'The planned

operation cannot be carried out.' ” I stated at that time, “Comrade Stalin, I do not know who invented this, but it is not true.”

It is possible that Stalin himself invented these things for the purpose of minimising the role and military talents of Marshal Zhukov.

In this connection, Stalin very energetically popularised himself as a great leader; in various ways he tried to inculcate in the people the version that all victories gained by the Soviet nation during the Great Patriotic War were due to the courage, daring and genius of Stalin and of no one else. Exactly like Kuzma Kryuchkov he put one dress on seven people at the same time.

(Animation in the hall.)

In the same vein, let us take, for instance, our historical and military films and some literary creations; they make us feel sick. Their true objective is the propagation of the theme of praising Stalin as a military genius. Let us recall the film, *'The Fall of Berlin.'* Here only Stalin acts; he issues orders in the hall in which there are many empty chairs and only one man approaches him and reports something to him – that is Poskrebyshev, his loyal shield-bearer.

(Laughter in the hall.)

And where is the military command? Where is the Political Bureau? Where is the Government? What are they doing and with what are they engaged? There is nothing about them in the film. Stalin acts for everybody; he does not reckon with anyone; he asks no one for advice. Everything is shown to the nation in this false light. Why? In order to surround Stalin with glory, contrary to the facts and contrary to historical truth.

The question arises: And where are the military, on whose shoulders rested the burden of the war? They are not in the film; with Stalin in, no room was left for them.

Not Stalin, but the party as a whole, the Soviet Government, our heroic Army, its talented leaders and brave soldiers, the whole Soviet nation – these are the ones who assured the victory in the Great Patriotic War.

(Tempestuous and prolonged applause.)

The Central Committee members, ministers, our economic leaders, leaders of Soviet culture, directors of territorial-party and Soviet organisations, engineers and technicians – every one of them in his

own place of work generously gave of his strength and knowledge toward ensuring victory over the enemy.

Exceptional heroism was shown by our hard core – surrounded by glory is our whole working class, our *kolkhoz* peasantry, the Soviet intelligentsia, who under the leadership of party organisations overcame untold hardships and bearing the hardships of war, devoted all their strength to the cause of the defense of the Fatherland.

Great and brave deeds during the war were accomplished by our Soviet women who bore on their backs the heavy load of production work in the factories, on the *kolkhozes*, and in various economic and cultural sectors; many women participated directly in the Great Patriotic War at the fronts; our brave youth contributed immeasurably at the front and at home to the defense of the Soviet Fatherland and to the annihilation of the enemy.

Immortal are the services of the Soviet soldiers, of our commanders and political workers of all ranks; after the loss of a considerable part of the Army in the first war months they did not lose their heads and were able to reorganise during the progress of combat; they created and toughened during the progress of the war a strong and heroic Army and not only stood off pressures of the strong and cunning enemy but also smashed him.

The magnificent and heroic deeds of hundreds of millions of people of the East and of the West during the fight against the threat of fascist subjugation which loomed before us will live centuries and millennia in the memory of thankful humanity.

(Thunderous applause.)

The main role and the main credit for the victorious ending of the war belongs to our Communist Party, to the armed forces of the Soviet Union, and to the tens of millions of Soviet people raised by the party.

(Thunderous and prolonged applause.)

Comrades, let us reach for some other facts. The Soviet Union is justly considered as a model of a multinational state because we have in practice assured the equality and friendship of all nations which live in our great Fatherland.

All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin and which are rude violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy of the Soviet state. We refer to the mass deportation

from their native places of whole nations, together with all Communists and Komsomols without any exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations.

Thus, already at the end of 1943, when there occurred a permanent breakthrough at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War benefiting the Soviet Union, a decision was taken and executed concerning the deportation of all the Karachai from the lands on which they lived.

In the same period, at the end of December 1943, the same lot befell the whole population of the Autonomous Kalmyk Republic. In March 1944, all the Chechen and Ingush peoples were deported and the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic was liquidated. In April 1944, all Balkars were deported to faraway places from the territory of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Republic and the Republic itself was renamed the Autonomous Kabardian Republic. The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also.

(Laughter and animation in the hall.)

Not only a Marxist-Leninist but also no man of common sense can grasp how it is possible to make whole nations responsible for inimical activity, including women, children, old people, Communists and Komsomols, to use mass repression against them, and to expose them to misery and suffering for the hostile acts of individual persons or groups of persons.

After the conclusion of the Patriotic War, the Soviet nation stressed with pride the magnificent victories gained through great sacrifices and tremendous efforts. The country experienced a period of political enthusiasm. The party came out of the war even more united; in the fire of the war, party cadres were tempered and hardened. Under such conditions nobody could have even thought of the possibility of some plot in the party.

And it was precisely at this time that the so-called "Leningrad affair" was born. As we have now proven, this case was fabricated. Those who innocently lost their lives include Comrades Voznesensky, Kuznetsov, Rodionov, Popkov, and others.

As is known, Voznesensky and Kuznetsov were talented and eminent leaders. Once they stood very close to Stalin. It is sufficient to

mention that Stalin made Voznesensky first deputy to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and Kuznetsov was elected secretary of the Central Committee. The very fact that Stalin entrusted Kuznetsov with the supervision of the state-security organs shows the trust which he enjoyed.

How did it happen that these persons were branded as enemies of the people and liquidated?

Facts prove that the "Leningrad affair" is also the result of wilfulness which Stalin exercised against party cadres. Had a normal situation existed in the party's Central Committee and in the Central Committee Political Bureau, affairs of this nature would have been examined there in accordance with party practice, and all pertinent facts assessed; as a result, such an affair as well as others would not have happened.

We must state that, after the war, the situation became even more complicated. Stalin became even more capricious, irritable and brutal; in particular his suspicion grew. His persecution mania reached unbelievable dimensions. Many workers were becoming enemies before his very eyes. After the war, Stalin separated himself from the collective even more. Everything was decided by him alone without any consideration for anyone or anything.

This unbelievable suspicion was cleverly taken advantage of by the abject *provocateur* and vile enemy, Beria, who had murdered thousands of communists and loyal Soviet people. The elevation of Voznesensky and Kuznetsov alarmed Beria. As we have now proven, it had been precisely Beria who had "suggested" to Stalin the fabrication by him and by his confidants of materials in the form of declarations and anonymous letters, and in the form of various rumours and talks.

The party's Central Committee has examined this so-called "Leningrad affair"; persons who innocently suffered are now rehabilitated and honour has been restored to the glorious Leningrad party organisation. Abakumov and others who had fabricated this affair were brought before a court; their trial took place in Leningrad and they received what they deserved.

The question arises: Why is it that we see the truth of this affair only now, and why did we not do something earlier, during Stalin's life, in order to prevent the loss of innocent lives? It was because Stalin

personally supervised the "Leningrad affair", and the majority of the Political Bureau members did not, at that time, know all of the circumstances in these matters and could not therefore intervene.

When Stalin received certain materials from Beria and Abakumov, without examining these slanderous materials, he ordered an investigation of the "affair" of Voznesensky and Kuznetsov. With this, their fate was sealed.

Instructive in the same way is the case of the Mingrelian nationalist organisation which supposedly existed in Georgia. As is known, resolutions by the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were adopted concerning this case in November 1951 and in March 1952. These resolutions were adopted without prior discussion with the Political Bureau. Stalin had personally dictated them. They made serious accusations against many loyal communists. On the basis of falsified documents, it was proven that there existed in Georgia a supposedly nationalistic organisation whose objective was the liquidation of the Soviet power in that republic with the help of imperialistic powers.

In this connection, a number of responsible party and Soviet workers were arrested in Georgia. As was later proven, this was a slander directed against the Georgian party organisation.

We know that there have been at times manifestations of local bourgeois nationalism in Georgia as in several other republics. The question arises: Could it be possible that, in the period during which the resolutions referred to above were adopted, nationalist tendencies grew so much that there was a danger of Georgia's leaving the Soviet Union and joining Turkey?

(Animation in the hall, laughter.)

This is, of course, nonsense. It is impossible to imagine how such assumptions could enter anyone's mind. Everyone knows how Georgia has developed economically and culturally under Soviet rule.

Industrial production of the Georgian Republic is 27 times greater than it was before the Revolution. Many new industries have arisen in Georgia which did not exist there before the Revolution: iron smelting, an oil industry, a machine-construction industry, etc. Illiteracy has long since been liquidated, which, in pre-revolutionary Georgia, included 78 per cent of the population.

Could the Georgians, comparing the situation in their republic with the hard situation of the working masses in Turkey, be aspiring to join Turkey? In 1955, Georgia produced 18 times as much steel per person as Turkey. Georgia produces 9 times as much electrical energy per person as Turkey. According to the available 1950 census, 65 per cent of Turkey's total population are illiterate, and, of the women, 80 per cent are illiterate. Georgia has 19 institutions of higher learning which have about 39,000 students; this is 8 times more than in Turkey (for each 1,000 inhabitants). The prosperity of the working people has grown tremendously in Georgia under Soviet rule.

It is clear that, as the economy and culture develop, and as the socialist consciousness of the working masses in Georgia grows, the source from which bourgeois nationalism draws its strength evaporates.

As it developed, there was no nationalistic organisation in Georgia. Thousands of innocent people fell victim to wilfulness and lawlessness. All of this happened under the "genial" leadership of Stalin, "the great son of the Georgian nation," as Georgians like to refer to Stalin.

(Animation in the hall.)

The wilfulness of Stalin showed itself not only in decisions concerning the internal life of the country but also in the international relations of the Soviet Union.

The July plenum of the Central Committee studied in detail the reasons for the development of conflict with Yugoslavia. It was a shameful role which Stalin played here. The "Yugoslav affair" contained no problems which could not have been solved through party discussions among comrades. There was no significant basis for the development of this "affair"; it was completely possible to have prevented the rupture of relations with that country. This does not mean, however, that the Yugoslav leaders did not make mistakes or did not have shortcomings. But these mistakes and shortcomings were magnified in a monstrous manner by Stalin, which resulted in a break of relations with a friendly country.

I recall the first days when the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began artificially to be blown up. Once, when I came from Kiev to Moscow, I was invited to visit Stalin, who, pointing to the copy of a letter lately sent to Tito, asked me, "Have you read this?"

Not waiting for my reply, he answered, "I will shake my little

finger – and there will be no more Tito. He will fall.”

We have dearly paid for this “shaking of the little finger.” This statement reflected Stalin’s delusions of grandeur, but he acted just that way: “I will shake my little finger – and there will be no Kossior”; “I will shake my little finger once more and Postyshev and Chubar will be no more”; “I will shake my little finger again – and Voznesensky, Kuznetsov and many others will disappear.”

But this did not happen to Tito. No matter how much or how little Stalin shook, not only his little finger but everything else that he could shake, Tito did not fall. Why? The reason was that, in this case of disagreement with the Yugoslav comrades, Tito had behind him a state and a people who had gone through a severe school of fighting for liberty and independence, a people which gave support to its leaders.

You see to what Stalin’s delusions of grandeur led. He had completely lost consciousness of reality; he demonstrated his suspicion and haughtiness not only in relation to individuals in the USSR, but in relation to whole parties and nations.

We have carefully examined the case of Yugoslavia and have found a proper solution which is approved by the peoples of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia as well as by the working masses of all the people’s democracies and by all progressive humanity. The liquidation of the abnormal relationship with Yugoslavia was done in the interest of the whole camp of socialism, in the interest of strengthening peace in the whole world.

Let us also recall the “affair of the doctor-plotters”.

(Animation in the hall.)

Actually there was no “affair” outside of the declaration of the woman doctor Timashuk, who was probably influenced or ordered by someone (after all, she was an unofficial collaborator of the organs of state security) to write Stalin a letter in which she declared that doctors were applying supposedly improper methods of medical treatment.

Such a letter was sufficient for Stalin to reach an immediate conclusion that there are doctor-plotters in the Soviet Union. He issued orders to arrest a group of eminent Soviet medical specialists. He personally issued advice on the conduct of the investigation and the method of interrogation of the arrested persons. He said that the academician Vinogradov should be put in chains, another one should

be beaten. Present at this Congress as a delegate is the former Minister of State Security, Comrade Ignatiev. Stalin told him curtly, "If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors we will shorten you by a head."

(Tumult in the hall.)

Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions, advised him on which investigative methods should be used; these methods were simple – beat, beat and, once again, beat.

Shortly after the doctors were arrested, we, members of the Political Bureau received protocols with the doctors' confessions of guilt. After distributing these protocols, Stalin told us, "You are blind like young kittens; what will happen without me? The country will perish because you do not know how to recognise enemies."

The case was so presented that no one could verify the facts on which the investigation was based. There was no possibility of trying to verify facts by contacting those who had made the confessions of guilt.

We felt, however, that the case of the arrested doctors was questionable. We knew some of these people personally because they had once treated us. When we examined this "case" after Stalin's death, we found it to be fabricated from beginning to end.

This ignominious "case" was set up by Stalin; he did not, however, have the time in which to bring it to an end (as he conceived that end), and for this reason the doctors are still alive. Now all have been rehabilitated; they are working in the same places they were working before; they treat top individuals, not excluding members of the Government; they have our full confidence; and they execute their duties honestly, as they did before.

In organising the various dirty and shameful cases, a very base role was played by the rabid enemy of our party, an agent of a foreign intelligence service – Beria, who had stolen into Stalin's confidence. In what way could this *provocateur* gain such a position in the party and in the state, so as to become the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and a member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau? It has now been established that this villain had climbed up the Government ladder over an untold number of corpses.

Were there any signs that Beria was an enemy of the party? Yes, there were. Already in 1937, at a Central Committee plenum, former

People's Commissar of Health Protection, Kaminsky, said that Beria worked for the Mussavat Intelligence Service. But the Central Committee plenum had barely concluded when Kaminsky was arrested and then shot. Had Stalin examined Kaminsky's statement? No, because Stalin believed in Beria, and that was enough for him. And when Stalin believed in anyone or anything, then no one could say anything which was contrary to his opinion; anyone who would dare to express opposition would have met the same fate as Kaminsky.

There were other signs, also. The declaration which Comrade Snegov made to the party's Central Committee is interesting. (Parenthetically speaking, he was also rehabilitated not long ago, after 17 years in prison camps.) In this declaration, Snegov writes:

In connection with the proposed rehabilitation of the former Central Committee member, Kartvelishvili-Lavryentiev, I have entrusted to the hands of the representative of the Committee of State Security a detailed deposition concerning Beria's role in the disposition of the Kartvelishvili case and concerning the criminal motives by which Beria was guided.

In my opinion, it is indispensable to recall an important fact pertaining to this case and to communicate it to the Central Committee, because I did not consider it as proper to include it in the investigation documents.

On October 30, 1931, at the session of the Organisational Bureau of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Kartvelishvili, secretary of the Transcaucasian krai committee, made a report. All members of the executive of the Krai Committee were present; of them I alone am alive.

During this session, J. V. Stalin made a motion at the end of his speech concerning the organisation of the secretariat of the Transcaucasian krai committee composed of the following: first secretary, Kartvelishvili; second secretary, Beria (it was then, for the first time in the party's history, that Beria's name was mentioned as a candidate for a party position). Kartvelishvili answered that he knew Beria well and for that reason refused categorically to work together with him. Stalin proposed then that this matter be left open and that it be solved in the process of the work itself. Two days later a decision was arrived at that Beria would receive the party post and that Kartvelishvili would be deported from the Transcaucasus.

This fact can be confirmed by Comrades Mikoyan and Kaganovich, who were present at that session.

The Documents of the Great Debate

The long, unfriendly relations between Kartvelishvili and Beria were widely known; they date back to the time when Comrade Sergo [Ordzhonikidze] was active in the Transcaucasus; Kartvelishvili was the closest assistant of Sergo. The unfriendly relationship impelled Beria to fabricate a “case” against Kartvelishvili. It is a characteristic thing that in this “case” Kartvelishvili was charged with a terroristic act against Beria.

The indictment in the Beria case contains a discussion of his crimes. Some things should, however, be recalled, especially since it is possible that not all delegates to the Congress have read this document. I wish to recall Beria’s bestial disposition of the cases of Kedrov, Golubiev, and Golubiev’s adopted mother, Baturina – persons who wished to inform the Central Committee concerning Beria’s treacherous activity. They were shot without any trial and the sentence was passed *ex-post facto*, after the execution.

Here is what the old communist, Comrade Kedrov, wrote to the Central Committee through Comrade Andreyev (Comrade Andreyev was then a Central Committee secretary):

I am calling to you for help from a gloomy cell of the Lefortovsky prison. Let my cry of horror reach your ears; do not remain deaf; take me under your protection; please, help remove the nightmare of interrogations and show that this is all a mistake.

I suffer innocently. Please believe me. Time will testify to the truth. I am not an *agent provocateur* of the Tsarist Okhrana; I am not a spy, I am not a member of an anti-Soviet organisation of which I am being accused on the basis of denunciations. I am also not guilty of any other crimes against the party and the Government. I am an old Bolshevik, free of any stain; I have honestly fought for almost 40 years in the ranks of the party for the good and the prosperity of the nation....

... Today I, a 62-year-old man, am being threatened by the investigative judges with more severe, cruel and degrading methods of physical pressure. They (the judges) are no longer capable of becoming aware of their error and of recognising that their handling of my case is illegal and impermissible. They try to justify their actions by picturing me as a hardened and raving enemy and are demanding increased repressions. But let the party know that I am innocent and that there is nothing which can turn a loyal son of the party into an enemy, even right up to his last dying breath.

But I have no way out. I cannot divert from myself the hastily approaching new and powerful blows.

Everything, however, has its limits. My torture has reached the extreme. My health is broken, my strength and my energy are waning, the end is drawing near. To die in a Soviet prison, branded as a vile traitor to the Fatherland – what can be more monstrous for an honest man? And how monstrous all this is! Unsurpassed bitterness and pain grips my heart. No! No! This will not happen; this cannot be, I cry. Neither the party, nor the Soviet Government, nor the People's Commissar, L. P. Beria, will permit this cruel, irreparable injustice. I am firmly certain that, given a quiet, objective examination, without any foul rantings, without any anger and without the fearful tortures, it would be easy to prove the baselessness of the charges. I believe deeply that truth and justice will triumph. I believe. I believe.

The old Bolshevik, Comrade Kedrov, was found innocent by the Military Collegium. But, despite this, he was shot at Beria's order.

(Indignation in the hall.)

Beria also handled cruelly the family of Comrade Ordzhonikidze. Why? Because Ordzhonikidze had tried to prevent Beria from realizing his shameful plans. Beria had cleared from his way all persons who could possibly interfere with him. Ordzhonikidze was always an opponent of Beria, about which he told Stalin. Instead of examining this affair and taking appropriate steps, Stalin allowed the liquidation of Ordzhonikidze's brother and brought Ordzhonikidze himself to such a state that he was forced to shoot himself. *(Indignation in the hall.)*

Such was Beria.

Beria was unmasked by the party's Central Committee shortly after Stalin's death. As a result of the particularly detailed legal proceedings, it was established that Beria had committed monstrous crimes and Beria was shot.

The question arises why Beria, who had liquidated tens of thousands of party and Soviet workers, was not unmasked during Stalin's life. He was not unmasked earlier because he had utilised very skilfully Stalin's weaknesses; feeding him with suspicions, he assisted Stalin in everything and acted with his support.

Comrades! The cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself, using all conceivable methods, supported the glorification of his own person. This is supported by

numerous facts. One of the most characteristic examples of Stalin's self-glorification and of his lack of even elementary modesty is the edition of his *Short Biography*, which was published in 1948.

This book is an expression of the most dissolute flattery, an example of making a man into a godhead, of transforming him into an infallible sage, "the greatest leader, sublime strategist of all times and nations." Finally, no other words could be found with which to lift Stalin up to the heavens.

We need not give here examples of the loathesome adulation filling this book. All we need to add is that they all were approved and edited by Stalin personally and some of them were added in his own handwriting to the draft text of the book.

What did Stalin consider essential to write into this book? Did he want to cool the ardour of his flatterers who were composing his *Short Biography*? No! He marked the very places where he thought that the praise of his services was insufficient. Here are some examples characterising Stalin's activity, added in Stalin's own hand:

In this fight against the skeptics and capitulators, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and Kamenevites, there was definitely welded together, after Lenin's death, that leading core of the party... that upheld the great banner of Lenin, rallied the party behind Lenin's behests, and brought the Soviet people into the broad road of industrialising the country and collectivising the rural economy. The leader of this core and the guiding force of the party and the state was Comrade Stalin.

Thus writes Stalin himself! Then he adds:

Although he performed his task as leader of the party and the people with consummate skill and enjoyed the unreserved support of the entire Soviet people, Stalin never allowed his work to be marred by the slightest hint of vanity, conceit or self-adulation.

Where and when could a leader so praise himself? Is this worthy of a leader of the Marxist-Leninist type? No. Precisely against this did Marx and Engels take such a strong position. This also was always sharply condemned by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

In the draft text of his book appeared the following sentence: "Stalin is the Lenin of today." This sentence appeared to Stalin to be too weak, so, in his own handwriting, he changed it to read: "Stalin is

the worthy continuer of Lenin's work, or, as it is said in our party, Stalin is the Lenin of today." You see how well it is said, not by the people but by Stalin himself.

It is possible to give many such self-praising appraisals written into the draft text of that book in Stalin's hand. Especially generously, does he endow himself with praises pertaining to his military genius, to his talent for strategy.

I will cite one more insertion made by Stalin concerning the theme of the Stalinist military genius. "The advanced Soviet science of war received further development," he writes, "at Comrade Stalin's hands. Comrade Stalin elaborated the theory of the permanently operating factors that decide the issue of wars, of active defense and the laws of counter-offensive and offensive, of the cooperation of all services and arms in modern warfare, of the role of big tank masses and air-forces in modern war, and of the artillery as the most formidable of the armed services. At the various stages of the war Stalin's genius found the correct solutions that took account of all the circumstances of the situation."

(Movement in the hall.)

And, further, writes Stalin: "Stalin's military mastership was displayed both in defense and offense. Comrade Stalin's genius enabled him to divine the enemy's plans and defeat them. The battles in which Comrade Stalin directed the Soviet armies are brilliant examples of operational military skill."

In this manner was Stalin praised as a strategist. Who did this? Stalin himself, not in his role as a strategist but in the role of an author-editor, one of the main creators of his self-adulatory biography. Such, comrades, are the facts. We should rather say, shameful facts.

And one additional fact from the same *Short Biography* of Stalin. As is known, *The Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)* was written by a commission of the party Central Committee.

This book, parenthetically, was also permeated with the cult of the individual and was written by a designated group of authors. This fact was reflected in the following formulation on the proof copy of the *Short Biography* of Stalin: "A commission of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), under the direction of Comrade Stalin and with his most active personal participation, has

prepared a *Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)*.”

But even this phrase did not satisfy Stalin. The following sentence replaced it in the final version of the *Short Biography*: “In 1938 appeared the book, *History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Short Course*, written by Comrade Stalin and approved by a commission of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).” Can one add anything more?

(Animation in the hall.)

As you see, a surprising metamorphosis changed the work created by a group into a book written by Stalin. It is not necessary to state how and why this metamorphosis took place.

A pertinent question comes to our mind: If Stalin is the author of this book, why did he need to praise the person of Stalin so much and to transform the whole post-October historical period of our glorious Communist party solely into an action of “the Stalin genius”?

Did this book properly reflect the efforts of the party in the socialist transformation of the country, in the construction of socialist society, in the industrialisation and collectivisation of the country, and also other steps taken by the party which undeviatingly travelled the path outlined by Lenin? This book speaks principally about Stalin, about his speeches, about his reports. Everything without the smallest exception is tied to his name.

And when Stalin himself asserts that he himself wrote the *Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)*, this calls at least for amazement. Can a Marxist-Leninist thus write about himself, praising his own person to the heavens?

Or let us take the matter of the Stalin Prizes.

(Movement in the hall.)

Not even the Tsars created prizes which they named after themselves.

Stalin recognised as the best a text of the national anthem of the Soviet Union which contains not a word about the Communist Party; it contains, however, the following unprecedented praise of Stalin: “Stalin brought us up in loyalty to the people. He inspired us to great toil and acts.”

In these lines of the anthem, the whole educational, directional and inspirational activity of the great Leninist party is ascribed to Stalin.

This is, of course, a clear deviation from Marxism-Leninism, a clear debasing and belittling of the role of the party. We should add for your information that the Presidium of the Central Committee has already passed a resolution concerning the composition of a new text of the anthem, which will reflect the role of the people and the role of the party. (*Loud, prolonged applause.*)

And was it without Stalin's knowledge that many of the largest enterprises and towns were named after him? Was it without his knowledge that Stalin monuments were erected in the whole country – these “memorials to the living”? It is a fact that Stalin himself had signed on July 2, 1951 a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the erection on the Volga-Don Canal of an impressive monument to Stalin; on September 4 of the same year he issued an order making 33 tons of copper available for the construction of this impressive monument.

Anyone who has visited the Stalingrad area must have seen the huge statue which is being built there, and that on a site which hardly any people frequent. Huge sums were spent to build it at a time when people of this area had lived since the war in huts. Consider, yourself, was Stalin right when he wrote in his biography that “...he did not allow in himself... even a shadow of conceit, pride, or self-adoration”?

At the same time Stalin gave proofs of his lack of respect for Lenin's memory. It is not a coincidence that, despite the decision taken over 30 years ago to build a Palace of Soviets as a monument to Vladimir Ilyich, this palace was not built, its construction was always postponed and the project allowed to lapse.

We cannot forget to recall the Soviet Government resolution of August 14, 1925 concerning “the founding of Lenin prizes for educational work.” This resolution was published in the press, but until this day there are no Lenin prizes. This, too, should be corrected.

(Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

During Stalin's life – thanks to known methods which I have mentioned, and quoting facts, for instance, from the *Short Biography* of Stalin – all events were explained as if Lenin played only a secondary role, even during the October Socialist Revolution. In many films and in many literary works the figure of Lenin was incorrectly presented and inadmissibly depreciated.

Stalin loved to see the film, *The Unforgettable Year of 1919*, in which he was shown on the steps of an armoured train and where he was practically vanquishing the foe with his own sabre. Let Klimenti Yefremovich Voroshilov, our dear friend, find the necessary courage and write the truth about Stalin; after all, he knows how Stalin had fought. It will be difficult for Comrade Voroshilov to undertake this, but it would be good if he did. Everyone will approve of it, both the people and the party. Even his grandsons will thank him.

(Prolonged applause.)

In speaking about the events of the October Revolution and about the Civil War, the impression was created that Stalin always played the main role, as if everywhere and always Stalin had suggested to Lenin what to do and how to do it. However, this is slander of Lenin.

(Prolonged applause.)

I will probably not sin against the truth when I say that 99 per cent of the persons present here heard and knew very little about Stalin before the year 1924, while Lenin was known to all; he was known to the whole party, to the whole nation, from the children up to the graybeards.

(Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

All this has to be thoroughly revised so that history, literature and the fine arts properly reflect V. I. Lenin's role and the great deeds of our Communist Party and of the Soviet people – the creative people.

(Applause.)

Comrades! The cult of the individual has caused the employment of faulty principles in party work and in economic activity; it brought about rude violation of internal party and Soviet democracy, sterile administration, deviations of all sorts, covering up the shortcomings and varnishing of reality. Our nation gave birth to many flatterers and specialists in false optimism and deceit.

We should also not forget that, due to the numerous arrests of party, Soviet and economic leaders, many workers began to work uncertainly, showed overcautiousness, feared all that was new, feared their own shadows and began to show less initiative in their work.

Take, for instance, party and Soviet resolutions. They were prepared in a routine manner, often without considering the concrete situation. This went so far that party workers, even during the smallest sessions, read their speeches. All this produced the danger of formalising

the party and Soviet work and of bureaucratising the whole apparatus.

Stalin's reluctance to consider life's realities and the fact that he was not aware of the real state of affairs in the provinces can be illustrated by his direction of agriculture.

All those who interested themselves even a little in the national situation saw the difficult situation in agriculture, but Stalin never even noted it. Did we tell Stalin about this? Yes, we told him, but he did not support us. Why? Because Stalin never travelled anywhere, did not meet city and *kolkhoz* workers; he did not know the actual situation in the provinces.

He knew the country and agriculture only from films. And these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture. Many films so pictured *kolkhoz* life that the tables were bending from the weight of turkeys and geese. Evidently, Stalin thought that it was actually so.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin looked at life differently; he was always close to the people; he used to receive peasant delegates and often spoke at factory gatherings; he used to visit villages and talk with the peasants.

Stalin separated himself from the people and never went anywhere. This lasted ten years. The last time he visited a village was in January 1928, when he visited Siberia in connection with grain deliveries. How then could he have known the situation in the provinces?

And when he was once told during a discussion that our situation on the land was a difficult one and that the situation of cattle breeding and meat production was especially bad, a commission was formed which was charged with the preparation of a resolution called, "Means toward further development of animal breeding in *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*." We worked out this project.

Of course, our proposals of that time did not contain all possibilities, but we did chart ways in which animal breeding on *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* would be raised. We had proposed then to raise the prices of such products in order to create material incentives for the *kolkhoz*, MTS [machine-tractor station] and *sovkhoz* workers in the development of cattle breeding. But our project was not accepted and in February 1953, was laid aside entirely.

What is more, while reviewing this project, Stalin proposed that

the taxes paid by the *kolkhozes* and by the *kolkhoz* workers should be raised by 40 billion roubles; according to him the peasants are well off and the *kolkhoz* worker would need to sell only one more chicken to pay his tax in full.

Imagine what this meant. Certainly, 40 billion roubles is a sum which the *kolkhoz* workers did not realise for all the products which they sold to the Government. In 1952, for instance, the *kolkhozes* and the *kolkhoz* workers received 26,280 million roubles for all their products delivered and sold to the Government.

Did Stalin's position, then, rest on data of any sort whatever? Of course not. In such cases facts and figures did not interest him. If Stalin said anything, it meant it was so – after all, he was a “genius,” and a genius does not need to count, he only needs to look and can immediately tell how it should be. When he expresses his opinion, everyone has to repeat it and to admire his wisdom.

But how much wisdom was contained in the proposal to raise the agricultural tax by 40 billion roubles? None, absolutely none, because the proposal was not based on an actual assessment of the situation but on the fantastic ideas of a person divorced from reality.

We are currently beginning slowly to work our way out of a difficult agricultural situation. The speeches of the delegates to the Twentieth Congress please us all; we are glad that many delegates deliver speeches to the effect that there are conditions for the fulfilment of the sixth Five-Year Plan for animal husbandry, not during the period of five years, but within two to three years. We are certain that the commitments of the new Five-Year Plan will be accomplished successfully.

(Prolonged applause.)

Comrades! If we sharply criticise today the cult of the individual which was so widespread during Stalin's life and if we speak about the many negative phenomena generated by this cult which is so alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, various persons may ask: How could it be? Stalin headed the party and the country for 30 years and many victories were gained during his lifetime. Can we deny this? In my opinion, the question can be asked in this manner only by those who are blinded and hopelessly hypnotised by the cult of the individual, only by those who do not understand the essence of the revolution and of the Soviet state, only by those who do not understand, in a Leninist

manner, the role of the party and of the people in the development of Soviet society.

The Socialist Revolution was attained by the working class and by the poor peasantry with the partial support of middle-class peasants. It was attained by the people under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin's great service consisted of the fact that he created a militant party of the working class, but he was armed with Marxist understanding of the laws of social development and with the science of proletarian victory in the fight with capitalism, and he steered this party in the crucible of revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people.

During this fight the party consistently defended the interests of the people, became its experienced leader, and led the working masses to power, to the creation of the first socialist state. You remember well the wise words of Lenin that the Soviet state is strong because of the awareness of the masses, that history is created by the millions and tens of millions of people.

Our historical victories were attained thanks to the organisational work of the party, to the many provincial organisations, and to the self-sacrificing work of our great nation. These victories are the result of the great drive and activity of the nation and of the party as a whole; they are not at all the fruit of the leadership of Stalin, as the situation was pictured during the period of the cult of the individual.

If we are to consider this matter as Marxists and as Leninists, then we have to state unequivocally that the leadership practice which came into being during the last years of Stalin's life became a serious obstacle in the path of Soviet social development. Stalin often failed for months to take up some unusually important problems, concerning the life of the party and of the state, whose solution could not be postponed. During Stalin's leadership our peaceful relations with other nations were often threatened, because one-man decisions could cause, and often did cause, great complications.

In the last years, when we managed to free ourselves of the harmful practice of the cult of the individual and took several proper steps in the sphere of internal and external policies, everyone saw how activity grew before their very eyes, how the creative activity of the broad working masses developed, how favourably all this acted upon the development of economy and of culture. (*Applause.*)

Some comrades may ask us: Where were the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee? Why did they not assert themselves against the cult of the individual in time? And why is this being done only now?

First of all, we have to consider the fact that the members of the Political Bureau viewed these matters in a different way at different times. Initially, many of them backed Stalin actively because Stalin was one of the strongest Marxists and his logic, his strength and his will greatly influenced the cadres and party work.

It is known that Stalin, after Lenin's death, especially during the first years, actively fought for Leninism against the enemies of Leninist theory and against those who deviated. Beginning with Leninist theory, the party, with its Central Committee at the head, started on a great scale the work of socialist industrialisation of the country, agricultural collectivisation and the cultural revolution.

At that time Stalin gained great popularity, sympathy and support. The party had to fight those who attempted to lead the country away from the correct Leninist path; it had to fight Trotskyites, Zinovievites and rightists, and the bourgeois nationalists. This fight was indispensable.

Later, however, Stalin, abusing his power more and more, began to fight eminent party and Government leaders and to use terroristic methods against honest Soviet people. As we have already shown, Stalin thus handled such eminent party and Government leaders as Kossior, Rudzutak, Eikhe, Postyshev and many others.

Attempts to oppose groundless suspicions and charges resulted in the opponent falling victim of the repression. This characterised the fall of Comrade Postyshev.

In one of his speeches Stalin expressed his dissatisfaction with Postyshev and asked him, "What are you actually?"

Postyshev answered clearly, "I am a Bolshevik, Comrade Stalin, a Bolshevik."

This assertion was at first considered to show a lack of respect for Stalin; later it was considered a harmful act and consequently resulted in Postyshev's annihilation and branding without any reason as a "people's enemy".

In the situation which then prevailed I have talked often with

Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin; once when we two were travelling in a car, he said, "It has happened sometimes that a man goes to Stalin on his invitation as a friend. And, when he sits with Stalin, he does not know where he will be sent next – home or to jail."

It is clear that such conditions put every member of the Political Bureau in a very difficult situation. And, when we also consider the fact that in the last years the Central Committee plenary sessions were not convened and that the sessions of the Political Bureau occurred only occasionally, from time to time, then we will understand how difficult it was for any member of the Political Bureau to take a stand against one or another unjust or improper procedure, against serious errors and shortcomings in the practices of leadership.

As we have already shown, many decisions were taken either by one person or in a roundabout way, without collective discussion. The sad fate of Political Bureau member, Comrade Voznesensky, who fell victim to Stalin's repressions, is known to all. It is a characteristic thing that the decision to remove him from the Political Bureau was never discussed but was reached in a devious fashion. In the same way came the decision concerning the removal of Kuznetsov and Rodionov from their posts.

The importance of the Central Committee's Political Bureau was reduced and its work was disorganised by the creation within the Political Bureau of various commissions – the so-called "quintets," "sextets," "septets" and "novenaries." Here is, for instance, a resolution of the Political Bureau of October 3, 1946:

Stalin's Proposal:

1. The Political Bureau Commission for Foreign Affairs ('Sextet') is to concern itself in the future, in addition to foreign affairs, also with matters of internal construction and domestic policy.
2. The Sextet is to add to its roster the Chairman of the State Commission of Economic Planning of the USSR, Comrade Voznesensky, and is to be known as a Septet.

Signed: Secretary of the Central Committee,
J. Stalin.

What a terminology of a card player!

(Laughter in the hall.)

It is clear that the creation within the Political Bureau of this type

of commissions – “quintets,” “sextets,” “septets” and “novenaries” – was against the principle of collective leadership. The result of this was that some members of the Political Bureau were in this way kept away from participation in the decision of reaching the most important state matters.

One of the oldest members of our party, Klimenti Yefremovich Voroshilov, found himself in an almost impossible situation. For several years he was actually deprived of the right of participation in Political Bureau sessions. Stalin forbade him to attend the Political Bureau sessions and to receive documents. When the Political Bureau was in session and Comrade Voroshilov heard about it, he telephoned each time and asked whether he would be allowed to attend. Sometimes Stalin permitted it, but always showed his dissatisfaction.

Because of his extreme suspicion, Stalin toyed also with the absurd and ridiculous suspicion that Voroshilov was an English agent.

(Laughter in the hall.)

It's true – an English agent. A special tapping device was installed in his home to listen to what was said there.

(Indignation in the hall.)

By unilateral decision, Stalin had also separated one other man from the work of the Political Bureau – Andrey Andreyevich Andreyev. This was one of the most unbridled acts of wilfulness.

Let us consider the first Central Committee plenum after the 19th Party Congress when Stalin, in his talk at the plenum, characterised Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov and Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan and suggested that these old workers of our party were guilty of some baseless charges. It is not excluded that, had Stalin remained at the helm for another several months, Comrades Molotov and Mikoyan would probably have not delivered any speeches at this Congress.

Stalin evidently had plans to finish off the old members of the Political Bureau. He often stated that Political Bureau members should be replaced by new ones.

His proposal, after the 19th Congress, concerning the election of 25 persons to the Central Committee Presidium, was aimed at the removal of the old Political Bureau members and the bringing in of less experienced persons so that these would extol him in all sorts of ways.

We can assume that this was also a design for the future annihilation

of the old Political Bureau members and, in this way, a cover for all shameful acts of Stalin, acts which we are now considering.

Comrades! In order not to repeat errors of the past, the Central Committee has declared itself resolutely against the cult of the individual. We consider that Stalin was excessively extolled. However, in the past Stalin doubtlessly performed great services to the party, to the working class and to the international workers' movement.

This question is complicated by the fact that all this which we have just discussed was done during Stalin's life under his leadership and with his concurrence; here Stalin was convinced that this was necessary for the defense of the interests of the working classes against the plotting of enemies and against the attack of the imperialist camp.

He saw this from the position of the interest of the working class, of the interest of the labouring people, of the interest of the victory of socialism and communism. We cannot say that these were the deeds of a giddy despot. He considered that this should be done in the interest of the party, of the working masses, in the name of the defense of the revolution's gains. In this lies the whole tragedy!

Comrades! Lenin had often stressed that modesty is an absolutely integral part of a real Bolshevik. Lenin himself was the living personification of the greatest modesty. We cannot say that we have been following this Leninist example in all respects.

It is enough to point out that many towns, factories and industrial enterprises, *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*, Soviet institutions and cultural institutions have been referred to by us with a title – if I may express it so – of private property of the names of these or those Government or party leaders who were still active and in good health. Many of us participated in the action of assigning our names to various towns, *rayons*, enterprises and *kolkhozes*. We must correct this.

(Applause.)

But this should be done calmly and slowly. The Central Committee will discuss this matter and consider it carefully in order to prevent errors and excesses. I can remember how the Ukraine learned about Kossior's arrest. The Kiev radio used to start its programs thus: "This is Radio (in the name of) Kossior." When one day the programmes began without naming Kossior, everyone was quite certain that something had happened to Kossior, that he probably had been arrested.

Thus, if today we begin to remove the signs everywhere and to change names, people will think that these comrades in whose honour the given enterprises, *kolkhozes* or cities are named also met some bad fate and that they have also been arrested. (*Animation in the hall.*)

How is the authority and the importance of this or that leader judged? On the basis of how many towns, industrial enterprises and factories, *kolkhozes* and *sovkhoses* carry his name. Is it not about time that we eliminate this "private property" and "nationalise" the factories, the industrial enterprises, the *kolkhozes* and the *sovkhoses*?

(*Laughter, applause, voices: "That is right."*)

This will benefit our cause. After all, the cult of the individual is manifested also in this way.

We should, in all seriousness, consider the question of the cult of the individual. We cannot let this matter get out of the party, especially not to the press. It is for this reason that we are considering it here at a closed Congress session. We should know the limits; we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes. I think that the delegates to the Congress will understand and assess properly all these proposals. (*Tumultuous applause.*)

Comrades! We must abolish the cult of the individual decisively, once and for all; we must draw the proper conclusions concerning both ideological-theoretical and practical work. It is necessary for this purpose:

First, in a Bolshevik manner to condemn and to eradicate the cult of the individual as alien to Marxism-Leninism and not consonant with the principles of party leadership and the norms of party life, and to fight inexorably all attempts at bringing back this practice in one form or another.

To return to and actually practise in all our ideological work the most important theses of Marxist-Leninist science about the people as the creator of history and as the creator of all material and spiritual good of humanity, about the decisive role of the Marxist party in the revolutionary fight for the transformation of society, about the victory of communism.

In this connection we will be forced to do much work in order to examine critically from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and to correct the widely spread erroneous views connected with the cult of the

individual in the sphere of history, philosophy, economy and of other sciences, as well as in literature and the fine arts. It is especially necessary that in the immediate future we compile a serious textbook of the history of our party which will be edited in accordance with scientific Marxist objectivism, a textbook of the history of Soviet society, a book pertaining to the events of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War.

Secondly, to continue systematically and consistently the work done by the party's Central Committee during the last years, a work characterised by minute observation in all party organisations, from the bottom to the top, of the Leninist principles of party leadership, characterised, above all, by the main principle of collective leadership, characterised by the observance of the norms of party life described in the statutes of our party, and, finally, characterised by the wide practice of criticism and self-criticism.

Thirdly, to restore completely the Leninist principles of Soviet socialist democracy, expressed in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, to fight the wilfulness of individuals abusing their power. The evil caused by acts violating revolutionary socialist legality which have accumulated during a long time as a result of the negative influence of the cult of the individual has to be completely corrected.

Comrades! The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has manifested with a new strength the unshakeable unity of our party, its cohesiveness around the Central Committee, its resolute will to accomplish the great task of building communism.

(Tumultuous applause.)

And the fact that we present in all their ramifications the basic problems of overcoming the cult of the individual which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, as well as the problem of liquidating its burdensome consequences, is an evidence of the great moral and political strength of our party. *(Prolonged applause.)*

We are absolutely certain that our party, armed with the historical resolutions of the 20th Congress, will lead the Soviet people along the Leninist path to new successes, to new victories.

(Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

Long live the victorious banner of our party – Leninism!

(Tumultuous, prolonged applause ending in ovation. All rise.)

ON THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union summed up the fresh experience gained both in international relations and domestic construction. It took a series of momentous decisions on the steadfast implementation of Lenin's policy in regard to the possibility of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems, on the development of Soviet democracy, on the thorough observance of the Party's principle of collective leadership, on the criticism of shortcomings within the Party, and on the sixth Five-Year Plan for development of the national economy.

The question of combating the cult of the individual occupied an important place in the discussions of the 20th Congress. The Congress very sharply exposed the prevalence of the cult of the individual which, for a long time in Soviet life, had given rise to many errors in work and had led to ill consequences. This courageous self-criticism of its past errors by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated the high level of principle in inner-Party life and the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

In history and in all the capitalist countries of today, no governing political party or bloc in the service of the exploiting classes has ever dared to expose its serious errors conscientiously before the mass of its own members and the people. With the parties of the working class

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things are entirely different. The parties of the working class serve the broad masses of the people; by self-criticism such parties lose nothing except their errors and they gain the support of the broad masses of the people.

For more than a month now, reactionaries throughout the world have been crowing happily over self-criticism by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with regard to this cult of the individual. They say: Fine! The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the first to establish a socialist order, made appalling mistakes, and, what is more, it was Stalin himself, that widely renowned and honoured leader, who made them! The reactionaries think they have got hold of something with which to discredit the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and other countries. But they will get nothing for all their pains. Has any leading Marxist ever written that we could never commit mistakes or that it is absolutely impossible for a given Communist to commit mistakes? Isn't it precisely because we Marxist-Leninists always deny the existence of a "demigod" who never makes big or small mistakes that we Communists use criticism and self-criticism in our inner-Party life? Moreover, how could it be conceivable that a socialist state which was the first in the world to put the dictatorship of the proletariat into practice, which did not have the benefit of any precedent, should make no mistakes of one kind or another?

Lenin said in October 1921:

Let the curs and swine of the moribund bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind it heap imprecations, abuse and derision upon our heads for our reverses and mistakes in the work of building up our Soviet system. We do not forget for a moment that we have committed and are committing numerous mistakes and are suffering numerous reverses. How can reverses and mistakes be avoided in a matter so new in the history of the world as the erection of a state edifice of an unprecedented *type*! We shall struggle unremittingly to set our reverses and mistakes right and to improve our practical application of Soviet principles, which is still very, very far from perfect. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Part 2, Moscow, 1952, p. 597.)

It is also inconceivable that certain mistakes made earlier should forever preclude the possibility of making other mistakes later or of

repeating past mistakes to a greater or lesser degree. Since its division into classes with conflicting interests, human society has passed through several thousand years of dictatorships – of slave-owners, of feudal lords and of the bourgeoisie; but it was not until the victory of the October Revolution that mankind began to see the dictatorship of the proletariat in action. The first three kinds of dictatorship are all dictatorships of the exploiting classes, though the dictatorship of feudal lords was more progressive than that of slave owners, and that of the bourgeoisie more progressive than that of feudal lords. These exploiting classes, which once played a certain progressive role in the history of social development, invariably accumulated experience in their rule through making innumerable mistakes of historic import over long periods of time and through repeating these mistakes again and again. Nevertheless, with the sharpening of the contradiction between the relations of production which they represented and the productive forces of society, they still, inevitably committed mistakes, bigger and more, precipitating a massive revolt of the oppressed classes and disintegration within their own ranks, and thus eventually bringing about their destruction. The dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamentally different in its nature from any of the previous kinds of dictatorship, which were dictatorships by the exploiting classes. It is a dictatorship of the exploited classes, a dictatorship of the majority over the minority, a dictatorship for the purpose of creating a socialist society in which there is no exploitation and poverty, and it is the most progressive and the last dictatorship in the history of mankind. But, since this dictatorship undertakes the greatest and the most difficult tasks and is confronted with a struggle which is the most complicated and tortuous in history, many mistakes, as Lenin has said, are bound to be made in its operation. If some Communists indulge in self-exaltation and self-complacency and develop a rigid way of thinking, they may even repeat their own mistakes or those of others. We Communists must take full account of this. To defeat powerful enemies, the dictatorship of the proletariat requires a high degree of centralisation of power. This highly centralised power must be combined with a high level of democracy. When there is an undue emphasis on centralisation, many mistakes are bound to occur. This is quite understandable. But whatever the mistakes, the dictatorship of the proletariat is, for the popular masses, always far superior to all

dictatorships of the exploiting classes, to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Lenin was right when he said:

If our enemies reproach us and say that Lenin himself admits that the Bolsheviks have done a host of foolish things, I want to reply by saying: yes, but do you know that the foolish things we have done are entirely different from those you have done?

The exploiting classes, out for plunder, have all hoped to perpetuate their dictatorship generation after generation, and have therefore resorted to every possible means to grind down the people. Their mistakes are irremediable. On the other hand, the proletariat, which strives for the material and spiritual emancipation of the people, uses its dictatorship to bring about communism, to bring about harmony and equality among mankind, and lets its dictatorship gradually wither away. That is why it does its utmost to bring into full play the initiative and the positive role of the masses. The fact that, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is possible to bring into play without limit the initiative and the positive role of the masses also makes it possible to correct any mistakes committed during the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Leaders of Communist Parties and socialist states in various fields are duty-bound to do their utmost to reduce mistakes, avoid serious ones, endeavour to learn lessons from isolated, local and temporary mistakes and make every effort to prevent them from developing into mistakes of a nation-wide or prolonged nature. To do this, every leader must be most prudent and modest, keep close to the masses, consult them on all matters, investigate and study the actual situation again and again and constantly engage in criticism and self-criticism appropriate to the situation and well measured. It was precisely because of his failure to do this that Stalin, as the chief leader of the Party and the state, made certain serious mistakes in the later years of his work. He became conceited and imprudent. Subjectivism and one-sidedness developed in his thinking and he made erroneous decisions on certain important questions, which led to serious consequences.

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Lenin, established the first socialist state on one-sixth of the earth. The Soviet Union speedily carried out socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, developed socialist

science and culture, established a solid union of many nationalities in the form of a union of the Soviets, and the formerly backward nationalities in the Soviet Union became socialist nationalities. During the Second World War, the Soviet Union was the main force in defeating fascism and saving European civilisation. It also helped the peoples in the East to defeat Japanese militarism. All these glorious achievements pointed out to all mankind its bright future – socialism and communism, seriously shook the rule of imperialism and made the Soviet Union the first and strong bulwark in the world struggle for lasting peace. The Soviet Union has encouraged and supported all other socialist countries in their construction, and it has been an inspiration to the world socialist movement, the anti-colonialist movement and every other movement for the progress of mankind. These are the great achievements made by the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the history of mankind. The man who showed the Soviet people and Communist Party the way to these great achievements was Lenin. In the struggle to carry out Lenin's principles, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for its vigorous leadership, earned its credit, in which Stalin had an inextinguishable share.

After Lenin's death Stalin, as the chief leader of the Party and the state, creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism. In the struggle to defend the legacy of Leninism and against its enemies – the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other bourgeois agents – Stalin expressed the will and wishes of the people and proved himself to be an outstanding Marxist-Leninist fighter. The reason why Stalin won the support of the Soviet people and played an important role in history was primarily because he, together with the other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, defended Lenin's line on the industrialisation of the Soviet land and the collectivisation of agriculture. By pursuing this line, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brought about the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and created the conditions for the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler; these victories of the Soviet people conformed to the interests of, the working class of the world and all progressive mankind. It was therefore quite natural for the name of Stalin to be greatly honoured throughout the world. But, having won such high honour among the people, both at home and abroad, by his correct application of the Leninist line, Stalin erroneously

exaggerated his own role and counterpoised his individual authority to the collective leadership, and as a result certain of his actions were opposed to certain fundamental Marxist-Leninist concepts which he himself had propagated. On the one hand, he recognised that the masses were the makers of history, that the Party must keep in constant touch with the people and that inner-Party democracy and self-criticism and criticism from below must be developed. On the other hand, he accepted and fostered the cult of the individual, and indulged in arbitrary individual actions. Thus Stalin found himself in a contradiction on this question during the latter part of his life, with a discrepancy between his theory and practice.

Marxist-Leninists hold that leaders play a big role in history. The people and their parties need forerunners who are able to represent the interests and will of the people, stand in the forefront of their historic struggles and serve as their leaders. It is utterly wrong to deny the role of the individual, the role of forerunners and leaders. But when any leader of the Party or the state places himself over and above the Party and the masses instead of in their midst, when he alienates himself from the masses, he ceases to have an all-round, penetrating insight into the affairs of the state. As long as this was the case, even so outstanding a personality as Stalin could not avoid making unrealistic and erroneous decisions on certain important matters. Stalin failed to draw lessons from isolated, local and temporary mistakes on certain issues and so failed to prevent them from becoming serious mistakes of a nation-wide or prolonged nature. During the latter part of his life, Stalin took more and more pleasure in this cult of the individual, and violated the Party's system of democratic centralism and the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility. As a result he made some serious mistakes such as the following: he broadened the scope of the suppression of counter-revolution; he lacked the necessary vigilance on the eve of the anti-fascist war; he failed to pay proper attention to the further development of agriculture and the material welfare of the peasantry; he gave certain wrong advice on the international communist movement, and, in particular, made a wrong decision on the question of Yugoslavia. On these issues, Stalin fell victim to subjectivism and one-sidedness, and divorced himself from objective reality and from the masses.

The cult of the individual is a foul carry-over from the long history of mankind. The cult of the individual is rooted not only in the exploiting classes but also in the small producers. As is well known, patriarchy is a product of small-producer economy. After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even when the exploiting classes are eliminated, when small-producer economy has been replaced by a collective economy and a socialist society has been founded, certain rotten, poisonous ideological survivals of the old society may still remain in people's minds for a very long time. "The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force" (Lenin). The cult of the individual is just one such force of habit of millions and tens of millions. Since this force of habit still exists in society, it can influence many government functionaries, and even such a leader as Stalin was also affected by it. The cult of the individual is a reflection in man's mind of a social phenomenon, and when leaders of the Party and state, such as Stalin, succumb to the influence of this backward ideology, they will in turn influence society, bringing losses to the cause and hampering the initiative and creativeness of the masses of the people.

The socialist productive forces, the economic and political system of socialism and the Party life, as they develop, are increasingly coming into contradiction and conflict with such a state of mind as the cult of the individual. The struggle against the cult of the individual which was launched by the 20th Congress is a great and courageous fight by the Communists and the people of the Soviet Union to clear away the ideological obstacles in the way of their advance.

Such naive ideas seem to suggest that contradictions no longer exist in a socialist society. To deny the existence of contradictions is to deny dialectics. The contradictions in various societies differ in character as do the forms of their solution, but society at all times develops through continual contradictions. Socialist society also develops through contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production. In a socialist or communist society, technical innovations and improvement in the social system inevitably continue to take place; otherwise the development of society would come to a standstill and society could no longer advance. Humanity is still in its youth. The road it has yet to traverse will be, no one knows how many times longer than the road it has already travelled. Contradictions, as between progress

and conservatism, between the advanced and the backward, between the positive and the negative, will constantly occur under varying conditions and different circumstances. Things will keep on like this: one contradiction will lead to another; and when old contradictions are solved new ones will arise. It is obviously incorrect to maintain, as some people do, that the contradiction between idealism and materialism can be eliminated in a socialist or communist society. As long as contradictions exist between the subjective and the objective, between the advanced and the backward, and between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between materialism and idealism will continue in a socialist or communist society, and will manifest itself in various forms. Since man lives in society, he reflects, in different circumstances and to varying degrees, the contradictions existing in each form of society. Therefore, not everybody will be perfect, even when a communist society is established. By then there will still be contradictions among people, and there will still be good people and bad, people whose thinking is relatively correct and others whose thinking is relatively incorrect. Hence there will still be struggle between people, though its nature and form will be different from those in class societies. Viewed in this light, the existence of contradictions between the individual and the collective in a socialist society is nothing strange. And if any leader of the Party or state isolates himself from collective leadership, from the masses of the people and from real life, he will inevitably fall into rigid ways of thinking and consequently make grave mistakes. What we must guard against is that some people, because the Party and the state have achieved many successes in work and won the great trust of the masses, may take advantage of this trust to abuse their authority and so commit some mistakes.

The Chinese Communist Party congratulates the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on its great achievements in this historic struggle against the cult of the individual. The experience of the Chinese revolution, too, testifies that it is only by relying on the wisdom of the masses of the people, on democratic centralism and on the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility that our Party can score great victories and do great things in times of revolution and in times of national construction. The Chinese Communist Party, in its revolutionary ranks, has incessantly fought against elevation of

oneself and against individualist heroism, both of which mean isolation from the masses. Undoubtedly, such things will exist for a long time to come. Even when overcome, they re-emerge. They are found sometimes in one person, sometimes in another. When attention is paid to the role of the individual, the role of the masses and the collective is often ignored. That is why some people easily fall into the mistake of self-conceit or blind faith in themselves or blind worship of others. We must therefore give unremitting attention to opposing elevation of oneself, individualist heroism and the cult of the individual.

To counter subjectivist methods of leadership, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China adopted a resolution in June 1943 on methods of leadership. In discussing now the question of collective leadership in the Party, it is still worthwhile for all members of the Chinese Communist Party and all its leading personnel to refer to this resolution, which declared:

In all practical work of our Party, correct leadership can only be developed on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses." This means summing up (i.e. coordinating and systematising after careful study) the views of the masses (i.e. views scattered and unsystematic), then taking the resulting ideas back to the masses, explaining and popularising them until the masses embrace the ideas as their own, stand up for them and translate them into action by way of testing their correctness. Then it is necessary once more to sum up the views of the masses, and once again take the resulting ideas back to the masses so that the masses give them their whole-hearted support . . . and so on, over and over again, so that each time these ideas emerge with greater correctness and become more vital and meaningful. This is what the Marxist theory of knowledge teaches us.

For a long time, this method of leadership has been described in our Party by the popular term "the mass line." The whole history of our work teaches us that whenever this line is followed, the work is always good, or relatively good, and even if there are mistakes they are easy to rectify; but whenever this line is departed from, the work is always marred by setbacks. This is the Marxist-Leninist method of leadership, the Marxist-Leninist line of work. After the victory of the revolution, when the working class and the Communist Party have become the leading class and party in the state, the leading personnel of the Party

and state, beset by bureaucratism from many sides, face the great danger of using the machinery of state to take arbitrary action, alienating themselves from the masses and collective leadership, resorting to commandism, and violating Party and state democracy. Therefore, if we want to avoid falling into such a quagmire, we must pay fuller attention to the carrying out of the mass line method of leadership, not permitting the slightest negligence. To this end, it is necessary for us to establish certain systems, so as to ensure the thorough implementation of the mass line and collective leadership, to avoid elevation of oneself and individualist heroism, both of which mean divorce from the masses, and to reduce to a minimum subjectivism and one-sidedness in our work which represent a departure from objective reality.

We must also learn from the struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the cult of the individual and continue our fight against doctrinairism.

The working class and the masses of the people, guided by Marxism-Leninism, won the revolution and took state power into their hands, while the victory of the revolution and the establishment of the revolutionary regime opened up boundless vistas for the development of Marxism-Leninism. Yet because Marxism, since the victory of the revolution, has been generally recognised as the guiding ideology in the whole country, it often happens that not a few of our propagandists rely only on administrative power and the prestige of the Party to instil into the minds of the masses Marxism-Leninism in the form of dogma, instead of working hard, marshalling a wealth of data, employing Marxist-Leninist methods of analysis and using the people's own language to explain convincingly the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual situation in China. We have, over the years, made some advances in research in philosophy, economics, history and literary criticism, but, on the whole, many unhealthy elements still exist. Not a few of our research workers still retain their doctrinaire habit, put their minds in a noose, lack the ability to think independently, lack the creative spirit, and in certain respects are influenced by the cult of Stalin. In this connection it must be pointed out that Stalin's works should, as before, still be seriously studied and that we should accept, as an important historical legacy, all that is of value in them,

especially those many works in which he defended Leninism and correctly summarized the experience of building up the Soviet Union. Not to do so would be a mistake. But there are two ways of studying them – the Marxist way and the doctrinaire way. Some people treat Stalin's writings in a doctrinaire manner, with the result that they cannot analyse and see what is correct and what is not correct – and even what is correct they treat as a panacea and apply indiscriminately; inevitably they make mistakes. For instance, Stalin put forward a formula that in different revolutionary periods, the main blow should be so directed as to isolate the middle-of-the-road social and political forces of the time. This formula of Stalin's should be treated according to circumstances and from a critical, Marxist point of view. In certain circumstances it may be correct to isolate the middle forces, but it is not correct to isolate them under all circumstances. Our experience teaches us that the main blow of the revolution should be directed at the chief enemy to isolate him, while as for the middle forces, a policy of both uniting with them and struggling against them should be adopted, so that they are at least neutralised; and, as circumstances permit, efforts should be made to shift them from their position of neutrality to one of alliance with us, for the purpose of facilitating the development of the revolution. But there was a time – the ten years of civil war from 1927 to 1936 – when some of our comrades crudely applied this formula of Stalin's to China's revolution by turning their main attack on the middle forces, singling them out as the most dangerous enemy; the result was that, instead of isolating the real enemy, we isolated ourselves, and suffered losses to the advantage of the real enemy. In the light of this doctrinaire error, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, during the period of the anti-Japanese war, formulated a policy of “developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle-of-the-roaders, and isolating the die-hards” for the purpose of defeating the Japanese aggressors. The progressive forces in question consisted of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals led by, or open to the influence of, the Communist Party. The middle forces in question consisted of the national bourgeoisie, the democratic parties and groups, and democrats without party affiliation. The die-hards referred to were the comprador-feudal forces headed by Chiang Kai-shek, who were passive in resisting the Japanese and active in fighting the Communists. Experience, gained

through practice, proved that this policy of the Communist Party suited the circumstances of China's revolution and was correct.

The invariable fact is: doctrinairism is appreciated only by the mentally lazy; it brings nothing but harm to the revolution, to the people, and to Marxism-Leninism. To enhance the initiative of the masses, to stimulate their dynamic creative spirit, and to promote rapid development of practical and theoretical work, it is still necessary, right now, to destroy blind faith in dogma.

The dictatorship of the proletariat (in China it is a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class) has won great victories in countries inhabited by nine hundred million people. Each of them, whether it is the Soviet Union, or China or any other People's Democracy, has its own experience of success as well as its own experience of mistakes. We must keep on summing up such experience. We must be alive to the possibility that we may still commit mistakes in the future, The important lesson to learn is that the leading organs of our Party should limit errors to those of an isolated, local, temporary nature, and permit no isolated, local, initial mistakes to develop into mistakes of a nation-wide or prolonged nature.

The history of the Communist Party of China records the making of serious mistakes on several occasions. In the revolutionary period from 1924 to 1927, there appeared in our Party the wrong line represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, a line of Right opportunism. Then, during the revolutionary period from 1927 to 1936, the erroneous line of "Left" opportunism appeared in our Party on three occasions. The lines pursued by Li Li-san in 1930 and by Wang Ming in 1931-1934 were particularly serious, while the Wang Ming line was the most damaging to the revolution. In this same period the erroneous, anti-Party Chang Kuo-tao line of Right opportunism in opposition to the Party's Central Committee, appeared in a key revolutionary base, doing serious damage to a vital section of the revolutionary forces. The errors committed in these two periods were nation-wide, except for that caused by Chang Kuo-tao's line which was confined to one important revolutionary base. Once again there emerged in our Party during the war of resistance to Japanese aggression a wrong line, represented by Comrade Wang Ming, which was of Right opportunist nature. However, since our Party had drawn lessons from what happened during the previous two periods of

the revolution, this wrong line was not allowed to develop, but was corrected by the Central Committee of our Party in a comparatively short time. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, there appeared in our Party in 1953 the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. This anti-Party bloc represented the forces of reaction at home and abroad, and its aim was to undermine the revolution. Had the Central Committee not discovered it quickly and smashed it in time, incalculable damage would have been done to the Party and to the revolution.

From this it will be seen that the historical experience of our Party testifies that our Party too has been tempered through struggles against various wrong lines of policy, thus winning great victories in the revolution and in construction. As to local and isolated mistakes, they often occurred in our work, and it was only by relying on the collective wisdom of the Party and the wisdom of the masses of the people, and by exposing and correcting these mistakes in time, that they were nipped in the bud before they became mistakes of a nation-wide or prolonged nature, doing harm to the people.

Communists must adopt an analytical attitude to errors made in the communist movement. Some people consider that Stalin was wrong in everything; this is a grave misconception. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, yet at the same time a Marxist-Leninist who committed several gross errors without realising that they were errors. We should view Stalin from an historical standpoint, make a proper and all-round analysis to see where he was right and where he was wrong, and draw useful lessons therefrom. Both the things he did right and the things he did wrong were phenomena of the international communist movement and bore the imprint of the times. Taken as a whole, the international communist movement is only a little over a hundred years old and it is only 39 years since the victory of the October Revolution; experience in many fields of revolutionary work is still inadequate. Great achievements have been made, but there are still shortcomings and mistakes. Just as one achievement is followed by another, so one defect or mistake, once overcome, may be followed by another which in turn must be overcome. However, the achievements always exceed the defects, the things which are right always outnumber those which are wrong, and the defects and mistakes are always overcome in the end.

The mark of a good leader is not so much that he makes no

mistakes, but that he takes his mistakes seriously. There has never been a man in the world completely free from mistakes. Lenin said:

Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it – that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the *class*, and then the *masses*.

True to the behest of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is dealing in a serious way both with certain mistakes of a grave nature committed by Stalin in directing the work of building socialism and with the surviving effects of such mistakes. Because of the seriousness of the effects, it is necessary for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while affirming the great contributions of Stalin, to sharply expose the essence of his mistakes, to call upon the whole Party to take them as a warning, and to work resolutely to remove their ill consequences.

We Chinese Communists are firmly convinced that as a result of the sharp criticisms made at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all those positive factors which were seriously suppressed in the past as a result of certain mistaken policies will inevitably spring everywhere into life, and the Party and the people of the Soviet Union will become still more firmly united in the struggle to build a great communist society, such as mankind has never yet seen, and win a lasting world peace.

Reactionary forces the world over are pouring ridicule on this event; they jeer at the fact that we are overcoming mistakes in our camp. But what will come of all this ridicule? There is not the slightest doubt that these scoffers will find themselves facing a still more powerful, forever invincible, great camp of peace and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, while the murderous, blood-sucking enterprises of these scoffers will be in a pretty fix.

ON OVERCOMING THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

June 30, 1956.

The Central Committee of the CPSU is satisfied to note that the decisions of the historic 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have been welcomed entirely and supported wholeheartedly by our Party as a whole, by the entire Soviet people, by the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, by the working people of the great community of socialist nations, and by millions of people in capitalist and colonial countries. And this is understandable for the 20th Party Congress, marking as it did a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, gave a thorough analysis of the present situation both at home and in the world, equipped the Communist Party and the Soviet people as a whole with a magnificent plan for building communism, and opened up new prospects for united action of all working class parties in averting the danger of war, and on behalf of the interests of labour.

The Soviet people, carrying through the decisions of the 20th Congress, are gaining more and more outstanding achievements in every aspect of the country's political, economic and cultural life under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Soviet people have rallied still more closely behind the Communist Party and are manifesting a wealth of constructive initiative in their efforts to accomplish the tasks laid before them by the 20th Congress.

The period which has elapsed since the Congress has

Source : On Overcoming the Cult of the Individual and its Consequences, Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU, June 30, 1956. Representative of Tass in India, New Delhi, Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

demonstrated also the great vital importance of its decisions for the international communist and labour movement, for the struggle of all progressive forces to strengthen world peace. The important theoretical theses the Congress laid down on the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars in modern times, on the multiplicity of forms of transition of countries to socialism are having a favourable effect on the international situation, promoting the relaxation of tension, and greater unity of action of all the forces working for peace and democracy, and helping to strengthen the positions of the world socialist system.

While the Soviet people and the working people of the People's Democracies and of the world as a whole have met the historic decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress with great enthusiasm and with a new upsurge of constructive initiative and revolutionary energy, they have caused alarm and irritation in the camp of the enemies of the working class. The reactionary circles of the United States and of some other capitalist powers obviously feel uneasy over the great programme to strengthen peace which the 20th CPSU Congress has charted. Their uneasiness increases as this programme is being put into operation vigorously and consistently.

Why are the enemies of communism and socialism making most of their attacks on the shortcomings about which the Central Committee of our Party told the 20th CPSU Congress? They are doing this to divert the attention of the working class and its parties from the main issues which were raised at the 20th Party Congress and which were meant to clear the way to further successes for the cause of peace, socialism and working class unity.

The decisions of the 20th Party Congress and the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Government have caused disarray in the imperialistic quarters of the United States and some other countries.

The bold and consistent foreign policy of the USSR directed towards ensuring peace and cooperation between nations, whatever their social system, is winning support from the great masses of the people in all countries of the world, extending the front of peace-loving nations and causing a deep crisis of the policy of "cold war", of the policy of building up military blocs and carrying on the arms race. It is no accident that it is the imperialist elements in the United States that have been

making the greatest fuss over the efforts announced in the USSR to combat the cult of the individual. The existence of negative factors arising from the individuality cult was suitable to them as they could use these facts to fight socialism. Now that our Party is boldly overcoming the consequences of the cult of the individual, the imperialists see in it a factor making for our country's faster advance towards communism and weakening the positions of capitalism.

The ideologists of capitalism, bent as they are on undermining the great power of attraction of the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress and their influence on the great masses of the people, are resorting to all manner of tricks and ruses to distract the attention of the working people from the progressive and inspiring ideas the socialist world puts forward before humanity.

The bourgeois Press has launched a large scale campaign of anti-Soviet slander lately, for which the reactionary circles are trying to use some of the facts connected with the cult of the person of J.V. Stalin denounced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The masterminds of this campaign are straining every nerve to cloud the issue and to bypass the fact that what is meant is a stage that the Soviet Union has lived through; they are out to suppress and misrepresent the fact that in the years which passed since the death of Stalin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have been acting with exceptional perseverance and resolution to remove the after-effects of the cult of the individual, and have been making steady progress in solving new problems for the sake of strengthening peace, building communism, in the interest of the people at large.

Bourgeois ideologists, in launching their campaign of slander, are trying to cast a slur once again and to no avail on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to shake the trust the working people have in the world's first socialist country – the USSR –, and to throw the ranks of the international communist and labour movement into confusion.

Historical experience shows that the opponents of international proletarian unity have in the past attempted more than once to take advantage of what they believed to be opportune moments, for undermining the international unity of communist and workers parties, for dividing the international labour movement, for weakening the forces of the socialist camp. But each time communist and workers parties

have discerned the intrigues of the foes of socialism, they have rallied their ranks still more closely, demonstrating their unshakeable political unity, and their unshatterable loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The brother communist and workers' parties have detected this manoeuvre of the enemies of socialism in good time, too, and are giving it a fitting rebuff. It would be incorrect, on the other hand, to shut one's eyes to the fact that some of our friends abroad are still not quite clear on the cult of the individual and its consequences and are sometimes giving incorrect interpretations to some of the points connected with the cult of the individual.

The Party bases its criticism of the cult of the individual on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For over three years our Party has been waging a consistent fight against the cult of the person of J.V. Stalin, and persistently overcoming its harmful consequences. It is only natural that this question should have held an important place in the work of the 20th CPSU Congress and its decisions. The Congress recognised that the Central Committee had taken perfectly correct and timely action against the cult of the individual which, as long as it was widespread, belittled the role of the Party and the masses, whittled down the role of collective leadership in the Party and often led to serious neglects in its work, and to crass violations of socialist law. The Congress instructed the Central Committee to carry out consistently the measures for removing wholly and entirely the cult of the individual foreign to Marxism-Leninism, for removing its after effects in every aspect of Party, governmental and ideological activity, and for strict observance of the standards of Party life and of the principles of collective party leadership elaborated by the great Lenin.

In combating the cult of the individual the Party guides itself by the well-known theses of Marxism-Leninism on the role of the masses, of parties and individuals in history, and on the impermissibility of building up a cult of the person of a political leader, however great his merits may be. Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, emphasising his revulsion for "any cult of the individual" declared that he and Friedrich Engels joined the association of communists "on condition that everything making for superstitious worshipping of authorities would be thrown out of it." (Marx and Engels, *Works*, Vol. 26, First Russ. Ed., pp. 487-488.)

In building up our Communist Party V.I. Lenin was irreconcilable in fighting the anti-Marxian conception of the "hero" and the "mob", emphatically denouncing the counterposing of individual heroes to the masses of the people. "The intellect of scores of millions," said V.I. Lenin, "creates something immeasurably higher than a forecast of the greatest genius." (*Works*, Vol. 26, p. 431.)

In raising the question of combating the cult of the person of J.V. Stalin, the Central Committee of the CPSU acted on the assumption that the cult of the individual contradicted the essence of the socialist system and was a brake on the progress of Soviet democracy and on the advance of Soviet society towards communism.

The twentieth Congress of the Party, on the Central Committee's initiative, found it necessary to speak openly and boldly about the grave consequences of the cult of the individual, of the serious mistakes made in the last period of Stalin's life, and to appeal to the Party as a whole to put an end through combined efforts to everything that the cult of the individual had brought in its train. In doing so the Central Committee realised that the frank admission of the errors made would cause certain damage which the enemies could use. The bold and ruthless self-criticism in matters connected with the cult of the individual has been fresh ample evidence of the strength and vitality of our Party and of the Soviet socialist system. It can be said with confidence that none of the ruling parties in capitalist countries would ever have ventured to do anything like this. Quite the reverse, they would have tried to pass over in silence the facts as unpleasant as these and to hide them from the people. But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reared as it is on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, has spoken the whole truth, however bitter it may have been. The party took this step entirely on its own initiative, guiding itself by considerations of principle. It believed that even if its action against the Stalin cult caused some momentary difficulties, it would have an enormous positive result in the long run from the point of view of the basic interests and the ultimate goals of the working class. Sure guarantees are thereby created against things like the cult of the individual reappearing in our Party or in our country ever again, and also for the leadership of the Party and the State being effected collectively, through enforcing the Marxist-Leninist policy, in conditions of full-scale Party democracy, with the full

constructive participation of millions of working people and with the utmost development of Soviet democracy.

By taking a determined stand against the cult of the individual and its consequences, and by openly criticising the errors it caused, the Party has once more demonstrated its loyalty to the imperishable principles of Marxism-Leninism, its loyalty to the interests of the people, its concern in providing the best possible conditions for the development of Party and Soviet democracy in the interests of the successful building of communism in our country.

The Central Committee of the CPSU places it on record that the debates on the cult of the individual and its consequences by Party organisations and general meetings of working people have been marked by a great measure of activity manifested both by the Party membership and by non-Party people, and that the CPSU Central Committee's line has been welcomed and supported wholly and entirely both by the Party and by the people.

The facts of the violations of socialist law and other errors, connected with the cult of the person of J.V. Stalin, which the Party has made public, naturally, cause a feeling of bitterness and deep regret. But the Soviet people realise that the condemnation of the cult of the individual was indispensable for the building of communism in which they take an active part. The Soviet people see that the Party has been taking persistent practical steps for the past few years to remove the after-effects of the cult of the individual in every field of Party, governmental, economic and cultural development. Thanks to this effort, the Party, whose internal forces are no longer bound by anything, has drawn still closer to the people and has developed its creative activity more than ever before.

II

How, indeed, could it happen that the cult of the person of Stalin with all the attending adverse consequences could have appeared and gained currency in conditions of the Soviet socialist system?

This question should be examined against the background of objective concrete historical conditions under which socialism was built in the USSR, and of some subjective factors arising from Stalin's personal qualities.

The October Socialist Revolution has gone down into the annals of history as a classical example of a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society under the guidance of the working class. The example of the heroic struggle of the Bolshevik Party, of the world's first socialist state, the USSR, is something from which the Communist parties of other lands, indeed all progressive and democratic forces, are learning how to solve the fundamental social problems generated by modern social development. The working people of this country have accumulated a wealth of experience, throughout the nearly forty years of building socialist society, which is being studied and assimilated by the working people of other socialist countries creatively and in keeping with their specific conditions.

That was the first experience history has ever known of building a socialist society which was taking shape in the process of quests and practical checkup of many truths which were known to socialists until then only in broad outline, theoretically. For over a quarter of a century the Soviet Union was the only country blazing for mankind the path to socialism. It was like a besieged fortress in capitalist encirclement. The enemies of the Soviet Union both in the West and in the East continued plotting new "crusades" against the USSR after the failure of the fourteen-power intervention of 1918 – 1920. The enemies sent large numbers of spies and wreckers into the USSR, trying by every means at their disposal to undermine the world's first socialist state. The threat of renewed imperialist aggression against the USSR increased particularly after the advent of fascism to power in Germany in 1933 which proclaimed destruction of communism, destruction of the Soviet Union, the world's first state of working people, to be their aim. Everyone remembers the establishment of what was called the "anti-Comintern Pact" and the "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis" which were actively supported by the forces of international reaction as a whole. With the danger of a new war growing more imminent, and with the Western Powers rejecting the measures the Soviet Union proposed more than once to straitjacket fascism and organise collective security, the Soviet Union had to bend every effort for strengthening its defences and countering the intrigues of the hostile capitalist encirclement. The Party had to teach the people to be always vigilant and prepared to face enemies from without.

The intrigues of international reaction were all the more dangerous since there was a bitter class struggle going on within the country for a long time to see “who beats whom?” After Lenin’s death hostile trends began gaining currency in the Party – Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists whose stand was one of opposition to Lenin’s theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, which would in fact have led to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. The Party launched a ruthless struggle against those enemies of Leninism.

In carrying out Lenin’s behests, the Communist Party steered the country towards socialist industrialisation, collectivising agriculture and making a cultural revolution. The Soviet people and the Communist Party have had to overcome unimaginable difficulties and obstacles in solving these supreme problems of building a socialist society in a single country. Our country had to overcome its age-long backwardness and reshape the whole of its country along new, socialist lines, within the historically shortest period of time, and without any economic assistance whatever from outside.

This complicated international and internal situation called for iron discipline, tireless enhancement of vigilance, strictest centralisation of leadership, which could not but have affected adversely the development of some democratic forms. In the bitter struggle against the whole world of imperialism our country had to accept some limitations to democracy which were justified logically by our people’s struggle for socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. But even at that time the Party and the people regarded these limitations as temporary and due to be removed as the strength of the Soviet State grew and the forces of democracy and peace developed throughout the world. The people made these temporary sacrifices conscientiously, witnessing the day-to-day successes of the Soviet social system.

All these difficulties on the way to socialism have been overcome by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee which consistently pursued Lenin’s general line.

The victory of socialism in this country, faced as it was with hostile encirclement and the ever-present threat of attack from without, was a historic exploit of the Soviet people. Through carrying out its first five-year plans, the economically backward country made a giant

leap ahead in its economic and cultural development thanks to the strenuous and heroic efforts of the people and the Party. With the progress achieved in socialist construction the living standards of the working people were raised and unemployment abolished once and for all. A deep-going cultural revolution took place. Within a short space of time the Soviet people produced great numbers of technicians who rose to the level of world technological progress and brought Soviet science and technology to one of the leading places in the world. It is the great Party of Communists that was the inspiring and organising force behind these victories. By the example of the USSR the working people of the whole world have seen for themselves that workers and peasants, once they have taken power into their own hands, can build and develop successfully, without any capitalists and landowners, their own socialist state representing and defending the interests of the people at large. All this has played a great inspiring role in increasing the influence of the communist and workers' parties in all the countries of the world.

J.V. Stalin, who held the post of General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee for a long period of time, worked actively in common with other leading officials of the Party to carry Lenin's behests into life. He was faithful to Marxism-Leninism, and led, as a theorist and an organiser of large calibre, the Party's fight against the Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists, bourgeois nationalists, against the intrigues by capitalists from without. In this political and ideological fight Stalin earned great authority and popularity. But there appeared a mistaken practice of associating all our great victories with his name. The achievements gained by the Communist Party and by the Soviet Union, and eulogies of Stalin, made him dizzy. That being the situation, the cult of the person of Stalin was being gradually built up.

Some of J.V. Stalin's qualities as an individual, which were regarded as negative yet by V.I. Lenin, contributed in great measure to building up the cult of the individual. Towards the end of 1922 Lenin said in a letter to the coming Party Congress: "Comrade Stalin, after taking over the position of General Secretary, accumulated in his hands immeasurable power, and I am not certain whether he will be always able to use this power with the required care." In an addition to this letter written early in January, 1923, V.I. Lenin reverted to some of Stalin's individual qualities intolerable in a leader. "Stalin is excessively

rude," Lenin wrote, "and this defect, which can be freely tolerated in our midst and in contacts among us, communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in one holding the position of the General Secretary. I, therefore, propose to the comrades to consider the method by which to remove Stalin from this position and to select another man for it who, above all, would differ from Stalin in only one quality, namely, greater tolerance, greater loyalty, greater kindness and more considerate attitude towards the comrades, a less capricious temper, etc."

These letters of Lenin were brought to the knowledge of the delegations to the 13th Party Congress which met soon after Lenin died. After discussing these documents it was recognised expedient to leave Stalin in the position of the General Secretary on the understanding, however, that he would heed the critical remarks of V.I. Lenin and draw all the proper conclusions from them.

Having retained the post of the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Stalin did reckon with the critical remarks of Vladimir Ilyich for the period immediately following his death. Later on, however, Stalin, having overestimated his own merits beyond all measure, came to believe in his own infallibility. He began transposing some of the limitations of Party and Soviet democracy, unavoidable in conditions of a bitter struggle against the class enemy and its agents, and subsequently during the war against the Nazi invaders, into the standards of Party and governmental life, riding roughshod over the Leninist principles of leadership.

Central Committee plenary sessions and Party Congresses were held irregularly, and later not at all for years on end. Stalin found himself virtually beyond criticism.

Stalin's erroneous view that the class struggle would be growing sharper and sharper as the Soviet Union forged ahead towards socialism, did a lot of harm to the cause of socialist construction and to the development of democracy in the Party and in the State. This view, which held good only for a certain stage of the transitional period when the question of "who beats whom" was being decided, and when there was a stubborn class struggle for building the foundations of socialism, was put into the foreground in 1937, that is at the time when socialism had already won in our country, and when the exploiting classes had been removed and their economic basis destroyed. In practical

experience this fallacious theory served as an excuse for the most flagrant violations of socialist law and mass repressions.

It was under those conditions that a particular situation arose, incidentally, for the state security organs which had enormous trust reposed in them since they had unchallengeable credit in the eyes of the people and the country for defending the gains of the revolution. For a long time the state security organs justified this trust, and their special position did not present any danger. Things took a different turn after control over them by the Party and the government had been gradually superseded by Stalin's personal control, and the customary discharge of justice began to be replaced more often than not by decisions of his own. The situation became even more complicated when the criminal gang of Beria, the agent of international imperialism, put themselves at the head of the state security organs. Grave violations of Soviet law were committed and mass repressions were allowed to take place. A great many honest communists and other Soviet people outside the Party were traduced and suffered innocently owing to the intrigues of the enemies.

The 20th Congress of the Party and the Central Committee's policy as a whole after Stalin's death provide ample evidence that the Party's Central Committee had a solidly-built Leninist core of leaders inside who properly understood the urgent requirements in the conduct of home as well as foreign affairs. It cannot be said that there was no opposition to negative development which arose from the cult of the individual and held up the advance of socialism. Moreover, there were certain periods, at the time of war, for instance, when Stalin's one-man actions were drastically restricted, when the adverse effects of lawlessness, arbitrary rule, etc., were lessened considerably.

It is a matter of record that it was at the time of war that the members of the Central Committee, as well as the outstanding Soviet Army leaders, took matters into their own hands in certain fields of activity both in the rear and at the front, took decisions on their own and, ensured the Soviet peoples war victories by their organisational, political, economic and military activities in conjunction with local party and governmental organisations. After the victory was won the negative consequences of the cult of the individual began to manifest themselves very strongly again.

Right after Stalin's death the Leninist core of the Central Committee took up a stand of determined fight against the cult of the individual and its grave consequences.

The question may arise as to why did these men not act openly against Stalin and why did they not remove him from leadership? In the conditions which prevailed that could not have been done. Undoubtedly, the facts indicate that Stalin was to blame for many acts of lawlessness committed especially in the last period of his life. But one should not forget, however, that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a man who was always up in arms in defence of the USSR against the intrigues of the enemies and for the cause of socialism. In that struggle he used unworthy methods sometimes, violated Leninist principles and Party standards. That was Stalin's tragedy. But all that handicapped at the same time the struggle against the acts of lawlessness committed at that time, because the successes won in building socialism and strengthening the USSR were ascribed to Stalin as long as the cult of the individual prevailed.

Any action against him under those conditions would not have been understood by the people and the crux of the matter was by no means the lack of individual courage. It is clear that no one who might have come out against Stalin in those circumstances would have won support of the people. Moreover, an action like that would have been taken in those circumstances as one of opposition to the building of socialism, as one of undermining the unity of the Party and the nation, and therefore exceedingly dangerous in conditions of capitalist encirclement. To this should be added that the achievements, which the working people of the Soviet Union were gaining under the leadership of their Communist Party, made every Soviet man and woman legitimately proud and brought about a situation where individual mistakes and shortcomings seemed less significant when viewed against the background of enormous successes, and the negative effects of these mistakes were rapidly made up for by the swiftly growing vital strength of the Party and Soviet society.

Another circumstance to bear in mind is that many facts and Stalin's wrong actions, above all in violating Soviet law, remained unknown until quite recently, that is until after Stalin's death, and were revealed mostly when the Beria gang was exposed and Party control over State security organs established.

These are the principal conditions and causes which led to the appearance and spreading of the cult of Stalin. Naturally, all the foregoing explains, but by no means justifies the cult of Stalin and its consequences, which have been denounced by our Party so sharply and rightly.

III

It is beyond doubt that the cult of the individual did grave damage to the cause of the Communist Party, to Soviet society. But it would be a gross mistake to conclude from the existence of the cult of the individual in the past that there have been some sort of changes in the social system in the USSR or to look into the nature of the Soviet social system for the source of this cult. Either approach is utterly wrong, as it does not correspond to the realities and contradicts the facts.

Despite the harm which the cult of the person of Stalin did to the Party and the people, it could not have changed, nor did it change, the essence of our social system. No cult of the individual could have altered the essence of the socialist state, based as it is on social ownership of the means of production, on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and on friendship of the peoples, although this cult did hamper in great measure the development of socialist democracy and the expansion of the constructive initiative of the millions.

To believe that an individual, even one of so large a calibre as Stalin was, could have changed our social and political system, is to get completely at variance with the facts, with Marxism, with the truth, to slide into idealism. It would mean ascribing to an individual such enormous, supernatural abilities, as the ability to change a social system, and especially the one in which the working millions are the decisive force.

It is known that the essence of a social and political system is determined by the mode of production, by those who own means of production, and the class who holds political power in its hands. The whole world knows that a socialist mode of production was established in our country as a result of the October Revolution and the victory of socialism, and that power has been in the hands of the working class and the peasantry for nearly forty years now. It is thanks to this that the Soviet social system is growing stronger and stronger from year to year

and its productive forces are expanding. Not even our ill-wishers can fail to recognise this fact.

The consequences of the cult of the individual are known to have been some grave mistakes in the guidance of individual branches of Party and Government activity both in the conduct of home and foreign affairs. Mention can be made, for instance, of the serious mistakes of Stalin in directing agriculture, organising the country's preparations for repulsing the Nazi invaders, of the rude arbitrary action which resulted in the conflict in our relations with Yugoslavia in the postwar period. These mistakes were detrimental to the development of the Soviet State in some aspects, and held up, particularly in the last years of J.V.Stalin's life, the development of Soviet society but have not, quite naturally, led it astray from the right road to Communism.

Our enemies contend that the cult of Stalin was brought into being not by certain historical conditions which have gone never to return, but by the Soviet system as such, with its lack of democracy, as they see it, etc. Such slanderous assertions are refuted by the whole history of the Soviet State. The Soviets, as a new democratic form of government, arose as a result of the revolutionary activity of the great masses of the people who rose to fight for freedom. They have been and are the true organs of people's government. It is the Soviet system which has created opportunities for the people to develop their enormous creative energies. It has set in motion the inexhaustible forces latent in the masses, and has drawn millions of people into the conscientious job of running the country into active and constructive participation in building socialism. Within a historically short period of time the Soviet State has come through the hardest ordeals with flying colours, has stood the test in the crucible of the Second World War.

When the remaining exploiting classes had been abolished in our country, when socialism had become the predominant system throughout the national economy, and when the country's international position had radically changed, the scope of Soviet democracy expanded immeasurably and continues to expand. Unlike any bourgeois democracy, Soviet democracy does not merely proclaim, but provides material requisites for all members of society without exception to exercise the right to work, education and leisure, to participate in government affairs, to enjoy freedom of speech, the Press, freedom of

conscience, and the practical possibility of freely developing individual abilities and all other democratic rights and freedoms. The essence of democracy is not defined by formal signs, it is defined by whether political power serves and represents in actual practice the will and basic interests of the majority of the people, the interests of the working people. All the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Government shows that our system is a truly democratic, a truly people's system. The supreme purpose and daily concern of the Soviet government is to ensure the utmost advancement of the living standards of the population and peaceful life for its people.

The measures the Party and the Government are carrying through to extend the rights and the scope of competence of the constituent republics, to ensure the strict observance of law, to alter the system of planning with a view to encouraging initiative on the spot, greater activity of local Soviets, increased criticism and self-criticism are indications of the further development of Soviet democracy.

In spite of and contrary to the cult of the individual, the mighty initiative of the popular masses, led by the Communist Party, which was brought into being by our system, has been doing its great work of historical importance by overcoming all obstacles lying in the way to building socialism. Therein the democracy of the Soviet Socialist system finds its supreme expression. The outstanding victories of socialism in this country have not come of their own accord. They have been won thanks to the enormous organisational and educational work of the Party and of its local organisations, owing to the fact that the Party has always taught its leading core and the membership as a whole to be true to Marxism-Leninism and loyal to the cause of communism. The Soviet society is strong by virtue of the political consciousness of the masses. Its historical destinies have been and are being shaped by the constructive efforts of our heroic working class, of our glorious collective farmers and our intellectuals who had come from the people.

In doing away with the after-effects of the cult of the individual, in restoring the Bolshevik standards of party life and expanding socialist democracy, our Party has succeeded in cementing its bonds with the masses and in rallying them still closer around the great banner of Leninism.

The fact that the Party has itself raised boldly and openly the

question of eliminating the cult of the individual, and of the impermissible mistakes made by Stalin, is convincing proof that the Party stands firm as the guardian of Leninism, of the cause of socialism and communism, of socialist law, and the interests of the people, and of the rights of Soviet citizens. This is the best proof of the strength and vitality of the Soviet socialist system. It is likewise an indication of the determination to overcome the consequences of the cult of the individual to the full and to prevent mistakes like this from being repeated ever again.

The condemnation of the cult of Stalin and its consequences by our Party has been welcomed by, and brought much comment from, all the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. While noting the tremendous significance of the 20th CPSU Congress for the entire international communist and labour movements, the communists of foreign lands are regarding the fight against the cult of the individual and its consequences as a struggle for the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the creative approach to the present-day problems of the international labour movement, for the reaffirmation and enrichment of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

A number of brother communist parties have made statements welcoming and supporting the measures our Party has been carrying out against the cult of the individual and its consequences. "Jenminjihpao" the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, setting out the conclusions made at the Political Bureau of the Party after discussing the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress, wrote in an editorial, "On historical experience of proletarian dictatorship": "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, true to Lenin's behests, treats seriously certain grave mistakes made by Stalin in his work of directing socialist construction, and the consequences these entailed. The gravity of these consequences has brought the Communist Party of the Soviet Union face to face with the necessity of revealing with utmost sharpness the essence of the mistakes made by Stalin, while recognising his great services, and of cautioning the Party as a whole against repeating these mistakes, and calling upon it to remove the harmful consequences they have caused. We, the Communists of China, firmly believe that, after the sharp criticism at the 20th CPSU Congress, all those active factors which were firmly contained because of certain

political mistakes in the past, will certainly come into operation everywhere, and that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will be more united and monolithic than ever before in their effort to build the great Communist Society without precedent in human history, and to ensure a durable peace throughout the world.”

“It goes to the credit of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union”, says the statement of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, “that they have set about rectifying the mistakes and shortcomings, arising from the cult of the individual, which attests to the strength and unity of the great Party of Lenin, to the confidence, the Soviet people repose in it, as well as to its prestige in the international labour movement.”

Comrade Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the National Committee, the Communist Party of the United States, pointing to the tremendous significance of the 20th CPSU Congress, said in a recent article that “the 20th Congress strengthened world peace and social progress. It marked a new stage in the advancement of socialism and in the struggle for peaceful co-existence that began in Lenin’s days and continued in the following years and is becoming evermore effective and successful.”

Another point that has to be made is that interpretations given in considering the cult of the individual to the causes behind it and to its consequences for our social system have not always been correct. Comrade Togliatti, for instance, in a comprehensive and interesting interview with the “Nuovi Argomenti” magazine, made wrong points along with many most important and right conclusions. One cannot agree, for instance, with the question Comrade Togliatti has raised of whether Soviet society has come “to some sort of reformation?” There is no ground for raising a question like this. Still less is this understandable since in another passage of his interview Comrade Togliatti says quite correctly: “The conclusion must be made that the essence of the socialist system has not been shed, because none of the previous achievements and, above all, the support of the system by the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals making up the Soviet society, have been lost. This support proves of itself that, whatever may have happened, this community has retained its fundamental democratic character.”

Indeed, our country would have been unable to build up a powerful socialist industry and to carry through the collectivisation of agriculture within an incredibly short space of time, nor could she have won victory in the Second World War, on whose outcome depended the future of all mankind, had it not been for the support of Soviet rule and of the Communist Party's policy by the people at large. As a result of the complete rout of Nazism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, the strength of the Communist movement developed increasingly, the Communist parties of Italy, France and of other capitalist countries grew to become mass organisations, a system of people's democracy has been established in a number of European and Asian countries, the world system of socialism has come into being and entrenched itself, and the national liberation movement made unprecedented headway leading to the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism.

IV

The Communists and all the Soviet people, unanimously welcoming as they do the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress denouncing the cult of the individual, regard these decisions as an indication of the increased strength of our Party, of its Leninist principledness, its unity and cohesion. "The Party of the revolutionary proletariat," V.I. Lenin pointed out, "is strong enough to criticise itself openly, to call a mistake a mistake and a weakness a weakness without mincing matters." (*Works*, Vol. 21, p. 150). Guiding itself by this Leninist principle, our Party will continue to discover boldly, criticise openly and rectify ruthlessly any mistakes and flaws in its work.

The Central Committee of the CPSU considers that the work so far accomplished by the Party in overcoming the cult of the individual and its consequences has borne positive results.

Proceeding from the decisions of the 20th Party Congress the Central Committee of the CPSU calls upon all Party organisations: to adhere consistently in all our work to the cardinal theses of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, on the people as the architects of history, the creators of all material and spiritual values of humanity, on the decisive role of the Marxist Party in the revolutionary struggle for social transformation, for the achievement of Communism; to continue

persistently the efforts conducted by the Central Committee for the past few years to ensure the strictest observance of the Leninist principles of Party leadership, and, above all, of the supreme principle of collective leadership, in all party organisations from top to bottom, the observance of the standards of party life laid down in the rules of our party, and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

To restore in full the principles of Soviet socialist democracy, laid down in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, to fully rectify the breaches of revolutionary socialist law.

To mobilise our cadres, all our communists and the working masses at large for the practical accomplishment of the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, giving the utmost encouragement to this end to the creative initiative and energy of the masses, the true architects of history.

The 20th CPSU Congress pointed out that the transformation of socialism into a world system is the most important feature of our times. The most difficult stage in the development and consolidation of socialism has been passed. Our socialist country has ceased to be a solitary island in the ocean of capitalist states. Over a third of mankind are shaping a new way of life under the banner of socialism today. The ideas of socialism are gripping the minds of millions upon millions of people in the capitalist countries. The influence of the ideas of socialism is enormous on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are opposed to colonialism in every shape or form.

All the proponents of peace and socialism, all democratic and progressive circles received the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress as an inspiring programme of struggle for the strengthening of world peace, for working class interests, for the triumph of socialism.

In the present conditions broad and encouraging prospects are opening up before the Communist parties and the international labour movement as a whole, prospects of averting, together with all the peaceable forces, a new world war, curbing the monopolies and ensuring a lasting peace and the security of the peoples, ending the arms race and lifting from the people the heavy taxation burden it imposes, and upholding the democratic rights and freedoms enabling the working people to fight for a better life, for a bright future. This is what millions of ordinary people throughout the world are interested in. The policy of peace and the ever new achievements of the Soviet Union, the People's

Republic of China, and all the other countries following the path of socialism are contributing greatly to a successful solution of these problems.

In the new historic conditions, such international working class organisations as the Comintern and the Cominform have ceased to function. This does not mean, however, that international solidarity and the necessity of contacts between the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties have lost their importance. Now that the forces of socialism have grown immeasurably and the influence of socialist ideas has spread throughout the world, now that it is becoming clear that different countries are going toward socialism by their own different ways, the Marxist parties of the working class should, naturally, preserve and strengthen their ideological unity and international fraternal solidarity in the struggle against the menace of a new war, against the anti-national forces of monopoly capital seeking to put down all revolutionary and progressive movements. The Communist parties are brought together by the great goal of freeing the working class of the yoke of capital; they are bound up into a single whole by their loyalty to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, by their boundless loyalty to the interests of the popular masses.

In the present conditions, all Communist parties proceed in their work from the national peculiarities and conditions of each country, expressing most fully the national interests of their peoples. Realising at the same time that the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and the national independence of their countries, is at the same time a matter for international proletariat as a whole, they rally together and strengthen links and cooperation among themselves. This ideological cohesion and fraternal solidarity of the Marxist parties of the working class of different countries are all the more necessary since capitalist monopolies are building their own international aggressive alliances and blocs such as NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, spearheaded against the peace-loving peoples, against the movement of national liberation, against the working class and the vital interests of the people.

While the Soviet Union has done much and is doing much to ease international tensions – this has now been admitted by all – American monopoly capital continues to allocate large sums for

intensifying subversive operations in the socialist countries. It is known that at the height of the cold war, the American Congress officially allocated one hundred million dollars (in addition to its unofficial allocations) for subversive operations in the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. Now that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are doing their best to relax international tension, the cold war champions are seeking to revive the cold war condemned by all the peoples of the world. This is attested to by the American Senate's decision to set aside another twenty-five million dollars for subversive operations which they cynically call "encouraging freedom" behind "the iron curtain."

We must give this fact a sober appraisal and draw the necessary conclusions from it. It is clear, for instance, that the anti-popular disturbances in Poznan were financed from this source. However, the agents, provocateurs and saboteurs paid from abroad could hold out for only a few hours. The people of Poznan repulsed the intrigues and provocations of their enemies. The plans of the cloak and dagger plotters and their vile provocation against the people's power in Poland have fallen through. It will be the same with all future subversive activities in the People's Democracies, however generously they may be financed by American monopolies. This, one may say, is money thrown away.

All this shows that we must not show any carelessness with regard to the new intrigues of imperialist intelligence services seeking to penetrate the socialist countries to harm and subvert the achievements of the people.

The forces of imperialist reaction are seeking to get the working people away from the correct path of struggle for their interests, to poison their souls with unbelief in the victory of the cause of peace and socialism.

In spite of these efforts of the ideologists of capitalist monopolies, the working class, headed by the tried and tested communist vanguard, will go its way, which has already led to the historic achievements of socialism and will lead to new victories for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. One may be confident that the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries will raise even higher the glorious Marxist banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet people are legitimately proud of our Homeland being the first to blaze the path to socialism. Now that socialism has become a world system, now that relations of brotherhood and mutual assistance have been established among the socialist countries, new favourable opportunities have appeared for the flourishing of socialist democracy, for the further strengthening of the material and industrial basis of communism, for the steady improvement of the living standards of the working people, for the all-round development of the new man – the builder of a communist society. Let bourgeois ideologists invent their fables about the “crisis” of communism, about “confusion” in the ranks of the communist parties. We are accustomed to such incantations of our enemies. Their prognostications have invariably exploded like soap-bubbles. These hapless soothsayers have come and gone, but the communist movement, the immortal and life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism have conquered and continue to conquer. And so it shall be in the future. No vicious, slanderous attacks of our enemies can arrest mankind’s irresistible march to communism.

THE 1957 MOSCOW DECLARATION

Representatives of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Vietnamese Working People's Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Party of Labour, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia discussed their relations, current problems of the international situation and the struggle for peace and socialism.

The exchange of opinions revealed identity of views of the parties on all the questions examined at the meeting and unanimity in their assessment of the international situation. In the course of discussion the meeting also touched upon general problems of the international Communist movement. In drafting the declaration the participants in the meeting consulted with representatives of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries. The fraternal parties not present at this meeting will assess and themselves decide what action they should take on the considerations expressed in the declaration.

1. The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the great October socialist revolution in Russia. Today more than a third of the population of the world – over 950 million people – have taken the road of socialism and are building a new life. The tremendous growth of the forces of socialism has stimulated the rapid extension of the anti-imperialist national movement in the postwar period. During the last 12 years, besides the

This is the full text of the declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, held in Moscow, as appeared in NCNA, Nov. 22, 1957.

Source : Hudson, G.F., Richard Lowenthal and Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, published by The China Quarterly.

Chinese People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, over 700 million people have shaken off the colonial yoke and established national independent states. The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, still languishing in slavery, are intensifying the struggle for national liberation. The progress of socialism and of the national liberation movement has greatly accelerated the disintegration of imperialism. With regard to the greater part of mankind imperialism has lost its one-time domination. In the imperialist countries society is rent by deep-going class contradictions and by antagonisms between those countries, while the working class is putting up increasing resistance to the policy of imperialism and the monopolies, fighting for better conditions, democratic rights, for peace and socialism.

In our epoch world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems. In the past 40 years socialism has demonstrated that it is a much higher social system than capitalism. It has ensured development of the productive forces at a rate unprecedented and impossible for capitalism, and the rise of the material and cultural levels of the working people. The Soviet Union's strides in economy, science and technology and the results achieved by the other socialist countries in socialist construction are conclusive evidence of the great vitality of socialism. In the socialist states the broad masses of the working people enjoy genuine freedom and democratic rights; people's power ensures political unity of the masses, equality and friendship among the nations and a foreign policy aimed at preserving universal peace and rendering assistance to the oppressed nations in their emancipation struggle. The world socialist system, which is growing and becoming stronger, is exerting ever greater influence upon the international situation in the interests of peace and progress and the freedom of the peoples.

While socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline. The position of imperialism has been greatly weakened as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system. The countries that have shaken off the yoke of colonialism are defending their independence and fighting for economic sovereignty, for international peace. The existence of the socialist system and the aid rendered by the socialist nations to these countries on principles of equality and

cooperation between them and the socialist nations in the struggle for peace and against aggression help them to uphold their national freedom and facilitate their social progress.

In the imperialist countries the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations have become acute. In many respects modern science and engineering are not being used in the interests of social progress for all mankind because capitalism fetters and deforms the development of the productive forces of society. The world capitalist economy remains shaky and unstable. The relatively good economic activity still observed in a number of capitalist countries is due in large measure to the arms drive and other transient factors.

However, the capitalist economy is bound to encounter deeper slumps and crises. The temporary high business activity helps to keep up the reformist illusions among part of the workers in the capitalist countries. In the postwar period some sections of the working class in the more advanced capitalist countries, fighting against increased exploitation and for a higher standard of living, have been able to win certain wage increases, though in a number of these countries real wages are below the prewar level. However, in the greater part of the capitalist world, particularly in the colonial and dependent countries, millions of working people still live in poverty. The broad invasion of agriculture by the monopolies and the price policy dictated by them, the system of bank credits and loans and the increased taxation caused by the arms drive have resulted in the steady ruin and impoverishment of the main mass of the peasantry. There is a sharpening of contradictions not only between the bourgeoisie and the working class but also between the monopoly bourgeoisie and all sections of the people, between the United States monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand and the peoples, and even the bourgeoisie of the other capitalist countries on the other. The working people of the capitalist countries live in such conditions that, increasingly, they realise that the only way out of their grave situation lies through socialism. Thus, increasingly favourable conditions are being created for bringing them into active struggle for socialism.

The aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, by pursuing the so-called "positions of strength" policy, seek to bring most countries of the world under their sway and to hamper the onward march of mankind in accordance with the laws of social development. On the

pretext of “combating Communism” they are angling to bring more and more countries under their dominion, instigating destruction of democratic freedoms, threatening the national independence of the developed capitalist countries, trying to enmesh the liberated people in new forms of colonialism and systematically conducting subversive activities against the socialist countries. The policy of certain aggressive groups in the United States is aimed at rallying around them all the reactionary forces of the capitalist world. Acting in this way they are becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people. By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are courting their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers.

So long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars. Throughout the postwar years the American, British, French and other imperialists and their stooges have conducted and are conducting wars in Indo-China, Indonesia, Korea, Malaya, Kenya, Guatemala, Egypt, Algeria, Oman and Yemen. At the same time the aggressive imperialist forces flatly refuse to cut armaments, to prohibit the use and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, to agree on immediate discontinuation of the tests of these weapons; they are continuing the “cold war” and arms drive, building more military bases and conducting the aggressive policy of undermining peace and creating the danger of a new war. Were a world war to break out before agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons is reached it would inevitably become a nuclear war unprecedented in destructive force.

In West Germany militarism is being revived with United States help, giving rise to a hot-bed of war in the heart of Europe. Struggle against West German militarism and revanchism, which are now threatening peace, is a vital task facing the peace-loving forces of the German people and all the nations of Europe. An especially big role in this struggle belongs to the German Democratic Republic – the first workers-peasant state in German history with which the participants in the meeting express their solidarity and which they fully support.

Simultaneously the imperialists are trying to impose on the freedom-loving peoples of the Middle East the notorious “Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine” thereby creating the danger of war in this area. They are plotting conspiracies and provocations against independent Syria. The provocations against Syria and Egypt and other Arab countries

pursue the aim of dividing and isolating the Arab countries in order to abolish their freedom and independence.

The SEATO aggressive bloc is a source of war danger in East Asia.

The question of war or peaceful co-existence is now the crucial question of world policy. All the nations must display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism.

At present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting wars as was demonstrated by the collapse of the imperialist designs in Egypt. The imperialist plan to use the counter-revolutionary forces for the overthrow of the People's Democratic system in Hungary have failed as well.

The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard – the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries are putting up increasing resistance to the plans for a new war. The unity of these powerful forces can prevent the outbreak of war. But should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism will doom itself to destruction, for the peoples will not tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices.

The Communist and Workers' Parties taking part in the meeting declare that the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence of the two systems, which has been further developed and brought up to date in the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU is the sound basis of the foreign policy of the socialist countries and the dependable pillar of peace and friendship among the peoples. The idea of peaceful co-existence coincides with the 5 principles advanced jointly by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India and with the programme adopted by the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries. Peace and peaceful co-existence have now become the demands of the broad masses in all countries.

The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. They will do all in their power to prevent war.

2. The meeting considers that in the present situation the strengthening of the unity and fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties and the solidarity of the international working-class, national liberation and democratic movements acquire special significance.

At bedrock of the relations of the world socialist system and all the Communist and Workers' Parties lie the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism which have been tested by life. Today the vital interests of the working people of all countries call for their support of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries who, pursuing a policy of preserving peace throughout the world, are the mainstay of peace and social progress. The working-class, the democratic forces and the working people everywhere are interested in tirelessly strengthening fraternal contacts for the sake of the common cause, in safeguarding from enemy encroachments the historical, political and social gains effected in the Soviet Union – the first and mightiest socialist power – in the Chinese People's Republic and in all the socialist countries, in seeing these gains extended and consolidated.

The socialist countries base their relations on principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in one another's affairs. These are vital principles. However, they do not exhaust the essence of relations between them. Fraternal mutual aid is part and parcel of these relations. This aid is a striking expression of socialist internationalism.

On a basis of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states have established between themselves extensive economic and cultural cooperation that plays an important part in promoting the economic and political independence of each socialist country and the socialist commonwealth as a whole. The socialist states will continue to extend and improve economic and cultural cooperation among themselves.

The socialist states also advocate all-round expansion of economic and cultural relations with all other countries, provided they desire it, on a basis of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's

internal affairs. The solidarity of the socialist countries is not directed against any other country. On the contrary, it serves the interests of all the peace-loving peoples, restrains the aggressive strivings of the bellicose imperialist circles and supports and encourages the growing forces of peace. The socialist countries are against the division of the world into military blocs. But in view of the situation that has taken shape, with the western powers refusing to accept the proposals of the socialist countries for mutual abolition of military blocs, the Warsaw pact organisation, which is of a defensive nature, serves the security of the peoples of Europe and supports peace throughout the world, must be preserved and strengthened.

The socialist countries are united in a single community by the fact that they are taking the common socialist road, by the common class essence of the social and economic system and state authority, by the requirements of mutual aid and support, identity of interests and aims in the struggle against imperialism, for the victory of socialism and communism, by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which is common to all.

The solidarity and close unity of the socialist countries constitute a reliable guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of each. Stronger fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries call for a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy on the part of the communist and workers parties, for educating all the working people in the spirit of combining internationalism with patriotism and for a determined effort to overcome the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. All issues pertaining to relations between the socialist countries can be fully settled through comradely discussion, with strict observance of the principles of socialist internationalism.

3. The victory of socialism in the USSR and progress in socialist construction in the people's democracies find deep sympathy among the working class and the working people of all countries. The ideas of socialism are winning additional millions of people. In these conditions the imperialist bourgeoisie attaches increasing importance to the ideological moulding of the masses; it misrepresents socialism and smears Marxism-Leninism, misleads and confuses the masses. It is a prime task to intensify Marxist-Leninist education of the masses, combat bourgeois ideology, expose the lies and slanderous fabrications

of imperialist propaganda against socialism and the Communist Movement and widely propagate in simple and convincing fashion the ideas of socialism, peace and friendship among nations.

The meeting confirmed the identity of views of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the cardinal problems of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has fully borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the processes of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism are governed by a number of basic laws applicable in all countries embarking on a socialist course. These laws manifest themselves everywhere, alongside a great variety of historic national peculiarities and traditions which must by all means be taken into account.

These laws are: guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party; in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or other of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; the abolition of capitalist ownership and the establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production; gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture; planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, at raising the standard of living of the working people; the carrying out of socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and the creation of a numerous intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people and the cause of socialism; the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between the peoples; defence of the achievements of socialism against attacks by international enemies; solidarity of the working class of the country in question with the working class of other countries, that is proletarian internationalism.

Marxism-Leninism calls for a creative application of the general principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the concrete conditions of each country, and rejects mechanical imitation of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other countries. Lenin repeatedly called attention to the necessity of correctly applying the basic principles of communism, in keeping with the specific features of the nation, of the national state concerned. Disregard of

national peculiarities by the proletarian party inevitably leads to its divorce from reality, from the masses and is bound to prejudice the cause of socialism and conversely, exaggeration of the role of these peculiarities or departure, under the pretext of national peculiarities, from the universal Marxist-Leninist truth on the socialist revolution and socialist construction is just as harmful to the socialist cause.

The participants in this meeting consider that both these tendencies should be combated simultaneously. The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries should firmly adhere to the principle of combining the above universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the specific revolutionary practice in their countries, creatively apply the general laws governing the socialist revolution and socialist construction in accordance with the concrete conditions of their countries, learn from each other and share experience. Creative application of the general laws of socialist construction tried and tested by experience and the variety of forms and methods of building socialism used in different countries, represent a collective contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism derives from dialectical materialism. This world outlook reflects the universal law of development of nature, society and human thinking. It is valid for the past, the present and the future. Dialectical materialism is countered by metaphysics and idealism. Should the Marxist political party in its examination of questions base itself not on dialectics and materialism, the result will be one-sidedness and subjectivism, stagnation of thought, isolation from life and loss of ability to make the necessary analysis of things and phenomena, revisionist and dogmatist mistakes and mistakes in policy. Application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of the party functionaries and the broad masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Of vital importance in the present stage is intensified struggle against opportunist trends in the working class and communist movement. The meeting underlines the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Revisionism and dogmatism in the working class and communist movement are today, as they have been in the past,

international phenomena. Dogmatism and sectarianism hinder the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in the changing conditions, replace the study of the concrete situation with merely quoting classics and sticking to books, and leads to the isolation of the party from the masses. A party that has withdrawn into the shell of sectarianism and that has lost contact with the masses cannot bring victory to the cause of the working class.

In condemning dogmatism, the Communist Parties believe that the main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, right-wing opportunism, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyses the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism. However, dogmatism and sectarianism can also be the main danger at different phases of development in one party or another. It is for each Communist Party to decide what danger threatens it more at a given time.

It should be pointed out that the conquest of power by the proletariat is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion. After the conquest of power the working class is faced with the serious tasks of effecting the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and laying the economic and technical foundation of socialism. At the same time the overthrown bourgeoisie always endeavours to make a comeback; the influence exerted on society by the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and their intelligentsia, is still great. That is why a fairly long time is needed to resolve the issue of who will win – capitalism or socialism. The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source.

Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is “outmoded” and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to exercise the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organisation and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant

revolutionary organisation into some kind of a debating society.

The experience of the international communist movement shows that resolute defence by the communist and workers' parties of the Marxist-Leninist unity of their ranks and the banning of factions and groups sapping unity guarantee the successful solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, the establishment of socialism and communism.

4. The communist and workers' parties are faced with great historic tasks. The carrying out of these tasks necessitates closer unity not only of the communist and workers' parties, but of the entire working class, necessitates cementing the alliance of the working class and peasantry, rallying the working people and progressive mankind, the freedom and peace-loving forces of the world.

The defence of peace is the most important world-wide task of the day. The communist and workers' parties in all countries stand for joint action on the broadest possible scale with all forces favouring peace and opposed to war. The participants in the meeting declare that they support the efforts of all states, parties, organisations, movements and individuals who champion peace and oppose war, who want peaceful co-existence, collective security in Europe and Asia, reduction of armaments and prohibition of the use and tests of nuclear weapons.

The communist and workers' parties are loyal defenders of the national and democratic interests of the peoples of all countries. The working class and the peoples of many countries are still confronted with the historic tasks of struggle for national independence against colonial aggression and feudal oppression. What is needed here is a united anti-imperialism and anti-feudal front of the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic forces. Numerous facts show that the greater and stronger the unity of the various patriotic and democratic forces, the greater the guarantee of victory in the common struggle.

At present the struggle of the working class and the masses of the people against the war danger and for their vital interest is spearheaded against the big monopoly group of capital as those chiefly responsible for the arms race, as those who organise or inspire plans for preparing a new world war, who are the bulwark of aggression and reaction. The interests and the policy of this handful of monopolies conflict increasingly not only with the interests of the working class but the

other sections of capitalist society: the peasants, intellectuals, petty and middle urban bourgeoisie. In those capitalist countries where the American monopolies are out to establish their hegemony and in the countries already suffering from the United States policy of economic and military expansion, the objective conditions are being created for uniting, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary parties, broad sections of the population to fight for peace, the defence of national independence and democratic freedoms, to raise the standard of living, to carry through radical land reforms and to overthrow the rule of the monopolies who betray the national interests.

The profound historic changes and the decisive switch in the balance of forces in the international sphere in favour of socialism and the tremendous growth of the power of attractions exerted by socialist ideas among the working class, working peasantry and working intelligentsia create more favourable conditions for the victory of socialism.

The forms of the transition of socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard – the Marxist-Leninist Party – seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole as well as with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class led by its vanguard has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, to win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and decisively rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch a non-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers,

peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the ruling classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The possibility of one or another way to socialism depends on the concrete conditions in each country.

In the struggle for better conditions for the working people, for preservation and extension of democratic rights, winning and maintaining national independence and peace among nations, and also in the struggle for winning power and building socialism, the communist parties seek cooperation with the socialist parties. Although the right-wing socialist party leaders are doing their best to hamper this cooperation there are increasing opportunities for cooperation between the communists and socialists on many issues. The ideological differences between the communist and the socialist parties should not keep them from establishing unity of action on the many pressing issues that confront the working-class movement.

In the socialist countries where the working class is in power the Communist and Workers' Parties which have the opportunity to establish close relations with the broad masses of the people should constantly rely on them and make the building and the defence of socialism the cause of millions who fully realise that they are masters of their own country. Of great importance for enhancing the activities and creative initiative of the broad masses and their solidarity, for consolidating the socialist system and stepping up socialist construction are the measures taken in recent years by the socialist countries to expand socialist democracy and encourage criticism and self-criticism.

To bring about real solidarity of the working class, of all working people and the whole of progressive mankind, of the freedom-loving and peace-loving forces of the world, it is necessary above all to promote the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and to foster solidarity

between the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. This solidarity is the core of still greater solidarity, it is the main guarantee of the victory of the cause of the working-class.

The Communist and Workers' Parties have a particularly important responsibility with regard to the destinies of the world socialist system and the international Communist movement. The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the meeting declare that they will tirelessly promote their unity and comradely cooperation with a view to further consolidating the commonwealth of socialist states in the interests of the international working-class movement, of peace and socialism.

The meeting notes with satisfaction that the international Communist movement has grown, withstood numerous serious trials and won a number of major victories. By their deeds, the Communists have demonstrated to the working people on a world-wide scale the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist theory and their ability not only to propagate the great ideals of socialism but also to realise them in exceedingly strenuous conditions.

Like any progressive movement inhuman history, the Communist movement is bound to encounter difficulties and obstacles. However, as in the past, no difficulties or obstacles can change now, nor will they be able to change in the future, the objective laws governing historical progress or affect the determination of the working class to transform the old world and create a new one. Ever since they began their struggles the Communists have been baited and persecuted by the reactionary forces; but the Communist movement heroically repels all attacks, emerging from the trials stronger and more steeled. The Communists, by further consolidating their unity, counter attempts by the reactionary forces to prevent human society from marching towards a new era.

Contrary to the absurd assertions of imperialism about the so-called crisis of communism, the Communist movement is growing and gathering strength. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are of tremendous importance not only to the CPSU and to the building of Communism in the USSR, they have opened a new stage in the world Communist movement and pushed ahead its further development along Marxist-Leninist lines. The results of the Congresses of the Communist Parties of China, France, Italy and other countries in

recent times have clearly demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the party ranks and their loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. This meeting of the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties testifies to the international solidarity of the Communist movement.

After exchanging views, the participants in the meeting arrived at the conclusion that in present conditions it is expedient, besides bilateral meetings of leading personnel and exchange of information, to hold, as the need arises, more representative conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties to discuss current problems, share experience, study each other's views and attitudes and concert action in the joint struggle for the common goals – peace, democracy and socialism.

The participants in the meeting unanimously express their firm confidence that, by closing their ranks and thereby rallying the working class and the peoples of all countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties will surmount all obstacles in their onward movement and accelerate further big victories for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

PEACE MANIFESTO

Workers and peasants! Men of science and culture! People of good will in all countries!

We, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries gathered in Moscow for the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, address you, appealing both to your reason and to your hearts.

The calamity of the Second World War is still fresh in mind. Its bloody consequences have not yet completely disappeared and already hovering over the homes of peaceful towns and villages is the sinister spectre of another, a hundred times more destructive, war. The threat of another war, darkening the joy of life, overhangs every country. In every home the question is asked.

What will happen tomorrow, a month or a year from now? Will the flames of war again envelop us; will the all-destructive atomic and hydrogen bombs bring sudden death to us and to our children?

The peoples have already had the bitter experience of two world wars. It is always the ordinary people who make the heaviest sacrifices in war. They know that each succeeding war brings with it greater suffering, ruins more countries, kills more people, and leaves a trail of still more dreadful and lasting consequences.

The First World War, caused by the big imperialist powers and unleashed by German militarism, took a toll of ten million lives. Tens of millions were maimed and deprived of health. Entire nations were subjected to hunger and privation.

This is the full text of *Peace Manifesto* adopted by Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries, held on November 14-16, 1957.

Source : *Problems of International Development*, A collection of Documents, Part I, pp. 20-27, Published by Shyamal Mukharji 80, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

The Second World War, for which German fascism bears the chief guilt, not only hurled huge armies to destruction. Bombs destroyed open cities, killed hundreds of thousands of civilians, while millions of men, women and children perished behind the barbed wire and in the gas chambers of Hitler's concentration camps. Enormous material riches, with which it would have been possible to build thousands of beautiful towns and feed and clothe entire nations, were used for purposes of death and destruction. Over thirty million human lives, not counting the millions of the wounded and the maimed, were swallowed in the holocaust of the Second World War. And, during its last days, the first two atomic bombs fell on open Japanese cities, a tangible threat of wholesale human slaughter in the future.

It requires neither the knowledge of the scientist nor the imagination of the poet to say that the next war – should the peoples ever allow it to break out – would surpass in destruction anything that mankind has yet experienced. The peoples of Europe and America, Asia, Africa and Australia know that man has released such tremendous natural forces and possesses such powerful means that their destructive action could be let loose on any part of the globe. In the next war there will be no shelter or safety. The flames of nuclear and rocket war would engulf all the peoples and bring untold sufferings for generations to come.

Ordinary people all over the world, irrespective of nationality and political views, religious belief or colour, want to live in peace, and ordinary people all over the world say: surely man, whose victorious mind is wresting from Nature all her secrets, subordinating her more and more, who, now with the launching of the Soviet earth satellites, may soon reach the stars, surely man can prevent war and self destruction!

We, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, fully conscious of our responsibility for human destiny, declare:

War is not inevitable. War can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.

We are gathered in the capital of the country which forty years ago opened a new era in human history. In 1917, for the first time in history, the socialist revolution triumphed on Russian soil. The working people took power into their own hands and set out to destroy all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man. The workers and peasants

of Russia, under the leadership of the party of Lenin, inscribed peace on their banners and have always remained faithful to it. In the course of its forty years the Soviet Union has opened the way to peace for all peoples, and has sought – despite all imperialist obstacles – peaceful coexistence with all other countries irrespective of their social system.

The workers of the capitalist countries, upholding their vital interests, took an active part in the struggle for peace. This noble cause was supported by progressive people all over the world. However, the peace forces did not succeed in saving mankind from a new catastrophe, the Second World War. These forces were not sufficiently strong at the time, and the Soviet Union was then the only country steadfastly fighting for peace.

We Communists say that now it is possible to prevent war, possible to safeguard peace. We say this with full confidence because the world situation today is different and the balance of forces has changed.

The Land of Soviets, born of the Great October Revolution, no longer stands alone. Out of the victory over fascism came the vast world of socialism with a population of nearly one thousand million. Marching shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union for peace, international cooperation and peaceful coexistence of the different social systems, is another big socialist power – people's China. Working for the same peaceful aims are the European and Asiatic countries of People's Democracy.

The unprecedented development of industry, science and technology in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries serves peace and acts as a powerful brake on war.

Another new force has made its appearance on the world arena – the colonial peoples awakened by the October Revolution; some of them have already thrown off and others are in the process of throwing off the age-old yoke of dependence; they want to live in peace and will not allow any imperialist interference in their internal affairs. In order to put an end to their backwardness and poverty they are pursuing a policy of peace and neutrality, the policy of the well-known five principles – mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

It is not only the peoples of the socialist countries, and not only

the nations of the East that do not want war. It is hated also by the peoples of the Western capitalist countries, who have twice experienced it.

The peace forces are legion. They can prevent war and safeguard peace. However, we, the Communists, believe that it is our duty to warn all the people of the world that the danger of a monstrous and annihilating war has not passed.

Where does the threat to peace and the security of the peoples come from? From the capitalist monopolies who have a vested interest in war and have amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive. The arms drive, which brings huge profits to the monopolies, weighs more and more heavily on the working people and seriously worsens the economy of the countries. The ruling circles of some capitalist countries, under pressure of the monopolies and especially those of the US, have rejected proposals for disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, and other measures aimed at preventing a new war. Not a few useful proposals by the peace-loving nations have been submitted to the United Nations, acceptance of which would have strengthened peace and lessened the danger of war. No one can deny that the proposals submitted to the United Nations with a view to ending the arms race, removing the threat of an atomic war, and promoting peaceful co-existence of states and economic cooperation between them, which is a decisive factor in creating proper confidence in international relations, are in keeping with the vital interests of all nations. The destiny of the world and the destinies of the future generations hinge on the solution of these problems. These proposals are actively resisted only by those interested in maintaining international tension.

Thousands of newspapers and radio stations daily instil into the minds of the peoples of the United States, Britain, France, Italy and other capitalist countries the claim that "world communism" is endangering their freedom, their way of life, and their peaceful existence.

However, neither the Communist Parties nor any of the socialist countries have any motive or reason for launching wars or military attacks on other countries, for seizing alien soil. The Soviet Union and people's China both have vast expanses of land and untold natural riches. In all the socialist countries there are no classes or social groups

interested in war. Power is in the hands of the workers and peasants who in all wars have been the greatest sufferers. Is it possible that they could desire another war? The aim of the Communists is to build a society that will ensure universal well-being, the blossoming of all nations and eternal peace between them. In order to build this society the socialist countries need a durable peace. There are, therefore, no more consistent enemies of war, no stauncher champions of peace than the Communists!

The socialist countries do not intend to enforce their social or political system on any other nation. They are firmly convinced that socialism is bound to win, but they know that socialism cannot be implanted from without, that it will come, above all, as a result of struggle by the working class and all other progressive forces within each country. That is why the socialist states have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, just as they will not allow others to interfere in their own internal affairs. Hence the contention that the socialist countries are the threat to peace, that they want to impose their system upon others is merely an attempt to mislead those desiring peace.

Peace can be preserved if only all to whom it is dear combine their forces, sharpen their vigilance in relation to the machinations of the war-instigators and become fully conscious that their sacred duty is to intensify the struggle for peace, which is threatened.

Having in mind the well-being of the people throughout the world and desirous of progress and a bright future for all nations, we call upon:

men and women,
workers and peasants,
men of science and art,
teachers and office workers,
the youth,
handicraftsmen, traders and industrialists,
socialists, democrats and liberals,
all irrespective of political and religious convictions,
all who love their country,
all who do not want war,
all people of good will,
to demand an end to the arms drive which daily intensifies the

danger of war and of which you, the common people, bear the burden;
to demand prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and, as a first step, an immediate end to the testing of these weapons;

to demand that an end be put to the policy of military blocs and the creation of military bases in other countries;

to demand that the German militarists, chiefly responsible for the last war, are not allowed to rearm in the very heart of Europe;

to demand an end to the plotting and military provocations of the imperialists in the Middle East;

to support the policy of collective security, of peaceful co-existence of different social systems, and the widest economic and cultural cooperation of all peoples.

We call upon all of you:

to demand from your governments that in the United Nations they pursue a policy of peace and oppose the cold war.

We call upon all people of good will throughout the world:

Organise and work for:

- 1) *immediate cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests,*
- 2) *unconditional and speedy prohibition of the manufacture and use of these weapons.*

We, the Communists, have devoted our lives to the cause of socialism. We, the Communists, are firmly convinced that this noble cause will triumph. And it is because we believe in the triumph of our ideas – the ideas of Marx and Lenin, the ideas of proletarian internationalism – that we want peace and are working for peace. War is our enemy.

From now on, let the countries with different social systems compete with one another in developing science and technology for peace. Let them demonstrate their superiority not on the field of battle but in competition for progress and for raising living standards.

We extend a hand to all people of good will. By a common effort let us get rid of the burden of armaments which oppresses the peoples. Let us rid the world of the danger of war, death and annihilation. Before us is a bright and happy future of mankind marching forward to progress.

Peace to the world!

Adopted by the delegations of the Communist and Workers' Parties

The Documents of the Great Debate

of Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominique Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Luxemburg, Malaya, Mexico, Mongolian People's Republic, Morocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, San Marino, Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria and the Lebanon, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam and Yugoslavia.

MORE ON THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

In April 1956, we discussed the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in connection with the question of Stalin. Since then, a further train of events in the international communist movement has caused concern to the people of our country. The publication in Chinese newspapers of Comrade Tito's speech of November 11, and the comments on that speech by various Communist Parties, have led people again to raise many questions which call for an answer. In the present article we shall centre our discussion on the following questions: first, an appraisal of the fundamental course taken by the Soviet Union in its revolution and construction; second, an appraisal of Stalin's merits and faults; third, the struggle against doctrinairism and revisionism; and fourth, the international solidarity of the proletariat of all countries.

In examining modern international questions, we must proceed first of all from the most fundamental fact, the antagonism between the imperialist bloc of aggression and the popular forces in the world. The Chinese people, who have suffered enough from imperialist aggression, can never forget that imperialism has always opposed the liberation of all peoples and the independence of all oppressed nations, that it has always regarded the communist movement, which stands most resolutely for the people's interests, as a thorn in its flesh. Since the birth of the

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Source : *More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1957.

first socialist state, the Soviet Union, imperialism has tried by every means to wreck it. Following the establishment of a whole group of socialist states, the hostility of the imperialist camp to the socialist camp, and its flagrant acts of sabotage against the latter, have become a still more pronounced feature of world politics. The head of the imperialist camp, the United States, has been especially vicious and shameless in its interference in the domestic affairs of socialist countries; for many years it has been obstructing China's liberation of its own territory Taiwan, and for many years it has openly adopted as its official policy the subversion of the East European countries.

The activities of the imperialists in the Hungarian affair of October 1956 marked the gravest attack launched by them against the socialist camp since the war of aggression they had carried on in Korea. Just as the resolution adopted by the meeting of the Provisional Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party pointed out, the Hungarian affair was the result of various causes, both internal and external; and while any one-sided explanation is incorrect, among the causes international imperialism "played the main and decisive part." Following the defeat of their plot for a counter-revolutionary comeback in Hungary, the imperialist powers headed by the United States have manoeuvred the United Nations into adopting resolutions directed against the Soviet Union and interfering in Hungary's internal affairs. At the same time, they stirred up a hysterical anti-communist wave throughout the Western world. Although US imperialism is taking advantage of the fiasco of the Anglo-French war of aggression against Egypt to grab British and French interests in the Middle East and North Africa in every way possible, it has pledged itself to eliminate its "misunderstandings" with Britain and France and to seek "closer and more intimate understanding" with them to repair their united front against communism, against the Asian and African peoples and against the peace-loving people of the world. To oppose communism, the people and peace, the imperialist countries should unite – this is the gist of Dulles' statement at the NATO council meeting on the so-called "need for a philosophy for living and acting at this critical point in world history." Somewhat intoxicated by his own illusions, Dulles asserted: "The Soviet communist structure is in a deteriorating condition, with the power of the rulers disintegrating!...Facing this situation, the free

nations must maintain moral pressures which are helping to undermine the Soviet-Chinese communist system and maintain military strength and resolution.” He called on the NATO countries “to disrupt the powerful Soviet despotism(!) based upon militaristic(!) and atheistic concepts.” He also expressed the view that “a change of character of that (communist) world now seems to be within the realm of possibility!”

We have always considered our enemies our best teachers, and now Dulles is letting us have another lesson. He may slander us a thousand times and curse us ten thousand times, there is nothing new in this at all. But when Dulles, putting the matter on a “philosophic” plane, urges the imperialist world to place its contradiction with communism above all other contradictions, to bend all their efforts towards bringing about “a change of character of that (communist) world” and towards “undermining” and “disrupting” the socialist system headed by the Soviet Union, this is a lesson that is extremely helpful to us, though such efforts will certainly come to naught. Although we have consistently held and still hold that the socialist and capitalist countries should co-exist in peace and carry out peaceful competition, the imperialists are always bent on destroying us. We must therefore never forget the stern struggle with the enemy, i.e. the class struggle on a world scale.

There are before us two types of contradiction which are different in nature. The first type consists of contradictions between our enemy and ourselves (contradictions between the camp of imperialism and that of socialism, contradictions between imperialism and the people and oppressed nations of the whole world, contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries, etc.). This is the fundamental type of contradiction, based on the clash of interests between antagonistic classes. The second type consists of contradictions within the ranks of the people (contradictions between different sections of the people, between comrades within the Communist Party, contradictions between the government and the people in socialist countries, contradictions between socialist countries, contradictions between Communist Parties, etc.). This type of contradiction is not basic; it is not the result of a fundamental clash of interests between classes, but of conflicts between right and wrong opinions or of a partial contradiction of interests. It is a type of contradiction whose solution must, first and foremost, be subordinated to the over-all interests of the

struggle against the enemy. Contradictions among the people themselves can and ought to be resolved, proceeding from the desire for solidarity, through criticism or struggle, thus achieving a new solidarity under new conditions. Of course, real life is complicated. Sometimes, it is possible that classes whose interests are in fundamental conflict unite to cope with their main common enemy. On the other hand, under specific conditions, a certain contradiction among the people may be gradually transformed into an antagonistic contradiction when one side of it gradually goes over to the enemy. Finally, the nature of such a contradiction may change completely so that it no longer belongs to the category of contradictions among the people themselves but becomes a component part of the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. Such a phenomenon did come about in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of China. In a word, anyone who adopts the standpoint of the people should not equate the contradictions among the people with contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, or confuse these two types of contradiction, let alone place the contradictions among the people above the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Those who deny the class struggle and do not distinguish between the enemy and ourselves are definitely not Communists or Marxist-Leninists.

We think it necessary to settle this question of fundamental standpoint first, before proceeding to the questions to be discussed. Otherwise, we are bound to lose our bearings, and will be unable to explain correctly international events.

I

The attacks by the imperialists on the international communist movement have long been concentrated mainly on the Soviet Union. Recent controversies in the international communist movement, for the most part, have also involved the question of one's understanding of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the problem of correctly assessing the fundamental course taken by the Soviet Union in its revolution and construction is an important one which Marxist-Leninists must solve.

The Marxist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a scientific summing-up of the experience of the

working-class movement. However, with the exception of the Paris Commune which lasted only 72 days, Marx and Engels did not live to see for themselves the realisation of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat for which they had striven throughout their lives. In 1917, led by Lenin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Russian proletariat carried the proletarian revolution to victory and established the dictatorship of the proletariat; it then successfully built up a socialist society. From this time on, scientific socialism was transformed from a theory and ideal into a living reality. And so, the Russian October Revolution of 1917 ushered in a new era, not only in the history of the communist movement but also in the history of mankind.

The Soviet Union has achieved tremendous successes in the 39 years since the revolution. Having eliminated the system of exploitation, the Soviet Union put an end to anarchy, crisis and unemployment in its economic life. Soviet economy and culture have advanced at a pace beyond the reach of capitalist countries. Soviet industrial output in 1956 is 30 times what it was in 1913, the peak year before the revolution. A country which before the revolution was industrially backward and had a high rate of illiteracy has now become the world's second greatest industrial power, possessing scientific and technical forces which are advanced by any standards, and a highly developed socialist culture. The working people of the Soviet Union, who were oppressed before the revolution, have become masters of their own country and society; they have displayed great enthusiasm and creativeness in revolutionary struggle and in construction and a fundamental change has taken place in their material and cultural life. While before the October Revolution Russia was a prison of nationalities, after the October Revolution these nationalities achieved equality in the Soviet Union and developed rapidly into advanced socialist nationalities.

The development of the Soviet Union has not been plain sailing. During 1918-1920, the country was attacked by 14 capitalist powers. In its early years, the Soviet Union went through severe ordeals such as civil war, famine, economic difficulties, and factional splitting activities within the Party. In a decisive period of the Second World War, before the Western countries opened the second front, the Soviet Union, single-handed, met and defeated the attacks of millions of troops of Hitler and

his partners. These stern trials failed to crush the Soviet Union or stop its progress.

The existence of the Soviet Union has shaken imperialist rule to its very foundations and brought unbounded hope, confidence and courage to all revolutionary movements of the workers and liberation movements of the oppressed nations. The working people of all countries have helped the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union has also helped them. It has carried on a foreign policy that guards world peace, recognizes the equality of all nations, and opposes imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union was the main force in defeating fascist aggression throughout the world. The heroic armies of the Soviet Union liberated the East European countries, part of Central Europe, north-eastern China and the northern part of Korea in cooperation with the popular forces of these countries. The Soviet Union has established friendly relations with the People's Democracies, aided them in economic construction and, together with them, formed a mighty bulwark of world peace—the camp of socialism. The Soviet Union has also given powerful support to the independence movements of the oppressed nations, to the peace movement of the people of the world and to the many peaceable new states in Asia and Africa established since the Second World War.

These are incontrovertible facts that people have known for a long time. Why is it necessary then to bring them up again? It is because, while the enemies of communism have naturally always denied all this, certain Communists at the present time, in examining Soviet experience, often focus their attention on the secondary aspects of the matter and neglect the main aspects.

There are different aspects to Soviet experience in revolution and construction as far as its international significance is concerned. Of the successful experience of the Soviet Union, one part is fundamental and of universal significance at the present stage of human history. This is the most important and fundamental phase of Soviet experience. The other part is not of universal significance. In addition, the Soviet Union has also had its mistakes and failures. No country can ever avoid these entirely, though they may vary in form and degree. And it was even more difficult for the Soviet Union to avoid them, because it was the first socialist country and had no successful experience of others to go by. Such mistakes and failures, however, provide extremely useful

lessons for all Communists. That is why all Soviet experience, including certain mistakes and failures, deserves careful study while the fundamental part of the successful Soviet experience is of particular importance. The very fact of the advance of the Soviet Union is proof that the fundamental experience of the Soviet Union in revolution and construction is a great accomplishment, the first paean of victory of Marxism-Leninism in the history of mankind.

What is the fundamental experience of the Soviet Union in revolution and construction? In our opinion, the following, at the very least, should be considered fundamental:

1. The advanced members of the proletariat organise themselves into a Communist Party which takes Marxism-Leninism as its guide to action, builds itself up along the lines of democratic centralism, establishes close links with the masses, strives to become the core of the labouring masses and educates its Party members and the masses of people in Marxism-Leninism.
2. The proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rallying all the labouring people, takes state power from the bourgeoisie by means of revolutionary struggle.
3. After the victory of the revolution, the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rallying the broad mass of the people on the basis of a worker-peasant alliance, establishes a dictatorship of the proletariat: over the landlord and capitalist classes, crushes the resistance of the counter-revolutionaries, and carries out the nationalisation of industry and the step-by-step collectivisation of agriculture, thereby eliminating the system of exploitation, private ownership of the means of production and classes.
4. The state, led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, leads the people in the planned development of socialist economy and culture, and on this basis gradually raises the people's living standards and actively prepares and works for the transition to communist society.
5. The state, led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, resolutely opposes imperialist aggression, recognizes the equality of all nations and defends world peace; firmly adheres to the principles of proletarian internationalism, strives to win the help of the labouring people of all countries, and at the same time strives to help them and all oppressed nations.

What we commonly refer to as the path of the October Revolution means precisely these basic things, leaving aside the specific form it took at that particular time and place. These basic things are all universally applicable truths of Marxism-Leninism.

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In the course of revolution and construction in different countries there are, besides aspects common to all, aspects which are different. In this sense, each country has its own specific path of development. We shall discuss this question further on. But as far as basic theory is concerned, the road of the October Revolution reflects the general laws of revolution and construction at a particular stage in the long course of the development of human society. It is not only the broad road for the proletariat of the Soviet Union, but also the broad road which the proletariat of all countries must travel to gain victory. Precisely for this reason the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stated in its Political Report to the Party's Eighth National Congress: "Despite the fact that the revolution in our country has many characteristics of its own, Chinese Communists regard the cause for which they work as a continuation of the Great October Revolution."

In the present international situation, it is of particularly great significance to defend this Marxist-Leninist path opened by the October Revolution. When the imperialists proclaim that they want to bring about "a change of character of that [communist] world," it is precisely this revolutionary path which they want to change. For decades, the views put forward by all the revisionists to revise Marxism-Leninism, and the Right-opportunist ideas which they spread, have been aimed precisely at evading this road, the road which the proletariat must take for its liberation. It is the task of all Communists to unite the proletariat and the masses of the people to beat back resolutely the savage onslaught of the imperialists against the socialist world, and to march forward resolutely along the path blazed by the October Revolution.

II

People ask: Since the basic path of the Soviet Union in revolution and construction was correct, how did Stalin's mistakes happen?

We discussed this question in our article published in April this year. But as a result of recent events in Eastern Europe and other related developments, the question of correctly understanding and dealing with Stalin's mistakes has become a matter of importance affecting developments within the Communist Parties of many countries, unity between Communist Parties, and the common struggle of the communist

forces of the world against imperialism. So it is necessary to further expound our views on this question.

Stalin made a great contribution to the progress of the Soviet Union and to the development of the international communist movement. In "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" we wrote:

After Lenin's death Stalin, as the chief leader of the Party and the state, creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism. In the struggle to defend the legacy of Leninism against its enemies – the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other bourgeois agents – Stalin expressed the will and wishes of the people and proved himself to be an outstanding Marxist-Leninist fighter. The reason why Stalin won the support of the Soviet people and played an important role in history was primarily because he, together with the other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, defended Lenin's line on the industrialisation of the Soviet state and the collectivisation of agriculture. By pursuing this line, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brought about the triumph of socialism in the USSR and created the conditions for the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler; these victories of the Soviet people conformed to the interests of the working class of the world and all progressive mankind. It was therefore also quite natural for the name of Stalin to be greatly honoured throughout the world.

But Stalin made some serious mistakes in regard to the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union. His arbitrary method of work impaired to a certain extent the principle of democratic centralism both in the life of the Party and in the state system of the Soviet Union, and led to a partial disruption of socialist legality. Because in many fields of work Stalin estranged himself from the masses to a serious extent, and made personal, arbitrary decisions concerning many important policies, it was inevitable that he should have made grave mistakes. These mistakes stood out most conspicuously in the suppression of counter-revolution and in relations with certain foreign countries. In suppressing counter-revolutionaries, Stalin, on the one hand, punished many counter-revolutionaries whom it was necessary to punish and, in the main, accomplished the tasks on this front; but, on the other hand, he wronged many loyal Communists and honest citizens, and this caused serious losses. On the whole, in relations with brother countries and

parties, Stalin took an internationalist stand and helped the struggles of other peoples and the growth of the socialist camp; but in tackling certain concrete questions, he showed a tendency towards great-nation chauvinism and himself lacked a spirit of equality, let alone educating the mass of cadres to be modest. Sometimes he even intervened mistakenly, with many grave consequences, in the internal affairs of certain brother countries and parties.

How are these serious mistakes of Stalin's to be explained? What is the connection between these mistakes and the socialist system of the Soviet Union?

The science of Marxist-Leninist dialectics teaches us that all types of relations of production, as well as the superstructures built up on their basis, have their own course of emergence, development, and extinction. When the old relations of production on the whole no longer correspond to the productive forces, the latter having reached a certain stage of development, and when the old superstructure on the whole no longer fundamentally corresponds to the economic basis, the latter having reached a certain stage of development, then changes of a fundamental nature must inevitably occur; whoever tries to resist such changes is discarded by history. This law is applicable through different forms to all types of society. That is to say, it also applies to socialist society of today and communist society of tomorrow.

Were Stalin's mistakes due to the fact that the socialist economic and political system of the Soviet Union had become outmoded and no longer suited the needs of the development of the Soviet Union? Certainly not. Soviet socialist society is still young; it is not even 40 years old. The fact that the Soviet Union has made rapid progress economically proves that its economic system is, in the main, suited to the development of its productive forces; and that its political system is also, in the main, suited to the needs of its economic basis. Stalin's mistakes did not originate in the socialist system; it therefore follows that it is not necessary to "correct" the socialist system in order to correct these mistakes. The bourgeoisie of the West has not a leg to stand on when it tries to use Stalin's errors to prove that the socialist system is a "mistake." Unconvincing too are the arguments of others who trace Stalin's mistakes to the administration of economic affairs by the socialist state power, and assert that once the government takes charge

of economic affairs it is bound to become a "bureaucratic machine" hindering the development of the socialist forces. No one can deny that the tremendous upsurge of Soviet economy is the result precisely of the planned administration of economic affairs by the state of the working people, while the main mistakes committed by Stalin had very little to do with shortcomings of the state organs administering economic affairs.

But even where the basic system corresponds to the need, there are still certain contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic basis. These contradictions find expression in defects in certain links of the economic and political systems. Though it is not necessary to effect fundamental changes in order to solve these contradictions, readjustments must be made in good time.

Can we guarantee that mistakes will not happen once we have a basic system which corresponds to the need and have adjusted ordinary contradictions in the system (to use the language of dialectics, contradictions at the stage of "quantitative change")? The matter is not that simple. Systems are of decisive importance, but systems themselves are not all-powerful. No system, however excellent, is in itself a guarantee against serious mistakes in our work. Once we have the right system, the main question is whether we can make the right use of it; whether we have the right policies, and right methods and style of work. Without all this, even under a good system it is still possible for people to commit serious mistakes and to use a good state apparatus to do evil things.

To solve the problems mentioned above, we must rely on the accumulation of experience and the test of practice; we cannot expect results overnight. What is more, with conditions constantly changing, new problems arise as old ones are solved, and there is no solution which holds good for all times. Viewed from this angle, it is not surprising to find that even in socialist countries which have been established on a firm basis there are still defects in certain links of their relations of production and superstructure, and deviations of one kind or another in the policies and methods and style of work of the Party and the state.

In the socialist countries, the task of the Communist Party and the state is, by relying on the strength of the masses and the collective, to

make timely readjustments in the various links of the economic and political systems, and to discover and correct mistakes in their work in good time. Naturally, it is not possible for the subjective views of the leading personnel of the Communist Party and the state to conform completely to objective reality. Isolated, local and temporary mistakes in their work are therefore unavoidable. But so long as the principles of the dialectical materialist science of Marxism-Leninism are strictly observed and efforts are made to develop them, so long as the system of democratic centralism of the Party and the state is thoroughly observed, and so long as we really rely on the masses, persistent and serious mistakes affecting the whole country can be avoided.

The reason why some of the mistakes made by Stalin during the later years of his life became serious, nation-wide and persistent, and were not corrected in time, was precisely that in certain fields and to a certain degree, he became isolated from the masses and the collective and violated the principle of democratic centralism of the Party and the state. The reason for certain infractions of democratic centralism lay in certain social and historical conditions: the Party lacked experience in leading the state; the new system was not sufficiently consolidated to be able to resist every encroachment of the influence of the old era (the consolidation of a new system and the dying away of the old influences do not operate in a straightforward fashion but often assume the form of an undulating movement at turning points in history); there was the constricting effect which acute internal and external struggles had on certain aspects of the development of democracy, etc. Nevertheless, these objective conditions alone would not have been enough to transform the possibility of making mistakes into their actual commission. Lenin, working under conditions which were much more complicated and difficult than those encountered by Stalin, did not make the mistakes that Stalin made. Here, the decisive factor is the ideological condition. A series of victories and the eulogies which Stalin received in the latter part of his life turned his head. He deviated partly, but grossly, from the dialectical materialist way of thinking and fell into subjectivism. He began to put blind faith in personal wisdom and authority; he would not investigate and study complicated conditions seriously or listen carefully to the opinions of his comrades and the voice of the masses. As a result, some of the policies and measures he

adopted were often at variance with objective reality. He often stubbornly persisted in carrying out these mistaken measures over long periods and was unable to correct his mistakes in time.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been taking measures to correct Stalin's mistakes and eliminate their consequences. These measures are beginning to bear fruit. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union showed great determination and courage in doing away with blind faith in Stalin, in exposing the gravity of Stalin's mistakes and in eliminating their effects. Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, and all those who sympathize with the communist cause, support the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to correct mistakes, and hope that the efforts of the Soviet comrades will meet with complete success. It is obvious that since Stalin's mistakes were not of short duration, their thorough correction cannot be achieved overnight, but demands fairly protracted efforts and thoroughgoing ideological education. We believe that the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has already overcome countless difficulties, will triumph over these difficulties and achieve its purpose.

It was not to be expected, of course, that this effort of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to correct mistakes would get any support from the bourgeoisie and the the Right-wing Social-Democrats of the West. Eager to take advantage of the opportunity to erase what was correct in Stalin's work as well as the past immense achievements of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp upto now, and to create confusion and division in the communist ranks, the Western bourgeoisie and Right-wing Social-Democrats have deliberately labelled the correction of Stalin's mistakes "de-Stalinization" and described it as a struggle waged by "anti-Stalinist elements" against "Stalinist elements." Their vicious intent is evident enough. Unfortunately, similar views of this kind have also gained ground among some communists. We consider it extremely harmful for communists to hold such views.

As is well known, although Stalin committed some grave mistakes in his later years, his was nevertheless the life of a great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary. In his youth, Stalin fought against the tsarist system and for the spread of Marxism-Leninism. After he joined the central leading organ of the Party, he took part in the struggle to pave the way for the

revolution of 1917. After the October Revolution, he fought to defend its fruits. In the nearly 30 years after Lenin's death, he worked to build socialism, defend the socialist fatherland and advance the world communist movement. All in all, Stalin always stood at the head of historical developments and guided the struggle; he was an implacable foe of imperialism. His tragedy was that even when he made the mistakes he believed what he did was necessary for the defence of the interests of the working people against encroachments by the enemy. Stalin's mistakes did harm to the Soviet Union, which could have been avoided. Nonetheless, the Socialist Soviet Union made tremendous progress during the period of Stalin's leadership. This undeniable fact not only testifies to the strength of the socialist system but also shows that Stalin was after all a staunch communist. Therefore, in summing up Stalin's thoughts and activities, we must consider both his positive and negative sides, both his achievements and his mistakes. As long as we examine the matter in an all-round way, then, even if people must speak of "Stalinism," this can only mean, in the first place, communism and Marxism-Leninism, which is the main aspect; and secondarily it contains certain extremely serious mistakes which go against Marxism-Leninism and must be thoroughly corrected. Even though at times it is necessary to stress these mistakes in order to correct them, it is also necessary to set them in their proper place so as to make a correct appraisal and avoid misleading people. In our opinion Stalin's mistakes take second place to his achievements.

Only by adopting an objective and analytical attitude can we correctly appraise Stalin and all those comrades who made similar mistakes under his influence, and only so can we correctly deal with their mistakes. Since these mistakes were made by communists in the course of their work, what is involved is a question of right and wrong within communist ranks, not an issue of ourselves versus the enemy in the class struggle. We should therefore adopt a comradely attitude towards these people and not treat them as enemies. We should defend what is correct in their work while criticizing their mistakes, and not denounce everything they did. Their mistakes have a social and historical background and can be attributed especially to their ideology and understanding. In just the same way, such mistakes may also occur in the work of other comrades. That is why, having recognised the mistakes

and undertaken their correction, it is necessary that we regard them as a grave lesson, as an asset that can be used for heightening the political consciousness of all communists, thus preventing the recurrence of such mistakes and advancing the cause of communism. If, on the contrary, one takes a completely negative attitude towards those who made mistakes, treats them with hostility and discriminates against them by labelling them this or that kind of element, it will not help our comrades learn the lesson they should learn. Moreover, since this means confusing the two entirely different types of contradiction – that between right and wrong within our own ranks and that between the enemy and ourselves – it will only help the enemy in his attacks on the communist ranks and in his attempts at disintegrating the communist position.

The attitude taken by Comrade Tito and other leading comrades of the Yugoslav League of Communists towards Stalin's mistakes and other related questions, as their recently stated views indicate, cannot be regarded by us as well-balanced or objective. It is understandable that the Yugoslav comrades bear a particular resentment against Stalin's mistakes. In the past, they made worthy efforts to stick to socialism under difficult conditions. Their experiments in the democratic management of economic enterprises and other social organisations have also attracted attention. The Chinese people welcome the reconciliation between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the one hand, and Yugoslavia on the other, as well as the establishment and development of friendly relations between China and Yugoslavia. Like the Yugoslav people, the Chinese people hope that Yugoslavia will become ever more prosperous and powerful on the way to socialism. We also agree with some of the points in Comrade Tito's speech, for instance, his condemnation of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries, his support for the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government of Hungary, his condemnation of Britain, France and Israel for their aggression against Egypt, and his condemnation of the French Socialist Party for adopting a policy of aggression. But we are amazed that, in his speech, he attacked almost all the socialist countries and many of the Communist Parties. Comrade Tito made assertions about "those hard-bitten Stalinist elements who in various Parties have managed still to maintain themselves in their posts and who would again wish to consolidate their rule and impose those Stalinist tendencies upon their

people, and even others." Therefore, he declared, "together with the Polish comrades we shall have to fight such tendencies which crop up in various other Parties, whether in the Eastern countries or in the West." We have not come across any statement put forward by leading comrades of the Polish United Workers' Party saying that it was necessary to adopt such a hostile attitude towards brother parties. We feel it necessary to say in connection with these views of Comrade Tito's that he took up a wrong attitude when he set up the so-called "Stalinism," "Stalinist elements," etc., as objects of attack and maintained that the question now was whether the course "begun in Yugoslavia" or the so-called "Stalinist course" would win out. This can only lead to a split in the communist movement.

Comrade Tito correctly pointed out that "viewing the current development in Hungary from the perspective – socialism or counter-revolution – we must defend Kadar's present government, we must help it." But help to and defence of the Hungarian Government can hardly be said to be the sense of the long speech on the Hungarian question made before the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia by Comrade Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia. In the interpretation of the Hungarian incident he gave in his speech, Comrade Kardelj not only made no distinction whatsoever between ourselves and the enemy, but also told the Hungarian comrades that "a thorough change is necessary in the (Hungarian) political system." He also called on them to turn over state power wholly to the Budapest and other regional workers' councils, "no matter what the workers' councils have become," and declared that they "need not waste their efforts on trying to restore the Communist Party." "The reason," he said, "was because to the masses the Party was the personification of bureaucratic despotism." Such is the blueprint of the "anti-Stalinist course" which Comrade Kardelj has designed for brother countries. The comrades in Hungary rejected this proposal of Comrade Kardelj's. They dissolved the Budapest and other regional workers' councils which were controlled by counter-revolutionaries and persisted in building up the Socialist Workers' Party. We consider that it was entirely right for the Hungarian comrades to act in this way, because otherwise Hungary's future would belong not to socialism but to counter-revolution.

Clearly, the Yugoslav comrades are going too far. Even if some part of their criticism of brother parties is reasonable, the basic stand and the method they have adopted infringed the principles of comradely discussion. We have no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but the matters mentioned above are by no means internal. For the sake of consolidating the unity of the international communist ranks and avoiding the creation of conditions which the enemy can use to cause confusion and division in our own ranks, we cannot but offer our brotherly advice to the Yugoslav comrades.

III

One of the grave consequences of Stalin's mistakes was the growth of doctrinairism. While criticizing Stalin's mistakes, the Communist Parties of various countries have been waging a struggle against doctrinairism among their ranks. This struggle is entirely necessary. But by adopting a negative attitude towards everything connected with Stalin, and by putting up the erroneous slogan of "de-Stalinization," some Communists have helped to foster a revisionist trend against Marxism-Leninism. This revisionist trend is undoubtedly of help to the imperialist attack against the communist movement, and the imperialists are in fact making active use of it. While resolutely opposing doctrinairism, we must at the same time resolutely oppose revisionism.

Marxism-Leninism holds that there are common, fundamental laws in the development of human society, but that in various nations there are strongly differentiated features. Thus all nations pass through the class struggle, and will eventually arrive at communism, by roads that are the same in essence but different in specific form. The cause of the proletariat in a given country will triumph only if the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is properly applied in the light of its special national features. And so long as this is done, the proletariat will accumulate new experience, thus making its contribution to the cause of other nations and to the general treasury of Marxism-Leninism. Doctrinaires do not understand that the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism manifests itself concretely and becomes operative in real life only through the medium of specific national characteristics. They are not willing to make a careful study of the social and historical features of their own countries and nations or to apply in a practical way the universal truth of Marxism-

Leninism in the light of these features. Consequently they cannot lead the proletarian cause to victory.

Since Marxism-Leninism is the scientific summing-up of the experience of the working-class movement of various countries, it follows that it must attach importance to the question of applying the experience of advanced countries. Lenin wrote in his book *What Is To Be Done?* :

The Social-Democratic movement is in its very essence an international movement. This means not only that we must combat national chauvinism, but also that a movement that is starting in a young country can be successful only if it implements the experience of other countries. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Part I, Moscow, 1952, p. 227.)

What Lenin meant here was that it was necessary for the Russian working-class movement, which was just beginning, to utilise the experience of the working-class movement in Western Europe. His view applies, likewise, to the use of Soviet experience by younger social countries.

But there must be a proper method of learning. All the experience of the Soviet Union, including its fundamental experience, is bound up with definite national characteristics, and no other country should copy it mechanically. Moreover, as has been pointed out above, part of Soviet experience is that derived from mistakes and failures. For those who know how best to learn from others this whole body of experience, both of success and failure, is an invaluable asset, because it can help them avoid roundabout ways in their progress and reduce their losses. On the other hand, indiscriminate and mechanical copying of experience that has been successful in the Soviet Union, let alone that which was unsuccessful there – may lead to failures in another country. Lenin wrote in the passage immediately following the one quoted above:

And in order to implement this experience, it is not enough merely to be acquainted with it, or simply to transcribe the latest resolutions. What it requires is the ability to treat this experience critically and to test it independently. Anybody who realises how enormously the modern working-class movement has grown and branched out will understand what a reserve of theoretical forces and political (as well as revolutionary) experience is required to fulfil this task." (V. I. Lenin, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, Part I, pp. 227-28.)

Obviously, in countries where the proletariat has gained power, the problem is many times more complex than that referred to by Lenin here.

In the history of the Communist Party of China between 1931 and 1934, there were doctrinaires who refused to recognise China's specific characteristics, mechanically copied certain experiences of the Soviet Union, and caused serious reverses to the revolutionary forces of our country. These reverses were a profound lesson to our Party. In the period between the Tsunyi Conference of 1935 and the Party's Seventh National Congress held in 1945, our Party thoroughly examined and repudiated this extremely harmful doctrinaire line, united all its members, including those who had made mistakes, developed the people's forces and thus won victory for the revolution. If this had not been done, victory would have been impossible. It is only because we discarded the doctrinaire line that it has become possible for our Party to make fewer mistakes in learning from the experience of the Soviet Union and other brother countries. It is because of this too that we are able to understand fully how necessary and arduous it is for our Polish and Hungarian comrades to correct today the doctrinaire errors of the past.

Errors of doctrinairism, whenever and wherever they occur, must be set right. We shall continue our efforts to correct and prevent such errors in our work. But opposition to doctrinairism has nothing in common with tolerance of revisionism. Marxism-Leninism recognizes that the communist movements of various countries necessarily have their own national characteristics. But this does not at all mean that they do not share certain basic features in common, or that they can depart from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. In the present anti-doctrinaire tide, there are people both in our country and abroad who, on the pretext of opposing the mechanical copying of Soviet experience, try to deny the international significance of the fundamental experience of the Soviet Union and, on the plea of creatively developing Marxism-Leninism, try to deny the significance of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

Because Stalin and the former leaders in some other socialist countries committed the serious mistake of violating socialist democracy, some unstable people in the communist ranks, on the pretext of developing socialist democracy, attempt to weaken or renounce the

dictatorship of the proletariat, the principles of democratic centralism of the socialist state, and the leading role of the Party.

There can be no doubt that in a proletarian dictatorship the dictatorship over the counter-revolutionary forces must be closely combined with the broadest scope of people's, that is, socialist, democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat is mighty and can defeat powerful enemies within the country and outside it and undertake the majestic historic task of building socialism precisely because it is a dictatorship of the working masses over the exploiters – a dictatorship of the majority over the minority – because it gives the broad working masses a democracy which is unattainable under any bourgeois democracy. Failure to forge close links with the mass of the working people and to gain their enthusiastic support makes it impossible to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, or at any rate impossible to consolidate it. The more acute the class struggle becomes, the more necessary it is for the proletariat to rely, most resolutely and completely, on the broad masses of the people and to bring into full play their revolutionary enthusiasm to defeat the counter-revolutionary forces. The experience of the stirring and seething mass struggles in the Soviet Union during the October Revolution and the ensuing civil war proved this truth to the full. It is from Soviet experience in that period that the “mass line” our Party so often talks about was derived. The acute struggles in the Soviet Union then depended mainly on direct action by the mass of the people, and naturally there was little possibility for perfect democratic procedures to develop. After the elimination of the exploiting classes and the wiping out in the main of the counter-revolutionary forces, it was still necessary for the dictatorship of the proletariat to deal with counter-revolutionary remnants – these could not be wiped out completely so long as imperialism existed – but by then its edge should have been mainly directed against the aggressive forces of foreign imperialism. In these circumstances, democratic procedures in the political life of the country should have been gradually developed and perfected; the socialist legal system perfected; supervision by the people over the state organs strengthened; democratic methods of administering the state and managing enterprises developed; links between the state organs and the bodies administering various enterprises on the one hand, and the broad masses on the other, made

closer; hindrances impairing any of these links done away with and a firmer check put on bureaucratic tendencies. After the elimination of classes, the class struggle should not continue to be stressed as though it was being intensified, as was done by Stalin with the result that the healthy development of socialist democracy was hampered. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is completely right in firmly correcting Stalin's mistakes in this respect.

Socialist democracy should in no way be pitted against the dictatorship of the proletariat; nor should it be confused with bourgeois democracy. The sole aim of socialist democracy, in the political, economic and cultural fields alike, is to strengthen the socialist cause of the proletariat and all the working people, to give scope to their energy in the building of socialism and in the fight against all anti-socialist forces. If there is a kind of democracy that can be used for anti-socialist purposes and for weakening the cause of socialism, it certainly cannot be called socialist democracy.

Some people, however, do not see things that way. Their reaction to events in Hungary has revealed this most clearly. In the past the democratic rights and revolutionary enthusiasm of the Hungarian working people were impaired, while the counter-revolutionaries were not dealt the blow they deserved, with the result that it was fairly easy for the counter-revolutionaries, in October 1956, to take advantage of the discontent of the masses to organise an armed revolt. This shows that Hungary had not yet made a serious enough effort to build up its dictatorship of the proletariat. Nevertheless, when Hungary was facing its crisis, when it lay between revolution and counter-revolution, between socialism and fascism, between peace and war, how did communist intellectuals in some countries see the problem? They not only did not raise the question of realising a dictatorship of the proletariat but came out against the righteous action taken by the Soviet Union in aiding the socialist forces in Hungary. They came out with declarations that the counter-revolution in Hungary was a "revolution" and with demands that the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government extend "democracy" to the counter-revolutionaries! In certain socialist countries some newspapers, even to this day, are wantonly discrediting the revolutionary measures taken by the Hungarian Communists who are fighting heroically under difficult conditions, while they have said hardly

a word about the campaign launched by reactionaries all over the world against communism, against the people and against peace. What is the meaning of these strange facts? They mean that those "Socialists" who depart from the dictatorship of the proletariat to prate about "democracy" actually stand with the bourgeoisie in opposition to the proletariat; that they are, in effect, asking for capitalism and opposing socialism, though many among them may themselves be unaware of that fact. Lenin pointed out time and again that the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most essential part of Marxism; that acceptance or rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat is "what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois." (V.I. Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 233.) Lenin asked the Hungarian proletarian regime of 1919 to use "mercilessly rigorous, swift and resolute force" to suppress the counter-revolutionaries. "Whoever does not understand this," he said, "is not a revolutionary, and must be removed from the post of leader or adviser of the proletariat." (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 209.) So if people reject the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat, if they slanderously dub these principles "Stalinism" and "doctrinairism" simply because they have perceived the mistakes committed by Stalin in the latter part of his life and those made by the former Hungarian leaders, they will be taking the path that leads to betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and away from the cause of proletarian revolution.

Those who reject the dictatorship of the proletariat also deny the need for centralism in socialist democracy and the leading role played by the proletarian party in socialist countries. To Marxist-Leninists, of course, such ideas are nothing new. Engels pointed out long ago, when struggling against the anarchists, that as long as there is concerted action in any social organisation there must be a certain degree of authority and subordination. The relation between authority and autonomy is relative and the scope of their application changes with different stages of the development of society. Engels said that "it is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely-good," (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1955, p. 637.) and that for anyone to insist on such an absurdity was in fact to "serve reaction." (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 638.) In the struggle against the Mensheviks, Lenin brought out most clearly

the decisive significance of the organised leadership of the Party for the proletarian cause. When criticising “Left-wing” communism in Germany in 1920, Lenin stressed that to deny the leading role of the Party, to deny the part played by leaders and to reject discipline, “is tantamount” to completely disarming the proletariat in the interest of the bourgeoisie. It is tantamount to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness, instability, incapacity for sustained effort, unity and organised action, which, if indulged in, must inevitably destroy every proletarian revolutionary movement.”(V.I.Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol.II, Part 2,Moscow, p.366.) Have these principles become obsolete? Are they inapplicable to the specific conditions in certain countries? Will their application lead to the repetition of Stalin’s mistakes? The answer is obviously “no.” These principles of Marxism-Leninism have stood the test of history in the development of the international communist movement and of the socialist countries, and not a single case that can be called an exception to them has been found so far. Stalin’s mistakes did not lie in the practice of democratic centralism in state affairs, nor in putting leadership by the Party into effect; it lay precisely in the fact that, in certain fields and to a certain degree, he undermined democratic centralism and leadership by the Party. The correct practice of democratic centralism in state affairs and the proper strengthening of leadership by the Party in the socialist cause are the basic guarantees that the countries in the socialist camp will be able to unite their people, defeat their enemies, overcome their difficulties and grow vigorously. It is precisely for this reason that the imperialists and all counter-revolutionaries, bent on attacking our cause, have always demanded that we “liberalise,” that they have always concentrated their forces on wrecking the leading bodies of our cause, and on destroying the Communist Party, the core of the proletariat. They have expressed great satisfaction at the current “instability” in certain socialist countries, which has resulted from the impairment of discipline in the Party and the state organs, and are taking advantage of this to intensify their acts of sabotage. These facts show of what great importance it is, in the basic interests of the masses of the people, to uphold the authority of democratic centralism and the leading role of the Party. There is no doubt that the centralism in the system of democratic centralism must rest on a broad basis of democracy, and that the Party leadership must

maintain close ties with the masses. Any shortcomings in this respect must be firmly criticised and overcome. But such criticism should be made only for the purpose of consolidating democratic centralism and of strengthening the leadership of the Party. It should in no circumstances bring about disorganisation and confusion in the ranks of the proletariat, as our enemies desire.

Among those who are trying to revise Marxism-Leninism on the pretext of combating doctrinairism, some simply deny that there is a demarcation line between the proletarian and the bourgeois dictatorships, between the socialist and the capitalist systems and between the socialist and the imperialist camps. According to them, it is possible for certain bourgeois countries to build socialism without going through a proletarian revolution led by the party of the proletariat and without setting up a state led by the party; they think that the state capitalism in those countries is in fact socialism, and that even human society as a whole is "growing" into socialism. But while these people are publicising such ideas, the imperialists are mobilising all available military, economic, diplomatic, espionage and "moral" forces, actively preparing to "undermine" and "disrupt" socialist countries which have been established for many years. The bourgeois counter-revolutionaries of these countries, whether hiding at home or living in exile, are still making every effort to stage a come-back. While the revisionist trend serves the interest of the imperialists, the actions of the imperialists do not benefit revisionism but point to its bankruptcy.

IV

It is one of the most urgent tasks of the proletariat of all countries in its fight against imperialist onslaughts to strengthen its international solidarity. The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries are trying in a thousand and one ways to make use of narrow nationalist sentiments and of certain national estrangements among the peoples to wreck this solidarity, thereby destroying the communist cause. Staunch proletarian revolutionaries firmly uphold this solidarity, which they regard as being in the common interest of the proletariat of all countries. Wavering elements have taken no firm, clear-cut stand on this question.

The communist movement has been an international movement

from its very inception, because the proletariat of various countries can throw off joint oppression by the bourgeoisie of various countries and attain its common aim only by joint effort. This international solidarity of the communist movement has been of great help to the proletariat of various countries in developing its revolutionary cause.

The triumph of the Russian October Revolution gave enormous impetus to the fresh advances of the international proletarian revolutionary movement. In the 39 years since the October Revolution, the achievements of the international communist movement have been immense, and it has become a powerful, world-wide political force. The world proletariat and all who long for emancipation place all their hopes for a bright future for mankind on the victory of this movement.

During the past 39 years the Soviet Union has been the centre of the international communist movement, owing to the fact that it is the first country where socialism triumphed, while after the appearance of the camp of socialism – the most powerful country in the camp, having the richest experience and capable of rendering the greatest assistance to other socialist countries and to the peoples of various countries in the capitalist world. This is not the result of anyone's arbitrary decision, but the natural outcome of historical conditions. In the interests of the common cause of the proletariat of different countries, of joint resistance to the attack on the socialist cause by the imperialist camp headed by the United States, and of the economic and cultural upsurge common to all socialist countries, we must continue to strengthen international proletarian solidarity with the Soviet Union as its centre.

The international solidarity of the Communist Parties is a type of relationship entirely new to human history. It is natural that its development cannot be free from difficulties. The Communist Parties of all countries must seek unity with each other as well as maintain their respective independence. Historical experience proves that mistakes are bound to occur if there is no proper integration of these two aspects, and one or the other is neglected. If the Communist Parties maintain relations of equality among themselves and reach common understanding and take concerted action through genuine, and not nominal, exchange of views, their unity will be strengthened. Conversely, if, in their mutual relations, one Party imposes its views upon others, or if the Parties use the method of interference in each other's internal

affairs instead of comradely suggestions and criticism, their unity will be impaired.

In the socialist countries, the Communist Parties have assumed the responsibility of leadership in the affairs of the state, and relations between them often involve directly the relations between their respective countries and peoples, so the proper handling of such relations has become a problem demanding even greater care.

Marxism-Leninism has always insisted upon combining proletarian internationalism with the patriotism of the people of each country. Each Communist Party must educate its members and the people in a spirit of internationalism, because the true national interests of all peoples call for friendly cooperation among nations. On the other hand, each Communist Party must represent the legitimate national interests and sentiments of its own people. Communists have always been true patriots, and they understand that it is only when they correctly represent the interests and sentiments of their nation can they really enjoy the trust and love of the broad mass of their own people, effectively educate them in internationalism and harmonise the national sentiments and interests of the peoples of different countries.

To strengthen the international solidarity of the socialist countries, the Communist Parties of these countries must each respect the national interests and sentiments of other countries. This is of special importance for the Communist Party of a larger country in its relations with that of a smaller one. To avoid any resentment on the part of the smaller country, the Party of a larger country must constantly take care to maintain an attitude of equality. As Lenin rightly said, "It is the duty of the class-conscious communist proletariat of all countries to treat with particular caution and attention the survivals of national sentiments among the countries and nationalities which have been longest oppressed for the longest periods with special caution and special attention." (V. I. Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 469-470.)

As we have already said, Stalin displayed certain great-nation chauvinist tendencies in relations with brother parties and countries. The essence of such tendencies lies in being unmindful of the independent and equal status of the Communist Parties of various lands and that of the socialist countries within the framework of international bond of union. There are certain historical reasons for such tendencies.

The time-worn habits of big countries in their relations with small countries continue to make their influence felt in certain ways, while a series of victories achieved by a Party or a country in its revolutionary cause is apt to give rise to a certain sense of superiority.

For these reasons, systematic efforts are needed to overcome great-nation chauvinist tendencies. Great-nation chauvinism is not peculiar to any one country. For instance, country B may be small and backward compared to country A, but big and advanced compared to country C. Thus country B, while complaining of great-nation chauvinism on the part of country A, may often assume the airs of a great nation in relation to country C. What we Chinese especially must bear in mind is that China too was a big empire during the Han, Tang, Ming and Ching dynasties. Although it is true that in the hundred years after the middle of the 19th century, China became a victim of aggression and a semi-colony and although she is still economically and culturally backward today, nevertheless, under changed conditions, great-nation chauvinist tendencies will certainly become a serious danger if we do not take every precaution to guard against them. It should, furthermore, be pointed out that some signs of this danger have already begun to appear among some of our personnel. That was why emphasis on fighting the tendency towards great-nation chauvinism was laid both in the resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China issued on November 1, 1956.

But it is not great-nation chauvinism alone that hinders international proletarian unity. In the course of history, big countries have shown disrespect for small countries and even oppressed them; and small countries have distrusted big ones and even become hostile to them. Both tendencies still exist to a greater or lesser extent among the peoples and even in the ranks of the proletariat of various countries. That is why, in order to strengthen the international solidarity of the proletariat, apart from the primary task of overcoming great-nation chauvinist tendencies in bigger countries, it is also necessary to overcome nationalist tendencies in smaller countries. No matter whether their country is big or small, if Communists counterpose the interests of their own country and nation to the general interest of the international proletarian movement, and if they make national interests a pretext for

opposing the general interest, and not really upholding international proletarian solidarity in actual practice but on the contrary damaging it, they will be committing a serious mistake of violating the principles of internationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

Stalin's mistakes aroused grave dissatisfaction among people in certain East European countries. But then neither is the attitude of some people in these countries towards the Soviet Union justified. Bourgeois nationalists try their best to exaggerate shortcomings of the Soviet Union and repudiate the contributions it has made. They attempt to prevent the people from thinking how the imperialists would treat their countries and their peoples if the Soviet Union did not exist. We Chinese Communists are very glad to see that the Communist Parties of Poland and Hungary are already putting a firm check on the activities of evil elements that fabricate anti-Soviet rumours and stir up national antagonisms in relations with brother countries, and also that these Parties have set to work to dispel nationalist prejudices existing among some sections of the masses and even among some Party members. This is clearly one of the steps urgently needed to consolidate friendly relations among the socialist countries.

As we pointed out above, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has, in the main, conformed to the interests of the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world. In the past 39 years, the Soviet people have made tremendous efforts and heroic sacrifices in aiding the cause of the peoples of the various countries. Mistakes, committed by Stalin certainly cannot detract from these historic achievements of the great Soviet people.

The Soviet Government's efforts to improve relations with Yugoslavia, its declaration of October 30, 1956, and its talks with Poland in November 1956 all manifest the determination of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government to thoroughly eliminate past mistakes in foreign relations. These steps by the Soviet Union are an important contribution to the strengthening of the international solidarity of the proletariat.

Obviously, at the present moment, when the imperialists are launching frenzied attacks on the communist ranks in the various countries, it is necessary for the proletariat of all nations to strive to strengthen its solidarity. Faced as we are with powerful enemies, no

word or deed which harms the solidarity of the international communist ranks, no matter what name it goes by, can hope to receive any sympathy from the communists and working people of the various countries.

The strengthening of the international solidarity of the proletariat, with the Soviet Union as its core, is not only in the interests of world proletariat but also in the interests of the independence movement of all oppressed nations and of world peace. Through their own experience, the broad masses of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America find it easy to understand who are their enemies and who their friends. That is why the imperialist-instigated campaign against communism, against the people and against peace has evoked such a faint response, and that from only a handful among the more than one thousand million people who inhabit these continents. Facts prove that the Soviet Union, China, the other socialist countries and the revolutionary proletariat in the imperialist countries are all staunch supporters of Egypt's struggle against aggression, and of the independence movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The socialist countries, the proletariat in the imperialist countries, and the countries striving for national independence – these three forces have bonds of common interest in their struggle against imperialism and their mutual support and assistance is of the greatest significance to the future of mankind and world peace. Recently the imperialist forces of aggression have again created a certain degree of tension in the international situation. But by the joint struggle of the three forces we have mentioned, plus the concerted efforts of all other peace-loving forces in the world, a new lessening of such tension can be achieved. The imperialist forces of aggression failed to gain anything from their invasion of Egypt; instead, they were dealt a telling blow. Furthermore, thanks to the help given by the Soviet troops to the Hungarian people, the imperialists were frustrated in their plan to build an outpost of war in Eastern Europe and to disrupt the solidarity of the socialist camp. The socialist countries are persisting in their efforts for peaceful co-existence with the capitalist countries, to develop diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with them, to settle international disputes through peaceful negotiations, to oppose preparations for a new world war, to expand the peace area in the world, and to broaden the scope of application of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. All these

efforts will certainly win ever more sympathy from the oppressed nations and the peace-loving people throughout the world. The strengthening of the international solidarity of the proletariat will make the warlike imperialists think twice before embarking upon new adventures. Therefore, despite the fact that the imperialists are still trying to resist the efforts described above, the forces for peace will eventually triumph over the forces for war.

* * *

The international communist movement has a history of only 92 years, reckoning from the establishment of the First International in 1864. Despite many ups and downs, the progress of the movement as a whole has been very rapid. During the First World War, there appeared the Soviet Union, covering one-sixth of the earth. After the Second World War, there appeared the camp of socialism, which now has a third of the world's population. When the socialist states commit errors of one kind or another, our enemies are elated while some of our comrades and friends become dejected; a number of them even waver in their confidence as to the future of the communist cause. However there is little ground for our enemies to rejoice or for our comrades and friends to feel dejected or to waver. The proletariat has begun to rule the state for the first time in history: in some countries this occurred only a few years ago, and in the oldest only a few decades ago. So how could any one expect that no failures would be encountered? Temporary and partial failures have occurred, are still occurring, and may also occur in the future. But a person with foresight will not feel dejected and pessimistic because of them. Failure is the mother of success. It is precisely the recent temporary, partial failures that have enriched the political experience of the international proletariat and will help to pave the way for great successes in the years to come. Compared with the history of the bourgeois revolutions in Britain and France, the failures in our cause are virtually of no account. The bourgeois revolution in Britain started in 1640. The defeat of the king was followed by Cromwell's dictatorship. Then came the restoration of the old royal house in 1660. It was not until 1688 when the bourgeois party staged a coup d'etat inviting to England a king who brought along with him troops and naval forces from the Netherlands that the British bourgeois

dictatorship was consolidated. During the 86 years from the outbreak of the French revolution in 1789 to 1875, when the Third Republic was established, the bourgeois revolution in France went through a particularly stormy period, swinging in rapid succession between progress and reaction, republicanism and monarchy, revolutionary terror and counter-revolutionary terror, civil war and foreign war, the conquest of foreign lands and capitulation to foreign states. Although the socialist revolution faces the concerted opposition of the reactionaries throughout the world, its course as a whole is smooth and remarkably steady. This is a true reflection of the unparalleled vitality of the socialist system. Though the international communist movement met with some setbacks recently, we have learned many useful lessons from them. We have corrected, or are correcting, the mistakes in our own ranks which need to be rectified. When these errors are righted, we shall be stronger and more firmly united than ever before. Contrary to the expectation of our enemies, the cause of the proletariat will not be thrown back but will make ever more progress.

But the fate of imperialism is quite different. There, in the imperialist world, fundamental clashes of interest exist between imperialism and the oppressed nations, among the imperialist countries themselves, and between the government and the people of these imperialist countries. These clashes will grow more and more acute and there is no cure for them.

Of course, in many respects, the new-born system of proletarian dictatorship still faces many difficulties, and has many weaknesses. But, compared with the time when the Soviet Union was struggling alone, the situation is a good deal better. And what new birth is not attended with difficulties and weaknesses? The issue is the future. However many twists and turns may await us on our forward journey, humanity will eventually reach its bright destiny – communism. There is no force that can stop it.

MODERN REVISIONISM MUST BE REPUDIATED

Today marks the 140th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism. Since 1844, Marxism has been carrying on a persistent struggle against reactionary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas of every description and against opportunist ideas of every variety within the ranks of the international workers' movement. Marxism has scored one victory after another in the struggle, because revolutionary practice has testified to its correctness. It was in the course of the struggle in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution that Lenin developed Marxism and carried it forward to a new stage, the stage of Leninism. Now the international workers' movement has placed before Marxism-Leninism a new sacred task: to wage an irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism or neo-Bernsteinism. This is a struggle between two fundamentally different lines: Marxism-Leninism versus anti-Marxism-Leninism, a great struggle involving the success or failure of the cause of the working class of the world and the cause of socialism.

ANTI-MARXIST-LENINIST PROGRAMME

The Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which ended recently has adopted a "Draft Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia" which is an anti-Marxist-Leninist, out-and-out revisionist programme. To sum it up briefly, the draft programme substitutes sophistry for revolutionary materialistic dialectics in method of thinking; politically, it substitutes the reactionary theory of the state standing above classes for the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, and reactionary bourgeois nationalism for revolutionary

This is the full text of the *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) editorial of May 5, 1958.

proletarian internationalism; in political economy, it defends monopoly capital and tries to obscure the fundamental differences between the capitalist and socialist systems. The draft programme openly betrays the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, sets itself against the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries held in Moscow last November, and at the same time turns against the "Peace Manifesto" adopted by the meeting of representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties, endorsed by the representatives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia themselves. The draft programme brands all the basic principles of revolutionary theory established by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin and other great Marxists as "dogmatism," and the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia call themselves "irreconcilable enemies of any dogmatism."

What are the most fundamental things in the "dogmatism" which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have chosen to attack? They are proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. But as everybody knows without proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship there can be no socialism. The Draft Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia centres its attacks on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, besmirches the socialist state and the socialist camp, and gilds capitalism, the imperialist state and the imperialist camp. This cannot but give rise to doubts about the "socialism" avowed by the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT SLANDERED

Speaking like the reactionaries of all countries and the Chinese bourgeois rightists, the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia viciously slanders proletarian dictatorship, alleging that it "leads to bureaucratism, the ideology of etatism, separation of the leading political forces from the working masses, stagnation, the deformation of socialist development, and the sharpening of internal differences and contradictions." They maliciously slander the socialist camp, alleging that it also has a policy of "positions of strength and struggle for hegemony." They describe the two fundamentally different world

politico-economic systems, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, as "division of the world into two antagonistic military-political blocs." They represent themselves as standing outside the "two blocs" of socialism and imperialism, that is, standing in a so-called position beyond the blocs. They hold that the US-dominated United Nations can "bring about greater and greater unification of the world," that economic cooperation of all countries of the world, including the imperialist countries, is "an integral part of the socialist road to the development of world economy." They maintain that "the swelling flow of state-capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the most tangible proof that mankind is irrepressibly and by the most diverse roads deeply entering into the epoch of socialism." These propositions cannot but call to mind the revisionist preachings about "evolutionary socialism," "ultra-imperialism," "organised capitalism," "the peaceful growing of capitalism into socialism," etc. made by such right-wing socialists in the late 19th century and early 20th century, as Bernstein, Kautsky, Hilferding and their ilk, which were intended to lure the working class in the various capitalist countries to abandon revolutionary struggle for socialism and uphold bourgeois rule. Now, the preachings of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia also contain a preposterous design against the working class and other labouring people of various countries, that is, to lure the workers and other labouring people to take the road of surrender to capitalism. In his speech delivered at Pula in November 1956, Tito, leader of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, said: "What is actually involved is whether the new trend will triumph in the communist parties the trend which really began in "Yugoslavia". He also said: "It is a question now whether this course (the so-called Yugoslav course – Editor *Renmin Ribao*) will be victorious or whether the Stalinist course will prevail again. Yugoslavia must not concentrate on herself, she must work in all directions." These words fully expose what their true ambition is.

It is no accident that the Draft Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has appeared at the present time. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the international communist movement has achieved a series of great historic victories, the socialist system has been successfully established among a population of 900 million and more, and the general crisis of capitalism has broadened

out greatly, with the imperialist countries headed by the United States experiencing a new and profound cyclical economic crisis. Therefore the imperialists, led by the United States, are stepping up their sabotage against the international communist movement. There are only two methods to which the bourgeoisie has resorted to undermine the workers' movement suppression by brute force and deceit. In the present new international situation, when the revisionist harangues of the right-wing socialists are daily losing their paralysing effect on the working class and the labouring masses, the programme put forward by the Yugoslav revisionists fits in exactly with the need of the imperialists, and particularly the American imperialists.

REVISIONISM IS THE MAIN DANGER

In his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Revisionism, or rightist opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought which is even more dangerous than doctrinairism. The revisionists, or right opportunists, pay lip service to Marxism and also attack 'doctrinairism.' But the real target of their attack is actually the most fundamental elements of Marxism." Facts have proven that what Comrade Mao Tse-tung says here is not only directed to the situation in our country, but also fits the international situation well.

The Declaration of the meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries says: "The main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, right-wing opportunism, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyses the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism." It further points out with special emphasis: "Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is 'outmoded' and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to exorcise the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist

party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism, and call for rejection of the Leninist Principles of Party Organisation and above all, of democratic centralism, and for transforming the Communist party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society." The Declaration clearly depicts the true face of the modern revisionists. The content of the Draft Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia shows that face precisely.

It is quite obvious that the series of anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist views assembled in the Draft Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia must be openly and uncompromisingly criticised and repudiated. If theoretical criticism of the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky and their ilk, by the Marxists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was inevitable, then it is even more necessary for us to repudiate neo-Bernsteinism now. This is because modern revisionism is set forth as a comprehensive and systematic programme by the leading group of a party that wields state power; because modern revisionism is aimed at splitting the international communist movement and undermining the solidarity of the socialist countries, and is directly harmful to the fundamental interests of the Yugoslav people.

We consider as basically correct the criticism made in June 1949 by the Information Bureau of Communist Parties in its resolution, "Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" in regard to the mistake of the Yugoslav Communist Party in departing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and sinking into bourgeois nationalism; but there were defects and mistakes in the method adopted at that time by the Information Bureau in dealing with this question. The resolution concerning Yugoslavia adopted by the Information Bureau in November 1949 was incorrect and it was later withdrawn by the Communist and Workers' Parties which took part in the Information Bureau meeting. Since 1954, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp have done their utmost and taken various measures to improve their relations with Yugoslavia. This was entirely correct and necessary. The Communist Parties of various countries have adopted an attitude of waiting patiently, hoping that the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia may return to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint in the interest of adherence to the road of socialism by the Yugoslav

people. However, the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has spurned the well-intentioned efforts made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communists of other countries. Around the time of the Hungarian events, they tried to disrupt the unity of the countries in the socialist camp on the pretext of so-called "opposition to Stalinism"; during the Hungarian events, they supported the renegade Nagy clique; and, in their recent Congress, they have gone further and put forward a systematic and comprehensive revisionist programme. The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should think soberly: Will the League of Communists of Yugoslavia be able to maintain its solidarity with the Communist Parties of other countries by abandoning the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and persisting in revisionist viewpoints? Can there be a basis for solidarity without a common Marxist-Leninist viewpoint? Will it be in the interests of the Yugoslav people to reject friendship with the countries in the socialist camp and with the Communist Parties of other countries?

We deem it absolutely necessary to distinguish between right and wrong on vital questions in the international workers' movement. As Lenin said: "A policy based on principle is the only correct policy." The world is now at a new historic turning point with the east wind prevailing over the west wind. The struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line is nothing but a reflection of the sharpening struggle between the rising class forces and the moribund class forces in society, a reflection of the sharpening struggle between the imperialist world and the socialist world. It is impossible for any Marxist-Leninist to escape this struggle. Historical developments will testify ever more clearly to the great significance of this struggle for the international Communist movement!

RESOLUTION ON THE MOSCOW MEETINGS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**Adopted on May 23, 1958, by the Second Session of the
Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China**

The Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, at its Second Session, having heard the report delivered by Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping on the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow from November 14 to 16, 1957, and the meeting of representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties held from November 16 to 19, unanimously endorses the Declarations adopted by the two meetings and expresses satisfaction with the work of the delegation of the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung during the two meetings.

The Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries and the two Declarations they adopted ushered in a new stage in the international communist movement of our time and were a very great inspiration to the labouring people and all forces for peace, democracy and progress throughout the world. The Communist Parties throughout the world have welcomed and given their support to the two Declarations. The Communist Party of the United States of America, after clearing out the revisionist John Gates, has also endorsed the stand taken by these Declarations. Only the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has not only openly assumed an attitude of opposition to the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist

Source : Resolution of the Moscow Meetings of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, adopted on May 23, 1958, by the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1958.

and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, but has also adopted an anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist programme at its Seventh Congress, and set it against the Declaration of the Moscow meeting. At their Congress, in an effort to defend their anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist programme, Tito and other leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia made a series of vicious attacks against the international communist movement and the socialist camp with the Soviet Union as its centre, whereas in regard to US imperialism, that most ferocious enemy of the people in every part of the world, they were sycophantic and deeply grateful.

At present, the international communist movement has the important responsibility to adhere firmly to the viewpoints expressed in the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, to defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and oppose modern revisionism.

The Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries sums up the experience of the international communist movement in the past century, especially in the past forty years; expounds the common principles which the Communist Parties of all countries must abide by in the socialist revolution and socialist construction; puts forward the basic policy of the Communist Parties in rallying the broad masses of the people to the struggle for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism; it lays the ideological and political foundation for solidarity among the Communist Parties and strengthens the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. It is an epoch-making document, which is in the nature of a programme for the international communist movement.

Analysing the current international situation, the Declaration points out that "world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems," that "while socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline," that the colonial system is crumbling and that "capitalist economy is bound to encounter new deep slumps and crises." It points out that the question of war or peaceful co-existence has become the basic issue in world politics, while the existence of imperialism is the source of aggressive wars. It points out that the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States have become the centre of world reaction,

the most deadly enemy of the peoples. It says: "By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are courting their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers." At the same time, the Declaration points out that the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting wars and that at the forefront of the forces of peace is the indestructible socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The Declaration says: "An alliance of these mighty forces can prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism will doom itself to destruction, for the peoples will not tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices."

The Peace Manifesto adopted at the meeting of representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties points out that the threat to peace and the security of the people comes from "the capitalist monopolies which have amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive." It appeals to people of goodwill throughout the world: Organise and fight for peace!

The correctness of the appraisal of the international situation made in the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is confirmed by the development of events. In the past six months, in the socialist camp, economic and cultural construction in the Soviet Union, China and many other brother countries has shown a continuous upward trend. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, there has been a fresh advance in the national liberation movement waged against the imperialists and their lackeys, and in some countries fierce struggle is going on. Meanwhile, the imperialist countries have landed in a new, grave and deep economic crisis. This began first in the United States, where capitalism is most developed, and the economic crisis of the United States is now hitting the whole capitalist world. On the issue of peace or war, the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania and other brother countries have put forward a series of peace proposals. The Soviet Union has stopped the testing of nuclear weapons before others; the Governments of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and of our own country jointly decided to withdraw the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea. These facts demonstrate to the people throughout the world the determination of the countries in the socialist camp to do

all in their power to secure peace. Despite the desire for peace of the people of all countries, the aggressive bloc headed by the US imperialists persists up to now in its refusal to stop nuclear tests, to end the cold war, to reduce armaments and to withdraw its troops from Korea, and it is doing all it can to delay the convening of a summit conference. The US imperialists have been occupying our Taiwan. They have gone so far as to interfere openly in the internal affairs of Indonesia, aiding and abetting and supplying the insurgent clique in that country with materials and now they interfering in the internal affairs of the Lebanon. We must be awake to the fact that US imperialism and the imperialist bloc headed by it are still actively threatening war, preparing for new wars, stepping up their political, economic and cultural aggression against many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, undermining the internal unity of these countries and even resorting to armed force to suppress national liberation movements. It is our task to rally the peace-loving forces of the whole world to safeguard peace and smash the war schemes of the aggressive imperialist bloc headed by the United States.

The Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries points out that in adhering to the principle of combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in various countries, attention must be paid to overcoming revisionism and doctrinairism. The Declaration lays stress on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism – dialectical materialism – refutes metaphysics and idealism, and holds that “the application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of Party functionaries and the broad masses in Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties.” To the question of what is the main danger now facing the international communist movement, the Declaration gives this clear-cut answer: “The main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, right-wing opportunism, which, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology, paralyses the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism.” The Declaration points out: “The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source.” Making a special note of the emergence of modern revisionism, the Declaration points out: “Modern

revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is 'outmoded' and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to exercise the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principle of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the basic Leninist principles of Party organisation and, above all, of democratic centralism and for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society."

We Chinese Communists, like the Communists of other countries, note with pleasure that since the publication of the Declaration, fresh achievements have been made by the fraternal Parties in the countries of the socialist camp in socialist revolution and socialist construction, in ideological and political work and in unity and cooperation. New progress has also been made by the fraternal Parties in the capitalist countries in the struggle against revisionism and right-wing renegades, in the work of consolidating their own ranks, defending the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party and increasing its militant strength, and in the work of establishing close ties with the workers, peasants and the rest of the broad masses of the labouring people.

It is clear that, to wage a joint struggle against imperialism for the common cause of the proletariat of the whole world, the unity and solidarity of the communist Parties in all countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is of special importance. Brother Parties should strengthen their mutual contacts. All talk and action that go against this unity and solidarity are harmful, they must be resolutely opposed.

The truth of the judgment made in the Declaration that the main danger at present is revisionism, that is right-wing opportunism, has also been confirmed by the facts. On a series of fundamental questions, the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia recently approved by its Seventh Congress betrays the principles of Marxism-Leninism, sets itself against the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, and turns against the Peace Manifesto adopted by the meeting

of representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties, which bears the signature of the representative of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Just as the Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has the right to adopt its programme, so the Communist Parties of other countries have the right, as well as the obligation, to criticise and repudiate this revisionist programme in their effort to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

This programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia asserts, on the one hand, that "the swelling wave of state-capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the most obvious proof that mankind is indomitably moving into the era of socialism through a wide variety of different roads," and that the state apparatus in the capitalist world is "a regulator in the sphere of labour and property relationships, of social rights and social services and other social relations," which tends increasingly "to restrict the role of private capital" and "deprive the owners of private capital of certain independent functions in the economy and in the society." On the other hand, the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia describes ownership by the whole people, that is ownership by the state, in the socialist countries as "state capitalism," and they hold that it is directly from the foundation of this so-called "state capitalism" that "bureaucracy and bureaucratic-statist deformities" are produced. In this way the Programme smears socialism and glorifies capitalism, smears the proletarian dictatorship and glorifies the bourgeois dictatorship.

The Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia holds that "factors of socialism" are taking shape in the capitalist countries and that provided the working class, "exercises incessant pressure" on the bourgeois state apparatus and strives to "win a decisive influence" in it, it will be possible to "secure the development of socialism." Here, in an attempt to sap the revolutionary energy of the working class in capitalist countries the Programme spreads the erroneous view that there is no need to carry out the proletarian revolution, no need to smash the capitalist state machine, no need to set up a proletarian dictatorship.

The leading groups of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia claim to be standing outside the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. In fact this is not so; they have always directed the spearhead of their attack against the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, but have

not dared to touch US imperialism in the least. They describe the two fundamentally different world economic-political systems, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, as a "division of the world into two antagonist military-political blocs" and do their utmost to smear the socialist camp and glorify the imperialist camp. It should be pointed out that quite a number of countries, though they are not socialist countries, have adopted the policy of neutrality which opposes war and supports peace. This is of positive significance to the maintenance of world peace; it is opposed by the aggressive imperialist forces, but has the sympathy of the peace-loving peoples of all countries. On the other hand, the so-called position outside the blocs advocated by the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which aims at disrupting the solidarity of the socialist countries, caters to the policy of the imperialists headed by the United States against communism, against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. That is why it is applauded and rewarded by the US imperialists.

The Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia quotes some phrases of Marxism-Leninism just to disguise itself with a cloak of Marxism-Leninism and thus makes it easier to deceive others. In method of thinking, the Programme substitutes for revolutionary materialistic dialectics a sophistry which turns the facts upside down and confuses right with wrong; politically it substitutes the reactionary theory of the state standing above classes for the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, and reactionary bourgeois nationalism for revolutionary proletarian internationalism; in political economy, it defends monopoly capital and obscures the fundamental differences between capitalism and socialism. The Yugoslav revisionists betray the Marxist-Leninist theories concerning the class struggle of the proletariat, the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, and thus completely forsake the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the political party of the proletariat. In a wild attempt to undermine and disintegrate the Communist Parties of various countries, they propagate a series of absurdities which deny the leading role of the Communist Party in socialist revolution and socialist construction, attack the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries, and slander the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries as "ceasing to act as a revolutionary creative factor and motive power of social development in their respective countries."

This out-and-out revisionist programme is put forward for the purpose of splitting the international communist movement. It is propounded at the very time when the general crisis of capitalism is deepening and when the revisionist harangues of the right-wing socialists are daily losing their paralysing effect on the working class and the labouring masses. That is why the service rendered by this Programme to imperialism, especially US imperialism, is tantamount to "sending it a present of firewood in cold weather."

The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party at its Second Session considers as basically correct and necessary the criticism made in 1948 by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in its resolution "Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" in regard to the fact that the Yugoslav Communist Party departed from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and took the wrong road of bourgeois nationalism, although there were defects and mistakes in the methods adopted at that time in dealing with this issue. Our Party agreed with and supported that criticism. The second resolution concerning the Yugoslav Communist Party adopted by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1949, however, was incorrect and it was later withdrawn by the Communist Parties which took part in the Information Bureau meeting. Since 1954, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov initiated improvement in relations with Yugoslavia and has adopted a series of measures to this end. This was entirely necessary and correct. This initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had the approval of all socialist countries and the Communist Parties of various countries. We also took similar steps to those of the Soviet Union and established relations between China and Yugoslavia and between the Chinese and Yugoslav Parties. Starting from the desire for unity, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and some other Communist Parties concerned made necessary self-criticism of past defects in their relations with Yugoslavia. In order to improve relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Communist Parties of various countries have since then made their best efforts, waiting patiently for the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to return to the stand of Marxism-Leninism. But the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

have completely ignored the well-intentioned efforts of the Communist Parties of various countries; they have failed to realise their own mistakes and have not made any self-criticism. Furthermore, they have continuously attacked and slandered the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of various countries, and have gone so far as to echo the attacks of the imperialists against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. They played the inglorious role of provocateur and interventionist in the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary. Their schemes failed only because the leading comrades of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party consistently maintained a principle and correct attitude during and after suppressing the counter-revolutionary uprising. And now, when the Moscow meetings have strengthened the solidarity of the Communist Parties of various countries, they display a stubborn anti-Marxist-Leninist standpoint in their Programme and intensive hostility towards the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of various countries. There is no doubt that by this stand and conduct, the Yugoslav leaders have alienated themselves from the ranks of the international communist movement. This is in no way in the interests of the true Communists of Yugoslavia and of the Yugoslav people.

The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party at its Second Session fully endorses the decision of the Party's Central Committee not to send a delegation, but only an observer to be present at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. It is the unanimous opinion of the Congress that a resolute struggle must be waged against the modern revisionism which has emerged in the international communist movement. It is the sacred duty of our Party towards the international working class to work, together with the fraternal Parties, for the complete defeat of modern revisionism politically and theoretically, and for the safeguarding of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, at its Second Session, expresses full confidence that the cause of peace, democracy and socialism will win through all obstacles to score fresh and still greater victories throughout the world.

YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM – PRODUCT OF IMPERIALIST POLICY

by CHEN PO-TA

The struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries against the revisionism of the Yugoslav leading group headed by Tito is a big event in current international affairs. The Tito group provoked it. The programme which it put forward unleashed an attack all along the line against Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, in the belief that in this way it could weaken the positions of Marxism-Leninism and cause a split in the international communist movement. Marxist-Leninists had no choice but to accept the challenge and have already begun to show the challenge that they are knocking their heads against a brick wall. Contrary to the expectations of the Tito group, the Communist Parties of all countries have shown great solidarity in this struggle.

It is imperative that we examine this problem in the international political and economic setting as a whole and thus expose the very essence of the revisionism of the Tito group.

The revisionism of the Tito group is in no way accidental; it is a product of the contemporary international class struggle, a product of the policy of the contemporary imperialists, in particular the US imperialists, the fiercest enemy of the people throughout the world.

The revisionism of the period of the Second International, represented by Bernstein [*Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932)*], also reflected the policy of the bourgeoisie – the imperialists. But the modern revisionism or neo-revisionism represented by Tito differs from Bernstein's in its function. Bernstein revisionism appeared at the close of the 19th century, when imperialism was still a complete system holding

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sway the world over: when there was as yet no state under proletarian dictatorship. But what era are we living in today? The great era of successful proletarian revolutions among a population of over 900 million and of socialism established as a new world system, the era in which the colonial system has already disintegrated or is in process of disintegration, and the imperialist system is tottering; it is the great era, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has put it, of "the east wind prevailing over the west wind." In this new era, the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist systems, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in all lands, has become a fierce, life-and-death struggle. This is what inevitably stamps modern revisionism, that is, neo-revisionism, and gives it new features.

Marx and Engels in their time repeatedly pointed out that the British bourgeoisie used a small part of its super profits to maintain a group of aristocrats of labour. Engels once wrote to Marx saying: "Those very worst English trade unions which allow themselves to be led by men sold to, or at least paid by the middle class." It is well known that Lenin – in the course of the relentless battle he waged against revisionism, opportunism, reformism, social chauvinism and social imperialism – time and again referred to this view of Marx and Engels and added new evidence to substantiate it. Lenin said: "Objectively the opportunists are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata of the working class who have been bribed out of imperialist super profits and converted into watchdogs of capitalism and corrupters of the labour movement."

How does the situation stand today? Since the working class has seized state power in many countries, the imperialists have found that it is not sufficient to buy over traitors to the working class within their own countries. Besides continuing the policy of bribery in their own countries, the imperialists, with the US imperialists in the lead, are at the same time doing their best to find in some socialist countries bourgeois nationalist elements and unstable persons and buy them over and make them tools to undermine the proletarian dictatorship, the socialist system, the international communist movement and the unity of the socialist countries. That being the case the US imperialists have picked on the leading group of Yugoslavia, and carried out a policy of buying it off at a high price.

According to figures published in the newspapers and periodicals of the United States and Yugoslavia, between 1945 and 1957 the United States extended over US \$1,700 million in economic aid to the leading group of Yugoslavia; of which over \$1,000 million were given after 1949. In addition, according to Associated Press reports, the United States gave Yugoslavia more than \$1,000 million in military aid from 1950 to 1957. This is apart from an estimated \$300 million of economic aid received by Yugoslavia from other capitalist countries. So all in all, the aid given to the leading group of Yugoslavia by the whole capitalist world headed by the United States amounted to about \$3,000 million.

In his report to the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Tito disclosed that US aid made up 4 per cent of Yugoslavia's national income. It can be estimated from this figure that US aid accounts for a very large proportion of Yugoslavia's national budget, probably amounting to about 20 per cent.

The stark fact is that the Yugoslav leading group headed by Tito not only lives on its own people but on a large amount of US aid. At the same time, the so-called "American way of life" of which the US imperialists boast of so loudly has also been imported into Yugoslav society by means of US aid, with the purpose of corrupting the Yugoslav people.

A report published in *The Washington Post* and *Times Herald* of June 6, 1957 says, "Installment-plan buying of American-style electrical gadgets is changing the Yugoslavs from Communists to capitalists, says Pittsburgh's G.O.P. Congressman James F. Fulton, heretofore bitter foe of United States policy toward Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. He has just returned from Tito-land.... He said: 'The May Day parade had a real American look, American tanks, American equipment. There's tremendous American influence... among the people, Americans are the most popular of all nationalities.' "

On May 2, 1958, Reuter's correspondent sent a long report from Belgrade in which he said that the Yugoslavs press ten years ago was "just as dull and doctrinaire as *Pravda*." But "nowadays, it often tries to be as racy as the American tabloids." "Marxist eyebrows are often raised by 'cheesecake' photographs and the American-angled features which regularly appear in the Yugoslav newspapers." "The Yugoslav reader is offered a liberal spread of 'human stories,' including frank

and often gory details of crime and disaster.” All this shows that some leading Yugoslav newspapers have been turned in to instruments of publicity for the “American way of life.”

Man’s social being determines his consciousness. It is precisely the import of large quantities of US aid and the “American way of life” that has wrought a change in the consciousness of the Yugoslav leading group, caused revisionist ideology to grow up in its midst, and determined its internal and external policies which are directed against the Soviet Union, against communism, against the socialist camp and against socialism in its own country.

What are the main points in the revisionism and the domestic and foreign policies of the leading group in Yugoslavia headed by Tito, as expressed in the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia?

1. With regard to the over-all political struggle in the world, the Tito group sets forth views which are diametrically opposed to those in the Declaration of the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties of the socialist countries. It denies that the most fundamental feature of the present world situation is the counterposing of two different social, political and economic world systems and of the two camps arising from these two different systems. It rejects the point made in the Declaration that “in our epoch world development determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems.” It completely confuses the differences between the two fundamentally different social systems – socialism and capitalism – and describes these two fundamentally different world economic-political systems, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp as “the division of the world into antagonistic military-political blocs” and it holds that “the division of the world into antagonistic military-political blocs also led to the economic division of the world... and thus obstructs the process of the integration of the world and impedes the social progress of mankind.” According to the sophistry of the Tito group, the world, or the world economy, was originally united under the system of capitalism – imperialism; as though the capitalist countries had never split into blocs contending for world supremacy, arising from the interests of monopoly capital in its drive

for super profits; as though monopoly capital had never engaged in life-and-death global wars for the re-division of the world. The Tito group does not in any way believe that the way out for humanity lies in the ultimate replacement of the capitalist system by the socialist system. Its proposal is for the United Nations, which is dominated by US imperialism, to “encourage and promote comprehensive cooperation and closer connections between peoples, in short, to assist efforts towards achieving a fuller unity of the world.”

What kind of “unity” is the so-called “unity of the world” that is to be promoted through the US-dominated United Nations? Isn’t this unity which the Tito group hankers after a unity in which US imperialism seeks to dominate the world?

2. The Tito group declares that it does not belong to the camp of socialism. It brags about a so-called position of “standing above blocs.”

What is it all about, after all? The facts have shown: (1) that its purpose in staying outside the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and outside the ranks of the international proletariat is nothing less than substituting reactionary bourgeois nationalism for revolutionary proletarian internationalism; and (2) that its so-called position of “standing above blocs” is nothing but an adaptation to the requirements of the imperialist bloc.

3. On the question of war or peace, Marxists have always held that the root cause of modern wars is monopoly capitalism, i.e., imperialism, and that the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of all countries are the core of the forces defending world peace. But the Tito group directs the spearhead of its attack against the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and acts as an apologist for the war policy of the imperialist camp. Tito himself has declared: “Owing to Stalin’s inflexible and uncalled for threatening foreign policy, seeing that they would be unable to accomplish their aims by diplomatic means, the big Western powers decided they would be able to do so by displaying force. This was the basic reason for the formation of the Atlantic Pact, for the creation of a military bloc....” (Tito’s report to the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.) Apparently the Tito group is trying to lead up to such an absurd, ultra-reactionary conclusion as this: that the danger of war arises not from

the imperialist system and the imperialist camp headed by the United States but from the socialist system and the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

4. As scientifically analysed by Lenin, imperialism is the last stage of capitalism and, with it, mankind has entered the era of proletarian revolution. Since the October Revolution, the proletarian revolution has triumphed in a number of countries. But imperialism is not yet finally down and out. The era of proletarian revolution is not yet over. Yet according to the Tito group, the world today has already passed beyond the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution, because "the capitalist system in its classical form is increasingly becoming a thing of the past" and socialism is coming into being in the capitalist countries. The Tito group keeps harping on the world "age" in the following manner: "Mankind is indomitably moving into the age of socialism through a wide variety of different roads, into the age in which socialism and socialist relations increasingly become the content and method of everyday life of all mankind"; "the age in which mankind is living today is already, more than anything else, the age of the introduction, forming and strengthening of new social, political and cultural forms based on socialist economic relationships." From this it comes to the conclusion that "socialist thinking is no longer primarily concerned with questions relating to the overthrow of the old, capitalist system." In other words, the problem of destroying the capitalist system in various countries of the world no longer exists, the theory of proletarian revolution is "outmoded," and it has become nothing but a figment of the thinking of so-called "dogmatists."

5. According to Lenin, monopoly capitalism "introduces everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. The result is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system, and an extreme intensification of existing antagonisms in this domain also." But according to the Tito group, monopoly capital is peacefully growing into socialism in the capitalist countries through the forms of state capitalism, and state capitalism in these countries is in fact "socialism." In the capitalist countries, it says, "the state increasingly controls the activities of capital, partially restricting the right of private management of capitalist property and depriving the owners of private capital of certain independent functions in the economy and in society." "In certain

fields of activity the top monopoly circles are steadily losing their former completely independent role, while some functions of the monopolies are increasingly being transferred upon the state.” “The state assumes an important role in the economy.” “The role of the state as that of a regulator in the sphere of labour and property relationships, of social rights and social services and other social relations also grows.”

So runs the extraordinary argument of the Tito group: the state apparatus of monopoly capital does not serve monopoly capital; it stands above classes and is fulfilling the task of expropriating monopoly capital.

6. Thus, the Tito group maintains that the working class in the capitalist countries can “make the state apparatus serve the society” without having to smash the bourgeois state apparatus. The task of the working class in the capitalist countries is thus confined to “winning decisive influence in state power and gradually – in keeping with its political strength – securing development of socialism.”

7. Since the Tito group glorifies bourgeois dictatorship in every way, it is no wonder that it exerts itself to smear proletarian dictatorship. Speaking like all reactionaries, it alleges that proletarian dictatorship must inevitably lead to “bureaucracy” and “bureaucratic statism.”

8. Marxists maintain that there are two forms of socialist ownership, i.e., ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, and that ownership by the whole people is the higher form of socialist ownership. But the Tito group describes ownership by the whole people, i.e., state ownership, in the socialist countries as “state capitalism” and “the last echo of old social relations.” Socialist economy, it says, comprises only two kinds of ownership – “collective ownership” and “personal ownership.” By “collective ownership” it means allowing the direct producers to “make decisions pertaining to the creation and the total distribution of products.” The group further alleges that “private land holding” is “a component part of large-scale socialist agricultural production,” and that small proprietors also represent “a component part of the socio-economic forces of socialism.”

In short, the Tito group describes state capitalism in the capitalist countries as “socialism,” and the ownership by the whole people in the socialist countries as “state capitalism.” It is for the former but against the latter. “Socialism” of the Tito brand puts the collective above the

whole people, and the individual, in turn, above the collective. Its slogan is "socialism cannot subordinate man's personal happiness to any kind of 'higher aims.'" Its logic is that individual interests may stand above the collective interests and the interests of the whole people but should not be subordinated to them, and that, certainly, collective interests may stand above the interests of the whole people and should not be subordinated to the latter.

9. The "socialism" of the Tito brand is so queer a thing that to all intents and purposes it is the "socialism" of the bourgeoisie, the kind of "socialism" that is tolerable to the imperialists. It is fundamentally different from socialism as defined by Marxism-Leninism and practiced in the socialist countries. No wonder the Tito group categorically repudiates the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, sets itself against the common ideology and concerted action of the international proletariat and the international communist movement, and maliciously slanders this common ideology and concerted action as "ideological monopoly" and "political hegemony."

10. Proceeding from the above-mentioned views, the Tito group is hostile to all Communist Parties. It declares: "The conception that Communist Parties have a monopoly over every aspect of the movement of society towards socialism and that socialism can only find its representatives in them and move forward through them – is theoretically wrong and practically, very harmful." It also asserts: "Some of the Communist Parties cease to act as the revolutionary creative factor and motive power of social development in their respective countries."

The Tito group has great contempt for the Communist Party of the United States. But history will ultimately prove that though the US Communist Party, which adheres to the truth, is now small, it is a really vital living force and has a great future; on the other hand, though the Tito group now rules Yugoslavia, who can guarantee that it will not trip over its own revisionism?

11. The Tito group holds that "the development of the international workers' movement during the last few decades did not advance in step with the social events and the development of material conditions"; and that "during the last few years of the Stalin period, the

workers' movement in the world...not only stagnated but even retrogressed."

The Tito group seems blind to the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the success of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the great victories gained in the war against fascism in which the Soviet Union played the chief role, the existence of the new socialist countries, the growth of the workers' movements in the capitalist countries, and the great Chinese revolution and the People's Republic of China.

12. The Tito group is of the opinion that "Marxist thought in the course of the last few decades has not kept in step with the advance of contemporary society." As the editorial of the *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), May 5, 1958, [English translation published in *Peking Review*, May 13, 1958] pointed out, the Tito group brands the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory as "dogmatism," and calls itself "irreconcilable enemies of dogmatism"; this being so, how can it possibly understand whether Marxism has developed or not? As it does not see the great world events that have come about under the leadership of the Communist Parties since the October Revolution, and utters such reactionary twaddle about "humanity," "personality of man," "free personality", "truth about man as a social being," and "man's spiritual constitution," on the pretext of opposing so-called "dogmatism" and "pragmatic revision," how can this group possibly have a common language with Marxism-Leninism?

These twelve points do not exhaust the revisionist views and the domestic and foreign policies of the Tito group. But they suffice to show how the revisionism of the Tito group serves the interests of the imperialist, particularly the US imperialists.

In his report to the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Tito called Djilas a revisionist. "By orders from outside and for Judas' silver," Tito said, "these traitors wrote slanderous pamphlets against the socialism and reality in Yugoslavia." However, as pointed out correctly by an article in the West German *Tagesspiegel* of April 22, 1958: "Here is harsh mockery. For the basic ideas of this programme were drafted by no other than Djilas himself who is today behind prison bars." Of course, there is a difference between Djilas and the Tito group. It is that while Djilas does not bother to don the

cloak of Marxism-Leninism, the Tito group still uses Marxism-Leninism as a disguise. But has it ever occurred to Tito that the content of the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is actually another edition of Djilas' *New Class*? Tito might well hold up Djilas as a mirror to see his own reflection.

After the war against fascism, the people of Yugoslavia embarked on the road to socialism. But under the dominating influence of the policies of the Tito group Yugoslavia has not yet carried out a serious, thorough-going struggle between the capitalist and the socialist roads on the economic, political and ideological fronts and has not solved the question of which road shall win in the country. In the villages of Yugoslavia, individual economy still accounts for more than 90 per cent of the rural economy, and this preserves a seedbed for the return of capitalism.

The question in Yugoslavia is not solely that of ownership. For the people of Yugoslavia, a more serious question is that the dollar policy of US imperialism is exerting influence on the leading groups of Yugoslavia and thereby causing confusion among the Yugoslav people as to the road to socialism.

As can be seen from the material quoted above, the dollar policy of US imperialism towards Yugoslavia began in 1945. Even before 1948, the Tito group already began to forsake the road of proletarian internationalism and foster reactionary bourgeois nationalism. This was bound up with the dollar policy of US imperialism and was a product of it in Yugoslavia. But to this very day, a good many of the Yugoslav people, and of the members of the Yugoslav League of Communists, still do not realise this.

Although the programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists declares that "personal ownership" and "private land holding" are also "socialism," it is understandable that the leading group of the Yugoslav League of Communists does not necessarily hope to discard immediately the forms of public ownership that came into being in the previous course of the revolution, and it is impossible for them to do so. For if it does, it will not only meet with resistance from the Yugoslav working class and other politically conscious working people, but also lose its political stock-in-trade for deceiving its countrymen and befuddling

world opinion, and so eventually lose its political capital for bargaining with US imperialism.

There is an acute contradiction between the degenerate policy of the Tito group and the desire of the Yugoslav people and loyal Communists inside the Yugoslav League of Communists to take the socialist road. This is why, to maintain its rule, the Tito group is willing to preserve certain forms of public ownership. Moreover, as long as the Tito group remains hostile to the international communist movement and to the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the US imperialists may agree to the preservation of certain forms of public ownership in Yugoslavia and assume an attitude of "non-intervention." Consider, for instance, what *US News & World Report* wrote in its issue of November 9, 1956: "In urging independent – but not necessarily capitalistic – governments in countries that are now Soviet satellites (the imperialists always talk this nonsense, referring to all the socialist countries other than the Soviet Union as 'satellites' – Author) the Eisenhower Administration is continuing its support of Titoism." Discussing Yugoslavia's function at a press conference on August 6, 1957, John Foster Dulles had this to say: "It is possible to have a communist regime without being dominated by what we call 'international communism' or a Soviet-type brand of communism."

As Marxists see it, there is nothing strange in certain forms of public ownership being tolerated in a particular society which is governed by an exploiting class, so long as they do not harm, and may even help, the fundamental interests of that exploiting class. In feudal society, for instance, it is quite common for certain village communes, or certain forms of public ownership or autonomy to be preserved. In capitalist society, a joint stock company may be considered a kind of capitalist form of "public ownership" and some workers may even hold shares in it. Yet, as we all know, that does not prevent the capitalists from drawing their maximum profits; on the contrary, it adds to the capitalists' assurance of maximum profits. After the October Revolution, the counter-revolutionaries at one time hoped to make use of the organisational form of Soviets – what they called "Soviets without communists." When collective farming was brought about in the Soviet Union, some counter-revolutionaries at one time similarly wanted to make use of the form of collective farms – what they called "collective

farms without communists.” On this point, Stalin rightly said: “Everything depends upon the content that is put into this form. All organisational forms, political or economic, remain mere organisational forms. The question is who runs them, who leads.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in his speech “On the correct Handling of Contradictions Among the Peoples”, the revisionists, too, pay lip service to Marxism-Leninism. It is said that, in Yugoslavia, the Tito group permits people to hang up portraits of Marx and Lenin. This point needs to be seen from the same angle. What the Tito group is doing is to preserve a certain amount of Marxist phraseology while getting rid of its revolutionary content. Countries where the working class movement has a Marxist tradition behind it, revisionists and opportunists may accept a part of Marxist theory, and even the theory of the class struggle, where this accords with the interests of the bourgeoisie. Lenin said: “Those who recognise only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to have gone no further than the boundaries of bourgeois reasoning and bourgeois politics. To limit Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat.” But the Tito group has gone much further than those opportunists who accept the class struggle. It has even repudiated the class struggle, in order to fit in with the needs of the US imperialists.

The leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia declares that under no circumstances will it abandon its revisionist stand, that any attempt to get it to change its position is illusory and will be of no avail. It also declares that it will not stop its contention, that is to say, it will continue to challenge Marxism-Leninism. It can be seen therefore that it is impossible to cease this struggle. Is this struggle good for Marxism-Leninism? Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that under specific conditions “bad things can be turned into good things.” Things always develop dialectically. The programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a concentrate class expression of modern revisionism. It will serve as an example in reverse to educate the Yugoslav people and the communists of the world and enable people to

distinguish still more clearly between Marxism-Leninism and anti-Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism has always grown and developed by combating opportunism of every description. So long as Marxist-Leninists wage clear-cut, uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism, the international communist movement is bound to benefit.

MODERN REVISIONISM MUST BE FOUGHT TO THE END

The Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, in the light of the new situation in the international communist movement, pointed out in its resolution on the Moscow meetings of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties (See *Peking Review*, No. 14, June 3, 1958.) that "at present, the international communist movement has the important responsibility to adhere firmly to the viewpoints expressed in the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, to defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and oppose modern revisionism." "It is the sacred duty of our Party towards the international working class to work, together with the fraternal Parties, for the complete defeat of modern revisionism politically and theoretically, and for the safeguarding of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology." Now the fight against modern revisionism, as represented by the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has begun, but this is only the beginning. To smash modern revisionism completely, both politically and theoretically, this fight must be carried through to the very end.

But is it not "going too far" to deal with the Yugoslav revisionists in this way? Might it not have some unfavourable effect on the international workers' movement and the struggle for peace? These are questions that have to be answered.

Some people may think that even if the Yugoslav programme is revisionist and benefits the imperialists, it is best not to say so clearly to avoid pushing the leading group of the Yugoslav League of

This is the full text of an editorial that appeared in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) on June 4, 1958.

Communists to the side of the imperialists. But the fact that the Yugoslav programme represents modern revisionism and helps the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, is determined not by any criticism from any quarter, but by the programme itself, which is an objective fact. When the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League was drawing up their programme, nobody accused them of being modern revisionists or prejudged that they would bring forth a document which is such an omnibus of revisionism and levels such attacks on the socialist camp and provides such a shield for US imperialism. On the contrary, even when the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League refused to participate in the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries and came out in the open against the Declaration adopted by this meeting, the Communists and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries still maintained friendly relations with the Yugoslav Communist League and did not enter into argument with it. But all this did not prevent the Yugoslav Communist League from bringing up and adopting its revisionist programme. When the Yugoslav programme patently betrays the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, what is the result other than damage to the political consciousness of the working class and the labouring people if you do not call the programme revisionist? When the programme of the Yugoslav Communist League and the words and deeds of its leading group in fact help the US imperialists, and when even imperialist journals in the United States declare in no uncertain terms that "Tito's interests, as it happens, run parallel to ours for quite a stretch ahead" and that "we are partners in the only inside job," what is the purpose other than to let Dulles and company laugh up their sleeves if you do not say they are serving the imperialists?

The fundamental Marxist-Leninist approach is to see all things for what they really are. We do not favour painting the programme of the Yugoslav Communist League and its leading group worse than they are, nor do we have the duty or right to portray them better than they are. It was from this standpoint that the *Renmin Ribao* editorial (See *Peking Review*, No. 11, May 13, 1958.) of May 5 and the resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party [Second Session] stated and repeated that, on the one hand, the resolution

concerning the Yugoslav Communist Party adopted by the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1949 was wrong and there were defects and mistakes in the methods used by the Information Bureau in June 1948 in criticizing the Yugoslav Communist Party, and it was entirely necessary and correct that since 1954 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov corrected these mistakes initiated improvement of relations with Yugoslavia and adopted a whole series of measures to this end; while on the other hand, the criticism of the mistakes of the Yugoslav Communist Party made by the Information Bureau in its 1948 resolution was basically correct and necessary. It is unfortunate that the criticism which was necessary and basically correct should have been marred by defects and mistakes in the methods employed; this should be taken as a lesson. But despite an inconsistency between form and content, Marxist-Leninists must of course distinguish between right and wrong on their merits and above all take content into account. The question now is that after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist Parties concerned took positive steps to eliminate all the defects and mistakes, the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League is trying to take advantage of the 1949 mistake and the mistakes in methods employed in 1948 to repudiated completely all that was correct in the 1948 criticism and long after the Communist Parties of all countries had stopped mentioning the 1948 resolution, they launched unbridled attacks on this resolution at the League's Congress. As it is, we cannot help but take another look at what was said after all in the 1948 resolution.

Just see for yourself! This resolution criticised the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party for having "pursued an incorrect line which represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism," and declared that "the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have taken a stand unworthy of Communists, and have begun to identify the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with the foreign policy of the imperialist powers, behaving towards the Soviet Union in the same manner as they behave to the bourgeois states"; that "the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are departing from the positions of the working class and are breaking with the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle"; and that "the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia

is revising the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the Party.” Are not these the facts? Has not the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League by its own deeds over the past ten years provided additional evidence as to the correctness of this resolution? On such a serious question, can they prove themselves right by repeating “any expectation in any quarter that we shall renounce our principled stands both in international and in internal matters, is only a loss of time”? It can be seen from this that it does not help the Yugoslav revisionists to attack the Communist Parties of various countries by using the 1948 resolution of the Information Bureau; it cannot prevail over the criticism against the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League, but can only overwhelm the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists themselves.

Up to the present, the Yugoslav revisionists have not yet made any serious reply to the criticisms expressed by the Communist Parties of various countries, nor can they do so. One of their favourite weapons is to describe this criticism as “interference in internal affairs.” This, of course, in no sense represents a serious attitude. For Marxist-Leninists to fight the anti-Marxist-Leninist trend of revisionism is not only unavoidable but a matter of duty. Waging this ideological struggle has nothing to do with whether the countries concerned are large or small, or with whether the Parties concerned are in power or not. Even where Marxist-Leninists are still a small group under the oppression of reactionary rulers, nobody can deprive them of their right to carry on such ideological struggle. Nor has such ideological struggle any relation whatsoever to interference in the internal affairs of other countries, by force or by underhand means, or to so-called big-nation chauvinism and hegemony. To employ such allegations in order to shift the ground of the argument, and to resort to sophistry and slander is ludicrous. And it is doubly so for the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League to hurl charges of so-called interference in internal affairs. Is it not the Yugoslav Communist League which, in its programme, started talking at length about the internal policies of all the socialist countries [which are also “binding” on them alone.] and pinned a series of malicious labels on them? Since the Yugoslav Communist League maintains that “Yugoslavia must not concentrate on herself,” why should other countries concentrate on themselves alone? Why should the smaller

socialist states neighbouring on Yugoslavia, such as Albania and Hungary, find that even their right to concentrate on themselves is infringed upon by Yugoslavia? What curious logic! Some people behave as if they could, like the magistrate in the Chinese saying, set houses on fire while forbidding ordinary folk to light lamps. But a rebuff brings immediate whines about “unequal positions” Enough of this!

The Yugoslav revisionists have yet another miserable weapon – they say the sort of things they are doing have been going on for a long time, why should they be criticised for them now? True enough, the revisionist standpoint of the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League has long been there, and that in fact was the basis of the 1948 resolution of the Information Bureau. However, at that time the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League had not yet systematized its revisionist views. Nor did it, after the socialist countries resumed relations with Yugoslavia, state them as systematically as it has now done. From 1954 to the time preceding the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Communist Parties of various countries on many occasions, publicly or in other ways, argued with the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League. As is generally known, these arguments reached a climax after the 1956 counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary. Although the arguments failed to change its stand, the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League repeatedly expressed the desire to end the argument and to maintain and even improve friendly relations with the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of the various countries. In November 1957, though it did not participate in the Moscow meeting of the Communist Parties of the socialist countries, the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League joined in the meeting of the 64 Communist and Workers’ Parties and in the Peace Manifesto. All this for a time made the Communist Parties of various countries rather hopeful. But the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League once more broke faith and returned evil for good. Unilaterally it scrapped the agreements between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia reached in the talks held in 1955, 1956 and 1957 on expanding and strengthening cooperation between Yugoslavia and the socialist countries. Unilaterally it forsook the stand taken on matters regarding principles in the international situation expressed in the Peace

Manifesto, and put forward an out-and-out revisionist programme. Prior to the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Communist Parties of some countries gave comradely advice to the Yugoslav League of Communists and suggested that the analysis of the international situation contained in the draft programme, which obviously ran counter to Marxism-Leninism, be deleted. The Yugoslav League of communists turned a deaf ear to the basic points in this advice. So far from heeding this advice, at their Congress they concentrated their attacks on the Soviet Union which had given them generous fraternal aid and on the socialist countries and the Communist Parties in various countries; but they fawned on and servilely thanked US imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people all over the world. So it was only when their prolonged efforts, characterised by patience and magnanimity, proved fruitless, that the Communist Parties of various countries gave this shameful band of renegades the counter-blows it deserves. Now the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League blames others for not adopting a comradely attitude to it and for failing to keep promises. Whom is it trying to fool? What serious-minded person can bear with such fooling?

Nowadays the most urgent task facing the people of the world is the defence of peace. Will the fight against the Yugoslav revisionists hamper the people's cause of defending peace? *The New York Times* editorial of June 1 helpfully provides us with an answer. It said : "Unexpected and now unforeseeable developments may produce situations in the months ahead in which other Communist-ruled nations might request our aid and in which it would be desirable for us to grant such request....Certainly the news from Belgrade and Moscow in recent days suggests that the flexibility shown in the past in regard to American aid to Yugoslavia was wise from the point of view of our own interests." Those who do not see the danger of Yugoslav revisionism should give careful attention to this. The United States expects the Yugoslav example to encourage new Nagys hidden in the Communist Parties of the socialist countries, expects that these new Nagys may perhaps bring about "unexpected and now unforeseeable developments" "in the months ahead" and may seize political power and ask for US aid as Yugoslavia has been doing. Although this is an illusion of the US imperialists, it is not difficult to see from it the part played by Yugoslav revisionism in

the US imperialists' plans for subversion and the significance of the fight against Yugoslav revisionism for the case of defending peace. At the same time, it is not difficult to see the difference between Yugoslav revisionism and neutralism in general: ordinary neutral countries cannot serve the purpose of subversion which the United States requires, but often themselves become the target of US subversion. The fight against Yugoslav revisionism is not only to draw a clear-cut line between Marxism-Leninism and anti-Marxism-Leninism, to let all supporters of socialism recognize the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League for what it is, and so serve to consolidate the core of the peace forces the socialist camp and the international workers' movement. It is also to let all supporters of peace recognise the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, for what they are and see clearly where the danger of war lies. Naturally this is even more obviously in the interests of peace.

But to draw a dividing line does not mean breaking off diplomatic relations. The leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League complains that to criticise its servility to US imperialism is to force it to sever diplomatic relations with the United States. This is simply deliberate and dishonest confusion of two different things. Similarly it is bluffing people by saying that the criticism of Yugoslav revisionism by the Communist Parties of the socialist countries means a repetition of the history between 1948 and 1954 and a menace to the diplomatic relations between these countries and Yugoslavia. But this will frighten nobody. The post-1948 history will not be repeated. If the true face of the Yugoslav revisionists is recognised, their sabotage of the socialist camp and the international workers' movement can be stopped more easily. To return to the pre-1954 situation is not right. At any rate, the working people of Yugoslav hope to take the socialist road and be friendly with the peoples of the socialist countries. Since the socialist countries can maintain diplomatic relations with capitalist countries, why cannot they maintain such relations with Yugoslavia? However, since the Yugoslav leaders themselves do not want fraternal relations with the socialist countries, it is only natural that relations between Yugoslavia and the socialist countries are levelled down to ordinary diplomatic relations, and there is no need for the Yugoslav leaders or

anyone else to make a fuss about it. The programme of the Yugoslav Communist League in many places shows that Yugoslavia supports peace. Although this does not show that the programme is Marxist, yet so long as Yugoslavia is willing to do so, we believe the socialist countries will continue to cooperate with it on the question of safeguarding peace, just as they can cooperate on this question with some capitalist countries and certain political forces of the bourgeoisie. In fighting against the opportunists, Lenin once quoted this saying of Marx: "If you must unite, Marx wrote to the party leaders, then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not allow any bargaining over principles, do not make 'concessions' in questions of theory." This teaching of Marx and Lenin is our guide to action. We hold that modern revisionism must be fought to the end and there can be no room for concession here. But in the future it will still be possible for the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the socialist countries, or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Parties of various countries, to "enter into agreements." Whether this "entering into agreements" will really take place and what kind of "agreements" will be entered into depends primarily on the future attitude of the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM EXACTLY SUITS THE NEEDS OF US IMPERIALISM

by KANG SHENG

Today's *Renmin Ribao* carried an article by Kang Sheng entitled "Yugoslav Revisionism Exactly Suits the Needs of US Imperialism". The article reads in full as follows:

The attack on the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement launched by the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League through the League's revisionist program and its Seventh Congress has been rebuffed, rightly and seriously, by the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries. Now what is opening up is an important struggle to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism. This struggle is of immense importance for the international Communist movement and the just cause of safeguarding world peace.

To date, the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League has not given any tenable answers to the criticisms made by the Communist Parties of various countries; nor can it do so. Its so-called answers are more sophistry. For example, it describes its odious action of serving the US imperialists as an effort "to seek joint elements of the line of peace and international cooperation" and even says its action is at one with the aims of Soviet foreign policy. It makes an arbitrary equation between the two essentially different things, Yugoslavia's economic dependence on the United States and the Soviet Union's proposal to expand trade with the US, at the same time, it calls the serious and justified criticisms made by the "unprincipled attacks", "detrimental world peace". But the facts cannot be submerged by

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falsehood. Every objective observer can see that the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League, by its policy of serving the US imperialist planners of a new war under the mask of serving socialism is playing a role particularly damaging to the just cause of defending world peace. Precisely for this reason, the US imperialists who are so hostile to the socialist camp and to peace lavish praise on Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav revisionism has not arisen by chance. Since the Second World War, socialism has grown into a new world system. To save capitalism from still deeper general crisis the US imperialists have been searching for a new weapon from within the socialist countries, to add to the old revisionism – social democracy. Ideally, they believed, the best thing would be to find a “socialist” country with a Marxist-Leninist signboard, so as to split the camp of socialism from within. John Foster Dulles has long been highly confident that the policy of the leading group in Yugoslavia suits the needs of the United States. Referring to Yugoslavia at a press conference on August 6, last year, he said: “It is possible to have a Communist regime without being dominated by what we call ‘international Communism’ or a Soviet type brand of Communism.” What this remark of Dulles means is:

- (1) The new tool needed by the US imperialists should be one that they do not call “international Communism”, that is, it should have the “Communist” label yet be against international Communism.
- (2) This new tool must not be a “Soviet type brand of Communism”, that is, it should discard the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, depart from the trail blazed by the October Revolution and set itself against the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.
- (3) This new tool should be a “regime” controlled by a “Communism” which embodies the foregoing two characteristics. This is particularly important, because only those revisionists who are in power in what was for a time a socialist country can effectively serve the imperialists today when socialism has become a world system. In Dulles’ eyes, the ideal tool must fit these “specifications” and Yugoslav revisionism is just the ideal thing.

US big business has spared no small investment in building up its Yugoslav revisionist tool. According to Senator Knowland, the US has given Tito’s government aid amounting to 1,500 million dollars (see the United Press Washington dispatch dated March 20 of this year). It is well-known that the draft programme of the Yugoslav League of

Communists, which runs to as much as 100,000 words, dare not make a single mention of the term "US imperialism", as though this were a "royal taboo". The same is true of the pronouncements of the leading members of the Yugoslav Communist League. Take, for example, Tito's version of the "US plot of aggression against Syria last year. He said in his report at the Seventh National Congress of the Yugoslav League of communists, "The pressure exercised against Syria last year led to the speeding up of the unification of Egypt with Syria...." And regarding the US aggression in Indonesia, he said: "Similar developments took place in Indonesia. The young united Republic of the People's of Indonesia has through intrigues and interference in its internal affairs on the part of Western circles become the battlefield of civil war." In short, it seems that there is no such thing in the world as US imperialism. The question arises – if a self-styled Marxist-Leninist Party in analysing the current world situation does not even dare to point to the existence of US imperialism, what does this indicate other than the influence of US dollars?

A great many statesmen and political commentators in many capitalist countries that stand for peace and neutrality, such as India, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic, it should be pointed out, do not call themselves Marxist-Leninists yet dare to condemn the policy of aggression of US imperialism.

The leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League go to great lengths to deny that their programme is suited to the needs of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. But the facts speak louder than arguments. A brief review of a few of the main facts in the past few years shows clearly the ugliness of the Yugoslav revisionists and how neatly they cater to the needs of the US imperialists.

Firstly, during the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary, the leading group of the Yugoslav communist League played the role of instigator and interventionist. It openly called it a revolutionary uprising and supported it. It gave encouragement and support to the "workers' councils" which were in the hands of the counter-revolutionaries and engaged in activities hostile to the worker-peasant revolutionaries government. It maintained close ties with the renegade Nagy group, openly sheltered Nagy and other counter-revolutionaries and made the Yugoslav Embassy in Hungary a haven for these counter-revolutionaries.

Only because the leading comrades of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, during and after the suppression of the uprising, maintained a consistently serious, correct attitude did its scheming come to nothing and it was compelled to give ostensible support to the Hungarian government headed by Comrade Kadar Janos. But to this very day, the attitude of the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League on this question still conforms to that of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. Time and again, the US imperialists have tried to drag the so-called "Hungarian question" on to the agenda of the United Nations, in the vain hope of making a breach in Hungary by means of the United Nations, which is under their control. And Tito, too, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav Communist League, said that "Yugoslavia exerted efforts in the UNO for a settlement of this question." Is this not enough to show that the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist League advocates precisely what the US imperialists' need?

Secondly, in the speech he made at Pula in November 1956, Tito joined in the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist campaign launched by the imperialists taking advantage of the Hungarian events. In that speech he attacked almost all the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of many countries, and proclaimed that Yugoslavia would work in various ways for the victory in the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries of "the trend" which "began in Yugoslavia", so as to defeat the so-called "Stalinist course". In their press, they also attacked the leadership of many Communist and Workers' Parties and encouraged the revisionist elements to carry out splitting activities. The US imperialists were highly appreciative of these activities. Walter Lippmann, mouthpiece of the US bourgeoisie, stated at the time that it was to the "true interest" of the US to make what he called "Titoism" "prevail" in the socialist countries, (*Washington Post*, October 30, 1956). At secret talks among the leaders of the US Senate, James P. Richards also expressed the view that "it is to the advantage of our country, as well as the entire free world, to encourage Tito and other Communist dissenters like him." (*New York Post*, December 31, 1956). Let us ask the Yugoslav leaders this – since the US imperialists describe your "ism" as in their true interests, does not this mean that your "ism" suits their needs? You say this kind of talk by the Americans does not count; if so,

why do you never regard it as an “insult” and repudiate it?

Thirdly, in November 1957, the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists, betraying the agreement reached at the Soviet-Yugoslav talks in Rumania, refused to take part in the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers’ Parties of the socialist countries or to sign the declaration of the meeting. They announced that this was because the Moscow Declaration “contains certain attitudes and appraisals which are contrary to the standpoint of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and which it considers to be incorrect.” For this action, they immediately earned the praise of the US imperialists. An AFP report of November 22, 1957, said: “There were clear signs that the Yugoslav attitude caused great interest in the State Department. The prevailing impression in Washington was that Yugoslav President Marshal Josip Broz Tito had once again insisted on demonstrating his independence from the Communist bloc.” The day after Tito, On December 8, 1957, received James W. Riddlerberger, US ambassador to Yugoslavia. the *New York Times* wrote that Tito “did mention Yugoslavia’s refusal to sign the declaration as further proof of her continued independence.” This was immediately followed by a huge US loan to Yugoslavia and the signing of an agreement for the supply of 62.5 million dollars’ worth of American surplus farm produce to Yugoslavia.

On the refusal of the League to attend the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers’ Parties of the socialist countries and to sign the declaration of the meeting, there is an article by Immanuel Birnbaum, a bourgeois commentator who has several contacts with the leading group of the Yugoslav League of Communists. In this year’s first number of *The Problems of Communism*, a magazine published by the US Information Agency, many of the views contained in this article are very much worth noting. Using the statement of the leading group of the League as its basis the article analysed the actual reasons behind the refusal to attend the Moscow meeting and sign its declaration. The writer said: “Belgrade could not agree to the two basic theses put forward in the declaration, namely that the entire blame for the continuation of international tension rests on the shoulders of the West, and that the only way to prevent a world catastrophe is for all countries under Communist rule to stand solidly united in support of the Moscow policy and leadership.” Judging by the draft program of the League and

the speeches made by the leaders of the League at its Seventh Congress, this appraisal by Birnbaum is true to the facts. The article added: "It is important that, at a time when Moscow is seeking once more to tighten its reins over the other segments of the Communist world, at least one country professing to be a disciple of Lenin refuses to submit." The persistence of the leading group of the Yugoslav League of Communists in its "independence from the Communist bloc" is just what the US imperialists desire; the two "basic thesis" opposed by the leading group of the League are exactly what the US imperialists have resolutely opposed. Does not this standpoint of the leading group of the League precisely suit the needs of the US imperialists?

Fourthly, the leading group of the Yugoslav League of Communists put out its out-and-out revisionist program in opposition to the declaration of the Moscow meeting at a time when the east wind has prevailed over the west wind and the United States is experiencing an acute economic crisis. At the Seventh Congress of the League, it went out of its way to defend and fawn upon the US imperialists, and to attack unscrupulously the socialist camp; and on a series of questions, it put out most absurd statements, counter to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism but suited to the needs of US imperialism. This is true of its analysis of the present international situation, and its statements on the question of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, the question of the leading role of the Communist Party and the so-called question of "opposing dogmatism".

For example, Eisenhower defamed the Soviet Union as being a "strongly armed imperialistic dictatorship" (the 1957 State of the Union message); and the draft program of the Yugoslav League of Communists similarly attacked the Soviet Union as being a "hegemony". Dulles attacked the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and the camp of socialism as "major threat" to the entire world (October 1957 issue of the American *Foreign Affairs* quarterly); and in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Tito similarly slandered them as proceeding from a "power policy" and "big power principles". Tito went so far as to allege that it was "owing to Stalin's inflexible and uncalled-for threatening foreign policy" that the US had engaged in arms expansion and war preparations, established military blocs and manoeuvred to conclude the North Atlantic Treaty.

Eisenhower and Dulles have been busy attacking the Yalta and Potsdam agreements; the draft program of the Yugoslav League of Communists also openly opposes these agreements.

Again, the imperialists have always tried deliberately to muddle the fundamental differences between the two systems of socialism and capitalism in order to benumb the revolutionary consciousness of the working class. Eisenhower said that since the government in a capitalist country "controls" part of the "economic life" of the bourgeoisie, "such things can, of course, in the long run lead to Communism, but we have had this same kind of thing inherent in our form of government for many years." (Answer to the correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* at a press conference on June 5, 1957); and the draft programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists also stresses so-called "factors of socialism" in the capitalist countries, saying that in this type of country "the specific forms of state capitalist relations may either be the ultimate effort made by capitalism to survive, or the first step towards socialism, or may, at the same time, be both the one and the other."

Again, the imperialists hold the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular hatred. In a speech delivered at the annual luncheon of the Associated Press on April 22, 1957, Dulles reviled proletarian dictatorship as "despotism", alleging that "those who are subject to it in vast majority, hate the system and yearn for a free society"; the draft program of the Yugoslav League of Communists also attacks the state of proletarian dictatorship as so-called "bureaucracy", "bureaucratic statism", and "monopolists", alleging that it "strives to transform the state apparatus into the master of society instead of being its servant and executive agent", stresses so-called "antagonisms" between the socialist state and the masses, and trumpets a crudely distorted theory of "the withering away of the state" in order to undermine proletarian dictatorship in the countries of the camp of socialism.

Again, the imperialists, in order to suppress the workers' movement in their own countries, often smear the Communist Parties in these countries, as being "under the domination of a single power, international Communism acting under the direction of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (Dulles' statement at the Ministerial Council of the Baghdad pact on January 27, 1958). And in his report, to the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Tito also slandered

the Marxist parties in various countries as conducting “independent policies” and being “accustomed to receiving and implementing directives coming from outside”. The draft program of the Yugoslav League of Communists even try to induce the workers in the US and some other capitalist countries to renounce the Communist Parties. It alleges that “it is most probable that – in the countries where classical political parties of the working class are practically non-existent, as in the United States, for example – the working people organised in trade unions” can strengthen “its leading role in the system of government”.

Again, the imperialists often attack Marxism-Leninism by making use of so-called “opposition to dogmatism”, twaddling that “international Communism has become beset with doctrinal difficulties” and label Communism as “unimaginative” (Dulles’ address at annual luncheon of the Associated Press on April 22, 1957). And the leading group of the Yugoslav League of Communists also does all it can to defame fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism as “dogmas”, preposterously asserting that “Marxist thought in the course of the last few decades has not kept in step with the advance of contemporary society”, and that some people “attempt to turn it into a static collection of stale dogmas and abstract truths”. The leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists, moreover, style themselves as “uncompromising towards all kinds of dogmatism” and persistently advocate that “the roads leading to socialism differ” in an attempt to negate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and the general laws of achieving the victories in revolution and construction by the Communist Parties in all countries.

Even more absurd is the fact that Tito showered praise and eulogy on the United States at the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, although all the ferocity of the US imperialists has been exposed in its true colours. According to him, US relations with Yugoslavia are based on “mutual respect, cooperation on an equal basis and non-interference in internal affairs. If there were certain attempts that were not in line with these principles, they usually came from individuals or groups and not from the US Government.” In tones of profound gratitude, Tito praised US aid as having helped Yugoslavia surmount colossal difficulties. It is indeed a “creative exploit”, unparalleled in history, that people who style themselves Communists and

revolutionaries should, at their Party congress, pay tribute to US imperialists – the most ferocious enemy of the people throughout the world. This is presumably the “creative contribution” which the leading group of the Yugoslav League of Communists often boast they have made to the international Communist cause.

The US imperialists have warmly applauded the draft program of the Yugoslav League of Communists and its Seventh Congress. C. Burko Elbrick, US Assistant Secretary of State European Affairs for Europe, said at a hearing before the Foreign Relations Committee of the US Senate that Tito was “doing a pretty good job”. Viewing the recent activities of the Yugoslav Communist League the imperialist press of the United States went into raptures – “the incident illustrates once more Yugoslavia’s unique value as an independent centre of attraction in the Communist World,” said the editorial of the *Christian Science Monitor* on April 24, 1958. “His (Tito’s) latest outburst cannot fail to have an upsetting effect on Soviet foreign policy. The West stands to profit from all this,” said the US journal *Newsweek* on May 5, 1958.

The Yugoslav revisionists are very annoyed to hear others say that they are serving the US imperialists. Of course, they will be welcomed if they really cross over to a revolutionary standpoint against US imperialism. But they are not at all trying to change their standpoint, though they charge people who are exposing the truth with having “abused” and “insulted” them. Yugoslav papers have recently repeated what Tito said at the Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists showing stubborn adherence to the revisionist standpoint, that “any expectation in any quarter that we shall renounce our principle stands both in international and in internal matters, is only a loss of time.” The modern revisionists have curried favour with the US imperialists by this kind of reactionary stubbornness.

The struggle against modern revisionism has only just begun. It is essential that the banner we raise in this serious struggle shines forth clearly. We stand firmly on principle and shall carry the struggle to a conclusion. The leading group of the Yugoslav League of Communists shall not be allowed to impair the great cause of Marxism-Leninism.

IN REFUTATION OF MODERN REVISIONISM'S REACTIONARY THEORY OF THE STATE

by WANG CHIA-HSIANG

The *Renmin Ribao* editorial "Modern Revisionism Must Be Repudiated" (See *Peking Review*, No. 11, May 13, 1958.) pointed out that one of the fundamental points in modern revisionism, as typified by the programme put forward by the leading group in Yugoslavia, is its substitution of the reactionary theory of the state standing above classes for the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

The imperialists have always sought to cover up the nature of the state as a class dictatorship in order to wreck the revolutionary working-class movement. They describe the state under bourgeois dictatorship as "standing above classes," "belonging to the whole people" and "democratic," and slander the state under proletarian dictatorship as "totalitarian" and undermining democracy. Now that socialism and imperialism stand out in sharp contrast, with socialism in the ascendant like the sun rising and imperialism in murky decline, the working people under capitalist rule are turning towards socialism increasingly, the imperialists' lies are more than ever losing their power to deceive and the anti-communist nonsense of the Social Democrats is proving more and more incapable of helping the imperialists. It is at such a time that the Yugoslav revisionists, donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, have come forward to serve imperialism, particularly US imperialism, by peddling the bourgeois theory of the state standing above classes, so as to repay US imperialism for its "reward" of large sums of American dollars.

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State power in an imperialist country is a means of serving the handful of monopoly capitalists and exercising dictatorship over the overwhelming majority of the people. Yet the Yugoslav revisionists are at great pains to conceal the dictatorship character of the imperialist state power. They say that in the capitalist world "the state increasingly controls the activities of capital" and "restricts the role of private capital," that "the role of the state as that of a regulator also grows" (Draft Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) and that "the state is no longer the apparatus of a certain class in capitalist society; it no longer reflects or upholds the special interests of that class" ("Has Capitalism Changed?" By R.I., October 1956 issue of the Yugoslav magazine *The Truth About Us*). Glorifying imperialist state power in such a fashion, are they not toeing the line of the imperialists?

The outstanding feature of our age is the transition from capitalism to socialism. Through revolution in one form or another, the working class must smash the bourgeois state apparatus, set up the proletarian state apparatus and replace bourgeois dictatorship by proletarian dictatorship. Marxist-Leninists, therefore, have always held that seizure of state power is the crucial question in the proletarian revolution. Using sophistry, the Yugoslav revisionists insist that state capitalism in the capitalist countries is a "factor of socialism," that socialism is taking form within the capitalist system, and that the bourgeois state apparatus is also changing in this direction. Consequently, there is no need for the working class to carry out proletarian revolution, to smash the bourgeois state apparatus or to set up its own state apparatus. They claim that by "exercising incessant pressure" on the bourgeois state apparatus and working to "exert a decisive influence" in it, the working class will be able to "secure the development of socialism." They are spreading this nonsense about "peaceful evolution" from capitalism to socialism in order to create ideological confusion within the ranks of the revolutionary working-class movement, to paralyse, corrode and sap the revolutionary will-power of the working class and Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, and to prevent proletarian revolution. This being so, what trace of Marxism-Leninism do they show, what markings other than those of an accomplice of the imperialists?

Since the Great October Revolution, one-third of mankind has smashed the bourgeois state apparatus and established their own states

of proletarian dictatorship. The proletarian dictatorship in these countries is fundamentally different in nature from dictatorship by all exploiting classes. It is the dictatorship of the exploited class, the dictatorship of the many over the few, dictatorship for the building of socialist society free from exploitation of man by man. It is the most progressive, and also the last, dictatorship in human history which is undertaking the greatest and most difficult historic task of eliminating classes, and it is forging ahead in conditions of most complex struggle, along the most tortuous road ever known in human history. With a history of only forty years, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to avoid making some partial mistake or another, in the course of its advance. Whatever the mistakes, since proletarian dictatorship is the system of the people themselves, it will learn from mistakes and correct them by itself. But the Yugoslav revisionists, following the imperialist reactionaries, venomously attack the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They call the state system of the socialist countries "bureaucracy and bureaucratic statism." They fiercely attack the Communist Parties in the socialist countries for holding the leading position and exercising the leading role in the life of the state and slander direct leadership and supervision by the Communist Parties in these countries over the work of the state as giving rise to "the growth of bureaucracy in the Party" and "statism." A mere glance shows that the weapons used by the Yugoslav revisionists against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries come from the arsenals of the imperialists. It is just because they brandish these antiquated weapons in the name of "Communists," with the status of a "socialist country," and under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, that they win special approval and plaudits from the US imperialists.

All the classical writings of Marxism-Leninism show that socialist state power is the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the proletariat organising itself as the ruling class. After seizing power, the proletariat must exercise dictatorship through its own state apparatus over the vanquished exploiting classes, carry on the class struggle in the new conditions and solve the problem of whether the socialist road or the capitalist road will win out, so as to eliminate classes. But the Yugoslav revisionists maintain that socialist state power should not be an instrument of force, should not exercise dictatorship over the class enemy

and should not conduct struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. At the same time, they make no little fuss about the so-called question of democracy, attacking the socialist countries under the pretext of promoting “democracy.” Tito has manufactured the pretext that “we are always emphatically against regarding the proletarian dictatorship as mere force,” as though there were only dictatorship and no democracy in the socialist countries. Since the class enemy still exists in the period of transition, and there are antagonistic contradictions between them and the proletariat, contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, dictatorship must be exercised if such contradictions are to be resolved. As to democracy, all democracy is merely a form of class rule. Democracy that is divorced from proletarian dictatorship can never be democracy under the socialist system. In essence, bourgeois democracy is dictatorship by the few over the great majority, the working people, while proletarian dictatorship means democracy for the great majority, the working people. Either the enemy wipes us out or vice versa; either bourgeois democracy or proletarian democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a unity of dictatorship and democracy. Comrade Mao Tse-tung once said: “Democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, when combined, constitute the people’s democratic dictatorship” (*On People’s Democratic Dictatorship*); “dictatorship does not apply in the ranks of the people. The people cannot possibly exercise dictatorship over themselves; nor should one section of them oppress another section”; “under the people’s democratic dictatorship, two different methods – dictatorial and democratic – should be used to resolve the two kinds of contradiction of different nature – those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people.” (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*) By opposing democracy to dictatorship while chattering about abstract democracy, denying the necessity of dictatorship over the class enemy, the necessity of struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads, the Yugoslav revisionists are simply trying to create confusion within the socialist countries in co-ordination with the subversive activities conducted against these countries by the imperialist countries.

Under the pretext that Stalin had made individual mistakes on the question of proletarian dictatorship, the Yugoslav revisionists exultantly exaggerated these mistakes to attack the proletarian dictatorship in the

socialist countries. It never occurs to them that in doing so they are simply showing their revisionist colours. True, Stalin once made the appraisal that, as a rule, class struggle in the transitional period “grows increasingly acute,” and this appraisal interpreted as continuous expansion of the class struggle, can bring detrimental results to the socialist cause. But this does not mean that to correct this mistake one must deny the class struggle in the transitional period, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will win. The facts show that the class struggle to decide which will win out continues not only throughout the initial stage of the proletarian dictatorship, when capitalist ownership is being eliminated and socialist ownership established, but also, on the political and ideological fronts, after the question of ownership has been completely solved. In the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, there are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people. Sometimes, of course, the class struggle in the transition period is tense and at other times relaxed, marked by ups and downs. At one stage, the situation may tend for a while to relaxation after the proletariat wins a round in battle and the class enemy is forced to retreat. But the class enemy is never resigned to extinction and will, in given conditions, launch fresh attacks on socialism. These ups and downs in the class struggle will repeat themselves many times over a period. Nevertheless, with the advance of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the general trend is towards the gradual weakening of the class struggle till it dies out. The Yugoslav revisionists deny this objective law and spread the slander that the socialist countries aggravate the social contradictions by means of the power of the state. What interpretation can be placed on this other than that they are helping the imperialists and opposing proletarian dictatorship and the elimination of classes?

The Yugoslav revisionists particularly attack as the source of all evils, the democratic centralism practiced in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They deceitfully drag in the experience of the “Paris Commune” and distort the lessons drawn from it by Karl Marx as being the elimination of centralism. This is an insult to Marx and to the French proletariat who raised the banner of the Paris Commune. As Lenin said, “there is no departure whatever from centralism” in Marx’s summing up of the experience of the Paris Commune. (Lenin: *The State*

and Revolution) In the socialist countries it is democracy, i.e., democratic centralism, not dictatorship, that is practiced among the people. Among the people, democracy and centralism, decentralisation and centralisation of power – these are unities of opposites. Democracy means democracy under centralised guidance, not extreme democratisation; centralism means centralism based on democracy, not absolute centralisation. Decentralisation means apportionment of power under unified leadership, not anarchy; centralisation means concentration of power on the basis of bringing into play the activity and initiative of the lower organisations and the rank and file, not absolute centralisation which restricts and hampers this activity and initiative. It is wrong to emphasize one aspect to the denial of the other. True, over-centralisation or over-decentralisation may occur in the course of socialist construction owing to lack of experience. But this is only a question of how democratic centralism is applied, not an inevitable result of proletarian dictatorship. In slandering centralism in the proletarian states, the Yugoslav revisionists merely reveal their ulterior motives in attacking the socialist countries. As to the so-called “social self-government,” which they assert to be an absolute boon, it is enough to quote what Engels said: “It is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good.” (Engels: *On Authority*) And, as Engels pointed out, whoever sticks to this absurd concept is actually serving the reactionaries.

The Yugoslav revisionists are particularly energetic in attacking the management of economic affairs by the socialist state. According to them, if the proletarian state authority manages the national economy, the state becomes a means of hamstringing the development of socialism. This is extraordinary logic. Has there ever existed a state that does not manage economic affairs? So long as the state exists it must manage economic affairs in one way or another. The queerest part of the logic is this – when the Yugoslav revisionists talk about the tightening of economic control exercised by the state authority in the imperialist countries they see nothing wrong in this. On the contrary, they spare no words to eulogize and glorify this as a “factor of socialism.” Yet when they come to the economic control exercised by the state authority in the socialist countries, they roundly condemn it and smear it as “the

source of bureaucracy and bureaucratic statism.” Is this not revealing as to the reactionary nature of the Yugoslav revisionists’ attack on the state management of the economy in the socialist countries? In the classical works of Marxism-Leninism it is pointed out, time and again, that the proletarian state, as the representative of society, must organise the socialist economy. Why must the proletarian state manage the economy? The reasons are:

1. to wage the struggle between the two roads to secure the triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road;
2. to carry through the class line and the class policies of the proletariat in all economic work; and
3. taking the interests of the whole country and all the people into consideration – to ensure the planned, proportionate development of the socialist national economy in accordance with the objective laws of socialist economic development.

Precisely as a result of planned state management of the national economy, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have made tremendous achievements in their economic construction. It goes without saying that in the state management of the economy there should be a proper division of function and co-ordination between the central and local authorities. Unified control and planning by the central authorities must be correctly linked with the activity and initiative of the local authorities and the masses. But whatever the way in which the central and local authorities divide their work of economic management, and however the working people play their part in this management, this is a question of concrete forms of economic management. It is not a question of whether to abolish the proletarian state’s function of economic management. What meaning can there be in the Yugoslav revisionists’ talk about abolishing the economic function of the proletarian state? Apart from its trickery to mislead people, it simply means undermining and abolishing the economic foundations of the proletarian state, i.e. socialist ownership by the whole people; doing away with planned economy; throwing overboard the proletarian class line and class policy of socialist economic development; abolishing the unified leadership and supervision which the proletariat exercises over the socialist economy through the Communist Party and the state apparatus; restoring capitalist methods of administration and

management; and preserving and restoring freedom for the bourgeoisie to facilitate its comeback.

In repudiating the Yugoslav revisionist theory of the state it is necessary to touch on the contradictions within socialist society. Some of our comrades at one time held that in socialist society there were no contradictions between the relations of production and productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base; and so they denied the existence of contradictions among the people in socialist society, or contradictions between the people's government as the apparatus of the state power and the masses. This was a metaphysical viewpoint. If this viewpoint guides national construction in the socialist countries, it is impossible to overcome these contradictions in good time, "to make the socialist relations of production conform better to the growth of the productive forces and the socialist state structure conform better to the development of the economic base; and it becomes impossible to further develop the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state in the light of the rich experience gathered from practice. But the Yugoslav revisionists regard the contradictions within socialist society as primarily those between the state power and the working people; they then allege that these, contradictions are antagonistic and maintain that the existence of the state is the source of these antagonistic contradictions. In fact, contrary to the Yugoslav revisionist nonsense, the antagonistic contradictions which exist in the socialist countries are those between the masses of the people led by the proletariat and their class enemies who oppose socialism. It is not that proletarian dictatorship breeds antagonistic contradictions, but that proletarian dictatorship is necessary to resolve them. To attack the socialist countries, the Yugoslav revisionists mix up contradictions among the people in the socialist countries with contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; they also mix up contradictions in the socialist system with those in the capitalist social system. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in his essay *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state. He pointed out that the internal contradictions in the socialist system of society are fundamentally different from those in the capitalist system of society. In socialist society, contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base, are non-

antagonistic. The people's government representing the people's interests and the masses of the people are united as one. By contrast, irreconcilable and antagonistic class contradictions exist between a government of the exploiting class and the people. The contradictions between the people's government and the masses are those within the ranks of the people; underlying them is the basic identity of the interests of the people; and therefore they are non-antagonistic. They can be overcome and resolved by the socialist system itself. By magnifying them and labeling them antagonistic contradictions, the Yugoslav revisionists serve no purpose other than to besmirch proletarian dictatorship.

For the purpose of attacking the socialist countries, the Yugoslav revisionists, on grounds of their own fabrication, describe the socialist state system as the source of "bureaucracy" and maintain that as long as the socialist state system exists, bureaucracy will "continue to manifest itself as a tendency." Everyone knows that bureaucracy is a product of the state apparatus of exploiting class rule. The bureaucracy that exists in the Party and state organisations in a socialist country is a hang-over from the old society rather than a product of the socialist system or of the Communist Party. Such bureaucracy is totally incompatible with the political party of the working class and with the socialist state system. The history of proletarian dictatorship proves that only the socialist state system can effectively overcome bureaucracy; because only it can bring into full play the initiative and activity of the masses, and only when this is done can there be elimination of bureaucracy, a product of the influence of the old society. In other words, the conquest of bureaucracy demands reliance on the masses and resolute struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology. This struggle needs on the one hand leadership from above to help the government workers carry out continuous ideological remoulding, to correct their erroneous ways of thinking and doing things and to improve their methods of work; on the other hand, the struggle requires mobilisation of the masses from the bottom up, the raising of their cultural level and political consciousness, the application of effective mass supervision over the state organs, and leading the masses to fight against bureaucracy. Our country's experience also gives proof of this point. In the nation-wide rectification campaign, we have found the method suited to the

conditions of our country, during which we mobilise the masses fully to practice criticism and self-criticism, according to the “unity – criticism – unity” formula, by encouraging a full and frank airing of views, great debates and the posting of *tatsepao* [Opinions and criticisms written in bold Chinese characters on large sheets of paper, publicly posted for all to see]. As a result, the democratic life of our socialist society has achieved a mighty leap forward. Here we may well ask: Dare the Yugoslav revisionists practice democracy on so broad a scale?

The Yugoslav revisionists also attack the leading role of the Communist Parties in the socialist countries. They deny that the Communist Party is the highest form of organisation of the working class and, on the pretext of opposing “a fusion of the organisations of Communists with the state apparatus,” insist that it is not right for the Party to exercise direct leadership and supervision over the state. They maintain that the inevitable outcome of “an ever closer merging of the Party and state apparatus” is the “growth of bureaucracy” in the Party. Lenin’s doctrine on Party building stresses that the Communist Party is the highest form of organisation of the working class and only the political party of the working class, that is, the Communist Party, can give political leadership to the proletariat and, through the proletariat, unite all the working masses to carry out proletariat dictatorship: “without this the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.” (Lenin: *Preliminary Draft of the Resolution of the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party on the Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation in Our Party*) This truth has been borne out by practice in the socialist states. The primary lesson taught by the history of proletarian dictatorship is that the proletarian cause of revolution and construction cannot advance a step without a Communist Party that takes Marxism-Leninism as its guide to action, builds itself on the principle of democratic centralism, establishes close ties with the masses, strives to become the very heart of the working people and educates its members and the masses of the people in Marxism-Leninism. In the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Party must play the leading role, as regards both the general line and policy of building socialism and the line and policy for the socialist state; there must therefore be no separation between the Party and the government. It would be absolutely wrong to separate the Party from the government and thus leave the government

outside the leadership of the Communist Party. Of course, the Party and the government must do their work in different ways; the Party does not have to take on the routine work of the government organisations. But in all circumstances, the fundamental guarantee that the countries of our socialist camp will unite the people to vanquish the enemy is the strengthening of leadership by the Communist Party in the cause of socialism and over the organs of the state. The Yugoslav revisionists flagrantly reject Lenin's doctrine on Party building and do their utmost to attack the Communist Parties of the socialist countries; yet they still call themselves communists to parade before and deceive people. What impudence!

Externally, the leading group in Yugoslavia follows a foreign policy of praising the United States and slandering the Soviet Union which suits the needs of the imperialists; internally, it follows a policy of dispensing with the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, undermining the economic foundations of socialism and allowing capitalist relations and the American way of life to overrun the country freely. These are clear indications of the degeneration and betrayal on the part of the leading group in Yugoslavia. In this way, an irreconcilable contradiction arises between this leading group and the Yugoslav people. The leading group in Yugoslavia has neither the desire nor the courage to take down their signboard of "socialists", and "communists" altogether; for if they did, they would encounter strong opposition from the Yugoslav people, their usefulness as saboteurs of the socialist camp would come to an end and they would no longer receive rewards from the US imperialists. This is why they go on, as the Chinese saying puts it; selling dog's meat under a sheep's head, trying to get rewards from the imperialists while endeavouring to hoodwink the people at home and smooth away their discontent, and cover up their degeneration and betrayal. This is also why they have patched up many Marxist phrases into their hocus-pocus theory of the "withering away of the state."

This out-and-out revisionist theory of the withering away of the state argues that it is necessary for the role of the state under proletarian dictatorship to wither away in all fields of social life; but in actual fact, it aims to "wither away" the function of the socialist state in the exercise of dictatorship over the class enemy, the system of democratic centralism among the people, the role of the state in managing the socialist economy,

and the leading role of the Communist Party in the state. In short, what they hope to wither away is socialism and communism. In their opinion, if the socialist countries fail to do this, it means "pragmatic revision" in the theory of the withering away of the state, and will give rise to "manifestations of bureaucratic-statist tendencies" and "fetter the development of social and economic factors." But, if the socialist countries really do as they suggest, it will simply facilitate the imperialist sabotage and subversive activities against the socialist countries, it will simply lead to a repetition of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary and the restoration of capitalism. This indeed is the real motive behind the efforts by the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia to sell abroad the theory of the "withering away of the state."

It is reasonable to ask how this out-and-out anti-Marxist-Leninist theory of the "withering away of the state" is applied inside Yugoslavia. There, the main apparatus of the state – the police, the law courts, the armed forces and the other punitive organs – so far from being weakened and withered away, are being greatly strengthened. As the Yugoslav leading group wants to maintain and consolidate its dictatorial rule, it is using the state apparatus to oppress those in opposition. Last year, more than thirty thousand Yugoslav workers (constituting 4.3 per cent of all the workers in the country) were victimised and expelled for criticising the leadership. Reuter reported recently that mass arrests are being made in Yugoslavia of people opposed to the reactionary policies of the leading group. At the same time, the leading group is trying to deceive the people with such stuff as "social self-government" and "workers' self-government," falsely claiming that the state is in the course of "withering away." In fact, its perverted measures have driven the socialist cause of the Yugoslav people to the dangerous brink of "withering away." For home consumption, the modern revisionists' theory of the "withering away of the state" is nothing but a fig-leaf to cover up their degeneration and betrayal.

We Chinese Communists, like other Marxists throughout the world, genuinely advocate the theory of the withering away of the state. Basing himself on Marxist-Leninist theory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that the conditions for the withering away of the state are, internally, the elimination of classes and class influence and, externally, the elimination of the imperialist system. As the internal class struggle grows

gradually weaker until it finally dies out, the suppressive function of the state will naturally diminish and move in the direction of withering away. This is a long-term, natural course of development. At the same time, the external conditions should not be overlooked; moreover, external and internal conditions act on each other. Lenin said: "The economic basis for the complete withering away of the state is such a high stage of development of communism that the antithesis between mental and physical labour disappears when there, consequently, disappears one of the principal sources of modern social inequality – a source, moreover, which cannot on any account be removed immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists." (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*) Therefore, the duration of the process during which the state withers away "depends upon the rapidity of development of the higher phase of communism." (*Ibid.*) There is nothing in common between the Marxist-Leninist theory of the withering away of the state and the reactionary fallacy of the Yugoslav revisionists concerning the withering away of the state.

While harping on their so-called theory of the "withering away of the state," the Yugoslav revisionists centre their attack on Stalin by means of every venomous invective at their disposal. They vilify Stalin for making a "pragmatic revision" in the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and turning the Marxist-Leninist theory of the withering away of the state into the thesis that the state "does not wither away, but keeps strengthening in all fields of social life." The rich experience of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party in proletarian dictatorship and in building the socialist state is of world significance. Stalin was entirely correct in setting forth the functions of the state in regard to suppression, economic management and the education of the small producers, and also in saying that the withering away of the state will begin with the natural and gradual withering away of the function of suppression, while the economic function will go on as a social function. As the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party has pointed out, he was mistaken on some particular aspects of the question of the state, yet Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, a staunch, indomitable fighter in the struggles against the enemy. The modern revisionists of Yugoslavia, who have become traitors to the working class, are utterly

incapable of making a fair and just appraisal of Stalin. They make the calumny that a so-called “rule of one man” was practiced in the Soviet Union. To this we may answer in Lenin’s words: “To contrast, in general, dictatorship of the masses to dictatorship of the leaders is ridiculously absurd and stupid. What is particularly curious is that actually, new leaders are put forth (under cover of the slogan: ‘Down with the leaders!’) who talk unnatural stuff and nonsense.” (Lenin: *“Left-Wing” Communism, An infantile Disorder*) The new leader that the Yugoslav revisionists want to put forth is no other than a new Bernstein [Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932)] who has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and capitulated to US imperialism.

From what has been said above, it is clear that the fallacies of the Yugoslav revisionists concerning the nature of the bourgeois state, the transition from capitalism to socialism, the nature and functions of the socialist state and the “withering away” of the state are out-and-out reactionary. We must resolutely smash this revisionism in order to defend the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

THE MORE THEY TRY TO HIDE, THE MORE THEY ARE EXPOSED

**On Tito's Speech of June 15
by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator**

Tito delivered a speech on June 15 at Labin. Aside from new slanders against the Communist Parties of various countries, this speech provided no answer whatever to the serious criticisms and repudiations of Yugoslav revisionism they have made. Tito was completely silent on such basic questions as: On what grounds did the League of Communists of Yugoslavia betray the Peace Manifesto it signed, and put forward entirely contrary viewpoints about the international situation in its programme? What made it necessary for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to defame in its programme and at its Congress the socialist system and glorify the capitalist system, to attack the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of various countries, to attack the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam Agreements while defending and lauding US imperialism, the common enemy of all the peoples of the world? When the socialist countries were exerting every effort to improve their relations with Yugoslavia (in fact such efforts continued right up to the eve of the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav Communist League and the Hungarian-Yugoslav talks, for instance, were held in March 1958), why was the Yugoslav Communist League so keen on repaying good with evil?

No doubt there are reasons for this. But it is difficult to state them. So the only explanation Tito could offer to the Yugoslav people was that the Communist Parties of other countries oppose the programme of the Yugoslav Communist League not because it is an out-and-out

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revisionist and anti-Marxist-Leninist programme, but because of certain schemes organised long ago, because the Yugoslav Communist League refused to participate in the meeting of the Communist Parties of twelve countries and in the socialist camp, and because, getting to the root of the problem, it is “against division of the world into camps.” In this way, it seemed as if all arguments of principle concerning their revisionist programme could be written off at one stroke.

This is precisely the characteristic tactic of all opportunists.

But this method of Tito's, to evade the point at issue, has not been successful. The principle at issue still cannot be avoided and to cover the matter up by “stuffing the ears while stealing a bell” only makes it more obvious. The Yugoslav Communist League refused to participate in the meeting of Communist Parties of twelve nations, but dressing this up as an explanation doesn't help Tito in any way. Why should Tito tear up the agreement he endorsed at the Bucharest talks? Why doesn't Tito say a word about this question which was put to him by Comrade Khrushchov in Sofia? Of course it is sheer nonsense for Tito to allege that Yugoslav refusal to participate in the socialist camp is the main reason why the Communist Parties of various countries are struggling against revisionism. Non-participation in the socialist camp does not make it necessary to give revisionism wide publicity and to launch an all-out attack against the socialist countries. In any case it is curious that a country calling itself a socialist state should refuse to line up with the socialist countries, to stand explicitly on the anti-imperialist side, should place the imperialist countries and the socialist countries on the same footing and keep the same distance from each and maintain the same “cooperation” with them. What pretext on earth can they find to justify themselves?

“We are against division of the world into camps.”

“In the present tense international situation it is more useful to pursue a constructive peaceful policy, together with other peace-loving countries which also do not belong to any bloc, rather than to enter the camp and thereby aggravate even more the already tense situation in the world.”

“We consider that relations of cooperation must be established with all countries, and not limit ourselves to two camps, which will clash and because of which war might one day break out.”

The Documents of the Great Debate

What a typical voice of a traitor! How similar the statement “against division of the world into camps...” sounds to the statement “against division of society into classes” repentantly made by deserters from the Communist Party who have surrendered to the enemy! Since a number of imperialist countries and a number of socialist countries exist in the world at the same time, the existence of camps is inevitable. Even the nations striving for independence, such as those in North Africa and the Near East, have formed ties of association in one way or another on certain basis. This historic inevitability does not change in accordance with the subjective desire of Tito or any other person. It is true that the imperialist countries cannot possibly unite as one, but this does not mean that all the socialist countries, which are struggling for the common interests and ideals of the international proletariat, should fail to rally together closely. The socialist camp and the imperialist camp are diametrically opposed in nature and cannot be mentioned in the same breath. The comradely solidarity that exists among the socialist countries is not possible between capitalist countries, and this is precisely one of the important factors that make the victory of socialism inevitable. The countries in the socialist camp have insisted throughout on the dissolution of all military blocs and on peaceful co-existence with all capitalist countries. But why is it necessary to break our own unity in order to disband the military blocs and bring about co-existence? Isn't the truth exactly contrary to this? According to Tito's logic, participation of the socialist countries in the socialist camp will aggravate world tension while non-participation of the socialist countries in the socialist camp will ease the world situation. According to that logic, the more countries in which socialism is victorious, the more inevitable war becomes. And in order to bring about a thorough easing of the world situation and to avert war, it is of course necessary for all socialist countries to refrain from participating in the socialist camp and to disband that camp. Before World War II, however, there was certainly no socialist camp. Why then did Hitler Germany launch an aggressive war against the Soviet Union? Was this “owing to Stalin's inflexible and uncalled for threatening foreign policy” which made the Hitlerites “unable to accomplish their aims by diplomatic means”? Wasn't Yugoslavia invaded by Hitler in April 1941 when it had not even put up the signboard of socialism? Tito has completely ignored these basic

facts and alleges that in order to obtain peace, we must keep away from any association opposed by the imperialists. In this, Tito not only lacks the slightest semblance of a communist but also lacks the slightest semblance of a nationalist revolutionary opposed to imperialism.

The argument Tito spreads that if the socialist countries rally together this will create tension and war danger, translated into simple language, actually means this: Working people, oppressed people, revolutionaries, socialists, you must never split the world into camps, never "limit" yourselves to camps! You should establish "relations of cooperation" with all political forces (never mind what forces)! This will be to your great benefit. This, according to the programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists, is the Yugoslav-type "policy of active co-existence." It is "an expression of the powerful development of the productive forces which has brought about the actual inter-connection of the whole world, the close inter-dependence of the economies of different countries. This policy expresses the objective needs of the contemporary world for the broadest economic cooperation as well as for comprehensive cultural, scientific and other cooperation. The policy of active co-existence, accordingly, also creates the necessary pre-conditions for the integration of the world economy. And one of the goals of socialism must be the economic unity of the world." This is all very nice. But if you are ignorant of the present state of affairs and don't break up your unity, the situation will become tense. And, what is supremely important is that once conflict breaks out (which is unavoidable if the camps are retained!) you cannot hope to keep out of the trouble.

We do not intend to discuss here the stand of various types of neutralists. Many peaceful, neutral countries, far from having engaged in sabotage against the socialist countries, have, on the contrary, formed good relations with them. They can, therefore, have full confidence in the friendship of the socialist countries in their struggle to safeguard peace, resist aggression and develop their own national economies. In contrast to the neutralists in general, the Tito elements, having put out the signboard of Marxism-Leninism and a socialist country, mix in the ranks of the international proletariat to corrode, disintegrate and subvert. This has forced us to show them up firmly in their true colours. Some people say: "Why is it necessary to drive Tito to the side of the

imperialists?" But the present facts show that Tito persists in his revisionist, pro-imperialist stand not because he has been driven to do so. Moreover, it appears that in any event he will not give up his neutralist or socialist signboard and go directly over to the side of imperialism without pretences, because he "knows" how to hold on to his bargaining position. Therefore, no good to the cause of socialism will come from worrying about his going over to the West and relaxing the efforts to expose him. Similarly, to be afraid to "embitter" imperialism and thus not to rally the forces of peace and not to expose the machinations of the warmongers will do no good to the cause of peace.

Now, to return to the question of peace: We have at all times taken the view that peace must be defended resolutely and that it can be defended. But this can be achieved only if all the forces of peace unite and wage a staunch struggle against the machinations of the war plotters. Here the question is not only that war must be firmly opposed. It should also be made clear that the people really have the strength to overcome the threat of war. The people should be called on to prepare, should the war maniacs force war on them, to use their united strength to wipe out all aggressors, and eradicate imperialism, which breeds war. Without this determination, it would be impossible to prevent war and the people would be thrown into panic and dismay should the aggressors venture to unleash war. But what is the road that Tito and his followers have indicated to the peoples of various countries? To try to make people "clear the snow away only from their own doorsteps," as the Chinese saying goes, they threaten them with the danger of war; they call for the dissolution of the unity of all the forces of socialism, of all the anti-imperialist and anti-war forces; they call on the peoples to cooperate with the US and all other imperialists, in order to bring about "the integration of the world" and build up "socialism"! Any objective observer can readily see that the stand of the Tito elements cannot safeguard world peace, nor offer any support to the struggle of Korea and Viet-nam, or of Egypt, Syria, Indonesia, Algeria and the Lebanon, against aggression.

In his efforts to confuse right and wrong still further, Tito has gone so far as to mix up arbitrarily his own surrender policy with the peace policy of the Soviet Union. He even compares US aid to Yugoslavia with the relief given by the US to the famine in the Soviet

Union in 1921. What was the situation in 1921? Even under the extremely difficult conditions at that time, the Soviet Government waged a firm struggle against the US relief administration, headed by Hoover, which had obvious political designs, and prevented US relief activities from getting out of the control of the Soviet government. At that time, Lenin described the extreme ferocity of the imperialists who took advantage of the famine in the Soviet Union to carry out anti-Soviet activities, in these words: "I don't know whether the devil is more terrible than modern imperialism." Precisely because the Soviet Union, adopting a revolutionary proletarian attitude towards the imperialist states, never entertained any illusion of relying on the imperialist states, the imperialists have all along regarded the Soviet Union as a thorn in their side. The imperialists have done everything possible to oppose and disrupt the Soviet Union and have stubbornly rejected the various proposals put forward by the Soviet Union to relax international tension. But what is the attitude of Tito and his ilk to US aid? Tito openly eulogizes US wheat and dollars, and takes pride in the fact that he "knows" how to depend for ever on US aid to "safeguard independence" and "built socialism." Similarly, the US imperialists also take pride in the fact that they "know" how to disrupt the cause of socialism with their aid to Yugoslavia. Tito said: "The Americans do not give us assistance so that socialism might triumph in Yugoslavia." But the question is not so simple. Eisenhower made it very clear on the 18th of this month that he would "give any kind of aid to Soviet bloc countries which would contribute to the weakening of the bloc's solidarity." Have the Americans fulfilled their aims then? Evidently, whether it was during the uprising of the counter-revolutionary Nagy group in Hungary in 1956, or in the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists and the programme it adopted, or in the so-called protest made by Yugoslavia following the recent verdict on the counter-revolutionary Nagy group in Hungary, the Tito elements acted as the anti-Soviet and anti-communist vanguard for the imperialist reactionaries. Nonetheless, Tito still persists in stating that he has never set himself against the Soviet Union, that he has never supported imperialism, and, what is more, that his policy is the same as the policy of the Soviet Union.

To use Tito's own words, this is "the height of cynicism"!

In his speech Tito frantically attacked the Chinese Communist Party. For us, this is merely a cause for pride. The ancient Chinese poet Chu Yuan expressed it well: "How can the square exactly fit the circle? With views opposed, who can live in harmony?" The struggle of Marxist-Leninists against the revisionists is unavoidable and it is the praise of revisionists or imperialists that is to be dreaded. The criticism that the Chinese Communists made of the Yugoslav revisionists has obviously hit them where it hurts. Since they could find no way to stir up nationalist hatred among the people on pretexts deriving from past Sino-Yugoslav relations, they were compelled to cook up some particularly preposterous – and therefore particularly clumsy – lies in their fight. Tito said that we criticised them because we were bothered by their "peaceable policy, policy of peace, policy of co-existence," because we were opposed to the relaxation of world tension and thus occupied "the same platform as the most reactionary warmongering elements in the West." But one may ask: If we, rather than Tito, are standing on the side of the warmongers, how is it that the most reactionary warmongers in the West, such as Dulles, are in no way "bothered" about Tito's "peaceable policy, policy of peace, policy of co-existence" and have even rewarded it handsomely? Tito said further that we oppose revisionism because we have encountered internal difficulties and are in need of some sort of loan. This is really a good example of "talking about one's own trade at the outset of a conversation," as the Chinese saying goes! A dwarf kneeling in a muddy pond can try as desperately as possible to spit at a giant on a high mountain, but he will find his saliva falling back on his own face. Those few utterances of Tito's provide a superb sketch of the very features of the Tito elements.

Tito's painstakingly prepared speech consists of so many lies that they are too numerous to be refuted. He said that we had not made public any of their materials. This is perhaps the most stupid of these lies. We do not consider it necessary for the socialist press to publish long-winded tirades by revisionist, but still facts are facts. In 1956, we published the full texts of Tito's notorious Pula speech and Kardelj's speech before parliament. Not long ago we published the full texts of the two draft programmes of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and now we have printed the full text of Tito's speech delivered at

Labin, while the Yugoslav press has rarely published full texts of our articles. But Tito still brags that “it is obvious that we are morally much superior to them.”

Tito boasted that the Yugoslav people were one with him and issued slanders from many angles to sow dissension between the Yugoslav people and the peoples of the socialist countries. But he cannot explain why the Yugoslav state organs of force, which are supposed to have been “withering away” for a long time, suddenly arrested a large number of true Communists recently. Of course while the imperialists can still keep a group of labour aristocrats at home and abroad, these aristocrats can still carry out their activities to a considerable extent and there are still people who pin their hopes on them. But the sun is setting in the West. Do the Tito elements and all other revisionists who look to the West have any bright future?

THE INTERNATIONALE

A D E7

A - rise ye work-ers from your alum - bers, A - rise ye pris-on-ers of

A E7 A D E7 A

went. For rea-son in re-volt now thun-ders, and at last ends the age of cant. A -

E B7 E B7 E B7

way with all your su-per - sti - tions, Ser-vile mass-es a-rise, a - rise. We'll

E E7 A E B7 E E7

change hence-forth the old tra - di - tion, And spurn the dual to win the prize. So -

The image shows a musical score for the song 'The Internationale'. It consists of four systems of music. Each system includes a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). Above the vocal line, guitar chords are indicated: A, D, E7, A, E7, A, E, B7, E, B7, E, B7, E, E7, A, E, B7, E, E7. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: 'A - rise ye work-ers from your alum - bers, A - rise ye pris-on-ers of went. For rea-son in re-volt now thun-ders, and at last ends the age of cant. A - way with all your su-per - sti - tions, Ser-vile mass-es a-rise, a - rise. We'll change hence-forth the old tra - di - tion, And spurn the dual to win the prize. So -'.

A D E7 A E7

com -rades come ral - ly, And the last fight let us face. The

A E7 F#m C#7 D B7 E E7

In - ter - na - tion - al - e u - nites the hu - man race. So -

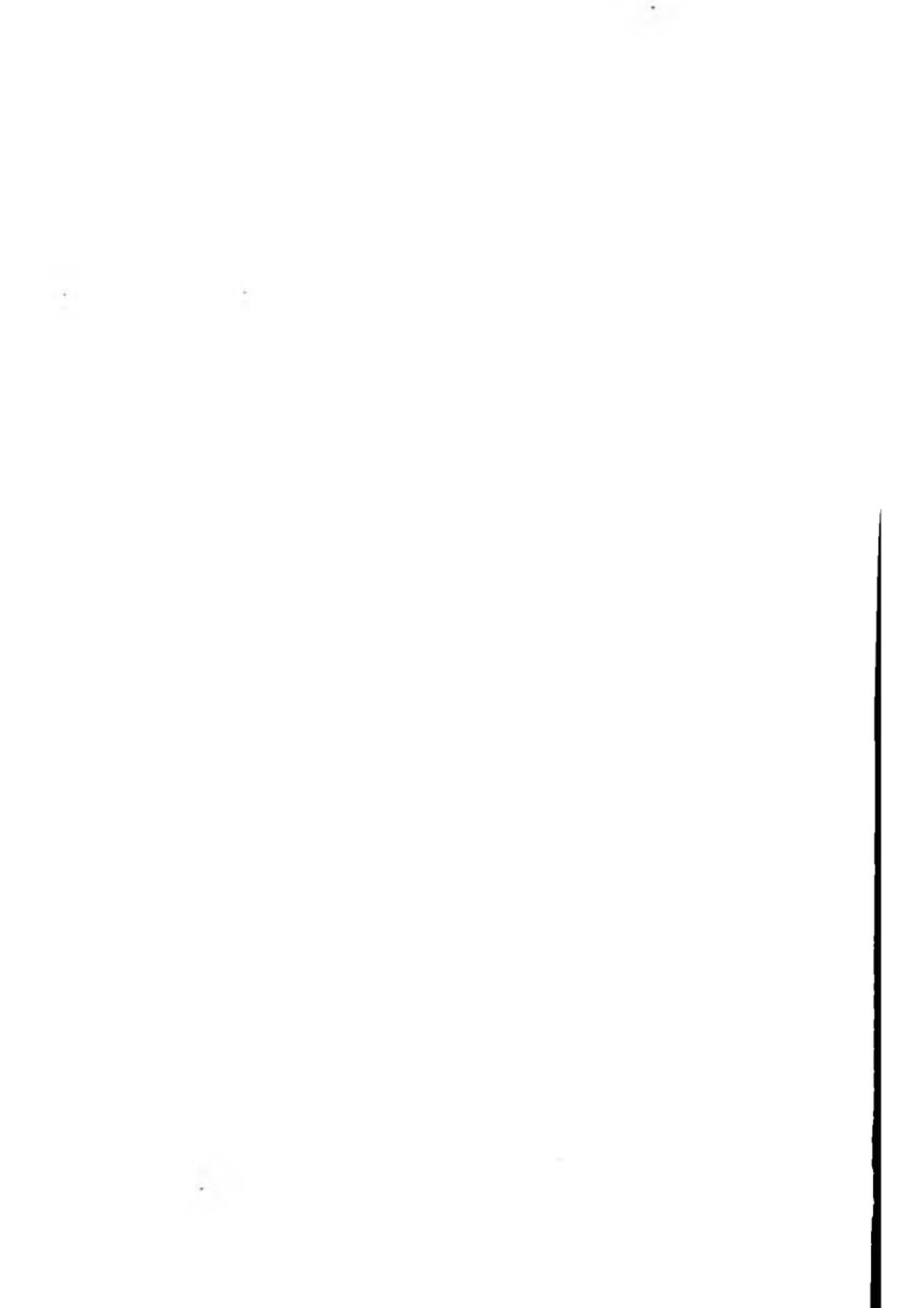
A D E7 A A7

com -rades let's ral - ly And the last fight let us face. The

F#7 Bm7 E7 A E7 A

In - ter - na - tion - al - e u - nites the hu - man race.

Words by Eugene Pottier (1871)
 Music by Pierre Degeyter (1888)



The song of the First and Second International, it was written by a transport worker after the Paris Commune was crushed by the French government. The song was later used as the first Soviet Union National Anthem and Anthem of the (Third) Communist International, until 1944 when the latter was dissolved.

Writer: Eugène Pottier - Paris, June 1871 Music: Pierre Degeyter - 1888



The International

Arise ye workers from your slumbers
Arise ye prisoners of want
For reason in revolt now thunders
And at last ends the age of cant.
Away with all your superstitions
Servile masses arise, arise
We'll change henceforth the old tradition
And spurn the dust to win the prize.

Refrain:

So comrades, come rally
And the last fight let us face
The Internationale unites the human race.

No more deluded by reaction
On tyrants only we'll make war
The soldiers too will take strike action
They'll break ranks and fight no more
And if those cannibals keep trying
To sacrifice us to their pride
They soon shall hear the bullets flying
We'll shoot the generals on our own side.

No saviour from on high delivers
No faith have we in prince or peer
Our own right hand the chains must shiver
Chains of hatred, greed and fear
E'er the thieves will out with their booty
And give to all a happier lot.
Each at the forge must do their duty
And we'll strike while the iron is hot.