

N.S. KHRUSHCHOV



**COMMUNISM-
P E A C E
and HAPPINESS
for the PEOPLES**

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PEACE AND HAPPINESS
FOR THE PEOPLES**

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**THE 22nd CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION**

**REPORT
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION
TO THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.**

October 17, 1961

Comrades, some six years have elapsed since the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, years that have had exceptional, we may well say historic, significance for our Party, for the Soviet people and for all mankind.

Our Soviet homeland has entered the period of the full-scale construction of communism along the entire broad front of giant undertakings. The economy and culture of the Soviet Union are making rapid progress. The Seven-Year Plan, the plan for a tremendous development of our country's productive forces, is being successfully implemented. Throughout the country the creative forces of the people gush forth as from thousands of fountainheads. The triumphant flights of Soviet men into space, the first in human history, may be said to crown our wonderful achievements, to be the banner of communist construction raised on high.

Socialism has been firmly established throughout the world socialist community. The major events of the past years have been an expression of the chief law of the day—

the tempestuous growth and strengthening of the vital forces of the world socialist system.

Our Party and our state have been functioning in a complicated international situation. On a number of occasions the imperialists have attempted to bring the world to the brink of war and to probe the strength of the Soviet Union and the courage of its peoples. Many bourgeois politicians have sought comfort in the illusion that our plans might fail and the socialist camp disintegrate. They have undertaken more than a few acts of provocation and sabotage against us. The Party and the entire Soviet people have exposed the intrigues of our enemies and have emerged from all trials with honour. The Soviet Union is today stronger and more powerful than ever before! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Now that the Land of Soviets is in the prime of its creative strength and we are reviewing the victorious path we have travelled, there may be some people who think that that path has been an easy and simple one. But it has not; the period since the Twentieth Congress has been neither easy nor simple, it has required of our Party and of all the peoples of the Soviet Union tremendous effort and devotion. *It has fallen to the lot of the Soviet people, of the Party of Communists of the Soviet Union, to be pioneers in the great mission of communist construction, and advance to the victory of communism over uncharted paths.*

History does not develop in a straight line, it has its zigzags and abrupt turns. To be a political leader, a party must possess truly great qualities and not lose sight of the overall perspective under conditions of swift advance and sharp turns in the development of society, must see clearly the road to communism. These qualities are possessed in full by the Party of Communists of the Soviet Union, the party created by the great Lenin. To find the correct solution to the chief problems, evolve the general line in home and foreign policy and put it firmly into effect, the Party

and its Central Committee needed a profound understanding of events, revolutionary boldness and determination.

Events have fully borne out the Party's theoretical conclusions and political course, its general line. The ten-million-strong Party of Communists of the Soviet Union has come to its Twenty-Second Congress united and solid, linked up with the Soviet people by unseverable bonds. (*Stormy applause.*) The five thousand delegates to our Congress, the finest sons and daughters of the great Party of Lenin, personify the unity of the Party and the people, their will and thoughts. (*Applause.*)

The course adopted by our Party has been of tremendous significance in strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, the unity of the international communist and working-class movement, and in preserving the peace and preventing a new world war. The Soviet state has gained still greater authority and prestige in world affairs. Meetings of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties have assessed highly the role of the C.P.S.U. in the international communist and working-class movement.

Permit me, on behalf of this Congress, on behalf of all Communists of the Soviet Union, to express our heartfelt gratitude to the fraternal parties for their confidence in our Party. (*Prolonged applause.*) Permit me to assure our dear guests here, the delegates from the fraternal parties, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to fulfil its internationalist duty to the working people of all countries, to all progressive mankind. (*Stormy applause.*)

I

THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrades, the chief content of the period following the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. is the competition between the two world social systems—the socialist and

capitalist systems. It has become the pivot, the main feature of world development in the present historical period. Two lines, two historical tendencies in social development, have been more and more evident. One of them is the line of social progress, of peace and creative activity. The other is the line of reaction, of oppression and war.

If we imagine the whole globe to be the scene of this competition, we see that socialism has been wresting one position after another from the old world. In the first place, capitalism has been seriously cramped by socialism in a decisive sphere of human activity, that of material production. The socialist system's share in world production has increased and its rates of development greatly exceed those of the most advanced capitalist countries. It is obvious to everyone that the socialist countries are able to develop colossal productive forces and create a real abundance of material and spiritual values.

While conducting an unswerving policy of peace we have not forgotten the threat of war on the part of the imperialists. We have done everything necessary to ensure the superiority of our country in defence. The achievements of socialist production and of Soviet science and technology have enabled us to effect a veritable revolution in matters military. Our country and the entire socialist camp now possess vast power, ample to provide a reliable defence for the great gains of socialism against the inroads of imperialist aggressors. (*Applause.*) The growing defence might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the world peace forces have not allowed the imperialists to divert the competition between the two systems from the path of peace on to that of armed conflicts, of war. The Soviet Union, while pursuing the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, has resolutely exposed and checked imperialist provocations.

The fact that it has been possible to prevent war and that Soviet people and the peoples of other countries have been able to enjoy the benefits of peaceful life must be

regarded as the chief result of the activities of our Party and its Central Committee in increasing the might of the Soviet-state and in implementing a Leninist foreign policy, as a result of the work of the fraternal parties in the socialist states and of greater activity by the peace forces in all countries. (Prolonged applause.)

During recent years, as we know, the imperialists have made a number of attempts to start a new war and test the strength of the socialist system. During the past five years the U.S.A. and its closest allies have repeatedly resorted to brutal force, have rattled the sabre. But on each occasion the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have checked the aggressor in good time. Of particular, fundamental importance were the actions of the socialist countries in defence of the peoples struggling for their liberty and independence. The masses are getting to realise more and more that the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries are a reliable support in the struggle the peoples are waging for their liberty and independence, for progress and peace. (Applause.)

In the course of the peaceful competition between the two systems capitalism has suffered a crushing moral defeat in the eyes of all peoples. Ordinary people are becoming daily convinced that capitalism cannot solve any of the urgent problems facing mankind. It is becoming ever more obvious that these problems can be solved only through socialism. Faith in the capitalist system and the capitalist path of development is dwindling. Monopoly capital is losing influence and resorting more frequently to the intimidation and suppression of the people, to methods of open dictatorship to implement its home policy and to acts of aggression against other countries. The masses, however, are offering increasing resistance to reaction.

It is no secret that intimidation and threats are not a sign of strength but are evidence of the weakening of capitalism and the deepening of its general crisis. As the saying goes, "If you couldn't hang on by the mane, you won't

hold on by the tail!" (*Laughter.*) The reactionaries in some countries are still able, in defiance of constitutions, to dissolve parliaments, cast the best representatives of the people into prison and dispatch cruisers and marines to subdue the "unruly". Such measures of repression may put off for a time the fatal hour of capitalist rule, but they expose, to a still greater extent, the predatory nature of imperialism. The imperialists are cutting off the branch on which they are sitting. There are no forces in the world that can stem mankind's advance along the road of progress. (*Stormy applause.*)

Events show that our Party's policy, elaborated by the Twentieth Congress, was a correct and true one; the Congress noted that the main feature of our epoch was the emergence of socialism beyond the bounds of one country and its conversion into a world system. In the period since that Congress there has been further important progress—the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The Party drew the conclusion that the collapse of colonialism is inevitable. Under the powerful blows of the national-liberation movement the colonial system has, to all intents and purposes, fallen to pieces.

The Party propounded the important thesis that wars between states are not inevitable in the present epoch, that they can be prevented. Events of the past years serve to confirm this, too. They show that the mighty forces standing watch over the peace have today effective means of preventing the imperialists from launching a world war. The superiority of the forces of peace and socialism over those of imperialism and war has become more evident.

To put it briefly, comrades, for us those six years have been good years on a world scale. (*Stormy applause.*)

1. The Further Growth of the Might of the Socialist System and Its Conversion into the Decisive Factor in World Development. Strengthening of the International Brotherhood of the Socialist Countries

In the period under review an important stage in the development of the world socialist system has been completed. Its specific features are these:

The Soviet Union has launched the full-scale construction of communism; the majority of the People's Democracies have abolished multiformity in their economies and are now completing the building of socialism; fraternal co-operation and mutual aid between the socialist countries have been developed in every way. Not only in the Soviet Union, but in all socialist countries, social and economic possibilities for the restoration of capitalism have now been eliminated. The growing might of the new world system guarantees the permanence of the political and socio-economic gains of the socialist countries. The complete victory of socialism within the framework of the community of genuinely free peoples is certain.

The economy of the world socialist system continues to develop at incomparably higher rates than capitalist economy. Here are some figures showing the growth of industrial production in the socialist and capitalist countries (for a comparable area, in % of 1937):

Years	Socialist countries	Capitalist countries
1937	100	100
1955	362	199
1956	404	208
1957	445	215
1958	521	210
1959	610	231
1960	681	244

As you can see, the industrial output of the socialist countries in 1960 was 6.8 times greater than in 1937, while

the capitalist countries had increased theirs less than 2.5 times. The socialist countries' share in world industrial production was 27 per cent in 1955 and in 1960 it had increased to roughly 36 per cent.

The ratio of industrial to agricultural production has changed in all socialist countries. The share of industrial production is growing rapidly, the average for the whole socialist community now being about 75 per cent. The economic development of the world socialist system has an industrial trend.

The completion of the organisation of producer co-operatives in agriculture in the majority of the People's Democracies was the great revolutionary event of the period. The socialist sector's share in the total area of farmlands of the socialist countries is now more than ninety per cent. This has resulted in a change in the class structure of society, a stronger alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the abolition of the economic basis for the exploitation of man by man. The moral and political unity of the people, first established in our country, is growing stronger in all socialist countries. Our people feel deep satisfaction over the successes in socialist construction achieved by the great Chinese people and by other fraternal peoples, and wish them further success. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Thanks to economic progress, the living standards of the people in the socialist countries have improved. It is all the more gratifying to note this because the revolutionary reorganisation of society in the fraternal countries during the early years was inevitably accompanied by considerable losses and difficulties and large sums had to be spent to overcome the economic backwardness inherited from capitalism. Now that an important stage in social reorganisation has been completed, more favourable conditions have been created for a further growth of economy and culture and for a higher standard of living for the people.

The appearance of a large group of sovereign socialist

states in the world posed the problem of organising their mutual relations and co-operation on a basis that was new in principle. By their joint efforts, the fraternal parties have found and are improving new forms of inter-state relations—economic, political and cultural co-operation based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual aid. The growing fraternal rapprochement between the socialist countries, together with their political and economic consolidation, constitute one of the decisive factors of the strength and durability of the world socialist system. We joined forces voluntarily in order to march forward to a common goal together. The union was not imposed on us by anyone. We need it as much as we need air.

In the first stage of the development of the world socialist system, relations between the countries were effected mostly by way of bilateral foreign trade and scientific and technical exchanges, the dominant forms being aid and credits granted by some countries to others.

In recent years the experience of the fraternal parties has brought into being a new form—direct co-operation in production. Take, for instance, the co-ordination of the basic indexes of development in certain branches of the economy for the 1956-60 period, agreed upon by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. This was an important step forward. Since 1959 state plans for economic development have been co-ordinated. It has become the practice to arrange periodical consultations and exchanges of opinion between the leaders of parties and governments on important economic and political problems. The collective organs of the socialist states—the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid—have grown stronger.

We have every ground for speaking of a durable socialist community of free peoples existing in the world today.

The profound qualitative changes that have taken place in the socialist countries and in relations between them

are evidence of the growing maturity of the world socialist system which has now entered a new stage of development. The chief thing now is, by consistently developing the economy of each socialist country and all of them collectively, to achieve preponderance of the socialist world's absolute volume of production over that of the capitalist world. This will be a great historic victory for socialism. The achievements of our country, which is the first to have entered the path of full-scale communist construction, facilitate and accelerate the advance of the other countries of the world socialist system towards communism.

The constant improvement of forms and methods of economic management, the maximum rational employment of internal resources and possibilities, and the observance of scientifically substantiated proportions in the development of the various branches of the economy of each individual country now assume particular significance. As never before, there is now a growing necessity to make the most reasonable and effective use of the advantages arising out of the development of the world socialist system—the socialist international division of labour, specialisation and co-operation in production, the co-ordination of economic plans and the possibilities of the world socialist market.

In the period under review the trade turnover between the socialist countries has been growing with exceptional rapidity, its rate of growth greatly exceeding that of the capitalist countries. In the 1950-60 period the trade turnover between the member states of the socialist community was more than trebled. The trade turnover between the capitalist countries for the same period was only doubled. In the new stage of the development of the world socialist system, too, mutually beneficial trade between the fraternal countries will occupy an important place. Subsequently, it will probably be effected in accordance with the same principles as trade within each socialist country, that is, with compensation for the expenditure of socially neces-

sary labour. The more fully this principle operates, the more effective will be the economic stimuli in each country and the more rapid will be the development of inter-state co-operation and of the socialist international division of labour based on the principle of sovereignty of each state and taking due account of national interests.

The combination of the effort to develop the economy of each socialist country on the one hand, and the common effort to strengthen and expand economic co-operation and mutual assistance on the other, is the main road to further progress in the world socialist economy.

Comrades, Lenin's statement to the effect that socialism exercises its influence on world development mainly by its economic achievements is today more valid than ever. The all-round, growing effect which the building of socialism and communism is having on the peoples of the non-socialist countries is a revolutionising factor that accelerates the progress of all mankind.

Socialism is firmly maintaining priority in rates of economic development and is ahead of the capitalist countries in the development of a number of highly important branches of world science and technology. The imperialist countries have lost their former monopoly in supplying the world non-socialist market with means of production, and also in granting credits, loans and technical services. The peoples of Asia and Africa who have liberated themselves from the foreign colonial yoke are looking more and more frequently to the socialist countries, and borrowing from them experience in the organisation of certain spheres of economic and social life. In the world socialist system they seek protection and support in their struggle against colonialist encroachments on their liberty and independence.

As the might of the socialist states grows, the material and moral factors for peace become stronger. The cardinal problems of the day, the problems of war and peace, for instance, can no longer be approached only from the stand-

point of the laws of capitalism and their operation. Today it is not imperialism with its wolfish habits but socialism with its ideals of peace and progress that is becoming the decisive factor in world development.

The socialist countries have broken the road for new norms of international life by demonstrating to the whole world an example of really equal, fraternal relations between peoples. Under the influence of the ideas of socialism, the working people's struggle for emancipation and the general democratic movement of the peoples are merging into a common world-wide torrent that is washing away the pillars supporting imperialism.

As socialism wins new victories, the unity of the peoples, both within each socialist country and in the world socialist system as a whole, grows stronger.

In the same way as a mighty tree with deep roots does not fear any storm, so the new, socialist world does not fear any adversities or upheavals. The counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary, organised by internal reaction with the support of the imperialist forces, and the intrigues of enemies in Poland and the German Democratic Republic showed that in the period of socialist construction the class struggle may, from time to time, grow stronger and take on sharp forms. In the future, too, the remnants of internal reaction may, with imperialist backing, attempt to sever one country or another from the socialist system and to restore the old bourgeois regime. The reactionary forces speculate on the difficulties that are inevitable in an undertaking as new as the revolutionary transformation of society, and continue planting their agents in the socialist countries.

The ruling circles of certain imperialist powers have elevated subversive activities against the socialist countries to the level of national policy. The United States of America expends, with frank cynicism, hundreds of millions of dollars on espionage and sabotage against the socialist countries, and organises so-called "guerilla units" made

up of criminal elements, of cut-throats, who are prepared to undertake the vilest of crimes for money. For several years in succession provocative "captive nations weeks" have been held in the United States. The paid agents of the monopolies call "captive" all those peoples who have liberated themselves from imperialist bondage and have taken the path of free development. Truly, imperialist demagoguery and hypocrisy know no bounds! Monopolists who howl about "captive nations" are like the crook who has his hands in somebody's pocket and shouts "Stop thief!" (*Animation. Applause.*)

The intrigues of the imperialists must always be kept in mind. Our gigantic successes in building the new way of life must not lead to complacency and relaxation of vigilance. The greater the achievements of socialism and the higher the living standards in each socialist country, the more solidly the people will muster around the Communist and Workers' Parties. That is one aspect of the matter, and a very encouraging one. There is, however, something else that must be borne in mind. As the unity of the peoples of all socialist countries grows the hopes the imperialists have of restoring the capitalist regime, of the socialist countries degenerating, are gradually fading away. World reaction, therefore, is more and more turning to the idea of striking a blow at the socialist countries from outside in order to regain capitalist world dominion through war or, at least, to check the development of the socialist countries.

The most rabid imperialists, who act in accordance with the principle "after us the deluge", openly voice their desire to set out on a new war venture. To intimidate the peoples the ideologists of imperialism are trying to instill into them a kind of philosophy of hopelessness and despair. "Better death under capitalism than life under communism," they cry out hysterically. They, you see, do not like free peoples to prosper. They are afraid that the peoples of their countries will also take the path of social-

ism. Blinded by class hatred, our enemies are prepared to plunge all mankind into the holocaust of war. The possibilities the imperialists have of implementing their aggressive plans are, however, becoming fewer. They behave like a feeble and covetous old man whose strength is exhausted, whose physical capacity is low, but whose desires persist.

The imperialists, of course, may set out on dangerous adventures, but they have no chance of success. They are prepared to try other ways as well. To weaken the socialist community the imperialists try to set the peoples of the fraternal countries at loggerheads or to sow discord among them, to revive the remnants of national strife and artificially stir up nationalist sentiment.

A great historical responsibility rests with the Marxist-Leninist parties, with the peoples of the socialist countries—to strengthen tirelessly the international brotherhood of the socialist countries and friendship between nations.

As long as the imperialist aggressors exist we must be on the alert, we must keep our powder dry and improve the defences of the socialist countries, their armed forces and their state security organs. If the imperialists, contrary to all common sense, venture to attack the socialist countries and hurl mankind into the abyss of a world war of annihilation, that mad act will be their last, it will be the end of the capitalist system. (*Applause.*)

Our Party has a clear understanding of its tasks and its responsibility and will do everything in its power to ensure that the world socialist system continues to grow stronger, gather fresh strength and develop further. We are confident that socialism will win in the competition with capitalism. (*Prolonged applause.*) We are confident that the victory will be won in peaceful competition and not through war. We have always stood for, and shall continue to stand for, the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; we shall do everything to strengthen peace throughout the world. (*Prolonged applause.*)

2. Aggravation of the Contradictions in the Capitalist Countries. Growth of the Revolutionary Struggle and Upsurge of the National-Liberation Movement

Comrades, the Twentieth Congress of the Party analysed the situation in the capitalist countries and drew the conclusion that they were moving steadily towards new economic and social upheavals. This conclusion has been borne out. In the years that have elapsed there has been further aggravation of contradictions both within the capitalist countries and between them, colonial empires have been disintegrating and the struggle of the working class and the national-liberation movement of the peoples have assumed huge proportions.

The general trend—the further decay of capitalism—has continued to operate inexorably. Although there has been some growth in production, the economy of the capitalist countries has become still more unstable and reminds one of a man sick with fever, so often do its short-lived recoveries give way to depressions and crises. The U.S.A., the chief capitalist country, has experienced two critical recessions in five years, and there have been four such recessions in the post-war period as a whole. The crisis of 1957-58 involved countries whose share in capitalist industrial output amounts to almost two-thirds of the whole. With the incomes of the monopolies increasing to a fabulous degree, real wages of the working people have increased very slightly and far more slowly than the productivity of labour. The social gains achieved by the working class in the past are gradually being reduced to nought. In general, the condition of the working people, especially in the underdeveloped countries, is growing worse.

During the past five or six years mankind has made great progress in science and technology, particularly in the fields of atomic energy, electronics, jet propulsion and rocketry. As Lenin pointed out, however, the evils of cap-

italist production hamper the rational use of those achievements. As far back as 1913 he wrote: "Whichever way you turn, at every step you come up against problems that mankind is fully capable of solving *immediately*. Capitalism is in the way. It has amassed enormous wealth and has turned people into the *slaves* of that wealth. It has solved the most complicated technical problems, but the application of technical improvements is hampered by the poverty and ignorance of the people, by the stupid miserliness of a handful of millionaires.

"Under capitalism, the words civilisation, freedom and wealth call to mind a rich glutton who is rotting alive but will not let that which is young live on."* How apt those words of Lenin's sound today!

The application of new scientific and technical achievements, far from eliminating the insuperable contradictions of capitalism, only serves to aggravate them. Capitalist automation has only just begun, but millions of workers have already been thrown out of production. The imperialists hoped to find a way out of these difficulties by militarising the economy, but their hopes did not materialise.

Militarisation, of course, has brought prosperity to the branches of industry producing weapons. In five years direct war expenditure alone in the U.S.A. exceeded 220,000 million dollars; all the NATO countries together have spent over 500,000 million dollars on the arms race during the past ten years. Militarisation, however, gave rise to new disproportions, had a serious effect on other branches of the economy and deprived more millions of working people of their employment. During the past five years the number of totally unemployed in the U.S.A. has rarely been less than three million. In Italy, Japan and a number of other countries, mass unemployment has acquired a permanent character. The greater the amount of money spent on war production, the more unstable be-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 19, p. 349.

comes capitalist economy and the more acute its contradictions. A glaring contradiction in present-day capitalism is the increasing employment of human labour for the production of means of destruction. A social system that creates such contradictions is discrediting and outliving itself.

No wonder the American millionaire Harriman proposed abolishing the word "capitalism". "Plagiarising from Khrushchev," he said, "we should 'bury' the word 'capitalism'." He had to admit that "people outside America think of the word 'capitalism'" as a synonym "for imperialism, for exploitation of the poor by the rich, for colonialism. It is a dishonoured word, and one that breeds terror". (*Animation.*) Indeed, there is no getting away from the truth! Not even the most thorough cleansing could remove the blood and filth from that sullied word. There is an apt proverb which says, "You can't wash a black sheep white". (*Laughter. Applause.*) We can only welcome the efforts of Mr. Harriman who has taken up the spade to dig a grave for the word "capitalism". But the peoples of the capitalist countries will draw a more correct conclusion and will bury not the word "capitalism", but the capitalist system with all its evils, a system that is rotten through and through. (*Stormy applause.*)

In recent years there have been some significant changes in the alignment of forces in the capitalist world.

First, the United States of America has lost its absolute supremacy in world capitalist production and commerce. Its share in capitalist world industrial output dropped from 56.6 per cent in 1948 to 47 per cent in 1960, its exports from 23.4 per cent to 18.1 per cent and its gold reserves from 74.5 per cent to 43.9 per cent. The result is that the United States today occupies approximately the same position among the capitalist countries as it did before the Second World War.

Secondly, there has been a noticeable weakening of the position of Britain and France; these states, like Belgium

and Holland, are losing their colonies for ever. They have been unable to recover their pre-war position in world industry.

Thirdly, the vanquished countries, especially West Germany and Japan, have made a big leap forward. The share in capitalist world industrial output of West Germany, Japan and Italy combined is now about 17 per cent, that is, greater than it was in 1937, on the eve of the Second World War.

West Germany has drawn level with Britain in industrial output, and as far as exports are concerned takes second place after the U.S.A. In post-war years U.S. monopolies have invested huge sums of money in the economy of West Germany and Japan. For a number of years these two countries were actually relieved of the burden of their own war expenditure because the U.S.A. provided them with armaments at the expense of the American taxpayers. West Germany and Japan have made huge investments in the key branches of the economy to renew their constant capital and reorganise production on modern lines. As a result they are already serious rivals to Britain, France and even the United States in the world market.

The contradictions that existed between the imperialist powers before the war have reappeared and new ones have emerged. The struggle between British and West German imperialism for supremacy in Western Europe is growing fiercer. French imperialism, in its struggle against British imperialism, is seeking support in yesterday's enemy, the West German monopolies. But this unnatural alliance, like a marriage of convenience, is more and more frequently operating against France herself. There are profound contradictions dividing the U.S.A. and Britain and other imperialist states. They are manifested in NATO and other aggressive blocs.

It is becoming more and more obvious that the imperialist powers and their leaders fear a slackening of international tension because in a tense situation it is easier for

them to form military blocs and keep the peoples in fear of an alleged threat from the socialist countries. The imperialists are seeking to involve all countries in the arms race, to tie up the economies of other countries with their own and direct them towards militarisation. This line of action is most clearly demonstrated by U.S. policy towards West Germany and Japan. The U.S. imperialists are deliberately drawing West Germany into the arms race. In the event of the outbreak of war it will be to their advantage to pay for the new adventure mainly in the blood of the German people. At the same time they hope that this policy will impair the economy of West Germany and weaken her as a rival in the world market. Much the same policy is being pursued in respect of Japan.

In their talks the leaders of the Western Powers do not conceal that their policy is one of arming West Germany. Their argument is something like this—if West Germany does not rearm and does not spend money on armaments, she may become a still more powerful and dangerous rival. In short, there are some very acute contradictions in the imperialist camp.

In their fear of the future the imperialists are trying to unite their forces and to strengthen their military, political, commercial, customs and other alliances. The reactionaries count on aggression against the socialist countries as a way out. In the pre-war period they placed great hopes on Hitler Germany. Today the role of the chief aggressive force belongs to the United States of America which has become the centre of world reaction. The U.S. imperialists are acting in alliance with the West German militarists and revenge-seekers and are threatening the peace and security of the peoples. In our times, however, it has become dangerous for the imperialists to seek a way out of their contradictions in war.

The position of imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the colonialists until recently oppressed hundreds of millions of people, is getting shakier. The

revolutionary struggle of the peoples of those continents is rapidly gaining momentum. In the course of the past six years twenty-eight states have won political independence. The sixties of our century will go down in history as years of the complete disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. (*Applause.*)

It must not be forgotten, however, that although the colonial system has collapsed, its remnants have not been eliminated. Many millions of people in Asia and Africa are still suffering under colonial slavery and are struggling for their liberation. For seven years the blood of Algerian patriots has been flowing in the fight for freedom. The French monopolies do not want to end the war in Algeria although that "dirty war" against a peaceful people is costing thousands of lives and is a heavy burden on the French and Algerian peoples. Portugal, a small state with an area no more than two-thirds of our Vologda Region, holds in bondage colonies with an area nearly twenty-five times its own size. The Dutch colonialists stubbornly refuse to return to the Indonesian people their ancient land of West Irian. The U.S.A. is maintaining its grip on the Chinese island of Taiwan and the Japanese island of Okinawa. Against the will of the Cuban people the U.S.A. retains its hold on the military base of Guantanamo which is on Cuban soil.

The forces of imperialism are opposing any effort on the part of the peoples to achieve liberty and independence, democracy and progress. On the pretext of various commitments, the imperialists strive to smother the national-liberation movement, and by entering into deals with internal reactionary forces intervene brazenly in the home affairs of young states. That was the method they used in Iran, Pakistan and the Congo and are now using in Laos and Kuwait.

Throughout this period the Soviet Union, in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, has been helping the peoples who struggled against imperialism and colonialism. There

are those who do not approve of this position. But we cannot help that. Such are our convictions. Our people won freedom in a long and stubborn fight against oppression by the landlords and the capitalists and against the intervention of international imperialism. We remember well enough what that struggle cost us, we remember the sacrifices that had to be made for the sake of victory. From the bottom of our hearts we wish success to those who are struggling for their liberty and happiness against imperialism. We believe that it is the inalienable right of peoples to put an end to foreign oppression and we shall support their just fight. Colonialism is doomed and a stake will be driven into its grave. Such is the will of the peoples, such is the course of history. (*Stormy applause.*)

The countries that have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke have achieved certain successes in national and cultural regeneration. But economic progress in most of the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa is still slow. The masses of the people are still living in miserable conditions, while the wealth of their countries flows in streams of gold into the coffers of foreign banks and corporations. The U.S. monopolies are making two or three dollars profit on every dollar they spend in the underdeveloped countries. The U.S. monopolists have recently announced that they wish to "grant" 500 million dollars to aid the Latin American countries. What is 500 million dollars among twenty countries over a period of five years? It is nothing more than miserly alms thrown by the rich man to those whom he has been robbing for many years and still continues to rob. The peoples who have been plundered have the right to demand from the colonialists, not aid, but the return of property stolen from them.

Today the colonialists, sensing that their rule is coming to an end, are putting on a good face in a losing game. They assert that they are leaving the colonies of their own accord. Who will believe them? Anyone can see that they are taking this step because they know that anyway they

will be driven out in disgrace. The more prudent of the colonialists are getting out, so to say, five minutes before they are given "a kick in the pants", to put it in popular language. (*Animation. Applause.*)

The colonial powers impose unequal treaties on the newly-free countries, locate military bases on their territories and try to involve them in military blocs, one of the new forms of enslavement. Almost a half of the states that have emerged as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system are shackled by unequal, onerous treaties. In the centre of this refurbished but no less disgraceful colonialism stands the United States of America. Its closest allies and at the same time its rivals are British colonialism and West German imperialism, the latter unceremoniously pushing the British and French monopolies out of Africa and the Middle East.

The countries that have gained their freedom from colonial oppression have entered a new phase of development. The struggle for political independence united all the national forces that suffered under the colonialists and shared common interests. Now that the time has come to tear up the roots of imperialism and introduce agrarian and other urgent social reforms, the differences in class interests are coming more and more into the open. Broad sections of the working people and also that considerable section of the national bourgeoisie interested in the accomplishment of the basic tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, want to go farther in strengthening independence and effecting social and economic reforms. Within the ruling circles of those countries, however, there are forces that are afraid to go farther in their collaboration with the democratic, progressive strata of the nation. They would like to appropriate the fruits of the people's struggle and hamper the further development of the national revolution. These forces compromise with imperialism outside the country and feudalism within, and resort to dictatorial methods.

The example of Pakistan shows what this policy leads to. Two-thirds of the country's budget appropriations are made for war purposes, the national industry is not developing and foreign capital rules as if it were in its own bailiwick. The sad fate of Pakistan, whose people we wish nothing but good, should set the public thinking in some other countries where influential forces are wrecking national unity and are persecuting progressive leaders, especially the Communists, who have shown themselves to be the stoutest defenders of national independence.

To adopt the path of anti-communism means splitting the forces of the nation and weakening them in face of the imperialists, of the colonialists.

And contrariwise—the sounder the unity of the democratic national forces and the more radically urgent social and economic reforms are carried out, the stronger is the young state. Why did the Cuban people, for instance, rally so solidly around their government? Because the Cuban peasants obtained land and extensive material support from the government. Because the Cuban workers are working for themselves and not for the American monopolies now that industry has been nationalised. Because the small and medium producers in Cuba have been given protection against the arbitrary rule of the monopolies. The Cuban people as a whole acquired broad democratic rights and liberties, the road was opened up to a better way of life, to happiness and prosperity! In the hour of danger, when the American imperialists organised the invasion of Cuba, the entire people stood solid in defence of the gains of their revolution. Under the leadership of that courageous patriot and revolutionary, Fidel Castro, the Cubans speedily routed the American mercenaries and hurled them into the Bahía de Cochinos, which, being translated, means "the Bay of Swine". The proper place for them! (*Laughter. Stormy applause.*)

Imperialist agents are more and more frequently advising the peoples of the newly-free countries not to be in a

hurry with their reforms. They would have the peoples of the underdeveloped countries believe that they cannot avoid the lengthy path travelled by the capitalist countries of Europe and America before they reached the present level of economic development. They conceal, however, that that path was a bloody and painful one for the peoples. They prefer to say nothing about the roads and prisons in England, France and Germany from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries being filled with vagabonds and homeless people, about the workers in those countries being forced to work from 14 to 18 hours a day even in the middle of the nineteenth century, or about the last plots of land being taken away from the English peasantry to make way for sheep pastures, so that, as was said at the time, "the sheep ate people".

The capitalist path of development would be still longer and more arduous for the peoples of the colonies at whose expense the Western Powers achieved their own affluence. Why should this long and painful road be imposed on peoples today, in the middle of the twentieth century? Communists believe that the age-old backwardness of peoples can be overcome through socialism.

We do not, however, impose our ideas on anybody: we are firmly convinced that sooner or later all peoples will realise that there is no other road for them to happiness and well-being. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the increasing contradictions of imperialism confront the working class of the capitalist countries with the grave alternative of either throwing itself upon the mercy of the monopolies and continuing in a miserable plight, or fighting for its rights and its future. The workers prefer to fight, and are fighting with great tenacity.

Bourgeois prophets have announced the advent of an era of "class peace". They have claimed that the time of class struggles is a thing of the past and that Marxist theory in general is obsolete. Events have shown the utter absurdity of such prophecies. Strikes by the working

people are growing in number and scale and in 1960 alone involved over 53 million people. The mass actions of the French and Italian working people, the Belgian workers' strike, the prolonged strike of American steel workers, in which more than 500,000 people took part, and the strike of British engineering workers will for ever go down in the history of the working-class movement. The Japanese proletariat; for its part, has demonstrated its militant strength on more than one occasion.

New contingents of the working class have stepped into the world arena in recent years. There are upwards of 100 million industrial, office and professional workers in Asia, Latin America and Africa, or about 40 per cent of the wage labour employed in the non-socialist world. The young working class is asserting itself more and more as a revolutionary force.

The struggle which the working people of the capitalist countries are waging for their economic and social rights is becoming ever more acute. For today they are faced, as a rule, not by individual employers but by powerful monopolies which, moreover, have the entire power of the state to support them. More and more often, the working people's actions assume a political character. Over 40 million people, or roughly 73 per cent of the total number of strikers, took part in political strikes in 1960. Powerful actions by the working class and the masses of the people last year brought about the fall of the governments in Japan, Italy and Belgium. The working people of France, who rallied in support of the working class, foiled an attempt by the militarists, by the ultra-reactionaries, to impose a fascist regime on that country.

The social situation that has taken shape in the major capitalist countries during the last five years has also been marked by a growing peasant movement. In France, Italy, West Germany and elsewhere, monopoly domination is ruining the peasantry, and it is participating ever more actively in the struggle against the monopolies.

The experience of recent years has provided more evidence that the working people owe all their gains to joint action. Nevertheless, the split within the working class persists because of the subversive activity of Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, who are making frantic efforts to divert their parties, and the working class, from the struggle against capitalism. Right-wing Socialist leaders and many trade union bosses have long since betrayed the interests of the working class and faithfully serve monopoly capital. But among the Social-Democratic rank and file, among the functionaries and even within the leadership there are many honest people who sincerely want to take part in the common struggle for working-class interests. They have lately been putting up increasing resistance to the policy of the Right-wing leaders.

That is the reason Communists, while continuing to lay bare the ideological bankruptcy and disruptive actions of the Right-wing Social-Democratic officials, want to cooperate with all the sound elements among the Socialists, to take joint action with them in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This is not a temporary tactical slogan but the general policy of the communist movement, a policy prompted by the fundamental interests of the working class.

Progress in the working-class movement is inseparably bound up with the activity of the Communist parties. The communist movement has entered on the highroad of creative activity. In our day the political influence of Communists makes itself felt in any country with a more or less advanced working-class movement. In recent years the close-knit family of Communists has increased by another twelve parties and the total number of Communists, by seven million. (*Applause.*)

The Communist parties are growing all over the world despite the fact that the reactionaries are conducting vicious anti-communist campaigns. Communists are black-listed, deprived of jobs, declared "foreign agents" or im-

prisoned. In thirty-six capitalist countries, the Communist parties are compelled to operate deep underground. But the peoples are learning by experience that the Communists are the most loyal and reliable defenders of their interests. Communist ideas cannot be stopped by any barriers; they cannot be shot or put behind stout prison bars. They are winning the minds and hearts of people and are becoming an invincible force.

Of course, the Communist parties in some major capitalist countries are as yet small. But that by no means detracts from their historical role. Whatever the situation, the Communists, who are strong because they realise that theirs is a just cause, stand in the van of the working class. For example, it is well known that the number of Communists in the U.S.A. is small. But that big capitalist power, for all its enormous military and police machinery, is afraid of the Party of Communists, and obstructs its activities in every possible way. That indicates that the small contingent of the U.S. Communists is working as befits Marxists-Leninists. Truly, a little body often harbours a great soul! (*Applause.*)

The Communists of the socialist countries never forget the difficulties and hardships falling to the lot of their brothers in the capitalist countries, who are fighting for the victory of the working class, for the cause of all working people. Today, on behalf of the delegates to this Congress, of all Soviet Communists, we send the most heartfelt fraternal greetings to our fellow-Communists in the capitalist countries, who bear aloft the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, to all those in the dungeons of reaction who have not bowed their heads to the enemy, to those who are fighting courageously for the interests of their peoples. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress, backed by the fraternal parties, added to the great creative power of the communist movement and helped restore the Leninist spirit and style to the activities of the fraternal parties and

the relations between them. The meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties held in recent years were important milestones marking the progress of the world communist movement. International communist meetings are one of the forms evolved by the fraternal parties to ensure their militant co-operation.

It is indisputable to Marxists-Leninists that the fundamental interests of the international communist movement require consistent and unswerving unity of action, and the Communist and Workers' Parties are loyal to it. Only the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, who are plainly affected by national narrow-mindedness, have turned from the straight Marxist-Leninist road on to a winding path which has landed them in the bog of revisionism. The Yugoslav leaders responded to the 1957 Declaration of the fraternal parties, which resounded throughout the world as a charter of Communist unity and solidarity, with a revisionist, anti-Leninist programme, which all the Marxist-Leninist parties subjected to a severe and just criticism.

Revisionist ideas pervade both the theory and practice of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The line they have adopted—that of development in isolation from the world socialist community—is harmful and perilous. It plays into the hands of imperialist reaction, foments nationalist tendencies and may in the end lead to the loss of socialist gains in the country, which has broken away from the friendly and united family of builders of a new world.

Our Party has criticised, and will continue to criticise, the Yugoslav leaders' revisionist concepts. As internationalists, we cannot but feel concern about the destinies of the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, who fought selflessly against fascism and, on the achievement of victory, chose the path of socialist construction.

The historic November 1960 Meeting convincingly reaffirmed the will and resolve of the Communist parties to

uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism, strengthen the unity of their ranks, and continue their determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which constitutes the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. The important propositions on the necessity for each party to observe decisions adopted collectively and not to permit any action likely to undermine communist unity are of tremendous significance in bringing about greater solidarity of the working-class parties.

The achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are proof of the great power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism. They show mankind what can be achieved when the workers and peasants have taken their destiny into their own hands and are equipped with the most progressive revolutionary theory.

Socialism results from the creative activity of the broadest masses marching under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Communists are opposed to the forcible, artificial implantation of any particular socio-political system in other countries. We are convinced that in the end the socialist system will triumph everywhere; but this in no way implies that we will seek to achieve its triumph by interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

Attempts are made to blame us Communists for any action by the masses against their oppressors. Whenever the working people of a capitalist or colonial country rise to fight, the imperialists claim that it is the "handiwork of the Communists", or "the hand of Moscow". To be sure, we are glad to have the imperialists attributing to Communists all the good actions of the peoples. By so doing the imperialists unwittingly help the masses gain a better understanding of communist ideas. These ideas are spreading throughout the world. But, of course, this is not happening because the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries impose them on the peoples. You cannot bring in ideas on bayonets, as people used to say in the past, or in rockets, as it would now be more proper to say.

Certainly, warring classes have always sought the support of kindred forces from outside. For a long time the bourgeois class had an advantage in this respect. The world bourgeoisie, acting in concert, stamped out revolutionary centres everywhere and by every means, including armed intervention. It goes without saying that even at that time the international proletariat was not indifferent to the struggle of its class brothers; but more often than not, it could express its solidarity with them only through moral support. The situation has changed since then. The people of a country who rise in struggle will not find themselves engaged in single combat with world imperialism. They will enjoy the support of powerful international forces possessing everything necessary for effective moral and material support. (*Applause.*)

The imperialists, who are alarmed by the scale of the revolutionary struggle, continue their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of peoples and states. That is the reason they have reserved, in military pacts and agreements, the "right" to armed intervention in the event of so-called internal unrest, the "right", that is, to suppress revolutions and popular actions against reactionary regimes. The imperialists claim at every turn that the Communists export revolution. The imperialist gentlemen need this slander in order to camouflage, in some way or another, their claims to the right to export counter-revolution.

It is a strange logic these gentlemen have. They are apparently still under the spell of the times when they were able to strangle the liberation movement of peoples. But those times have gone, never to return. The Communists are against the export of revolution, and this is well known in the West. But we do not recognise anybody's right to export counter-revolution, to perform the functions of an international gendarme. This, too, should be well known.

Imperialist attempts to interfere in the affairs of insurgent peoples would constitute acts of aggression endangering world peace. We must state outright that in the event of imperialist export of counter-revolution the Communists will call on the peoples of all countries to rally, to mobilise their forces and, supported by the might of the world socialist system, repel firmly the enemies of freedom and peace. In other words, as ye sow, so shall ye reap. (*Prolonged applause.*)

3. Peaceful Coexistence
Is the General Line in Soviet Foreign Policy.
The Peoples Are the Decisive Force
in the Struggle for Peace

Comrades, important changes have come about in the alignment of world forces during the period under review. The world socialist system has become a reliable shield against imperialist military ventures not only for the peoples of the countries that are friendly to it, but for the whole of mankind. And the fact that the socialist community of nations has a preponderance of strength is most fortunate for all mankind. The peace forces, furthermore, have grown all over the world.

A few years ago there were two opposing camps in world affairs—the socialist and imperialist camps. Today an active role in international affairs is also being played by those countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have freed, or are freeing, themselves from foreign oppression. Those countries are often called neutralist though they may be considered neutral only in the sense that they do not belong to any of the existing military-political alliances. Most of them, however, are by no means neutral when the cardinal problem of our day, that of war and peace, is at issue. As a rule, those countries advocate peace and oppose war. The countries which have won their liber-

ty from colonialism are becoming a serious factor for peace, for the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and the basic issues of world politics can no longer be settled without due regard for their interests.

In the capitalist countries, too, the masses are taking more and more vigorous action against war. The working class and all working people are fighting against the arms race and the disastrous policy of the warmongers.

Thus the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers is now being opposed by greater forces. *The struggle which the countries of socialism and all the forces of peace are carrying on against preparations for fresh aggression and war is the main content of world politics today.*

In these past years, the forces of war and aggression have jeopardised world peace more than once. In 1956 the imperialists organised, simultaneously with the counter-revolutionary rising in Hungary, an attack on Egypt. In the second half of 1957 the imperialists prepared an invasion of Syria that threatened a big military conflagration. In the summer of 1958, in view of the revolution in Iraq, they launched an intervention in the Lebanon and Jordan and at the same time created a tense situation in the area of Taiwan, an island which belongs to the People's Republic of China. In April-May 1960 the U.S. imperialists sent their military aircraft into Soviet air space, and torpedoed the Paris summit meeting. Last spring they organised an armed invasion of Cuba by mercenary bands and tried to bring Laos under their sway, to involve her in the aggressive SEATO military bloc. But all those imperialist sorties failed.

It would be a gross error, however, to imagine that the failure of aggressive schemes has brought the imperialists to their senses. The facts show just the opposite. The imperialists continue their attempts to aggravate the international situation and to lead the world to the brink of war. In recent months they have deliberately created a dangerous situation in the centre of Europe by threatening to

take up arms in reply to our proposal to do away with the remnants of the Second World War, conclude a German peace treaty and normalise the situation in West Berlin.

In view of the aggravation of the international situation, we were compelled to take proper steps to safeguard our country against the encroachments of aggressors and save mankind from the threat of a new world war. The Soviet Government was compelled to suspend the reduction of the armed forces planned for 1961, increase defence expenditure, postpone the transfer of servicemen to the reserve and resume tests of new and more powerful weapons. We were compelled to adopt these measures; they were unanimously supported by our people and correctly understood by the peoples of other countries, who know that the Soviet Union will never be the first to adopt a policy leading to war. The Soviet people are only too familiar with the ways of aggressors. We have not forgotten the years of the Great Patriotic War, we remember Hitler Germany's treacherous, wanton attack on the Soviet Union. In the presence of the war menace created by the imperialists, there is no room for complacency and carelessness. (*Applause.*)

Some people in the West assert that the measures taken by the Soviet Government to strengthen the country's defences mean renunciation of the policy of peaceful coexistence. That, of course, is nonsense. The policy of peaceful coexistence follows from the very nature of our system.

I should like to recall the following fact. When our country was beating back the furious attacks of the Whites and foreign interventionists, the Soviet Government was discussing the question of the Soviet coat of arms. The first sketch contained a sword. Lenin raised a sharp objection. "Why the sword?" he said. "We need no conquest. The policy of conquest is utterly alien to us; we are not attacking, we are repulsing domestic and foreign enemies; ours is a defensive war and the sword is not our emblem." As everyone knows, the hammer and sickle, symbols of

peaceful, constructive labour, have become the emblem of our country. (*Stormy applause.*)

The principles of peaceful coexistence, laid down by Lenin and developed in our Party documents, have always been the central feature of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Government's foreign policy is convincing evidence of the fidelity of the Party and the Soviet people as a whole to the peaceful course charted by Lenin. (*Applause.*)

But it is hard to combat the war menace by unilateral action, in the same way as it is hard to put out a fire if one person pours water upon it while another pours oil. The Western Powers, who should be no less interested in avoiding thermo-nuclear disaster than we are, must, for their part, show readiness to seek ways of settling disputed issues on a mutually acceptable basis.

Certain pacifist-minded people in the West are simple-minded enough to believe that if the Soviet Union made more concessions to the Western Powers, there would be no aggravation of international tension. They forget that the policy of the imperialist powers, including their foreign policy, is determined by the class interests of monopoly capital, in which aggression and war are inherent. When, under the pressure of the masses, the partisans of a more or less moderate policy gain the upper hand, there occurs an international détente and the clouds of war are dispelled to some extent. But the international situation deteriorates when the pressure of the masses slackens and the scales tip in favour of those groupings of the bourgeoisie that capitalise on the arms race and see war as an additional source of profit.

Hence, the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems can be maintained and safeguarded only through the unrelenting struggle of all peoples against the aggressive aspirations of the imperialists. The greater the might of the socialist camp and the more vigorously the struggle for peace is waged within the capitalist coun-

tries, the more difficult it is for the imperialists to carry out their plans of aggression.

Peace and peaceful coexistence are not quite the same thing. Peaceful coexistence does not merely imply absence of war; it is not a temporary, unstable armistice between two wars but the coexistence of two opposed social systems, based on mutual renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes between states.

Historical experience shows that an aggressor cannot be placated by concessions. Concessions to the imperialists on matters of vital importance do not constitute a policy of peaceful coexistence but mean surrender to the forces of aggression. That we will never accede to. (*Applause.*) It is high time the imperialists understood that it is no longer they who are the arbiters of mankind's fate and that socialism will exist, develop and gain strength whether they like it or not. (*Stormy applause.*) But for the time being the imperialist gentry do not seem to have understood this. Adventurous actions may well be expected of them, actions that would spell disaster for hundreds of millions of people. That is why we must curb the aggressors and not aid and abet them. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Peace supporters in many countries, who have associated in various unions and movements, have made an important contribution to the struggle against the forces of aggression and war. Everyone will remember how, in the early fifties, hundreds of millions of people called for a ban on atomic weapons and how indignantly the peoples of Europe protested against the establishment of the notorious European Defence Community and West Germany's participation in it. The pressure which the people exerted on parliaments and governments produced a powerful effect.

The work being done by peace supporters is particularly important now that the danger of a new war has increased. In the present situation, men of goodwill can no longer confine themselves to mere utterances in favour of peace. It should be evident that, despite the numerous

actions of the general public in defence of peace, the forces of aggression and war are becoming ever more brazen. Indeed, a few years ago no Western politician would have made bold, without risking his career, to hint about rearming the Bundeswehr. But now the militarisation of West Germany is going full blast, and the Bundeswehr has become a major armed force in Western Europe. Strauss, West Germany's war minister, cynically boasts that the Federal Republic of Germany is not merely a member of NATO but has the upper hand there. Moreover, something unheard-of has happened: the governments of Britain and France, that is, of countries which in the past suffered from German militarism, have granted the Bundeswehr proving grounds and barracks on their territories and have placed their armed forces under the command of former Hitler generals. As a result, Bundeswehr soldiers are trampling British soil, which in two world wars they were unable to reach by armed force.

We share the bitterness and indignation of French and British patriots, who see West German revenge-seekers marching across their homeland.

It is said that even a gale of words won't make a wind-mill turn. Still less will talk of peace stop the aggressors' war machine. It is necessary to act resolutely and vigorously to stay the criminal hand of the warmongers in good time, before it is too late. Obviously, the struggle for peace, like any struggle, requires sustained effort and perseverance. When fighting, one not only delivers but also receives blows. But is that something to be afraid of at a time when the fate of mankind is at stake? *It must be realised that it depends above all on the peoples themselves, on their resolve and vigorous action, whether there is to be peace on earth or whether mankind is to be hurled into the catastrophe of a new world war.* It is necessary to heighten the vigilance of the peoples with regard to the intrigues of imperialist warmongers. Vigorous anti-war action by the peoples must not be put off till the war

starts; such action must be launched immediately and not when nuclear and thermo-nuclear bombs begin to fall.

The strength of the peace movement lies in its mass scope, its organisation and resolute actions. All the peoples and all sections of society, with the exception of a handful of monopolists, want peace. And the peoples must insist that a peace policy be pursued and must use all forms of struggle to achieve that end. The peoples can and must render harmless those who are obsessed with the insane ideas of militarism and war. It is the peoples who are the decisive force in the struggle for peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

4. Seek the Settlement of International Problems by Peaceful Means.

**Expose the Intrigues and Manoeuvres of the Warmongers.
Improve Relations Between Countries**

Comrades, the situation calls for the settling of fundamental international problems without delay, and in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence. Following the Twentieth Congress the Soviet Union advanced an extensive and realistic programme of action that would ensure the maintenance and consolidation of universal peace. The purpose of that programme is, in a nutshell, to deliver mankind from the dangerous and burdensome arms race, to do away with the remnants of the Second World War and to remove all obstacles to a healthier international climate.

The struggle for general and complete disarmament is a major feature of the foreign policy of our Party. The Soviet Union has persevered in this struggle for many years. We have always resolutely opposed the arms race, for in the past, competition in this field not only imposed a heavy burden on the peoples but inevitably led to world wars. We are opposed to the arms race still more firmly now

that a tremendous technical revolution has taken place in the art of war and the use of modern weapons would inevitably lead to hundreds of millions of people losing their lives.

The stockpiling of these weapons, which is taking place in an atmosphere of cold war and war hysteria, is fraught with disastrous consequences. It only needs an addle-brained officer on duty at a "button" somewhere in the West to lose his nerve for events to occur that will bring down great misfortune on the peoples of the whole world.

It should be plain that the idea of our programme for general and complete disarmament is not the unilateral disarmament of socialism in the face of imperialism or the other way round, but a universal renunciation of arms as a means of settling controversial international problems. As they do not dare to say they are against disarmament, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries, primarily of the United States, Britain and France, have invented the tale that the Soviet Union is against control over disarmament. We exposed the manoeuvre of the capitalist powers and openly declared that we were prepared in advance to accept any proposals for the most rigid international control they might make, provided they accepted our proposals for general and complete disarmament.

To mislead people, the imperialists are hypocritically raising a racket over the fact that we were compelled to carry out experimental blasts of nuclear weapons. But the racket did not prevent the peoples from seeing that we had taken this step only because the Western Powers, after bringing the solution of the disarmament problem and negotiations on nuclear weapons tests to a dead end, had set the flywheel of their war machine turning at top speed in order to achieve superiority in strength over the socialist countries. We forestalled them and thus retained the superior position of the socialist camp, which is defending peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

We were forced to take these measures. It was known

that the United States had for a long time been preparing to resume tests, and as for France, she had carried them out repeatedly. In the present conditions, the necessity for the peoples' struggle to get rid of the arms race is all the more obvious. The disarmament problem affects the vital interests of every nation and of mankind as a whole. When it has been solved there will be no more need for nuclear weapons and hence for their manufacture and testing.

The elimination of the remnants of the Second World War is of tremendous importance for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. It is intolerable that sixteen years after the defeat of the Hitler invaders a peaceful settlement with Germany has still not been effected. The Western Powers, headed by the U.S.A., are alone to blame for this unpardonable delay. In flagrant disregard of the interests of the peoples, they set out to revive German militarism as soon as the war was over.

The absence of a peace treaty has already played into the hands of the Bonn revenge-seekers. With help from the U.S. imperialists, they have re-established their armed forces with an eye to further aggression. It is the West German militarists' cherished dream to profit by the unstable situation in Europe to set their former enemies—the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition—upon each other. They dream of absorbing the German Democratic Republic, enslaving other neighbouring countries and taking revenge for the defeat they sustained in the Second World War.

We have always held that a peace treaty would confirm the German frontiers defined in the Potsdam agreement, tie the hands of revenge-seekers and discourage them from adventures. The socialist countries have waited long enough for a treaty to be signed, in the hope that common sense would gain the upper hand in Washington, London and Paris. We are still ready to negotiate with the Western Powers a mutually acceptable and agreed solution.

Recently, while attending the U.N. General Assembly, Comrade Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, had con-

versations with the Secretary of State and the President of the United States. He also had talks with the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister of Britain. We gained the impression from those conversations that the Western Powers are showing some understanding of the situation and are inclined to seek a solution to the German problem and the West Berlin issue on a mutually acceptable basis.

But there is something strange about the Western countries, above all the U.S.A. In those countries one thing is said in the course of talks between statesmen and another reported by the press, although it is plain that the press is kept informed on the tenor of the talks. The Western press presents the issue of a German peace treaty in an unreasonable, unrealistic vein. It makes the accusation, for example, that someone wants, in settling the German problem, to take the orchard and give an apple in exchange. Perhaps those who say so like this figure of speech. But in this particular instance the figure does not do justice to the real state of affairs.

Everyone knows that the Soviet Government proposes signing a German peace treaty. Peace treaties are concluded to clear the way, as much as possible, to normal relations between countries, to avert the threat of a new war and ease international tension.

We proceed from the actual situation which has arisen since Hitler Germany was defeated, and from the existence of the two German states and the post-war frontiers. Any war, however trying and cruel, must end in the signing of a peace treaty. (*Applause.*) One has to render account and to pay for aggression, for starting wars. That being so, where does the orchard or the apple come in? (*Animation. Applause.*)

Some Western politicians offer us would-be good advice by declaring that the signing of a peace treaty would endanger the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. What are we to make of that? Since when have wars been considered to endanger one side only? The times when the

imperialist powers dominated have gone for ever. The Soviet Union today is a mighty socialist power. The great socialist community, which possesses developed industry and agriculture and advanced science and technology, is making good progress. (*Stormy applause.*)

I trust the imperialists will realise that since we have a developed industry and agriculture, the armaments of our Soviet Army are bound to be up to the latest standards. (*Applause.*)

We consider that at present the forces of socialism, and all the forces championing peace, are superior to the forces of imperialist aggression. But even granting that the U.S. President was right in saying a short time ago that our forces were equal, it would be obviously unwise to threaten war. One who admits that there is equality should draw the proper conclusions. It is dangerous in our time to pursue the policy "from positions of strength". (*Applause.*)

A German peace treaty must and will be signed, with the Western Powers or without them. (*Applause.*)

The treaty will also serve to normalise the situation in West Berlin by making it a free demilitarised city. The Western countries and all the other countries of the world must enjoy the right of access to West Berlin in keeping with international law, that is, must reach an appropriate agreement with the Government of the German Democratic Republic, since all communications between West Berlin and the outside world pass through her territory. (*Applause.*)

Certain spokesmen of the Western Powers say that our proposals for the conclusion of a German peace treaty this year constitute an ultimatum. But they are wrong, for it was as far back as 1958 that the Soviet Union proposed concluding a peace treaty and settling the issue of West Berlin on that basis by transforming it into a free city. A long time has passed since then. We did not rush the settlement of the issue, hoping to reach mutual understanding with the Western Powers. It is fair to ask, therefore,

why this talk about an ultimatum? In proposing the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the Soviet Union presented no ultimatum, but was prompted by the need to have this pressing issue settled at last.

The Soviet Government insists, now as before, on the earliest possible solution of the German problem; it is against that problem being shelved indefinitely. If the Western Powers show readiness to settle the German problem, the issue of a time limit for the signing of a German peace treaty will no longer be so important; in that case, we shall not insist that a peace treaty absolutely must be signed before December 31, 1961. The important thing is to settle the matter—to eliminate the remnants of the Second World War by signing a German peace treaty. That is the fundamental issue, the crux of the matter. (Applause.)

The solution of these problems will pave the way to further steps in the sphere of peaceful co-operation, both multilateral and bilateral, between states. What else has to be done for the further strengthening of peace, in addition to the conclusion of a German peace treaty?

The problem of effecting *considerable improvement in the United Nations machinery* has long been awaiting solution. That machinery has grown rusty in the cold war years and has been operating fitfully. The time has come to clean it, to remove the crust that has formed on it, to put fresh power into it, with due regard to the changes that have occurred in the international situation in recent years. It is high time to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the U.N. (Stormy, prolonged applause.) The time has come for deciding the question of the German people's representation in the United Nations. (Prolonged applause.) As matters stand now, the most reasonable solution would be to conclude a peace treaty with both German states, whose existence is a reality, and to admit them into the U.N. It is time to grant genuinely equal rights in all U.N. agencies to the three

groups of states that have come into being in the world—socialist, neutralist and imperialist. It is time to call a halt to attempts to use the U.N. in the interests of the military alignment of the Western Powers. (*Applause.*)

The problem of the full abolition of colonial tyranny in all its forms and manifestations must be solved in accordance with the vital interests of the peoples. At the same time real and not verbal aid must be rendered to the peoples, and the consequences of colonialism must be remedied. They must be helped to reach, as speedily as possible, the level of the economically and culturally developed countries. We see the way to achieve that goal first of all in making the colonial powers restore to their victims at least part of their loot. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are already rendering the peoples disinterested, friendly support and assistance in the economic and cultural fields. We shall continue to help them.

The solution of pressing regional political problems could play a fairly important part in achieving a healthier international atmosphere. We attach great importance to the problem of 'establishing atom-free zones, first of all in Europe and the Far East. A non-aggression pact between the countries in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and those in the North Atlantic military bloc could go a long way towards promoting security. An agreement could also be reached on the establishment of a zone dividing the armed forces of military alignments, and a start could be made to reduce the armed forces stationed on foreign soil. And if the countries in military blocs were to come to the reasonable conclusion that all military alliances must be disbanded and armed forces withdrawn to within their national boundaries, it would be the best, the most radical, solution of the problem.

In short, given mutual desire, many useful steps could be taken that would help the nations reduce the war danger and then remove it altogether.

We see a way to a better international situation in *more extensive business relations with all countries*.

Our relations with the socialist countries have been, and will continue to be, relations of lasting fraternal friendship and co-operation. (*Applause.*) We shall expand and improve mutually beneficial economic and cultural ties with them on the basis of agreed long-term plans. Such co-operation will enable us all to proceed even faster along the road of socialism and communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our people derive deep satisfaction from our expanding co-operation with the great Asian powers of India and Indonesia. We rejoice in their successes and realise their difficulties, and we readily expand business co-operation which helps them promote their economy and culture. Successfully developing on similar lines are our relations with Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia, Somali and other Asian and African countries that have freed themselves from foreign tyranny. We will develop business relations with the Syrian Arab Republic.

After long and painful trials a government which declared itself to be successor to the Patrice Lumumba Government was set up in the Congo. The Soviet Government is prepared to help the Congolese people solve the difficult problems facing them in the struggle to overcome the consequences of colonial oppression.

Our relations with Latin American countries have likewise made progress in the period under review, despite the barriers artificially raised by internal reaction and the U.S. imperialists. The heroic people of Cuba, who have broken down those barriers, are establishing co-operation on an equal footing with other countries. And even though the U.S. imperialists stop at nothing—not even at overthrowing lawful governments—to prevent Latin American countries from pursuing an independent policy, events will nevertheless take their own course.

We shall continue assisting newly-independent nations to get on to their feet, grow strong and take a fitting place in international affairs. Those nations are making a valuable contribution to the great cause of peace and progress. In this the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will always be their true and reliable friends. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We attach great importance to relations with the major capitalist countries, first and foremost the United States. U.S. foreign policy in recent years has invariably concentrated on aggravating the international situation. This is deplored by all peace-loving peoples. As for the Soviet Union, it has always held that the only way to prevent a world war of extermination is to normalise relations between states irrespective of their social systems. That being so, there is a need for joint efforts to achieve this. No one expects the ruling circles of the United States to fall in love with socialism, nor must they expect us to fall in love with capitalism. The important thing is for them to renounce the idea of settling disputes through war and to base international relations on the principle of peaceful economic competition. If realistic thinking gains the upper hand in U.S. policy, a serious obstacle to a normal world situation will be removed. Such thinking will benefit not only the peoples of our two countries but those of other countries and world peace. (*Applause.*)

We propose to expand and strengthen normal, business-like economic and cultural relations with Britain, France, Italy, West Germany and other West European countries. Noticeable progress has been achieved in this respect in recent years, and it is up to the other side to improve the situation.

The Soviet Union pays special attention to the promotion of relations with its neighbours. Differences in social and political systems are no hindrance to the development of friendly, mutually advantageous relations between the U.S.S.R. and such countries as Afghanistan or Finland.

Our relations with Austria and Sweden are progressing fairly well. We have sought, and will continue to seek, better relations with Norway and Denmark. Relations with our Turkish neighbour have been improving lately. We should like them to go on improving.

The Soviet Union would also like to live in peace and friendship with such of its neighbours as Iran, Pakistan and Japan. Unfortunately, the ruling circles of those countries have so far been unable, or unwilling, to disentangle themselves from the military blocs imposed on them by the Western Powers, nor have they been using the opportunities for business co-operation with our country. Their governments' present policies imperil their peoples. Outstanding in this respect is the Shah of Iran, who has gone to the point of agreeing to turn almost half the country into a zone of death in the interests of the aggressive CENTO bloc.

The Soviet Union has exerted considerable effort to improve its relations with Japan. But the government of that country, which is bound to the United States by an unequal military treaty, still refuses to eliminate the remnants of the Second World War. The absence of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty seriously handicaps wider co-operation between our two countries. The Japanese people are becoming increasingly aware of the great loss Japan is incurring as a result. We hope that sooner or later common sense will win and that our relations with Japan will make proper progress to the benefit of both countries.

The role of *economic ties* as an important element of peaceful coexistence is growing. In the period under survey, Soviet foreign trade has almost doubled in volume. We have stable commercial relations with more than eighty countries. But a great deal more could be achieved in this field if the Western Powers stopped their obstructionist practices and frequent arbitrary actions, which damage business co-operation with the socialist countries.

Incidentally, these outmoded practices do more harm to them than to us. Whoever resorts to discrimination, trade barriers and even blockades inevitably exposes himself as a proponent of war preparations and an enemy of peaceful coexistence.

Our country's *cultural relations* have expanded considerably in recent years and we now maintain such relations with more than a hundred countries. Over 700,000 Soviet people go abroad every year, and as many foreigners visit our country. We are willing to continue these mutually beneficial international contacts on a large scale. They can and must play a role in promoting co-operation and understanding among people.

Contacts with the leaders of other countries have become an important factor in Soviet foreign policy. It will be recalled that, despite pressure of business, Lenin, who guided the foreign policy of the Soviet state, received and had talks with American, British, French, Finnish, Afghan, and other foreign leaders. It was his intention to attend the 1922 Genoa Conference. The Central Committee of the Party has regarded it as its duty to follow this Lenin tradition. In pursuing an active foreign policy, members of the Presidium of the C.C. C.P.S.U. have often visited countries of the socialist community. They have paid sixty-five visits to twenty-seven non-socialist countries. I have had to travel far and wide myself. It cannot be helped—such is my duty, such is the need. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We have received many distinguished foreign guests, including the heads of state or government of European, Asian, African and Latin American countries. Party and government leaders of the socialist countries have been frequent and welcome visitors to our country. We are prepared to continue meetings with heads of state or government, individually or collectively.

Comrades, events have shown that the foreign policy of our Party, elaborated by the Twentieth Congress, is cor-

rect. We have achieved major victories by pursuing that policy. While our strength has increased very appreciably, we shall persevere in our Leninist policy in an effort to bring about the triumph of the idea of peaceful coexistence. *There is now a prospect of achieving peaceful coexistence for the entire period necessary for the solution of the social and political problems now dividing the world.* Developments indicate that it may actually be feasible to banish world war from the life of society even before the complete triumph of socialism on earth, with capitalism surviving in part of the world. (*Applause.*)

Lenin taught us to be firm, unyielding and uncompromising whenever a fundamental question, a question of principle, is involved. In the most trying conditions, at a time when the only socialist state had to resist the attacks of the whole capitalist world, when the enemy was storming us at the front, in the rear and from the flanks, Lenin spoke with the imperialists in firm, resolute terms, while following a flexible course and always retaining the initiative.

What are the tasks which the present international situation sets before Soviet foreign policy? We must continue:

adhering steadily to the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as a general line of the Soviet Union's foreign policy (*applause*);

strengthening the unity of the socialist countries through fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance, and contributing to the might of the world socialist system (*applause*);

promoting contacts and co-operating with all who champion world peace. Together with all those who want peace we must oppose all those who want war (*applause*);

strengthening proletarian solidarity with the working class and all working people of the world, and rendering the fullest moral and material support to the peoples fight-

ing to free themselves from imperialist and colonial oppression or to consolidate their independence (*applause*);

vigorously extending business ties, economic co-operation and trade with all countries that are willing to maintain such relations with the Soviet Union (*applause*);

pursuing an active and flexible foreign policy. We must seek the settlement of pressing world problems through negotiations, expose the intrigues and manoeuvres of the warmongers, and establish business co-operation with all countries on a reciprocal basis. (*Applause.*)

Experience has proved that the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, a principle advanced by the great Lenin, is the way to preserve peace and avert a world war of extermination. We have been doing, and will do, all in our power for peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition to triumph throughout the world. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

II

THE SOVIET UNION ENTERS THE PERIOD OF FULL-SCALE COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades, the chief feature determining the activities of our Party since the Twentieth Congress has been the effort to carry out the basic tasks of the period of full-scale communist construction—the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the further consolidation of the economic might of the Soviet Union, the communist education of the working people, and the satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of the people to an ever greater degree.

The Central Committee is glad to be able to report to this Congress that all branches of the economy are developing at accelerated rates. The living standards of the people are steadily rising. Soviet science and culture have

reached new heights of development. The Seven-Year Plan is being implemented successfully. Our country has made a great advance towards the fulfilment of the basic economic task—to overtake and outstrip the more highly-developed capitalist countries in production per head of population. And, it must be said, the population of the Soviet Union has grown considerably. At the time of the Twentieth Congress it was less than 200 million whereas it had grown to almost 220 million by the time of the Twenty-Second Congress. A satisfactory increase, comrades. (*Applause.*)

We have adopted a rapid pace in the development of our economy and are marching with confidence along the path indicated by Lenin, taking one height after another. We are drawing nearer and nearer to our great goal, and can now see distinctly the bright peak on which the Soviet people will in the near future plant the banner of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

**1. The Struggle
To Build Up the Country's Economic Might,
The Seven-Year Plan,
an Important Stage in the Creation
of the Material and Technical Basis of Communism**

In creating the material and technical basis of communism, heavy industry has a decisive role to play as the foundation of the entire economy. Permit me to quote some figures on the growth of industrial output since the Twentieth Congress. The figures I quote will include the preliminary returns for 1961. Although 1961 has not yet come to an end we may already say that planned targets will be exceeded for many important items.

The increase in industrial output for the six years will be almost 80 per cent. Here are the figures for some leading items:

Worthy of special mention are the achievements of the leading branches of heavy industry. In six years the amount of steel smelted has increased by 26 million tons, which is more than Britain's annual output. The extraction of oil has increased by 95 million tons, which is the

	Produced in 1955	Expected output for 1961	1961 output as % of of 1955
Pig iron (000,000 tons)	33.3	51.1	153
Steel " "	45.3	71.0	157
Rolled goods " "	35.3	55.0	156
Coal " "	391	513	131
Oil " "	70.8	166	234
Gas (000,000,000 cu m)	10.4	59.5	575
Electricity (000,000,000 kwh)	170	327	192
Chemical industry output (000,000,000 rubles)	3.7	7.6	205
Output of machine-building and metal- working industries (000,000,000 rubles)	17	38	224
Cement (000,000 tons)	22.5	51	226

equivalent of five new Baku oilfields. The output of electric power has increased by 157,000 million kwh, which is the same as fifty additional stations the size of the Lenin Power Station on the Dnieper. (*Applause.*)

With modern heavy industry as the basis, all branches of the economy are making rapid progress; light industry and the food industry are developing well. The Party is paying particular attention to greater output of foodstuffs, clothing, footwear—of everything man needs—to raise the living standard of the people.

Here are some figures showing how the output of consumer goods has increased:

You can see from this that the output of consumer goods is growing at a higher rate than in the recent past. We can now increase the output of these goods year by year. In only three years of the Seven-Year Plan over 1,000 million metres of textiles and about 70 million pairs of boots and shoes have been produced above plan. The requirements of Soviet people, however, must be met more fully. The Government is additionally allocating for the remaining period of the Seven-Year Plan about 2,500 million rubles

	Produced in 1955	Expected output for 1961	1961 output as % of 1955
Meat, industrially processed (000,000 tons)	2.5	4.5	178
Butter, factory-made (000 tons)	463	794	171
Whole-milk products (000,000 tons)	2.6	9.0	345
Vegetable oils (000 tons)	1,168	1,730	148
Granulated beet sugar (000,000 tons)	3.2	6.5	200
Fish (catch—000,000 tons)	2.7	3.7	136
Clothing and underwear (000,000,000 rubles)	6.0	9.2	152
Leather footwear (000,000 pairs)	271	443	163
Textiles (000,000 sq m)	5,543	6,661	120
Woollen textiles (000,000 sq m)	321	452	141
Radio and TV receivers (000)	4,044	6,345	157
Domestic refrigerators (000)	151	731	480
Furniture (000,000 rubles)	491	1,280	261

to develop the textile and footwear industries and increase supplies of raw materials. *By the end of the seven-year period our industry will be producing over 9,000 million square metres of textiles a year; the annual output of footwear will be nearly three pairs per head of population.* The Soviet Union's output of these items will greatly exceed that of Britain, France and West Germany combined.

It will, of course, be necessary to extend the area planted to cotton and increase its per-hectare yield. That is a problem that will undoubtedly be solved. After the Nurek Power Station is completed 1.2 million hectares of irrigated land in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan will be put under cultivation and planted to the most valuable, long-staple varieties of cotton. The output of cotton will be substantially increased with the cultivation of the Hungry Steppe in Uzbekistan. However, the implementation of the programme for the building of factories manufacturing artificial and synthetic fibres will ensure the most reliable supply of raw materials for our textile industry.

Our plans are designed for peaceful construction. The Party is working to promote the economic might of the country, and never forgets the need to strengthen its defences. We have established industries producing high-precision instruments, the means for automation, special metals, atomic and electronic equipment, and rockets, we have jet aircraft and a modern shipbuilding industry. These branches have made a name for themselves, and not only on earth, but in outer space as well. They are reliable in their service to the cause of peace, to defence. We now have at our disposal intercontinental ballistic missiles, anti-aircraft rocket equipment, and rockets for the land, naval and air forces.

The press has announced tests of our new rockets, which have a range of more than 12,000 kilometres. We have stationed our ships where the rockets fall. They record when, and how accurately, they reach the target area. Reports indicate that our rockets are unusually precise.

I must say that there are also American vessels in the area, which observe the flight of the Soviet rockets. The Americans publish appropriate data about the flights of our rockets and we compare their data with ours. We trust the comrades aboard our ships implicitly. But we get something of a double check—ours and the opponent's. (Applause.)

Our opponents—we would have liked it better if they were not opponents, but we have to take the nature of imperialism into account—confirm that the Soviet rockets hit the target squarely. That is good! We were sure they would. (*Applause.*)

Since I have digressed from the prepared text, I might as well say that the testing of our new nuclear weapons is going on very successfully. We shall complete it very soon—probably by the end of October. We shall evidently round out the tests by exploding a hydrogen bomb equivalent to 50 million tons of TNT. (*Applause.*) We have said that we have a bomb as powerful as 100 million tons of TNT. And we have it, too. But we are not going to explode it, because, even if exploded in the remotest of places, we are likely to break our own windows. (*Stormy applause.*) We will therefore not do it yet. But by exploding the 50-million bomb, we shall test the triggering device of the 100-million one.

However, God grant, as people said in the old days, that we never have to explode those bombs over any territory. That is our fondest dream! (*Stormy applause.*)

In this hall I see comrades who have developed our wonderful rockets, rocket engines and precision instruments. I also see those who are engaged in improving nuclear weapons. We are proud of them and give them due credit. We rejoice in their achievements, for they serve to increase the defensive power of our country and to promote world peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet submarine fleet is being built up with success. Our opponents are building a submarine fleet equipped with ballistic missiles. We are equipping our fleet with both ballistic and target-seeking missiles. It is the situation that compels us to do so. Our opponents, organised in the military blocs, are making preparations to fire at our country and the other socialist countries from submarines. We are ready to retaliate by firing at both ground and sea targets. The Soviet Union is a continental power. Those

who will want to start a war against us will have to overcome water barriers. That is why we are building up a powerful submarine fleet equipped also with target-seeking missiles so that we can sink in the ocean, hundreds of kilometres distant, vessels on their way to the borders of the socialist countries.

The atom-powered Soviet submarine fleet, equipped with ballistic and target-seeking missiles, stands vigilant guard over our socialist gains. It will retaliate crushingly against an aggressor, and against his aircraft-carriers, which, in case of war, will make a nice target for our submarine-launched missiles. (*Stormy applause.*)

Permit me to report to the Congress that the re-equipment of the Soviet Army with nuclear and rocket weapons has been completed. Our armed forces are now equipped with weapons powerful enough to enable us to crush any aggressor. While providing our armed forces with rockets and building an atomic submarine fleet, we have not neglected our air force but have continued to develop and perfect it.

Permit me, on behalf of the Congress, to express heartfelt thanks to the scientists, engineers and workers who have produced for the Soviet Army the most up-to-date weapons. (*Stormy applause.*) They have done all mankind a great service! No longer can the imperialists with impunity use threats of war to intimidate the peaceful countries; atomic and hydrogen weapons in the hands of the Soviet people, the builders of communism, do reliable service to the cause of peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people do not need war; their minds are turned to developing the economy of peace, to the implementation of the great plans for communist construction, to the creation of an abundance of material and spiritual values for all working people.

Important *qualitative changes* have taken place in industry, building and transport since the Twentieth Congress; a huge amount of work has been done to re-equip

technically all branches of material production. Thousands of new types of machines, machine-tools, apparatus, measuring instruments and equipment for automation have been designed. The pattern of the country's fuel supply has been radically improved. Oil and gas accounted for 23.5 per cent of the fuel output in 1955 and today the percentage has increased to 42. An economy of over 3,000 million rubles has been effected in the six years by the use of cheaper fuels.

The electric power industry has been provided with a new technical basis. Steam and hydropower turbines of 200,000-225,000 kw capacity are being built. Turbines up to 500,000 kw capacity are being designed. Some of the world's biggest power grids have been established and 500,000-volt transmission lines have been built. Power consumption per industrial worker has increased by about 40 per cent.

The chemical industry is employing natural and oil-well gas as raw material on an ever-growing scale. This has enabled us to effect a considerable reduction in costs and economise a large quantity of unprocessed foodstuffs. Thanks to the fact that raw materials other than foodstuffs are used for the production of alcohol, this year alone over 130 million poods of grain will have been economised. The output of plastics and artificial fibres has been more than doubled in six years.

A great deal is being done to effect the technical reconstruction of all types of transport, the carrying capacity of which has increased by 72 per cent. More than ten thousand kilometres of railway have been electrified. Half of all our trains now use electric and diesel traction; this has provided an economy of about 2,500 million rubles in the period under review. Vessels sailing under the Soviet flag call at ports of more than sixty countries in all continents. The tonnage of the merchant fleet has increased by about 50 per cent. The civil air fleet, equipped with giant air-liners, carries about 100,000 passengers a day.

The centralised shipment of goods by road, effected by special motor-transport agencies, has increased six times over.

The industry manufacturing prefabricated concrete elements, which now produces almost 40 million cubic metres as compared to 5.3 million in 1955, has been built up almost from scratch. In recent years radical changes have come about in building techniques. Large-panel building is making rapid progress. The day is not far off when building will be completely transferred to industrial methods and re-equipped with modern facilities. Such are the more prominent features of progress in industry, transport and building in the period under survey.

In the period between 1956 and 1961 state investments in the economy amounted to 156,000 million rubles. That sum is larger than the total investments in the entire Soviet period up to the Twentieth Congress of the Party. About six thousand large-scale state enterprises have gone into production, among them such giants on the Volga as the Hydro-Electric Power Station named after Lenin and another after the Twenty-Second Party Congress, the Karaganda and Kuibyshev steel works, huge ore-dressing plants in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and in the Kursk ironfield, and numerous engineering, chemical, sugar and textile factories. Over 30,000 kilometres of gas and oil pipeline has been laid. The builders of the Bratsk Power Station, which will be one of the world's largest, have a fine achievement to record—they have erected the first 225,000 kw unit ahead of schedule.

The builders of the hydro-electric power station at Kremenchug have made a fine gift to the Congress—they have completed the construction of the third power station in the Dnieper chain much earlier than scheduled. The commissioning of this power station will increase the stable, guaranteed capacity of the Dnieper Power Station by twenty per cent and greatly improve navigation on the Dnieper. A number of new towns have sprung up lately—

Stavropol on the Volga, Volzhsky, Temir-Tau, Rudny, Bratsk and many others.

The years under review have seen a rapid growth of *labour productivity*. In 1961 the 1955 level will be exceeded by 43 per cent in industry, 60 per cent in building and 56 per cent on the railways. Almost 70 per cent of the growth in industrial output has been obtained thanks to greater labour productivity. Production costs have been reduced by about 11 per cent and railway transport costs by 22 per cent. Industry and transport last year yielded profits that were double those of 1955.

All Union republics have recorded important achievements in the development of their economy and culture. Industrial output and investments have increased by fifty to over a hundred per cent as compared with 1955 in all republics.

The Party's policy to develop the productive forces of *the eastern areas of the country* has been consistently implemented. Big power stations are being built to utilise the rich energy resources of Siberian rivers and cheap coal. Huge iron ore deposits in Kazakhstan and Siberia have been placed in the service of the people. The output of metals and coal is rapidly increasing. The exploitation of gigantic deposits of natural gas in Uzbekistan will provide a dependable fuel supply for the Central Asian republics and cheap gas will be piped in large quantities to Kazakhstan and the Urals. The chemical industry is developing at a high rate.

The reorganisation of management in industry and building has greatly accelerated economic progress. It has affected every aspect of the country's economy, has elevated the role played by the Union republics in economic development, has stimulated the initiative of local Party, governmental and economic bodies and of broad sections of the working people, and has helped put big economic reserves to use.

Comrades, the *Seven-Year Plan for the Development of the Economy of the U.S.S.R.*, adopted by the Twenty-First Congress, has been an important stage in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

It will be remembered that the control figures for the seven years envisaged an increase in overall industrial output by about eighty per cent. The absolute growth we planned for the seven years was equal to that achieved during the previous two decades. All the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and millions of working people abroad acclaimed the plan. As for bourgeois politicians, they assessed the Seven-Year Plan as a new Soviet challenge to the capitalist world. And it was a challenge—a challenge to engage in a peaceful economic competition.

Among bourgeois politicians there were also those who repeated the old inventions that date back to the first five-year plans. They declared beforehand that it was another piece of propaganda, that the Communists drew up plans without due consideration of their possibilities, and that the Seven-Year Plan would be revised. The plan has now been operating for almost three years.

And what has happened? It must be admitted that we actually had to review some of the Seven-Year Plan targets—seven years is a long time and not everything can be foreseen. We made corrections to a number of important points in the plan and have, so to say, “considered the criticism” of the enemies of communism. To be more exact, the changes were suggested by developments and were made possible by the devoted labour of the Soviet people. The Seven-Year Plan called for an 8.3 per cent average annual growth in industrial output in the first three years. The actual growth in these three years will amount to ten per cent a year. The industries of the Soviet Union will produce goods worth about 19,000 million rubles more than planned for these three years. (*Applause.*) In this period the country will obtain additionally about two million tons of pig iron, more than nine million tons

of steel, about eight million tons of rolled goods, ten million tons of oil and many other items.

This is what the corrected targets for the last year of the plan now look like:

it was planned to smelt 65-70 million tons of pig iron but we now expect to smelt 72-73 million;

instead of 86-91 million tons of steel we shall probably obtain 95-97 million tons or more.

Some people suggested that we increase steel output to 100 million tons a year. But we had to damp their ardour and tell them that all branches of the economy had to be developed proportionately and that, along with steel production, we must think of housing construction, children's institutions, the production of footwear and clothing, and so on. We must abide strictly by the directives adopted on this score by the Twenty-First Party Congress. (Applause.)

The output of rolled goods will be 73-74.5 million tons and not 65-70 as planned;

we shall extract not 230-240 million tons of oil, but more than 240 million;

the output of electric power will be not 500,000-520,000 million kwh but more than 520,000 million kwh;

the output of the machine-building and metal-working industries will reach 56,000-57,000 million rubles in value instead of the planned 49,000 million rubles.

These figures may, of course, have to be changed as time goes on; we may have to increase the appropriations for the development of one or another industry, or for cultural and welfare services, by drawing on the accumulations received as a result of overfulfilment of the plan. Evidently, we will be receiving substantial additional accumulations. The Central Committee of the Party and the Government will earmark them for those branches of the national economy where they are most needed and can best be used.

We shall produce more cement, tractors and farm ma-

chinery, paper, footwear, butter, sugar, furniture, radio and television receivers, refrigerators, washing machines and many other items for the country's economy and for the general public than envisaged by the control figures.

That is how we "miscalculated" when drawing up the Seven-Year Plan! We are not ashamed to admit such "miscalculations". (*Applause.*) I imagine the Soviet people will accept the amendments without regret. And let those who prophesied the failure of our plans think of a way out of the bog into which they have floundered, that is not our headache. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

You will recall, comrades, that even at the time of the earliest five-year plans our rate of industrial growth exceeded that of the U.S.A. but that we lagged behind noticeably in absolute growth, to say nothing of the considerable difference that existed in the level of production. *In recent years our country has continued to keep far ahead of the U.S.A. as far as the rate of growth is concerned, and has begun to outstrip that country in the absolute growth in the production of many important items.* The matter is now one of rapidly closing the gap between production levels, of the Soviet Union gaining first place in the world for the output of a number of foodstuffs and manufactured goods.

I will cite some facts. The average annual rate of industrial growth in the Soviet Union in the 1956-61 period amounted to 10.2 per cent, that of the U.S.A. to 2.3 per cent; the average annual output of manufactured goods per head of population increased by 8.2 per cent in the Soviet Union and by 0.6 per cent in the U.S.A.; the average annual increase in investments in the past six years has been 12 per cent in the U.S.S.R. and in the U.S.A. there has been no increase, but, on the contrary, a slight decrease.

And how do matters stand with the absolute growth of production and the closing of the gap in the level of production? In the last six years the output of steel in our

country has increased by 26 million tons while that of the U.S.A. has decreased by 15 million tons; oil extraction in the U.S.S.R. has increased by 95 million tons and in the U.S.A. by approximately 20 million tons.

Industrial output in the U.S.S.R. today amounts to more than 60 per cent of American output. Here are the relevant figures for the more important items for 1961 (a preliminary estimate):

	U.S.S.R.	U.S.A.	U.S.S.R. as % of U.S.A.
Pig iron (000,000 tons)	51.1	62.0	82
Steel (000,000 tons)	71.0	91.0	78
Coal, oil, gas and other fuels (reduced to a single conventional fuel—000,000 tons)	724	1,430	51
Electric power (on the bus bars— —000,000,000 kwh)	306	872	35
Electric power used in industry (000,000,000 kwh)	213	425	50
Cement (000,000 tons)	51	54	94
Cotton textiles (unbleached—000,000,000 sq m)	5.3	8.5	62
Woollen textiles (000,000 linear metres)	353	270	131
Leather footwear (000,000 pairs)	443	610	73
Granulated sugar (000,000 tons)	6.5	3.7	175

I would remind you that a mere ten or eleven years ago Soviet industrial output was less than 30 per cent that of the U.S.A. At the present time the U.S.S.R. has already outstripped the United States in the extraction of iron ore and coal, the production of coke, prefabricated concrete elements, heavy diesel and electric locomotives, sawn timber, woollen textiles, sugar, butter, fish and a number of other items. (*Applause.*)

Our country now accounts for almost a fifth of the world's industrial output, or more than Britain, France,

Italy, Canada, Japan, Belgium and the Netherlands combined. Yet these are all highly-developed countries with a total population of 280,000,000 people. The fact that our country with a population of 220,000,000 has surpassed them in total volume of industrial production shows how swiftly and surely socialist economy is progressing. (*Applause.*)

The implementation of the Seven-Year Plan will bring our country up to such a level that little more time will be required to outstrip the United States economically. *By fulfilling this basic economic task the Soviet Union will achieve an historic victory in the peaceful competition with the United States of America. (Prolonged applause.)*

**2. Make Fuller Use
of the Untapped Potentialities of Soviet Economy,
Eliminate Waste and Mismanagement.
Effect an All-Round Increase in Labour Productivity**

Comrades, as you see, things are going well with us. We have every possibility not only of fulfilling, but of overfulfilling the Seven-Year Plan, and thus laying a sound foundation for the still greater tasks set out in the draft Programme of the Party. For those possibilities to become realities we shall have to work a lot, make better and wiser use of our potentialities and persist in our improvement of the planning and management of the economy.

The chief thing on which attention must be concentrated is *an all-round increase in the productivity of labour*. Experience shows that the Seven-Year Plan target for the growth of labour productivity can be surpassed. This is a big task and an important one. Real heroism will be needed to carry it out. Heroism in our day, however, is not merely enthusiasm, doggedness and industriousness. It is also ability, knowledge, a high level of culture, advanced technology and innovation.

Our forefathers composed the well-known song about the cudgel (*Dubinushka*) that men sang at work. It is true that words cannot be removed from a song, but even before the Revolution our people had substituted in it the word *mashinushka** for *dubinushka*, the cudgel. Even at that time they realised the great power of machinery. Today the Soviet Union is a technically advanced country. In the struggle for high, genuinely communist labour productivity we must place firm reliance on powerful machinery.

While giving our technical achievements their due, we cannot but see that there are still many unsolved problems. One still comes across instances of new technology being introduced into production too slowly. Take the Likhachov Automobile Works in Moscow, for example. It is still turning out 4-ton lorries of the type first produced fourteen years ago, only slight changes having been made in the design. How do the executives of the works and the leading people on the Moscow City Economic Council justify their infatuation with obsolete machines? Why has the design of a new lorry been under way for six long years? After all, the works has been given considerable help in organising the production of an improved vehicle.

The introduction of the new sometimes involves certain production outlays, extra worries and even disappointments. How much easier it is to go on doing quietly today what you did yesterday, and tomorrow what you are doing today. Unfortunately we still have executives who want to spend the rest of their days in peace. But we cannot have Soviet executives working that way. Routine and stagnation are alien to the very nature of socialist production which is dynamic, revolutionary and always forward-looking. We must *employ more speedily and to the full*

* The Russian diminutive of the word *mashina*, i.e., machine.
—Tr.

everything that science and technology create in our country, we must take more boldly the best of what foreign experience offers, we must more extensively develop specialisation and co-operation and accelerate the rate of the overall mechanisation and automation of production. We cannot tolerate conservatism in technology when we are building a communist economy. You can't clear high jumps on an old nag, as the saying goes.

At every factory, mine and building site we must thoroughly and painstakingly examine its technical equipment: we must replace whatever is obsolete, and wherever there are no production lines we must organise them. We must build new enterprises and technically re-equip those now in operation and we must produce the most up-to-date machine tools, organise production lines, introduce automation and perfect technological processes.

Electrification plays the leading role in technical progress. It is the basis on which are developed automation, radio engineering, electronics and cybernetics, all the modern equipment that determines the technical level of production. New power installations must be put into operation more rapidly and the electrification of all branches of the economy must proceed at a faster pace.

The overall electrification of the country, the building of gigantic hydro-electric power stations, will make it possible to begin simultaneously the fulfilment of other complex economic tasks. We must complete the chains of power stations on the Volga and the Dnieper to provide new deep waterways and irrigate millions of hectares of land.

On the Volga, the Kama and the Dnieper, ten hydro-electric power stations are in operation at full capacity and four are under construction. To complete the reconstruction of the Volga-Kama basin, we have yet to build four hydrotechnical units and erect the installations for the transfer of water from the northern rivers, the Pechora and the Vychegda, through the Kama and the Volga to

the Caspian Sea. A sixth station—the Kanev hydro-electric station—will have to be built on the Dnieper, and the River Pripet reconstructed to link the Baltic Sea with the Black Sea through the River Niemen and a system of canals. (*Applause.*)

Such are the magnificent plans being elaborated by the Party of Lenin. We can start realising them in the present seven-year period.

The question of questions, comrades, is *capital construction*.

The Seven-Year Plan envisaged state investments to the amount of 194,000-197,000 million rubles. Some of our opponents hissed at the time that we would not be able to realise such huge investments. What has actually happened? The average annual growth of investments was planned at 8.6 per cent, and the actual average has been 11 per cent per annum for the first three years. This over-fulfilment of the plan for investments means that in the course of three years out of the seven we are investing an additional sum of more than 3,500 million rubles in the economy.

There is no doubt that we are now building better and more quickly. There are, however, still very many shortcomings in building. At the present time there are over a hundred thousand construction sites in the country, a half of them are for industry. With this huge number of projects in hand simultaneously, funds and materials are scattered and many enterprises go into production two or three years later than technical possibilities permit. Funds expended are frozen over a long period, they lie idle and the state does not get its money back.

Why is that so? It is because the desire for great things militates against a reasonable and realistic approach. It frequently happens that plausible excuses of solicitude for state interests are used to cover out and out parochialism; to put it crudely, it is grabbing on a regional, territorial and at times even a republican scale. Republican Councils

of Ministers, economic councils, ministries, and local Party bodies try to get funds to start the greatest possible number of projects without considering whether the necessary building materials, manpower, and equipment can be supplied, and the planning bodies do not prevent these acts that contravene the interests of the state. This leads to stoppages, low labour productivity, prolongation of schedules, extra expenses and higher building costs.

If we overcome this defect—and overcoming it depends entirely on the ability to give guidance, on our will—we shall create conditions for a further speed-up in building. It seems that we shall have to stop starting new industrial building projects for a time, for a year, say, and devote all the funds that will accumulate in that period to the earliest possible completion of building projects already begun. Exceptions can only be sanctioned for particularly important projects and then only by decision of the Union Government. The Central Committee and the Soviet Government have recently adopted a decision laying down the sequence for capital construction.

Matters must be so arranged, planning must be so organised, that proportionality in the development of the economy is strictly observed and all potentialities are used to the full. An important role in this respect should be played by the recently organised enlarged economic areas and the boards set up in those areas to co-ordinate and plan the work of economic councils.

Of tremendous importance is the correct, economically justified selection of the way in which the different branches of economy are to develop. Projects for the building of new enterprises and the reconstruction of those already in operation should employ the best technological methods that can be implemented at the lowest cost.

Considerable economic interest, for example, attaches to the question of how the steel industry is to develop. Experience has shown that the production of steel in converters with the use of oxygen is far more profitable than

in open-hearth furnaces; the economy effected in initial investments amounts to about six million rubles on a million tons of steel and more than a million is economised during exploitation. Despite the obvious advantages of the use of converters, far from sufficient attention is being paid to it.

You will remember that at the Twentieth Congress sharp criticism was levelled at those conservatives who regarded themselves as specialists in railway transport. Their ideologist was Kaganovich, who called himself the "iron commissar". For a long time they clung to their steam locomotives and barred the way to electric and diesel traction. Then we broke down their resistance, and the technical re-equipment of the railways went ahead at top speed. In some other branches of economy, too, conservatives cling to the old like the devil to a sinner's soul.

Socialist economic management demands an ability to analyse profoundly and with knowledge the economic aspect of the work of enterprises, building projects and whole branches of industry. We cannot leave at the helm of economic construction executives who are either not accustomed or who are unable to count the money of the state, and who regard their mission to be the fulfilment of plans at all costs. Take, for instance, the leaders of Perm Economic Council. It would seem that all is well with them, they report punctually on the fulfilment of targets for total output. But look how they run their economy. Last year every third enterprise in Perm Economic Area failed to fulfil its plan for profit, with the result that 27 million rubles were lost to the accumulation funds. The Economic Council paid out over eight million rubles in various fines, lost seven million rubles in spoilage and ended the year with a deficit of 26 million rubles in circulating funds.

Do you think that Comrade Soldatov, chairman of the Economic Council, was seriously criticised? Not at all. He

was promoted to a leading post in the All-Russian Economic Council. (*Animation.*)

A ruthless war must be declared on the waste of raw and other materials and electric power. How many times has it been said, for instance, that a tremendous amount of metal is expended irrationally. Over four million tons of metal goes annually into shavings and, furthermore, no little effort, working time, electric power and tools are expended on them.

And are we at all thrifty in the way we deal with natural and oil-well gas? During the past three years about 30,000 million cubic metres of gas have been dissipated in the atmosphere or burnt to destroy it in the oilfields. To give you a clearer idea of what such mismanagement costs the state, it is enough to say that the natural gas lost would satisfy the annual needs of big industrial centres like Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk and Magnitogorsk combined, while the oil-well gas lost would be sufficient to produce about a million tons of synthetic rubber.

Financial control must be made stricter in all spheres of production. Economy in big and little things, the proper utilisation of natural resources and material values must be elevated to the level of state policy.

Planning practice must be radically improved. It must be said that planning bodies not infrequently make mistakes and miscalculations in estimating the volume of production. Output plans do not always dovetail with plans for the supply of materials and machines and with co-ordinated deliveries, and building plans are not always adapted to financial allocations, supplies of materials and deliveries of equipment. In any economy there must always be certain reserves, the planning must not be from hand to mouth, so to say.

We are now in a position to build up the necessary circulating funds at enterprises. It was difficult to do this in the past when dozens of ministries had a hand in every economic area and each of them tried to isolate itself with-

in its own boundary posts. Those boundary posts have now been removed. The economic area has become a single economic entity under the guidance of the economic council and it is this body that must provide its enterprises and building sites with sufficient materials both for production and for repairs.

Party and economic bodies must be made to account more strictly for their fulfilment of the decisions and directives of the Party and the Government, and Party and state discipline must be enhanced throughout the apparatus. No high-handed methods or lack of discipline can be tolerated in a planned economy. A number of economic councils, for instance the Dnepropetrovsk, Bryansk and Uzbek councils, expended more than their quota of certain materials and equipment on the needs of "their own" economic areas; plans for deliveries to other economic areas suffered in consequence. This is the work of those who follow the principle "How can you refuse a favour to a friend!" Unprincipled executives who are prepared to "do a favour" to the local authorities at state expense, who are guilty of malicious breaches of Party and state discipline, must be severely punished.

Our task is to increase considerably the output of goods by improving the organisation of production, by the extensive employment of the methods of advanced workers in all branches of industry and in building.

The best methods must be more vigorously introduced and the lagging and so-called average enterprises must be brought up to the level of the best.

The wonderful successes of our industry, building and transport have been achieved by the devoted labour of the heroic Soviet working class, engineers, technicians, designers and scientists. Relying in the future, too, on their experience, knowledge and political and labour activity we shall attain those great aims of communist construction that the Twenty-Second Congress will define. (*Prolonged applause.*)

3. A Highly-Developed Agriculture Is a Necessary Condition for the Construction of Communism. The Development of Virgin Lands Is a Great Achievement of the Soviet People

Comrades, in the period under review the Party has devoted special attention to the development of agriculture. And this is understandable, for, as a result of the war, and also of errors and shortcomings in the management of collective and state farms, our agriculture found itself in a difficult position.

The Party was faced with a vital and most pressing task, namely, speedily to eliminate the lag in agriculture and meet the food requirements of the people and the raw material requirements of industry. The September 1953 and subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee disclosed the causes of the errors and shortcomings in the management of agriculture and devised a comprehensive programme to promote its progress. The Twentieth Congress unanimously approved the measures taken, and instructed the Central Committee to work with unflagging energy for a rapid increase in the output of grain, industrial crops, meat, milk and other products.

In these past years important measures have been carried out in agriculture. They have already benefited communist construction and will benefit it still more in the future. With the active co-operation of the people, the Party set about the effective solution of many cardinal problems in agricultural development.

The material and technical basis of the collective and state farms has been strengthened. From 1956 to 1960 investments in agriculture amounted to 27,200 million rubles compared with 13,900 million in the previous five years, or were almost doubled. Our farms were supplied with 747,000 tractors as against the 427,000 delivered in the previous five years; large quantities of other machinery were also provided.

The machine and tractor stations have been reorganised, which has made it possible to put the land and machinery in the same hands and to create conditions for the better use of the productive forces in agriculture.

Immense tracts of virgin and disused land have been developed. As a result there have been decisive increases in grain production and opportunities have been provided for a more rapid development of livestock farming.

The role of the state farms in communist construction has been increased. In seven years over 3,000 new state farms have been set up, and their total number is now almost 8,000. Many of the state farms are highly productive model farms which set an example of the socialist organisation of farm production. The cultivated area of the state farms has grown from 15 to 80 million hectares, and their share in sales to the state is: grain 43 per cent, meat 28, milk 32 and wool 31 per cent.

A new system of planning has been introduced. It is based on the principle of combining state guidance with the encouragement of the creative initiative of the people. This has increased the activity of the working people in the countryside and made collective farms and local government bodies more directly responsible for the better use of land and technical equipment.

The Leninist principle of giving material incentives to the collective farmers, state-farm workers and specialists to increase agricultural production has been restored. The state has replaced obligatory deliveries by purchases; it has substantially raised purchase prices and has reduced the prices of capital goods for the rural areas.

The collective and state farms have been reinforced by leading cadres and specialists. At the call of the Party, hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-Party people have gone to work in the countryside.

These, then, are the more important measures carried out by our Party. They had a truly revolutionising effect on the development of agriculture and the entire socialist

economy. Total agricultural output has gone up 43 per cent in the past five years as against the preceding five years. The output of grain, meat, milk and other farm produce has increased very considerably. Thanks to greater collective production, the money incomes of the collective farms and their non-distributable assets have doubled. The living standard of the farmers has improved as a result of the progress made in collective farming.

Now let us look at the condition of the major branches of agriculture.

The Central Committee has been directing the efforts of the working people in the countryside towards a *greater output of grain* as the basis of agricultural progress. The Party has criticised the indiscriminate use of grass-arable rotation. Steps have been taken to effect a considerable expansion of areas under more productive and valuable crops—wheat and maize—and seed cultivation has been improved to an appreciable degree.

The development of virgin and disused lands is prominent among the measures implemented by the Party. The Central Committee is happy to report to the Congress that this task has been successfully accomplished. In the boundless steppes of Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Volga region, the Urals and other eastern areas, 41,800,000 hectares of new land have been cultivated and put at the service of the people. *(Applause.)* The new lands now account for over 40 per cent of the grain purchased by the state. *Their development is a great feat which our heroic people have performed in building communism. It is an achievement that will live through the ages. (Prolonged applause.)*

The newly-developed lands have radically changed the grain balance of many areas of our country. It is with pride and elation that we speak of this historic fact—the increase in the country's grain output achieved through the development of new lands. Before the new lands were developed, the regions concerned produced an annual average of 1,386 million poods of grain; between 1956 and

1960, their output averaged 3,363 million poods a year. (Applause.)

Grain sales, too, have greatly increased. Here are some data to illustrate this.

Grain Sales to the State
(yearly averages, 000,000 poods)

	1949-1953	1956-1960
R.S.F.S.R.	1,196	1,734
Altai Territory	49	245
Orenburg Region	43	115
Omsk Region	36	89
Novosibirsk Region	26	80
Krasnoyarsk Territory	44	73
Kazakh S.S.R.	111	705
Tselinny Territory	63	508
Tselinograd Region	13	152
Kustanai Region	17	138
Kokchetav Region	12	93
Pavlodar Region	5	74
North Kazakhstan Region	16	51

That shows you the capacity of the new lands. There you have some of the fruits of the Party's policy. It is gratifying to note that the peoples of all the fraternal republics of the Soviet Union took part in the development of the new lands, particularly our fine youth, our Leninist Komsomol. In response to the call of the Party, hundreds of thousands of patriots went to unsettled steppes. There they accomplished feats of labour heroism and brought fame to their great country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The value of the new lands goes beyond the additional thousands of millions of poods of grain our country obtains there. Their development is radically transforming vast areas in the East. Large state farms, modern settlements, research institutions and educational establishments

have sprung up in the steppes, where you can also see new railways and roads, and high-voltage transmission lines. The Party and the people developed a vast industrial area in the East. And now, thanks to the development of new lands, we also have a vast area in the East supplying grain and livestock products. All the riches of the Soviet East will thus serve the great cause of communist construction. We have here an example of truly communist renovation of the earth. (*Applause.*)

While promoting grain farming, the Party is also working to increase the output of sugar beet, cotton, flax, sunflower seeds, potatoes, vegetables, fruit (including citrus fruits), grapes, and tea. We have noteworthy achievements in these fields as well. The growth of agricultural production can be seen from the following table:

	Average Annual Output		1956-1960
	1951-1955	1956-1960	in % of 1951-1955
Grain (000,000 poods)	5,442	7,742	142
Sugar beet (at refineries 000,000 tons)	24.0	45.6	190
Cotton (000 tons)	3,888	4,365	112
Sunflower seeds (000 tons)	2,456	3,672	150
Flax (000 tons)	234	438	187
Potatoes (000,000 tons)	69.5	88.3	127
Vegetables (000,000 tons)	11.2	15.1	134
Fruit (000 tons)	2,100	2,905	138
Grapes (000 tons)	1,021	1,592	156
Tea (000 tons)	105.8	134.0	127

Agricultural output has thus grown considerably in five years. The result is that state purchases of grain and the other farm products have increased to a large extent. While formerly the state purchased about 2,000 million poods of grain, in recent years it has been purchasing 3,000 million poods or more.

The problem of developing livestock farming holds a special place among the more urgent problems of agricultural development. It will be remembered that until very recently this vital branch was in a state of extreme neglect and there occurred serious difficulties in supplying the population with food. Tremendous effort was required to do away with that protracted lag. It was first of all indispensable that the problem of increasing feed production be solved. The planting of maize was a most important condition, along with the development of new lands, for a better feed supply. Maize growing for ensilage at the milk-wax stage extended the area of cultivation and made it possible to push that valuable crop almost into all areas of the country. In 1953 the area under maize was 3,485,000 hectares, whereas today it is almost 26 million hectares. The collective and state farms have been producing more fodder grain and have sharply increased the amount of silage. Much has been done in the way of building premises for livestock and poultry and for dairy farms, and mechanising labour-consuming operations.

We now have every reason to assert that *radical changes have come about in livestock breeding on collective and state farms*. Take the livestock population. For a long time it remained at one and the same level and only in the last few years has the situation changed noticeably. This is how the livestock population has increased on farms of all categories:

	1955	1960	1960 in % of 1955
	(000,000 head)		
Cattle	58.8	75.8	129
Cows	27.7	34.8	126
Pigs	34.0	58.7	173
Sheep	103.3	133.0	129

It is important to note that the livestock population has been growing chiefly on the collective and state farms. In the last five years the number of cattle on the farms has gone up by 68 per cent and that of pigs, by 150 per cent.

The growing purchases of meat, milk and other products vividly illustrate the work carried out in the field of livestock farming.

	Purchased (annual average, 000 tons)		1956-1960 in % of 1951-1955
	1951-1955	1956-1960	
Meat (live weight)	3,523	6,111	173
Milk	10,987	22,231	202
Eggs (000,000)	2,582	4,841	187
Wool	190.6	310.6	163

You will see that the purchases of livestock products have substantially increased. It is important to stress that the collective and state farms have now become the decisive factor in supplying the country with livestock products. Their share in meat sales last year was 87 per cent and in those of milk, 93 per cent. This is a big victory for the policy of our Party, a victory for the socialist economic system. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, our progress in agriculture is appreciable and indisputable. But the question arises: Why are we still short of certain products, particularly meat, and why, despite our important overall achievements, we still have considerable difficulty in supplying the population with livestock products?

This is due, first of all, to the fact that the rate of growth of agricultural production is still lower than that of industrial production and still does not meet the growing requirements of the population.

Let us look into the changes that have occurred in our country in late years. Our population has increased con-

siderably. As I have said, compared with 1955, it has increased by more than 20 million. The incomes of the working people have been growing year after year. Thanks to higher wages, the abolition of taxes, the discontinuance of the floating of state loans, and increased pensions, the incomes of the population in 1960 were greater than in 1955 by 24,000 million rubles. Needless to say, the workers and office employees do not hoard their money but spend it on food and other goods. It is natural, therefore, that meat, milk and butter consumption should greatly increase. State and co-operative sales of livestock products to the population have increased in the following proportions:

Region	1953	1960
	(000 tons)	
Meat and meat products	1,757	4,158
Milk and whole-milk products	1,980	8,214
Butter	330	613

We all rejoice in this increased consumption of the more valuable food products. The Party is working to ensure that the Soviet people eat better and that the general standard of living improves. Consumption will continue growing, and this implies that we must always keep agricultural problems in the foreground and ensure that agricultural production is always ahead of demand. Yet many Party and government organisations in 1959-60 slackened attention to agriculture, with the result that the rate of output, especially as regards meat and milk, fell far short of Seven-Year Plan targets.

This fact caused understandable concern to the Party. The January 1961 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee sharply criticised shortcomings in agricultural management and condemned all manifestations of complacency and overconfidence. The Central Committee meeting, as

well as zonal conferences, went deeply into the question of ways and means of promoting agriculture and outlined definite measures for increased production.

The Soviet people gave their full support to the measures planned by the Party; they felt confident that these measures were realistic and have been vigorously putting the decisions of the January Meeting of the Central Committee into practice. It is true that but little time has passed since the Party decided on those measures and they have, therefore, not yet had their full impact on the situation in agriculture. But what has been done so far, the results achieved this year, warrant the conclusion that it will not be long before agricultural production shows a steep rise.

What have we accomplished in 1961? The total grain harvest is greater than last year. State purchases of grain are also greater. By October 15, purchases mounted to 3,086,000,000 poods, or 354,000,000 poods more than on the same date last year. Total state purchases for the year will be roughly 3,300,000,000 poods, or 450,000,000 poods more than last year. And this is a big victory for the Party and the people, a victory all the more valuable because it has been gained in a year that has not been particularly good as far as weather conditions are concerned. (*Applause.*)

What enabled us to produce and purchase more grain than before? The decisive fact was that the collective and state farms, in carrying out the decisions of the Central Committee Plenary Meeting, revised their cropping plans and replaced less productive by more productive crops, mainly by maize and legumes, although it must be pointed out that not all collective and state farms carried out these important measures.

The Ukraine is a good example of the way agriculture has benefited from the measures adopted by the Party. You will recall that at the January Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee the leaders of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, the Council of Ministers of that republic, regional Party committees and executive committees of

regional Soviets were sharply criticised for shortcomings in agricultural management, especially for low grain output. Last year the Ukraine sold the state a mere 359,000,000 poods of grain.

You remember it, of course, comrades from the Ukraine; I'm sure you haven't forgotten.

Voice: The Ukrainians aren't the only ones to remember.

Khrushchov: That's good!

The Party organisations of the Ukraine drew proper conclusions from the criticism levelled at them. They organised and led the working people of the countryside in carrying out big new tasks. The republic's collective and state farms made better use of the land and of their potentialities, and launched an emulation movement to fulfil commitments and plans. Millions of people were taught progressive methods of maize-growing. This year the area planted to maize for grain was greatly expanded and there was a considerable improvement in the yield per hectare. The area planted to peas has been increased by 342,000 hectares and the average yield was 1.74 tons per hectare. These facts have played a decisive role in increasing grain production and sales to the state.

The following data indicate changes in grain sales in some regions of the Ukraine:

Grain Sold to the State (000,000 poods)

Region	1961 (by October 15)	Annual average 1956-1960
Poltava	73	22
Dnepropetrovsk	70	44
Kharkov	60	25
Kirovograd	60	31
Zaporozhye	54	41
Vinnitsa	41	27
Lugansk	40	10
Cherkassy	37	20

Altogether the collective and state farms of the Ukraine will this year sell the state something like 850,000,000 poods of grain (*applause*) of which 744,000,000 poods had already been sold by October 15. (*Applause.*) It is important to note that although they have sold so much grain, the collective and state farms have made ample provision for seed and have unprecedented quantities of grain in stock for use as fodder. The collective farms supply their members with ample quantities of grain as payment for work-day units and pay bonuses for high yields in full.

That is splendid, comrades. I have spent many years in the Ukraine and know the hard-working Ukrainian people quite well. I worked with them before the war, and after the war too, when they were rehabilitating their economy. But I must confess that in those years our imagination never soared to the heights the Ukraine has attained today in grain production. We often say that being determines consciousness, and in jest sometimes observe that "beating", for its part, stimulates consciousness. (*Applause.*) The criticism levelled at the Ukrainian comrades has been severe but fair. It made the right impression and was duly appreciated. It roused people, and they showed how much they could do. We give praise to them, and expect them to lift agricultural production to a still higher level. (*Applause.*)

The Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people as a whole have achieved an outstanding victory. Great credit accrues to the working people of the Ukraine, who can report such remarkable achievements to this Congress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The working people of many regions in the Russian Federation have this year achieved gratifying successes in the struggle for grain. By October 15, the collective and state farms of the republic had sold the state 1,828,000,000 poods of grain, or 91,000,000 poods more than by the same date last year. The state will apparently purchase

2,000,000,000 poods of grain in the Russian Federation; in this republic, as in the Ukraine, maize played an important part in meeting food and fodder requirements.

A big maize harvest has been gathered over large areas. Take Krasnodar Territory. On account of the spring drought, this year's corn crop in the Kuban area is only 1.9 tons per hectare or two-fifths of a ton less than last year, when 2.3 tons were gathered from each hectare. The amount of grain produced and the amount sold to the state, however, have been considerably increased. By October 15 the collective and state farms of the territory had sold the state 116,000,000 poods of grain, or 35,000,000 poods more than by the same date last year. How has this been done? The collective and state farms of the territory have obtained high maize yields over an area of 400,000 hectares. They were thus able to sell the state 33,000,000 poods of maize by October 15, 1961, whereas only 16,000,000 poods of maize had been sold by the same date last year.

Collective farmers and state-farm workers have this year obtained significant results in increasing grain output in the Central Black-Earth regions and some regions of the Volga area, the Urals and of Siberia, thereby showing that the Russian Federation possesses tremendous resources for a bigger output of farm produce. Here are comparative figures on the amount of grain sold to the state by some regions:

Grain Sold to the State
(000,000 poods)

Region	1961 (by October 15)	Annual average 1956-1960
Stalingrad*	125	75
Voronezh	66	38

* Stalingrad—now Volgograd.—Ed.

This is the Voronezh Region which, as you may recall, demonstrated the "new method" of harvesting maize with a rail. After they were criticised, the Voronezh comrades tried another method of land cultivation. As you see, their results are not bad. (*Animation.*)

	1961 (by October 15)	Annual average 1956-1960
Tambov	42	28
Penza	42	27
Belgorod	37	19
Kursk	36	23
Lipetsk	28	17

These successes have been achieved by the devoted labour of the collective farmers, state-farm workers and agricultural specialists, and through the extensive organisational and political work of Party organisations which have developed a widespread emulation movement for the fulfilment of commitments.

This year the Ukrainians have shown what they can do, and it is up to the comrades of the Russian Federation to see what's what and to draw the right conclusions. The Russian Federation has great potentialities. It must realise its strength and tackle the matter in all earnest. (*Animation.*)

Many Western politicians say:

"We do not question the achievements of your industry, but we cannot imagine how you will put things straight in agriculture."

Speaking to them, I said:

"Just wait, we'll still show you where you get off in agricultural output as well." (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We have inexhaustible potentialities. But they have to be fully appreciated and properly used. It seems that after this Congress we shall have to repeat the round of agricul-

tural conferences held in the republics, territories and regions. We must stir a few people in a few places into action, so to speak, to clear the pores as people do in steambaths to normalise the supply of oxygen they get. (*Animation.*)

I should like to express confidence in the ability of the working people of the Russian Federation to make still fuller use of their potentialities and achieve fresh successes in developing all branches of agriculture. (*Applause.*)

The January Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee pointed out that in a number of areas there were intolerable lags in the production of cereals and legumes. This year there is a noticeable increase in the production and sales of these crops. Last year 21 million poods of legumes were sold to the state but this year the figure is 41 million poods. More buckwheat and millet has been purchased.

The production of cotton, sugar beet, sunflower seeds and other crops has also increased. This year, in the face of difficulties occasioned by a shortage of water for irrigation, the collective farmers and state-farm workers of the Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen and Kirghiz republics and the South Kazakhstan Region of the Kazakh Republic showed great perseverance and tenacity. They raised a good cotton crop and are successfully meeting their commitments. By October 15, state cotton purchases amounted to a total of 3,000,000 tons of cotton, or 663,000 tons more than last year; Uzbekistan, the biggest cotton-grower, has sold 1,982,000 tons to the state, or 453,000 tons more than last year.

The collective and state farms of Georgia have, as last year, produced an excellent tea harvest. They have sold the state 154,000 tons of tea, fulfilling the plan by 107 per cent.

These, then, are the preliminary results of this year's farming. As for stock breeding, we have made some progress in this field as well. The cattle population of the col-

lective and state farms has grown by 4,000,000 head within the year, the increase in the number of cows being 1,700,000; the number of pigs is up by 5,000,000 head and that of sheep, by 3,000,000 head. The output and state purchases of livestock products have increased.

The rate of growth of meat and milk output, however, is still far below the necessary level. Much hard work will have to be done and, most important of all, all potentialities will have to be utilised to effect a considerable increase in the production of these items as early as 1962.

4. Press Forward Agricultural Progress. Meet the Population's Demand for Farm Products More Fully

Comrades, our potentialities are immense. Within the next few years we shall be able to *increase grain purchases to 4,200 million poods, meat to 13 million tons and milk to 50 million tons annually* as envisaged by the decisions of the January Meeting of the Central Committee. In what way can production be substantially increased and purchases of farm produce brought up to such a level?

For a greater *grain output*, the important thing is to continue improving the crop pattern and to raise productivity. The less productive crops must be firmly ruled out to make room for those with a high yield, and a correct rotation must be established. This is indeed a basic task in agriculture, and one that is most pressing, comrades. We still have many areas where farming is irrational. The Kirov, Kostroma and Yaroslavl regions are particularly indicative in this respect.

Kirov Region, for example, last year planted 477,000 hectares to oats and 515,000 hectares to annual and perennial grasses. These crops were planted on a million hectares, or 44 per cent of the total crop area. Another 514,000 hectares were under clean fallow. When we consider that

annual grasses yielded 0.7 to 0.8 ton of hay, and oats 0.5 to 0.7 ton of grain per hectare, we realise that more than half the arable area was virtually unused. The area under maize and peas was 155,000 hectares, or only seven per cent of the region's sown land. In the light of these facts, how could there have been sufficient grain or feed and how can anyone have developed livestock farming with such a crop pattern? More than a few speeches were delivered in Kirov Region on farming efficiency but the speakers all forgot the main thing.

What do we mean by efficient land cultivation? First of all the maximum yield per hectare of land and per unit of labour expended. But this can only be achieved if the most productive crops are planted and crop rotation is properly organised, and if the collective and state farms make extensive use of scientific achievements and the experience of innovators. It is this purpose—the greatest possible output, the best utilisation of the land, and higher fertility—that the cropping system should serve.

Unfortunately, many of our scientists, agronomists and farmers are still under the spell of grass-arable rotation, whose indiscriminate application has caused a great deal of harm to agriculture. The sooner we get rid of indiscriminate practices in agriculture, the more creative imagination we display in solving urgent problems and the more fully we take account of the experience of the foremost collective and state farms and research institutions, the sooner we shall increase the output of grain and other farm products.

In revising the crop pattern, special attention should be paid to *greater output of maize grain and legumes*. In the more favourable maize-growing areas—the Ukraine, the southern regions of the Russian Federation, in Moldavia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, the southern areas of Kazakhstan and in the Central Asian republics—we can harvest five tons of maize per hectare on large areas. We must select appropriate varieties and hybrids and must raise maize for

its grain in the Central Black-Earth regions, the Volga region and elsewhere and push maize northwards.

It is essential to realise, comrades, that without maize the collective and state farms cannot achieve the required level of grain production. Maize has shown its potentialities in every area of the Soviet Union. If there are some parts of the country in which maize is not properly cultivated and the collective and state farms obtain low harvests, the blame should be put on the management and not on the climate. Where maize refuses to grow there is an "ingredient" which hampers its growth. That "ingredient" is to be found in the leadership, first of all on the collective and state farms, and then also at district, regional, territorial and even republican level. We must replace officials who have grown as dry as dust and are causing a valuable crop like maize to wither like themselves and are preventing it from proving its worth to the full. (Applause.)

The experience of many thousands of collective and state farms this year has shown beyond all doubt that one of the main sources of increased grain production is, along with maize, a sharp increase in the share of peas and beans among the spring crops. On an expanse stretching from the Carpathian foothills to the virgin steppes of Siberia and Kazakhstan, peas yield harvests of two, three or more tons per hectare. *The introduction of maize, peas and feed beans on a large scale is not just a task like any other but a highly important trend in the development of cropping.*

The further development and better use of new lands is a major source of increased grain production. Within the next few years we must develop not less than another 8,000,000 hectares, which will raise the total of new land in use to 50 million hectares. The proper utilisation of these land areas is a task of national importance. I must say that there are serious defects in the use of new lands. In Kazakhstan, for example, the one-crop system is practically dominant; the state and collective farms have for

many years been sowing nothing but spring wheat, that is, grain upon grain. The result is that the fields have become weedy and the growth of productivity has been checked. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers of that republic hardly gave thought to the future of the newly-developed lands and took an incorrect stand on the solution of problems of crop farming on them.

The errors that have been committed must be rectified. The fullest use must be made of the new lands; it is essential to expand the fallow row-crop area, introduce maize, peas, feed beans and sugar beet and keep clean fallow wherever necessary. On the new lands, the machinery used must be suited to the row-crop system. Row crops there may be introduced only if their cultivation is highly mechanised.

It is important to introduce the strictest agronomic regulations, to make the relevant set of agrotechnical measures as obligatory as technological operations are at a factory, and raise the role of the agronomist on the collective and state farms to the same high level as that of the engineer in industry.

The development of new lands is an accomplishment of our Party, comrades, something our people may well be proud of. We must make farming on the new lands a symbol of the efficiency of socialist agriculture.

Increased grain output will also enable us to solve the problem of expanded livestock farming all the more speedily. We deliberately treat the production of grain, meat and milk as a single problem. It would be wrong to separate the solution of the grain problem from that of livestock farming. The two problems should be dealt with and solved jointly. What do I mean by the solution of the grain problem? I mean the attainment of a grain production level sufficient to meet the demand for both food and feed. And what do I mean by the solution of the livestock problem? I mean primarily greater output of meat, milk

and butter. As we say in Russian, a dry spoon will scratch the tongue. If anyone is to eat his bread with relish, he must be able to "flavour" it with butter, bacon, meat and other livestock products, which cannot be supplied in adequate quantities unless grain production is adequate. The solution of the livestock problem also means an increased supply of manure and, therefore, higher crop yields.

To meet the people's demand for meat and milk in full and to overtake and outstrip the United States in per capita output of livestock products, the collective and state farms must draw on the progress made so far and use the experience they have gained.

There are American newsmen present here. They like to ridicule this slogan of ours. But I want you to know, gentlemen, that if we say so, our people will do it without fail. (*Applause.*) When the Party advances a slogan, the people support it and put it into practice. Our people are certain to do it! (*Applause.*)

Our immediate task is to produce in our country an average of not less than 7.5 tons of meat per hundred hectares of arable and 1.6 tons per hundred hectares of other farmland. We now have all we require to achieve such a level on every collective or state farm. These, of course, are average indexes for the country as a whole. Many areas of the Russian Federation, the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Moldavian republics can and must produce much more meat and milk per hundred hectares of arable and other farmland.

I have already mentioned, comrades, the role which the newly-developed lands have played in increasing grain output. But we have thus fulfilled only our first task, and passed the initial stage of development on the new lands. We must go further, for agriculture on the new lands must not be restricted to one branch, such as grain production. Our task now is to persevere in the development of livestock farming, using grain farming as a basis. That will be the second stage in new land development.

Large-scale, well-organised livestock farming in the newly-developed areas will be a valuable means of increasing the production of meat, milk and butter, and will enable us to meet the requirements of the people more fully. *The new lands have supplied our people with thousands of millions of poods of grain; they must also provide, in addition to grain, millions of tons of meat, milk and other livestock products.*

Maize, legumes and sugar beet are dependable factors in the development of livestock farming. If we learn to raise large quantities of these crops everywhere, we shall be able to produce any pre-set amount of meat, milk, etc.

One of our important tasks is to meet in full the demand of the urban population and industrial centres for fresh milk and dairy products, high-quality potatoes and the widest assortment of vegetables. Not so long ago a great deal was said in our country about setting up vegetable and milk-producing areas around cities, but actual progress in this field has been slow.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government have now found a more rational way for the speedy solution of the problem of meeting the demand for these products. The Party is carrying out an extensive programme for the establishment of specialised state farms around our cities and industrial centres. We must work still better and more purposefully to ensure that the demand for milk, potatoes and vegetables is fully met through production on the specialised state and collective farms surrounding our cities and industrial centres.

State interests require a rapid increase in cotton production. During the remaining years of the Seven-Year Plan we must increase cotton harvests by nearly 50 per cent.

It is important to expand the area under cotton and extend as quickly as possible the irrigated lands of Central Asia. At the same time the cardinal task is to increase

yields by better use of the irrigated lands and mechanised cultivation.

The cotton-growing regions of the Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Kazakh, Azerbaijan and Armenian republics are now faced with a double task: to achieve high productivity of cotton as their basic crop and to have a developed livestock farming. While producing more cotton for industry, the cotton belt must also provide an adequate supply of feed and must satisfy the demand for meat, milk and other products. To achieve this aim, they must carefully study crop rotation in order to increase feed production simultaneously with an increase in cotton output. Adequate quantities of feed can be provided above all by sowing maize in the irrigated areas and raising the productivity of alfalfa and sugar beet.

In the next few years every collective farm and every state farm must increase cotton yields to not less than 2.5 tons per hectare. When that has been done, we shall have, in the areas now in use, an additional quantity of cotton in excess of one million tons. Two and a half tons is a yield attained by average collective farms; many of the advanced farms gather four or more tons of cotton per hectare.

With regard to the production of *sugar beet, sunflower seeds, flax, hemp, potatoes, vegetables, fruit, grapes, tea, etc.*, an effort must be made to increase yields and to use machinery on a larger scale. This is the way to reduce labour expenditure and put out cheaper produce.

Comrades, our objectives in agriculture are dictated by the fundamental interests of communist construction. We all realise that progress in agriculture is a major condition for the continuous improvement of the standard of living of the people.

The Party is outlining the prospects for agricultural progress in the coming twenty years. It envisages a very substantial increase in the output of grain, meat, milk and other farm produce. The accomplishment of this task

will call for higher labour productivity in all branches of agriculture, labour heroism, a high standard of organisation, the provision of collective and state farms with modern machinery, and better utilisation of machines. It is important for the workers and collective farmers, for Communists and non-Party people, for all Soviet men and women, to realise that the groundwork for the effective implementation of this great plan is being laid today through the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan. By fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan, we shall lay a solid foundation on which we can achieve further progress in agriculture.

The further development of agricultural production is a matter for the entire Party and all Soviet people. It is a height on the road to communism which we must scale by using the whole might of the Soviet system. (*Prolonged applause.*)

5. Improvement in the People's Living Standards. The Flowering of Science, Education, Literature and Art

Comrades, the main purpose of the Party's activity is to raise the living standard of the Soviet people, to promote their material and spiritual requirements and meet them ever more fully. The socialist system in our country has reached a period of maturity when its potentialities are revealing themselves more fully than ever. The superiority of socialism in rates of economic development is more and more favourably affecting not only material production but consumption as well.

Under socialism the greater the national income, the higher the living standard. In the Soviet Union three-quarters of the national income goes to satisfy the personal requirements of the people. In 1960 the national income of the U.S.S.R. had increased by more than 50 per cent as compared with 1955, and in the last ten years the national income per head of population has increased by 120 per

cent. *The national income per capita is increasing much more rapidly in the Soviet Union than in the most highly-developed capitalist countries.*

On the basis of the growth of the national income the real incomes of factory, office and professional workers per employed person have increased by 27 per cent in the past five years, and those of collective farmers by 33 per cent. Under the Seven-Year Plan the real incomes of factory, office and professional workers and collective farmers will increase by as much as 40 per cent.

We have set ourselves the task of achieving a higher standard of living than that of the more advanced capitalist countries. In propounding this task we have in mind only those spheres in which our country must overtake and surpass the capitalist countries. In many respects the Soviet Union has already achieved indisputable advantages over the most highly-developed capitalist countries. Free education, free medical services, the absence of unemployment, not to mention many other benefits enjoyed under socialism, have long since become normal for Soviet people, something they take for granted. These, comrades, constitute *the greatest of gains, and our people are justly proud of them. In this sphere we have long since left the capitalist countries behind.* Much effort will be required of the working class in the capitalist countries, they will have to wage a stubborn struggle to achieve such gains as these. (Applause.)

Consumption is steadily growing in the Soviet Union. In 1960 the volume of retail trade through state and co-operative shops increased by more than 50 per cent over that of 1955; in the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan the rate of growth of trade was higher than envisaged by the control figures. Soviet people are consuming more and more meat, milk, dairy products and sugar; sales of clothes, footwear, furniture, household and other goods are increasing. The popular demand for these goods, however, is still not being fully met. The lack of certain goods in the

shops is a serious criticism of our work. In order to satisfy the growing requirements of the population the Party and the Government have decided to increase the output of consumer goods.

The time has come when we must raise more sharply the question of greatly improving the quality of all goods. The variety of goods in our shops is often not wide enough, although warehouses are often chockfull of "unmarketable goods". What kind of goods are these? Poor-quality goods that nobody will purchase. The demand for footwear, for instance, is not being fully met, although footwear to the value of more than 1,500 million rubles has accumulated in warehouses. Or take the quality of clothes. Everybody agrees that Soviet fabrics wear well, but there is criticism of the styles and finish of suits and coats. All too often poor-quality articles are made out of good material, and then big sums are spent on removing the defects. Here I might cite an old saying:

"Akulya, why are you sewing the thing askew?"

"It doesn't matter, Mother, I mean to rip it apart anyway." (*Laughter. Applause.*)

How much longer will certain of our executives work after the fashion of an Akulya?

The work of the light industry enterprises has to be improved; all consumer goods must be not only of high quality, but also attractive.

In its efforts to better the life of the people, the Party devotes much attention to questions that are basic in ensuring rising living standards. The general normalisation of wages and salaries is drawing to a close, and the minimum is being raised. In the past five years about 4,000 million rubles have been spent on raising wages and salaries. At the same time excesses in the payment for some categories of labour have been done away with.

At the present time nearly forty million factory and office workers are receiving wages according to the new rates of payment. Within the next few years the new

rates will be introduced throughout the national economy. It is planned to raise the salaries of such a numerous contingent of the intelligentsia as teachers and doctors. During the remaining period of the Seven-Year Plan minimum wages will be raised to 50-60 rubles. Also the wages and salaries of average paid factory, office and professional workers will be increased.

The working people are receiving a new, very tangible addition to their wages as a result of the measures abolishing taxes. Beginning with October 1, 1960, when the first stage in the abolition of taxes began, this addition totals 360 million rubles a year. The second stage of the abolition of taxes, which began on October 1 of this year, will give the working people an extra 400 million rubles annually. By the end of 1965 the population will be tax free. *The abolition of taxes will be a signal social gain for the Soviet people. (Prolonged applause.)*

In 1960 all factory, office and professional workers went over to a seven- or six-hour working day. The working week was thus reduced by six and a half hours with no reduction but even increases in wages. Within the next few years it is intended to introduce a 40-hour working week for all factory and office and professional workers now working a seven-hour day.

Wage increases and a shorter working day and working week must go hand in hand with greater productivity of labour. The higher the productivity of labour the greater are society's opportunities to improve the living standard of the people. *All for society, society for all—such is our hard and fast principle. (Applause.)*

Important measures have been taken in recent times to improve the pension system. The average amount of old-age pensions has been more than doubled; disability pensions and pensions in the case of loss of the breadwinner have been increased. State expenditure on pensions increased from 3,000 million rubles in 1955 to 7,600 million rubles in 1961. In 1963 the minimum amounts of pensions

will again be raised. As the collective-farm economy develops pensions for collective farmers will be introduced on an ever wider scale.

Housing construction in the Soviet Union has acquired a truly unprecedented scale. The building crane has indeed become the symbol of our times. The 1956-60 state housing programme has been fulfilled. More houses were built in the past five years than in the preceding fifteen years. In other words, comrades, nearly 50 million people, or almost one-quarter of the entire population, have moved into new houses. (*Prolonged applause.*) *In volume and in rates of housing construction the Soviet Union ranks first in the world. In recent years our country has been building twice as many flats per thousand inhabitants as the United States and France, and more than twice as many as Britain and Italy. (Applause.)*

But we still have a housing shortage, the housing problem remains acute. The growth of the urban population in the U.S.S.R. during the past few years is considerably in excess of estimates. By the end of the Seven-Year Plan the urban population will have increased by approximately 15 million more than was expected, which means that more dwellings will be needed. The Central Committee and the Soviet Government are taking measures to accelerate house building. In the remaining four years of the Seven-Year Plan about 400 million sq. metres of housing will be built—60 per cent more than under the fourth and fifth five-year plans taken together. Over four million houses will be built in rural localities.

Housing in the countryside calls for special attention. During the past few years more comfortable dwellings, well-appointed schools, clubs, hospitals and shops are being built in the villages. However, rural housing development is often conducted without proper attention to the prospects of economic advance and improvements in living conditions. Although big funds are allocated for building, houses in the rural localities are all too often scattered,

they lack proper modern conveniences. Newly-created communities in the rural areas, especially those of the state farms in the newly-opened lands, should be built as urban-type settlements.

We are doing a lot of building. But we must give thought to another aspect of the matter: sometimes as a result of haste new buildings are put into exploitation with many defects. The working people, naturally, are highly annoyed at this, and rightly so! Those responsible for such defects in newly-built houses should be rapped over the knuckles. There must be stricter order in the allocation of flats, the general public must participate in the work, and priority must be given to those acutely in need.

In the Soviet Union the state has taken upon itself protection of the health of the people. How it is coping with this lofty task can be seen from the fact that the death rate in the U.S.S.R. is the lowest in the world, and the expectation of life is steadily increasing. (*Applause.*) We must continue to improve health services and promote physical training and sports, must build more sanatoria, hospitals, outpatients' clinics and other medical institutions, especially in the rural areas and the eastern regions of the country.

Communal services are not a minor, unimportant matter. The mood of people and the productivity of their labour to a large extent depend on living conditions and good services. The way to solve this problem is through the establishment of modern, well-equipped shops, canteens, dining-rooms, service establishments and food factories.

Our Party's policy is imbued with the lofty idea of communism: *everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man.* (*Prolonged applause.*)

Should we continue to solve the problem of raising living standards only by direct wage increases and price reductions? Wages and salaries will, of course, for a long time to come continue to be the basic form of material incentive for the worker, one that will depend on his

labour contribution to social production. But the Soviet citizen is, at the same time, receiving an ever bigger share of material and cultural benefits through public funds.

Today the people's needs are to a great extent being covered by public funds. In 1940 payments and benefits made to the population from public funds totalled 4,200 million rubles, whereas in 1960 the figure was 24,500 million rubles. Under the Seven-Year Plan public consumption funds will increase, allowing for changes that may be introduced, to as much as 40,000 million rubles in 1965. At present over twenty million pensioners are maintained by these funds; nearly four million students in higher, secondary and vocational and technical educational establishments receive state scholarships and hostel accommodation; over 600,000 children in boarding-schools are maintained for the most part by the state. Over seven million factory workers, collective farmers, office employees and their children spend their annual vacations in sanatoria, holiday homes and Young Pioneer camps at the expense of social insurance and collective-farm funds. About seven million mothers receive benefits from the state. That is how we use our public funds! (*Applause.*)

Comrades, we have every right to be proud of the fact that Soviet society has become the most highly educated society in the world, and that Soviet science holds leading positions in the more important fields of knowledge.

When the first Soviet artificial earth satellite orbited our planet a special committee was set up in the United States to look into the country's educational system. After comparing the two systems the committee arrived at the conclusion that the Soviet system of education is superior. It was at that time, however, that our Party decided to reorganise the school system with a view to giving the pupil a more thorough grounding in the fundamentals of science and linking the school more closely with life.

The experience of this reorganisation has confirmed the timeliness and need for the Party's measures. On the

whole, the school's ties with real life and production have grown stronger, and the labour training of the pupils has improved. Secondary-school graduates are working successfully in the economy. The number of schools for young workers and farmers is growing from year to year. Hundreds of thousands of young people are studying in their spare time.

Much has been accomplished in this sphere. But there are facts of a bureaucratic attitude to the reorganisation of the schools. Not all educational workers have understood their tasks in the field of polytechnical education.

New types of educational establishment—boarding-schools and extended day-care schools—have been set up in our country and have received public approval. About 1,500,000 pupils are attending these educational establishments. In 1965 two and a half million children will be studying in boarding-schools alone.

Universal compulsory eight-year schooling has been introduced in the Soviet Union, and the necessary conditions exist for all those who wish to receive a full secondary education to do so. The next task in the field of education is to introduce universal compulsory secondary education.

The education of the individual in a communist spirit places new and higher demands on schools. Schools must keep pace with the rapid development of modern science and production. The training of teaching personnel must be extended so that there are enough teachers for all schools; teachers must be shown every consideration and respect. Factories and collective farms must help the schools reorganise, and help pupils acquire sound knowledge and the skills that are needed. More schools must be built to do away with shifts. This is a formidable task when it is remembered that in 1965 nearly 43 million children will be going to school.

The development of higher and specialised secondary education and vocational training is proceeding hand in hand with the reorganisation of the school. Here, too, the

purpose is to bring education and vocational training closer to life, to production. More than half of the day-time students enrolled in the country's higher educational establishments this year have practical production experience. About half a million specialists with a higher education have been graduated by our evening and correspondence institutes during the past five years.

The Soviet Union trains three times the number of engineers the United States does; in all, there are more than twenty million brain workers in our country. When these figures were made public they caused confusion among the enemies of socialism who had frequently described our society as backward and as having a low cultural level. They are now obliged to make a painful reappraisal and sometimes even have to fall back on stupid inventions. In order to fool people they have spread the tale that the greater the number of educated people in the Soviet Union the greater the chances that they will turn away from communism. (*Animation.*)

What can we say to these ideologists of capitalism? Let them demand from their governments bigger appropriations for public education. According to their way of reasoning, the more educated a society is, the more firmly it clings to capitalism. Nobody any longer believes yarns of this kind, however, and least of all those who invent them. (*Applause.*) *Communism gives knowledge to all; it draws strength and confidence for its progressive movement from this knowledge of the masses, from their high cultural level. (Prolonged applause.)*

The flourishing of Soviet science is vivid evidence of this. We have more than 350,000 scientific workers. There are about four thousand research institutions in the country, and what is particularly noteworthy is the steep rise in the past five to six years in the number of research institutions in the Union republics. A major role in the development of research in the eastern part of the country is being played by the Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences.

Soviet scientists are performing their duty to their country with credit. Widely known are the achievements of our scientists in physics, mathematics and cybernetics, in the creation of high-speed computing machines, the elaboration of the chemical theory of chain reactions and the chemistry of polymers, in biology, in the discovery and prospecting of huge mineral deposits, in the development of automation and remote control, radio engineering and electronics, in metallurgy, mechanical engineering, and other fields. Soviet scholars also have a number of achievements in the social sciences to their credit.

Soviet scientists are engaged in extensive research on one of the cardinal problems of our day, that of controlling thermo-nuclear reactions. Their investigations and cooperation with scientists of other countries have won wide recognition. Continued promotion of thermo-nuclear research in our country will accelerate the solution of the problem of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for the good of man. The successes scored by Soviet science in the exploration of outer space have ushered in a magnificent era in the advance of scientific knowledge. The Soviet Union launched the world's first artificial earth satellite. Soviet space rockets were the first to overcome the force of the earth's gravitation and orbit in interplanetary space. We were the first to place our pennant on the moon and to photograph its hidden side. The Soviet citizens Yuri Gagarin and Herman Titov, delegates to this Congress, were the first to venture forth from their cradle, the earth, and perform triumphant flights into space. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We have every reason to be proud of the great achievements of Soviet science. Allow me, comrades, from this high rostrum to express our heartfelt gratitude to all Soviet scientists, and to wish them new, big victories for the glory of their Soviet land and the triumph of communism! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union's successes in space exploration have

compelled the capitalist world to take a different view of the achievements of socialist society, of the advance of science and industry in the U.S.S.R. The U.S. statesman Chester Bowles, for instance, stated that until the first Soviet sputnik "almost no one had questioned America's industrial, military and scientific superiority. Then suddenly there was Sputnik, ringing the earth, and millions began to ask whether communism was not the winning side after all". (*Animation. Applause.*)

It is, Mr. Bowles. Even that twin soul of yours, Wernher von Braun, the German rocket specialist now working in the U.S., has had to admit that the Russians have created, on the basis of their philosophy, a system which assures them these successes, and that, unfortunately, the system he is living under does not make it possible to achieve the successes scored by Russia. He could not have put it better, comrades. (*Applause.*)

Today, when our country is putting into effect magnificent plans for communist construction, new and more majestic tasks confront Soviet science. Scientific investigations must be carried out more purposefully, young forces must be given broader access to science. Our task is to win leading positions in all the more important fields of science and technology. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the lofty message borne by Soviet literature and art has won them immense prestige throughout the world. The art of the Soviet writer, composer and artist, of the cinema and theatre worker, has won high recognition. In the past few years new works of literature and art have been produced which give a faithful and vivid picture of socialist reality.

The achievements of our art and its traditions are of tremendous significance; they mark an important stage in the aesthetic development of mankind. The experience of our country has proved that socialism alone offers the broadest scope for free creative endeavour in art, for the active participation of the masses in the creation of cultur-

al values. Soviet art is enriching the spiritual treasure-house of mankind, is blazing the trail to the triumph of communist culture.

Lenin said that the road to a common culture in a communist society lies through the thriving of the national culture of every people that has liberated itself from capitalist oppression. Through intercourse within the community of socialist nations new features common to Soviet culture as a whole emerge, develop and bring benefit to all. Our task is to give thoughtful support and encouragement to the international unity of the socialist cultures. The people expect and are confident that our writers and art workers will produce works in which they will fittingly portray the present heroic era of the revolutionary transformation of society. The Party maintains that the purpose of art is to educate people above all by depicting positive examples from life, to educate them in the spirit of communism. The power of Soviet literature and art, of the method of socialist realism, lies in their faithful depiction of what is most important and decisive in life. Serious attention should be paid to the aesthetic education of Soviet people, to the moulding of their artistic tastes. Lack of taste should be resolutely combated, no matter what form it takes, whether it is a fad for formalism or a vulgar concept of "beauty" in art, in life, and in the home.

The most beautiful thing in life is the labour of man, and what more noble task can there be than to portray faithfully the new man, the man of labour, the richness of his spiritual interests, his fight against all that is obsolescent. We must give Soviet people interesting works which reveal the romance of communist labour, which spur their initiative and perseverance in achieving their aims.

Our Party is confident that Soviet literature and art will continue to be a reliable weapon of the Soviet people, a good and intelligent counsellor in their life. (*Applause.*)

**6. Development of Socialist Social Relations
into Communist Relations.
Promotion of Soviet Democracy.
Socialism and Freedom of the Individual**

Comrades, in carrying out the decisions of the Twentieth Congress the Party has paid considerable attention to the development and perfection of socialist production relations and other social relations. Our Party believes this to be the principal path of transition to communist social relations—the most perfect type of relations between free, harmoniously developed and socially conscious people, relations based on friendship and fellowship. We might here recall that the first international workers' organisation founded under Marx's leadership was called the International Workingmen's Association. The word "associate" expresses identity of views, equality, fraternity, respect, and co-operation.

The socialist principle is—"From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". In order to advance to the communist principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" time and certain definite conditions are required. The lofty and inspiring principles of communism have a tremendous appeal. We all want them to become a part of our life as soon as possible.

Why then are we not introducing these principles right away? Why does the Party need two decades to build, in the main, a communist society? Are we not taking too much time in implementing communist principles? No, comrades. We would, of course, like to introduce these principles as soon as possible, but the mere subjective desire is not enough. We must proceed from objective conditions, must take the laws of social development into account.

The transition to communist principles is possible, but not before the necessary material and technical basis has

been created, not before people have reached a high degree of social consciousness, not before the principles of socialism have developed in full and their progressive potentialities had their full effect. There is no other path to communist social relations than through the development and perfection of socialist relations.

During the past few years the Party has carried out important socio-economic measures in all spheres of Soviet life. *These measures have revolutionary significance not only because they have helped consolidate the material and technical basis, but also because they have played an important part in developing social relations and bringing the two forms of socialist property closer together.*

The new features in the character of labour and in the relations between workers in production are becoming increasingly evident. The important thing here is that ever larger sections of the working people are developing the habit of working conscientiously, to the best of their abilities. For many of them work is no longer simply a means of earning a livelihood, but a social calling, a moral duty. We have the example of Valentina Gaganova, who has been elected to the Presidium of this Congress. Of her own free will she left an advanced work team to work with a team that was lagging behind. She was not prompted by selfish motives but by a high sense of duty and devotion to our common cause. Gaganova's example has been followed by many others.

The Party always encourages the desire of Soviet people to learn to work and live in a communist way. We attach great importance to the movement of communist work teams and communist shock workers. As time goes on, practice will undoubtedly suggest other, even more perfected forms of socialist emulation.

Social relations are progressing also in the sphere of the distribution of material and cultural values. In what way?

Primarily, it is to be seen in the continued development of the socialist principle of distribution according to la-

bour, which is an essential requisite for the transition to the communist principle of distribution according to needs. The Party consistently implements the principle of material incentive in work and emphatically rejects wage leveling. Our premise is that until we have an abundance of material values and until work has become a vital necessity for the individual, there are no grounds for discarding the socialist principle of distribution, for relaxing public and state supervision over the amount of labour and the amount of consumption.

The experience of socialist construction in our country has borne out the correctness of Lenin's principle of material incentive. Lenin's genius was in his ability profoundly to analyse and to interpret social phenomena, to find the right solutions for every specific period in socialist construction.

Recall how Lenin, with the foresight and boldness so characteristic of him, called for a fundamental change in policy immediately after the Civil War, how he shifted the lever from War Communism to the New Economic Policy.

The transition to NEP was not easy, it caused a number of difficulties within the Party itself. Some Communists dropped out of the Party because they did not understand the essence of NEP. Lenin was well aware of the difficulties involved but this did not deter him from introducing NEP, and the Party as a whole supported Lenin's policy in the fight for the victory of socialism. If Lenin's policy had not triumphed at the time, we should not have been able to build socialism. It was necessary to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, to get the workers of town and country materially interested in developing the economy, in building socialism. The equalitarian principle was replaced by the principle of payment according to the quality and quantity of work done.

Lenin taught us to be realistic in politics. We could draw a picture of the most rosy prospects, plan the highest rates

of economic development, but unless the working people themselves realise the need for the reconstruction of society, unless they are materially interested, no plans will be of any avail. To ignore the principle of material incentive means to be guided by purely subjective considerations, means skipping a definite stage of development, means damaging socialist and communist construction.

We should always learn from Lenin how to work with people, taking them as they are. We cannot afford to be subjectivists in politics, to act according to the rule "I do as I please". We must closely observe the life of the people, study it, heed the voice of the people. In the combination of the material with the moral stimulus, the Party sees the true road to the life of plenty and distribution according to needs which it will reach without fail, the road to the triumph of communist labour.

The idea that abundance implies unrestricted growth of personal property is not our idea, it is alien to communism. The working man's personal ownership of a large number of things, as a form of personal consumption, is not at variance with the principles of communist construction as long as it keeps within reasonable bounds and does not become an end in itself. But under certain circumstances, excessive personal property may become, and frequently does become, an obstacle to social progress, a breeding ground for private-property instincts; it may lead to petty-bourgeois degeneration. The individual then falls a prey to things and becomes a slave to them.

Communists reject the ethics of bourgeois society where the concept "mine" is the supreme principle, where the prosperity of some is possible only at the expense of the ruin of others, where the corrupting psychology of egoism, greed and a lust for money is cultivated. To the world of private property the Communists oppose public property, and to bourgeois individualism, the principle of fellowship and collectivism.

The progress of all aspects of socialist production relations is leading logically to the gradual obliteration of the distinctions between town and country, between the classes and social groups of Soviet society, and to the implementation, on an ever wider scale, of communist principles in relations between workers, peasants and intellectuals. The two friendly classes of our society—the working class and the collective-farm peasantry—are drawing closer together and their unbreakable alliance is growing still stronger. The Soviet peasantry is drawing level with the working class in skills and working conditions, and in cultural and technical standards. The peasants enjoy the same political rights as the workers, the basic interests of the two classes are identical. In all essentials the distinctions between the working class and the peasantry have been eliminated; the final elimination of class distinctions will now proceed more rapidly.

The basic distinctions between mental and physical labour are being eradicated on the basis of technical progress and the rising cultural and technical standards of the working people. Today the labour of the industrial worker and the collective farmer, armed with advanced technology and knowledge, combines elements of both physical and mental work. Forty per cent of the country's industrial workers and over 23 per cent of its collective farmers now have a secondary or higher education. Nowadays it is often difficult to distinguish the front-rank worker from the engineer, the front-rank collective farmer from the agronomist.

Thus, now *class relations in our country have entered a new stage*. Proletarian democracy is becoming socialist democracy of the whole people. We note with great satisfaction that we are nearing the goal set by Lenin: to enlist all citizens without exception in the work of governing the state. Tens of millions of Soviet people take part in the administration of the country through the Soviets and their committees, through the elective bodies of the co-

operatives, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organisations, and through the performance of public duties.

Every Soviet citizen should take an active part in the management of public affairs—that is our slogan, our task. (Applause.)

While laying the prime accent on the task of steadily perfecting government bodies and reorganising the Soviets of Working People's Deputies into bodies of self-government by the people, our Party will continue handing over an ever larger number of government functions to mass organisations. It is important here, however, to take into account the level of development of the respective mass organisations and the extent of their independent activity. Our purpose is not just a change of signboards, but a fundamental reorganisation.

The transfer of many important government functions to mass organisations, with persuasion and education gradually becoming the principal method of regulating the life of Soviet society, does not imply relaxed supervision over strict observance of Soviet law, labour discipline or moral behaviour. *We must educate people to have a respect for Soviet law. The power of the law and the power of public influence must be made full use of.*

Our Party has been working, and will continue to work, on the development of social relations in all spheres of life. Not only economy and politics, but also the everyday life, culture, psychology and the social consciousness of people offer a wide field for shaping the new relations—relations of friendship, fellowship, mutual assistance and collectivism. Real freedom and the all-round development of the individual, the harmonious combination of personal interests and the interests of the whole of society are possible only in a socialist society, on the basis of the new relations between people.

Our ideological enemies keep reiterating that communism inevitably brings the individual into conflict with so-

ciety and suppresses his personality. True, the enemies of socialism admit our successes in the sphere of material production, but hasten to assert that they have been achieved by infringing on the liberties and rights of the individual. The imperialists measure things according to their own standards; to them personal freedom means anarchistically opposing personal interests to public interests, the individual to the collective. Their moral code is: "Eat lest you be eaten".

The criterion of real freedom and happiness is a social system which frees man from the tyranny of exploitation, gives him broad democratic liberties and the opportunity to live in fitting conditions, a system that inspires him with confidence in the morrow, unfetters his individual abilities and talents and makes him feel that his labour is for the good of society. Socialism is such a social system. *Of all the values created by the socialist system, the greatest is the new man—the active builder of communism.* The Soviet people are demonstrating what the really free man of the new society is capable of. (*Applause.*)

The ideologists of imperialism call the world of capitalism the "free world". But what has capitalism to offer in place of the real freedom, economic progress, prosperity, culture and the development of the individual achieved in the Soviet Union? Freedom for the rich to exploit and rob the poor, "freedom" from work for millions of people, mounting taxation, a reckless arms drive, racial discrimination, the dictatorship of the money bag, the banning of democratic organisations? There is anything but a free world. Just the reverse. It is a world of slavery and exploitation.

The ideologists of imperialism call the capitalist countries an "open society", and the Soviet Union a "closed society". We quite agree that our socialist state is indeed closed to exploitation and robbery by monopoly capital, to unemployment, to the corrupting ideology of decadence. The imperialist gentry would, of course, like to see the

doors of our socialist society open to espionage. But our doors are tightly closed to subversive activities against socialism. (*Applause.*)

Our society is open to all people from abroad who come to us with an open heart. It is open to fair trade, to the exchange of scientific, technical and cultural achievements, to truthful information. If we are to speak of an "iron curtain", then surely this "curtain" exists in the capitalist world which from time to time shuts its doors, in sheer fright, to Soviet cooks or to chessplayers though it calls itself the "free world". There was a case of a state which calls itself the most "open" being afraid to admit Soviet dancers. Perhaps they were afraid that the foundations of the capitalist world would give way under the feet of the Russian dancers. (*Animation.*)

We have long since proposed to the capitalist world that it compete with us, not in the arms drive but in improving the life of the working people. We are positive that capitalism would be the loser in such a competition; we are positive that ultimately all peoples will make the right choice, and will prefer the genuinely free world of communism to the so-called "free world" of capitalism. (*Applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, when the Party mapped out its far-reaching measures to develop the country's economy the bourgeois politicians and economists asserted that the Communists were sacrificing the vital interests of people to heavy industry, that production in the Soviet Union exists only for the sake of production. What a malicious slander of socialism! *Not production for the sake of production, but production for the sake of man is the sacred principle which the Party and the Soviet state adhere to in all activities.* Everybody, even the most incorrigible sceptics, can once more see for themselves that our Party always honestly carries out its obligations to the people. (*Applause.*)

In the sphere of home policy our Party sets before the Communists, before the Soviet people the following tasks for the immediate future:

1. All the people's efforts must be directed to fulfilling and overfulfilling the Seven-Year Plan, an important stage in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism. We must continue to raise the level of production and keep the country's defence potential up to the mark. As the Soviet economy advances to new heights, we must not forget that only continuous progress will assure us absolute superiority and bring closer the day of our great victory in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

2. We must accelerate technical progress in all branches of socialist industry without exception, especially in electric power development, chemistry, mechanical engineering, metallurgy and the fuel industry. We must more widely promote specialisation of enterprises, work for the comprehensive mechanisation and automation of industrial operations, accelerate the application of the achievements of advanced science and technology and the production experience of innovators. Continuous growth in labour productivity, reduction of production costs, improvement in the quality of products, must be the law for all Soviet enterprises.

3. Industry and agriculture must achieve a level which will make it possible to satisfy the needs of the population in manufactured goods and foodstuffs more fully. Money accumulating as a result of the overfulfilment of industrial plans is to be directed mainly to agriculture, the light and food industries and other branches producing consumer goods.

4. Development of agriculture is the concern of the whole Party, of the whole people. Party and government bodies must daily concern themselves with agricultural production, drawing extensively on the experience of the leading collective and state farms. It is necessary to ensure

fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan targets in the production and purchases of grain, cotton, sugar beet, oilseeds, tea and other crops, meat, milk, wool, eggs, and other farm products.

5. There must be further advance along the highroad of cultural and social development, and continued promotion of Soviet science, public education, literature and art. The living standards of the people must be raised and the measures to normalise wages and salaries must be completed and the planned reduction of the working day and working week effected. Housing development must proceed at a rapid rate; the pension system, trade, public catering, medical and other public services must be improved.

Our country is in the full tide of its creative endeavour. All the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union regard the building of communism as their common cause; they are working in unison and are making their invaluable contribution to our common victory. Realisation of the magnitude of the tasks we are tackling makes Soviet people redouble their efforts, makes them more demanding of themselves, more intolerant of shortcomings, stagnation and inertness. We must fully utilise the vast motive forces inherent in the socialist system. (*Prolonged applause.*)

III

THE LENINIST PARTY IS THE ORGANISER OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

Comrades, we owe our great achievements in both foreign and home policy to the firm and consistent implementation of the Party's Leninist general line, which found forceful expression in the historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress. The Central Committee considers it necessary to report that the policy adopted by the Twentieth Congress has triumphed. Dictated by reality and imbued

with a Leninist revolutionary spirit, that policy has become the cause of all Soviet people. The Party has strengthened its bonds with the people and, backed by their tremendous energy, has enhanced the greatness of the Soviet Union. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Extraordinary Twenty-First Congress was a landmark on the road of our progress; it had great historic importance, for it adopted the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan and proclaimed the Soviet Union's entry into the period of full-scale communist construction.

The Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. is destined to play an epoch-making role, for it will consider and adopt the new Programme of the Party, a programme for the construction of a communist society, a programme that will become the victorious banner and ideological weapon of the Party and the people in the struggle to achieve the triumph of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Leninist Party of Communists—the flesh and blood of the working class and all working people, their heart and their brain, the exponent of their vital interests and revolutionary will—has travelled a long and difficult road, a road of glory. No other party in the world has been able to accomplish so much in transforming society. (*Prolonged applause.*) You will remember Lenin's prophetic words: "...Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia." Sixty years have passed since he said that and the world can now see that the Bolsheviks have indeed "overturned" their country; the country that was tsarist Russia, an economically backward capitalist country, has become a mighty and prosperous socialist power. (*Stormy applause.*) And today we extend our heartfelt greetings to the old Bolshevik guard who for decades waged, as members of the Leninist Party, a courageous revolutionary struggle for the happiness of the people, for socialism. We salute the splendid representatives of that old guard who have been elected delegates to this Congress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our Party is rightfully proud of the fact that it has fulfilled its first and second programmes. By achieving the complete and final victory of socialism in the Land of Soviets, our Leninist Party has honourably acquitted itself not only of its national task, but also of its internationalist duty to the proletarians of all countries, to the world Communist movement. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the new Programme of the C.P.S.U., whose draft was applauded by the Party and all Soviet people in the course of the discussion preceding this Congress, the construction of a communist society is given as our chief and immediate task. Besides the draft of the new Programme, this Congress will discuss the draft of the new Party Rules, on which Comrade F. R. Kozlov will report to you. We have always been guided by Lenin's statement that the Programme and the Rules of our Party are one indivisible whole. The organisational principles laid down in the Rules must guarantee the fulfilment of the Programme; they must strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party, the militant vanguard of the Soviet people in the struggle for communism. (*Applause.*)

1. Elimination of the Consequences of the Cult of the Individual.

Promotion of the Leninist Standards of Party Life and Principles of Leadership.

Enhancement of the Militancy of the Party

Comrades, the restoration and promotion of the Leninist standards of Party life and principles of leadership have been a most important aspect of our Party's work in the period under review. The Twentieth Congress, by condemning the cult of the individual as a practice alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, provided vast scope for the creative energy of the Party and the people. It helped the Party to extend and strengthen its bonds with the people and heighten its militancy.

On the eve of the Twentieth Congress the issue facing us was: either the Party would openly, in Leninist fashion, condemn the errors and distortions committed at the time of the cult of Stalin's person and reject the methods of Party and government leadership that had become an obstacle to progress, or the forces which clung to the old and resisted all that was new and creative would gain the upper hand in the Party. The issue was as crucial as that.

Was it really necessary to criticise, so scathingly and so frankly, the major errors and grave consequences bound up with the cult of the individual?

Yes, it was. The careful analysis and profound study of a number of records, undertaken after the exposure of that inveterate enemy and adventurer, Beria, fully revealed to the Central Committee the flagrant violations of socialist legality, abuses of power, arbitrary acts and repressive measures that had been perpetrated against many honest people, including prominent Party and government officials. The Central Committee, which was well aware of its responsibility to the Party and the people, could not possibly take the line of concealing or hushing up past errors and distortions. Following Lenin's behests, the Central Committee decided to tell the truth about the abuses of power perpetrated at the time of the cult of the individual. It was a moral requirement, the duty, of the Party and its leadership. It was a correct decision and it had tremendous significance for the destiny of the Party and for communist construction. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Lenin called on the Party never to conceal its errors but to criticise them openly and rectify them. "The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes," he wrote, "is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it *in practice* fulfils its obligations towards its *class* and the toiling *masses*. 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, first the *class*, and then the *masses*."* (*Applause.*)

What would have become of the Party and the country had the cult of the individual not been condemned, had its harmful consequences not been removed and the Leninist standards of Party and government activity restored? The result would have been a cleavage between Party and people, grave violations of Soviet democracy and revolutionary legality, slower economic progress, a lower rate of communist construction and hence a deterioration of the people's standard of living. In the sphere of international relations, the result would have been a weakening of Soviet positions in world affairs and a worsening of relations with other countries, which would have had dire consequences. That is why criticism of the cult of the individual and the elimination of its consequences were of the utmost political and practical importance. (*Applause.*)

Marxism-Leninism has always severely condemned all manifestations of the cult of the individual, which it regards as alien to the spirit of the proletarian revolutionary movement, of communism. Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the people as the real maker of history; they stressed the leading and organising role of the working-class party. Marxism-Leninism does not deny the important role of leaders of the working class, but it emphatically opposes all glorification, to say nothing of the deification, of any particular person. Glorification of any one person inevitably pushes the people and the Party into the background and thus reduces their role and significance.

The Soviet people, led by the Party, have by their labour and heroic struggle made great progress in socialist construction. They triumphed in the Great Patriotic War against fascism. But you will remember that, at the time of the cult of the individual, all the achievements and

* V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 49.

victories of the Party and the people were attributed to one man. Stalin, of course, must be credited with great services to the Party and the communist movement, and we give him his due. But it was wrong to associate all the victories of the Party and the people with one individual. It was a gross misrepresentation of the real state of affairs. (*Applause.*)

The Twentieth Congress restored justice; it put an end to distortions and emphasised the great role of the people, and the role of the Party as the vanguard of the working class and the people as a whole, as the leading and guiding force in the struggle for communism. The Congress instructed the Central Committee consistently to implement measures that would completely abolish the cult of the individual, remove its consequences in all spheres of Party, government and ideological activity, and ensure strict enforcement of the standards of Party life and the principle of collective leadership elaborated by Lenin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In its principled and firm criticism of the cult of the individual, our Party took guidance from Lenin's directives and from his testament. It is well known that while Lenin thought highly of Stalin, he was also aware of his shortcomings and, indeed, his defects. Being concerned for the destiny of the Party and the Soviet state, Lenin in December 1922, that is, shortly after Stalin was elected Secretary General of the Central Committee, wrote in a message to the forthcoming Party congress:

"Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary General, has concentrated boundless authority in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient prudence... Stalin is too harsh, and this defect of his, while quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, is intolerable in a Secretary General. That is why I suggest the comrades think over a way of shifting Stalin from that post and appointing someone who differs from Comrade Stalin only in

one respect, namely, in that he has the advantage of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to comrades, less self-willed, etc."

As you see, Lenin knew very well that Stalin's negative qualities were likely to do much harm to the Party and the state. Unfortunately, Lenin's warning and advice were not acted upon in good time, with the result that the Party and the country had to pass through many difficulties stemming from the cult of the individual. At its Twentieth Congress, the Party subjected this cult to a devastating criticism. Carrying the Congress decisions into effect, it put an end to distortions and errors, and drew up measures precluding the recurrence of such practices. It was a courageous decision attesting the political maturity of our Party and its Central Committee. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Party realised, of course, that the errors, distortions, and abuses of power revealed might arouse a certain bitterness and even discontent within the Party and among the people, that they would cause some damage and setbacks and give rise to temporary difficulties for the C.P.S.U. and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. But the Party boldly faced the difficulties; honestly and frankly, it told the people the whole truth, being deeply convinced that the people would appreciate its line. Nor was the Party mistaken. Our advance to communism has gathered speed. Our carriage is now more erect, our breathing freer, and our vision clearer. Life within the country is making rapid progress. Our industry, farming, science and culture have scored big new successes. As we know, millions of Soviet men and women are playing an increasing part in the administration of government and public affairs.

The Soviet Communists may well declare proudly that they have upheld the honour and dignity of the Leninist Party, whose prestige has grown immeasurably, and that the world communist movement has reached a higher stage. Today our Party is united more solidly than ever. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The Leninist policy formulated by the Twentieth Congress had at first to be implemented in the face of fierce resistance from anti-Party elements, from zealous adherents of the methods and practices prevailing at the time of the cult of the individual, from revisionists and dogmatists. The Leninist line of the Party was opposed by a factional anti-Party group consisting of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Voroshilov, Bulganin, Pervukhin, Saburov, and of Shepilov, who later joined them.

At the beginning it was Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Voroshilov who bitterly resisted the Party line aimed at condemning the cult of the individual, fostering inner-Party democracy, condemning and rectifying all abuses of power and exposing those directly responsible for the repressive measures. That stand of theirs was no accident, for they are personally responsible for many instances of the wholesale repression of Party, government, economic, military and Komsomol personnel and for other practices of a similar nature, which occurred at the time of the cult of the individual. At first the group constituted a negligible minority on the Central Committee Presidium.

But when the Party set out to restore the Leninist standards of Party and government activity and to fulfil such pressing tasks as the development of new lands, the reorganisation of management in industry and building, the extension of the rights of the Union republics, the improvement of the living standards of the people and the restoration of revolutionary legality, the factional group stepped up its anti-Party subversion and began to recruit supporters within the Presidium of the Central Committee. The group was joined by Bulganin, Pervukhin and Saburov, and later by Shepilov. Realising that they had succeeded in marshalling a numerical majority on the Central Committee Presidium, the members of the anti-Party group launched an open attack, seeking to change the policy in the Party and the country, a policy laid down by the Twentieth Congress.

After reaching agreement at their clandestine gatherings the factionalists demanded an extraordinary meeting of the Presidium. They expected to carry out their anti-Party schemes and seize leadership in the Party and the country. They wanted to confront the members of the Central Committee and the Party as a whole with an accomplished fact.

But the anti-Party group had miscalculated. On hearing of the group's factional activity within the Presidium, those Central Committee members who were then in Moscow demanded that a plenary meeting of the Central Committee be convened immediately.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee held in June 1957 resolutely exposed the anti-Party group and routed it ideologically. It demonstrated the political maturity and solid unity of the Central Committee, based on the Leninist line of the Twentieth Congress. (*Stormy applause.*) Ideologically defeated in the course of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and faced with unanimous condemnation by the Meeting, the members of the anti-Party group admitted that there had been collusion among them and that their anti-Party activity was harmful. Comrade Voroshilov admitted his errors in a speech at the Meeting, saying that he had been "misled by the factionalists", that he fully realised his errors and emphatically condemned them, just as he condemned the entire subversive activity of the anti-Party group.

As you know, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee passed its decision on the anti-Party group unanimously; the members of that group, too, voted for it, with the exception of Molotov, who abstained. Afterwards, when the results of the Plenary Meeting were being discussed by the primary Party organisation, Molotov stated that he, too, considered the decision of the Plenary Meeting correct and accepted it.

The struggle against the anti-Party group was a sharp political struggle over principles, a struggle between the

new and the old. The point at issue was whether our Party should continue the Leninist policy outlined by the Twentieth Congress or whether the methods typical of the period of the cult of the individual, methods condemned by the entire Party, would be revived.

The struggle was complicated by the fact that the line of the Party, and the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress, was opposed by a group of political figures some of whom had for a long time held prominent positions in the Party and the government. There have been many cases in history of particular leaders proving their worth at a certain period in their lives and playing a notable role but later stopping short in their tracks, as it were, and gradually fading out.

The reasons for this phenomenon may vary: some people become exhausted; others lose touch with reality, become conceited and do not work properly; still others turn out to be unprincipled, spineless people who have adapted themselves to circumstances and who lack staunchness in the struggle for their party's cause. Meanwhile, in the course of the struggle, new political leaders emerge; they oppose all that hampers the development of the new, and overcome the resistance of the old. It is something akin to the phenomenon astronomers call light from extinct stars. Certain stars, which are very far removed from earth, seem to shine on even though they have been extinct for a long time. The trouble with some people who find themselves in the position of stars on the social horizon is that they imagine they continue to radiate light even though they have long since become nothing but smouldering embers. And that is exactly what happened to certain political leaders who began a factionalist, anti-Party struggle. (*Stormy applause.*)

The decisions of the June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee won the unanimous approval of the entire Party and all Soviet people. Somewhat later, in October 1957, the Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U. firmly

repelled attempts by the former Defence Minister, Zhukov, to take an adventurous course, to dissociate the Armed Forces from the Party and oppose the Soviet Army to the Party leadership. Casting aside the bankrupt factionalists and scheming careerists, the Party cemented its ranks; it strengthened its bonds with the people and rallied all forces for the implementation of its general line. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The course adopted by the Twentieth Congress was applauded by the world communist movement, by the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. This found expression in decisions passed by congresses of the fraternal parties, as well as in other records of those parties, and in the documents of the meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960.

To cite an example, the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of 1960 said: "The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. . . . have initiated a new stage in the world communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

I must say, however, that our Party's policy aimed at eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of the individual did not, as it became obvious afterwards, meet with due understanding on the part of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour. Indeed, they began to oppose that policy.

Everyone knows that until recently there were good, friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania, and between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Albanian Party of Labour. The peoples of our country were giving Albania all-round disinterested help to enable her to develop her economy and carry on socialist construction. It has always been our sincere desire, and it still is, that Albania should be a prosperous socialist republic, and her people happy and enjoying all the benefits of a new life.

For many years the Albanian leaders signified their

complete agreement with the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government on all matters pertaining to the international communist movement. They repeatedly voiced support for the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress. Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Albanian Party of Labour, noted that in his speeches at the Twentieth and Twenty-First congresses of our Party. The Third Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, held shortly after the Twentieth Congress, fully endorsed the criticism levelled at the cult of the individual, as well as the steps taken to eliminate the harmful consequences of that cult.

We Soviet people believed the Albanian leaders, believed that there was mutual understanding and unity of views between our Party and the Albanian Party of Labour.

The facts show, however, that the Albanian leaders have lately reversed their policy for no apparent reason, despite their previous assurances and contrary to the decisions of the congress of their own Party, and have set out to seriously worsen their relations with our Party, with our country. They have begun to depart from the common agreed line of the communist movement of the whole world on major issues of the day, something which became particularly noticeable in the middle of last year.

The Albanian leaders no longer conceal their disapproval of the course adopted by our Party with a view to completely eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's person, severely condemning abuses of power and re-establishing the Leninist standards of Party and government activity.

It would appear that in their hearts the Albanian leaders disagreed with the conclusions of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the fraternal parties, which, as we all know, approved of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and our Party's policy directed towards eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of the individual. This stand of the Albanian leaders is due to the fact that they are, to

our deep regret, themselves using the same methods as were current in our country at the time of the cult of the individual.

It is with concern for the destinies of the heroic Albanian people that we are watching events in Albania. We are pained to see that rank-and-file Communists in Albania, and the Albanian people as a whole, who have a vital interest in friendship and co-operation with all the socialist countries, have to pay for the erroneous policy of the Albanian leaders. We are deeply concerned about the situation and have never stopped our earnest search for ways and means of overcoming the divergences that have arisen.

The policy elaborated by the Twentieth Congress of our Party is a Leninist policy, and we cannot make a concession on this fundamental point either to the Albanian leaders or to anyone else. To depart from the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress would amount to ignoring the wise advice given by Lenin, who discerned the danger of a cult of Stalin's person when it was still in embryo. It would amount to disregarding the costly lessons of history and forgetting the price which our Party had to pay because it had not acted in good time on the warning given by its great leader.

The Albanian leaders, who oppose the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress, are now trying to pull our Party back to practices which they like but which will never recur in our country. Our Party will press forward with determination the policy of its Twentieth Congress, a policy which has withstood the test of time. No one can divert us from the Leninist road. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

If the Albanian leaders hold dear the interests of their own people and of socialist construction in Albania, and if they really want friendship with the C.P.S.U. and the other fraternal parties, they must renounce their erroneous views and revert to the path of unity and close co-operation within the fraternal family which is the socialist

community, to the path of unity with the world communist movement as a whole.

As regards our Party, it will continue, in keeping with its internationalist duty, to do all in its power that Albania may march shoulder to shoulder with all the socialist countries.

From the rostrum of this Congress we declare that the purity of Marxism-Leninism and an uncompromising attitude to all distortions of its great principles are law for our Party. (*Prolonged applause.*) Communists place the cause of the revolution, the cause of the people, above all else, and its leaders are worthy of the name only when they express the vital interests of the working people and follow the right path. Such leaders are steeled in the course of the struggle; they gain prestige by serving the people and the communist cause; they serve the people and must be subject to control by the people. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, in our Party every major issue of home and foreign policy is discussed collectively, and the decisions taken are an expression of the collective experience of the Party. This is genuine implementation of Leninist principles. It has become the rule for the whole Party membership and the entire people to discuss all the questions submitted for the consideration of plenary meetings of the Central Committee and sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The measures taken to restore revolutionary legality, promote Party and Soviet democracy, extend the rights and increase the role of local Party and government bodies, and encourage the creative initiative of the working people have yielded good fruit.

The Central Committee has taken special care to ensure the regular convening of all elective bodies, beginning with Party congresses and Central Committee plenary meetings. We know how very regularly Party congresses were held in Lenin's lifetime. In the difficult first seven years of Soviet power they were convened every year,

and they discussed the main tasks of the Party and the young Soviet state. In the period of the cult of the individual that system was grossly violated; following the Eighteenth Congress no congresses were convened for almost fourteen years, though the country had gone through the Great Patriotic War and a period of great and strenuous effort to rehabilitate the national economy. Plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Party were very few and far between. Such a situation was conducive to abuses of power and gave certain leaders an opportunity to put themselves beyond the control of the Party and the people.

Such things do not and cannot exist in the Party today. In the nine years since the Nineteenth Congress, the Twentieth, the Extraordinary Twenty-First and the present Twenty-Second Congress of the Party have been convened. Plenary meetings of the Central Committee, called at regular intervals, examine the more important problems of the life of the Party and the country. They sharply criticise the activities of some Party organisations and their leaders, including the activities of individual members of the Central Committee and of the Presidium of the C.C. C.P.S.U. Officials who have not justified the confidence placed in them by the Party have been relieved of their posts.

The period of the cult of the individual, now a thing of the past, saw the widespread employment of harmful methods of Party, government and economic leadership, such as high-handed administrative methods, the hushing-up of shortcomings, indecision in work, and fear of anything new. In the situation, many sycophants, hosannasingers and falsifiers emerged. The Party resolutely combats, and will continue to combat, all violators of Party and state discipline, people who deceive the Party and the state. It boldly develops principled criticism and self-criticism, which it uses as its keenest and most effective weapon.

The promotion of inner-Party democracy, the extension of the rights and the enhancement of the role of local Party bodies, and adherence to the principles of collective leadership have increased the Party's militancy and strengthened its ties with the masses. The Party's inseparable links with the people find vivid expression in the growth of its membership, in the continuous influx of fresh forces.

In the period under review the membership of our Party has increased by almost 2,500,000. The Party had a membership of 7,215,505 at the time of the Twentieth Congress; its membership had grown to 9,716,005 shortly before this Congress (October 1, 1961). Factory workers account for 40.7 per cent of those admitted into the Party; 22.7 per cent are collective farmers, 35.6 per cent are office and professional workers and one per cent are students. What are these office and professional workers that have been admitted into the Party? Almost two-thirds of them are engineers, technicians, agronomists, livestock-breeding experts and other specialists.

I must say that the very concept of office and professional workers has undergone a change. In the early years of Soviet power the intelligentsia consisted mainly of people who before the Revolution had been connected with the propertied classes. Certain restrictive measures were therefore taken in respect of office and professional workers. Things are entirely different now; today the overwhelming majority of professional and office workers are former industrial workers or collective farmers, or their children. That is why the attitude to professional and office workers has changed too. As science, technology, automation and mechanisation of production advance, the category known as professional and office workers will grow, and play an ever more important role in production. The time will come when we shall have no need to divide Party members into industrial workers, collective farmers, and professional and office workers, since class distinc-

tions will have completely disappeared, and all will be workers of communist society. (*Applause.*)

It is gratifying to report, comrades, that the number of well-educated people in the ranks of our Party is increasing. Today one out of every three Communists has a higher or secondary education. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that *over 70 per cent of all Party members and candidate members are today engaged in the sphere of material production.* The majority of Communists are employed in the decisive sectors, that is, in industry or agriculture.

The C.P.S.U. comprises representatives of the more than a hundred nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union. Our Party came into being, and has been developing, as an internationalist organisation of the working class that embodies the great unity and fraternal friendship of the equal socialist nations making up the close-knit family of builders of communism. (*Applause.*)

The supreme mission of every member of the Leninist Party lies in selfless service to communism. A Communist must do his job with ardour; he must devote heart and soul to the cause of the people. There is no room in the Party for a member who fails to live up to his lofty duties. In the last six years over 200,000 people have been expelled from the Party for various reasons. By getting rid of those chance people, the Party has become stronger and more solid. (*Applause.*)

It must be admitted that there are still people who regard Party membership as a way to a career. How are we to safeguard the Party against such time-servers? In the early years of the Revolution, and also during the Patriotic War, Communists were tested in the struggle. This reminds me of an incident which took place during the Civil War. When our unit had entered a village freed by the Red Army the local schoolmaster asked me:

“What job will you assign me if I join the Bolshevik Party?”

“We’ll give you the most honourable job. We’ll give you

a rifle and we'll send you to fight against the bourgeoisie, for Soviet power," I replied.

"Oh no, that sort of job doesn't suit me," said the man. (*Animation.*)

That made things as clear as daylight. You know that there were many intellectuals in our Party, including teachers, who nobly defended the gains of the Great October Revolution, who fought for the cause of the Party.

Now that the struggle for communism is in full swing we must demand that all those who join the Party should be everywhere in the forefront of communist construction. The Party Rules make it incumbent on Communists to set an example of a communist attitude to labour, of the utmost devotion to our ideology, of an uncompromising attitude to all shortcomings, to money-grubbing and parasitism, to be considerate and sympathetic to others, and loyal to the Party and the people. A Communist must be a model in the struggle to establish the lofty principles of communist morality. (*Applause.*)

That is why all Party organisations must strictly adhere to the principle of individual selection and must fully appraise the personal qualities of applicants for membership. We must continue to admit into the C.P.S.U. the foremost workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, that is to say, the finest members of Soviet society.

Our Party, with its membership of almost 10 million, will continue fulfilling Lenin's behest as a sacred duty—will continue to raise the prestige of the name of Communist. (*Stormy applause.*)

2. The Party's Organisational Work and the Training of Cadres.

The Active Participation of the Masses in Public Work Is the Key to New Successes

Comrades, of recent years the Party has turned its attention to questions of the practical guidance of the national economy. The Central Committee has focussed the

attention of Party organisations and leading cadres on the careful study and extensive introduction of progressive methods in industry and agriculture; it has used specific examples of good work as models of how our great communist construction should be conducted.

How should the work of a Party official be appraised? What yardstick should be applied for one official to be considered a skilful and energetic organiser, and another reproached and criticised? It is common knowledge that the quantity and quality of the work done by a steel smelter, a farmer or a builder can be fairly easily measured. The work done by Party functionaries should be appraised according to the concrete results in the functioning of the factory or construction project, the collective or state farm, the research institution, the district, region or republic they are responsible for.

The success of organisational work and the level of leadership depend in great measure on the links between the leaders and the masses, on the ability to organise and direct human effort towards the solution of the principal tasks. However, the links with the masses may differ: they may be strong and permanent, or superficial and temporary. To be able to maintain close links with the masses a Party official must possess a number of qualities. Among them are a knowledge of the field he is working in and a progressive approach to the various aspects of economic and cultural construction. A leader must enrich his knowledge all the time by keeping abreast of life, and by studying the progressive experience amassed by innovators in industry and agriculture and the achievements of science and technology. Such knowledge can be accumulated by a Party official only if he adheres consistently to the Marxist method in analysing the phenomena of life, only if he is keen in discerning what is new and helps uphold it and put it into effect.

This should not be taken to mean that a Party leader has to be a specialist in all fields. Of course, he should

know a lot, be well educated and well informed, but the important thing is his all-round knowledge in the field entrusted to him; he should profoundly understand people and enjoy working with them. *The strength of Party leadership lies in its collective spirit, which helps to fuse, as it were, the talents, knowledge and experience of many people into a single talent capable of accomplishing great things.*

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress spoke of the necessity of enhancing the role played by Party primary organisations and district committees in organisational and political work. It is here, in these primary organisations and district Party bodies, that the most various and burning problems of economic and cultural activity are tackled. The primary organisations are the backbone of the Party, and it is they that carry on day-by-day work among the masses. There are 41,830 primary organisations at industrial enterprises, 10,427 at building sites, 18,938 in the transport services, 44,387 on collective farms, and 9,206 on state farms. The success of our cause depends in great measure on the level of the organisational and political work in these lower units of the Party.

To raise the level of the work being done by the primary organisations, the Central Committee has kept all Communists regularly informed on the more important measures of home and foreign policy, and on questions of ideological work and the international communist movement. On many occasions the Central Committee has addressed to primary Party organisations and to district Party committees letters specifying the urgent tasks of communist construction.

We can all say that to us Communists nothing can be more interesting or more important than Party work, whose central feature is live contacts with the people. To devote our all to such work, without classifying it as more important or less important, to show consideration for others, no matter on what business they come to us, to be broad-minded and approach matters from the standpoint

of Party principles, and always keep pace with developments—such is our duty and our responsibility to the Party and to the people. It is only such enthusiastic, creative work that can fire people's hearts, and inspire them to do great things in the field of labour and in the struggle. (Applause.)

We must always remember that the strength of the Party stems from the activity, the political consciousness and militant unity of its members. Party work is essentially a sphere of public activity, and participation in it is the duty of every Communist. We are marching towards communism, under which people will run the affairs of society without any special government machinery.

In our country socialist government is gradually developing into self-government by the people. As the vanguard of a people engaged in building a communist society, our Party must also be in the van in organising its own internal activities and set an example in evolving the best forms of communist self-government by the people. In practice this could mean that the paid apparatus of Party bodies, for instance, would be reduced more and more, while the ranks of unpaid Party functionaries would swell. Party bodies should have more commissions, departments, secretaries of district and city committees and other functionaries working on a voluntary basis. Stronger bonds with the masses, the direct contacts with people that were characteristic of Lenin, the urge to live and work among people and share their joys and sorrows, and communist ardency in the struggle for what is new and progressive, are all features that should be typical of a Party leader. (Applause.)

Comrades, the Party has reared a great number of mature and ideologically tested leading cadres for all fields of work. These people see their supreme duty in selfless service to the people. In the past many local Party officials awaited directives and instructions from above on all and every occasion and frequently had no opportunity to

display their own initiative. But now that the powers and responsibilities of local Party bodies have been extended, they must show greater independence and a creative approach to matters. We now have cadres capable of this, and it is they who set the tone in all work.

However, there are still officials who display neither energy nor initiative in their work, and who have grown accustomed to their factory, district, region or republic trailing along in the rear. We still do not always present sufficiently high demands to such people, and they keep their jobs for a long time. If an industrial enterprise fails to fulfil its monthly or quarterly plans, its director will obviously not keep his job for long. Non-fulfilment of an industrial enterprise's plan is justly considered intolerable and impermissible.

Then why is it that this same principle is not always applied to executives in the agricultural sphere? We have not only collective farms but entire districts and regions which have "won" the "right" not to fulfil plans, the "right", if I may say so, to consume, not produce. They become consumers because their agricultural techniques are extremely poor and they are satisfied with harvests of five to seven centners of oats per hectare. I have already spoken about the situation in Kirov Region, where for over eight years Comrade Pchelyakov was secretary of the Regional Committee. When he was finally relieved of his post for serious failures in his work and for falsification, he was surprised and demanded an explanation—for what reason and on what grounds, he wanted to know, had he been relieved of his post? But how can such a person stand at the head of a Party organisation?

Then there are executives of another type—those who like living at state expense. Year after year some directors of industrial enterprises, collective farm chairmen, state farm managers and heads of various departments keep asking for production plans to be reduced, and payrolls and investments increased. Such officials cannot be

regarded as genuine leaders since they do not organise people to work better, do not inspire them by example, but instil in them a spirit of dependence on others. If such leaders, who consider themselves Communists, gave serious thought to what the consequences would be if all enterprises, and all state and collective farms were to start asking for lower plans of output and larger budget appropriations, they would realise that with such an approach we cannot make progress. It should be clear to everyone that we can create an abundance of everything and satisfy the steadily increasing requirements of the people only when each enterprise, and each Soviet man and woman makes proper contribution to the common cause of communist construction. (*Applause.*)

A lot of damage is done to our cause by swelled-headed officials. More often than not one meets among these people those who do not bother to improve their professional qualifications, their theoretical and political knowledge, and therefore often slide into political turpitude, become hucksters and windbags.

In general, comrades, work with cadres, and the ability to select and educate them properly, is a delicate matter calling for no little skill. Sometimes a man is promoted to a certain job and fails to cope with it. The causes may vary, and they should not always serve to cast blame on the person in question. However, it becomes clear that the promotion was a mistake and as a result the work suffers. It is obvious that the mistake must be rectified. But in the case of some comrades it is not easy to return them to the old job, where they were doing good work. It is, in fact, almost impossible. Why? The reason is, you see, that they have won the right to be called functionaries at regional, republican or even Union level, and will take mortal offence if offered work they can cope with. In this case, riding the high horse, displaying conceit and arrogance, means displaying qualities unworthy of a Party member. (*Voices: "Hear, hear!" Applause.*)

Working with personnel calls for strict observance of the Leninist principle of a proper combination of old and experienced leaders, who have been tested in the struggle for the Party line, and young, energetic organisers with a sound knowledge of their field. It is very important that continuity be observed in our work, for it helps to preserve and develop the best traditions of the Party, and encourages an influx of young forces, with their innate sense of the new, with their ability to take the initiative and to get things done quickly. It is quite impermissible for a leading Party post to be held by one who falsifies reports or is a hide-bound bureaucrat. The Party will always condemn, with the full force of Party and Soviet law, all falsifying of reports and other acts of deception. (*Applause.*)

Our Party and the Soviet people are rich in talents. The promotion and training of people for various branches of Party and government work, for employment in the economy or in cultural spheres is the prime duty of Party organisations. The school of life, of practical activities, provides the finest training and the best political instruction. The struggle for the implementation of the Party line and the fulfilment of the tasks of communist construction evolves and develops those qualities that are required in a Party or government worker of the Leninist type. We must solicitously train such cadres.

Comrades, at the present time primary significance attaches to the problem of *Party, government and public control* from top to bottom and from bottom to top. Control is an effective means of improving leadership in communist construction. The work of any organisation, of any leading Party body, should be appraised first and foremost by the way it puts into practice the Programme and the Rules of the C.P.S.U., and the directives given by the Party.

In the early years of Soviet rule, Lenin attached tremendous importance to all aspects of supervision and to the verification of fulfilment of Party decisions. How

much greater must be our care of such things now that our national economy has expanded so immensely! Just as a skilled mechanic senses the pulse and operation of a huge machine in his charge so that the slightest sound will tell him whether the machine is out of tune, just as he seems to discern the slightest speck of dust which may lead to a stoppage, so we must daily and hourly keep a finger on the throbbing pulse of the huge Soviet land, eliminate manifestations of red tape, and notice in time and remove all that delays progress.

Party organisations must take the lead in exercising stricter supervision and verification of the execution of decisions. There must be more system in the way local Party bodies render account to higher Party bodies and to the rank and file on their fulfilment of Party decisions. We must remember and unswervingly carry out the Leninist demand—supervise the work of people, and verify what has actually been done.

Much work has to be done to improve state control. Until recently there were big shortcomings in the work of the Soviet Control Commissions. In the first place, they were very poorly linked up with practice, with the masses, without whose co-operation the state control bodies cannot properly perform their functions.

The system of Party, state and public control is a powerful means of improving leadership in communist construction on genuinely democratic principles, it is a splendid school of communist education for the masses. That is why the advice given by Lenin in his article "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" should be more widely applied, with due attention to present-day conditions.

Supervision by the general public, with strict verification of the way decisions have been carried out, is a method by which the principle of criticism and self-criticism can be given effect. The new features that are appearing in our life, the shoots of communism, call for the greatest

care, and we must clear the communist field of weeds and wild grasses, must promote the creative activity of the great army of builders of a communist society.

The great successes achieved by our people under the leadership of the Party are clear to everybody. They are gratifying to all Soviet people and give them confidence that the further progress of the country will be ever successful and more rapid.

Lenin taught the Party never to permit conceit and complacency, to see the shortcomings in the work as well as the successes, and to concentrate efforts on the solution of unsolved problems. We still have many such problems. There are still quite a number of shortcomings to be overcome in the work of Party and government bodies.

We must bend all our efforts towards effecting a more rapid growth of the economy and towards improving the living standards of the people. We must work for a further increase in farm produce, for the fulfilment of housing plans, for higher labour productivity in all branches of the economy and for considerable improvement in the quality of goods produced, especially consumer goods.

The more we support and use in production everything that is new and progressive, and the more ruthlessly we expose and eliminate shortcomings, the more speedily we shall accomplish the tasks confronting us. Communist construction is the great cause of millions, the cause of the entire people.

In all its activities, the Party has working side by side with it such *mass organisations of working people* as the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the co-operatives.

Born in the fire of revolution as organs of the people's struggle for power, the Soviets have now become an all-embracing organisation of the people and the embodiment of their unity; they have become a school of public activity for the millions, the like of which mankind has never before seen.

The activities of the Soviets are the best confirmation

of the highly democratic character of our society. The very fact that the total number of deputies to the Soviets is now about two million speaks volumes. Besides these deputies, there are over two million people working on a voluntary basis on the standing committees of the Soviets. No other social system could provide such confirmation of its genuinely democratic and popular character. The Soviets must strengthen their ties with the masses and devote close attention to problems of state administration and economic and cultural development.

Great changes have taken place in our country in the 25 years that have passed since the adoption of the present Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union has entered upon a new stage of development, and socialist democracy has reached a higher plane. The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the elaboration of which we are beginning, must reflect the new features that have appeared in the life of Soviet society in the period of the full-scale construction of communism.

The role and importance of the *trade unions* are growing. Following the Twentieth Congress, the rights and functions of the trade unions in handling all problems affecting the working people's vital interests were considerably expanded. With their membership of over 60 million, the Soviet trade unions are a school of education, administration and management, a school of communism for the working people. At the present stage, the struggle for the implementation of the programme of communist construction must hold priority in trade union activities. Concern for the working man is the prime duty and responsibility of the trade unions. Our trade unions, applying the traditional principles of trade union work and enriching that work with new, communist forms and methods, must draw the working people into the management of production and of all the affairs of society.

As Soviet society advances towards communism, the functions of the trade unions will expand, and new

problems, formerly the concern of state bodies, will enter their sphere of activity. Our Party will encourage the growth of trade union activities in economic management, and in particular in transforming the standing production conferences into ever more effective agencies helping to improve the work of enterprises.

Special stress must be laid on the trade unions' tasks in promoting communist consciousness among the working people, organising emulation for communist labour and in helping the masses learn to administer state and public affairs.

The trade unions must today improve forms and methods of work. Developments in our country call imperatively for the greatest possible application of the principle of voluntary work in the trade unions, so that their paid staff may be reduced. The more extensively this principle is applied, the more actively will the working people participate in the affairs of society.

We all highly appreciate the activities of our splendid *Leninist Young Communist League* [Komsomol], the Party's militant helper. The lives of many of us are linked with it. Many Communists have passed through the school of the Komsomol. The Komsomol is our future and our reserve. At all stages of socialist construction the Komsomol, the Soviet youth, have displayed a clear understanding of the tasks set by the Party. By their work they have shown that they are worthy heirs to the great revolutionary traditions, and are carrying on the glorious cause of their parents.

It would be hard to enumerate the splendid exploits of the Komsomol, of the Soviet youth. Our people are proud of their youth, and rightly so.

More and more young Leninists are growing up in the Young Pioneer organisation, and the Party has entrusted to the Komsomol the task of educating these young Leninists with solicitude and love, and of teaching them to face up to all difficulties life may present to them.

We must not forget that the old world continues to try to encumber our path with old ideas and habits. We must not lose sight of the fact that some young people are sullied by the dirt of the past; they yield to philistinism and the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology.

The principal task of the Leninist Young Communist League is to educate young people on the heroic traditions of revolutionary struggle, on examples of devoted labour set by workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, and on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Splendid prospects, great and fascinating goals are opening up before the youth. The Programme of the C.P.S.U. opens the door into the future wide before them. To build communism—what a great and wonderful aim! However, building communism means first and foremost developing the economy, increasing the production of material and spiritual values, and fostering in everyone features of a member of communist society. The youth are called upon to help develop our natural wealth, and build factories, state farms, and cities. It is not near Moscow or Leningrad that the bowels of the earth hold wealth, but in the taiga, in the mountains and deserts. To make this wealth serve the people, it must be extracted from the earth.

The young people of Moscow and Leningrad, Kiev and Gorky, all young people living in the older seats of population, must set out boldly to provide our people with new wealth. Wherever there is man and his labour there will be everything. As Nekrasov once said: "Man, with his will and his labour, is a miracle-worker indeed!" Such was the case in Nekrasov's time, when men used pick and shovel, saw and axe to do their work. Today the Soviet youth heading for the construction sites in the country are equipped with sound knowledge and the most up-to-date machinery. They have done much good work in our country, and will do much more, inspired by the great plans of communist construction.

The Party has confidence in the Komsomol, in the Soviet youth, and calls to our young people: Forward, take your places on the construction sites of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

**3. The Ideological Activities of the Party;
Strengthening Bonds with the People
in Their Day-to-Day Life.
Communist Construction
and the Development of Revolutionary Theory**

Comrades, the Twentieth Congress opened up wide vistas for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. We are glad to note that in the years since that Congress the Party has restored and developed Lenin's principles in ideological work, and has successfully tackled urgent theoretical problems of communist construction. After eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of the individual, the Party re-oriented ideological work in conformity with the requirements of the day, and embarked on a policy of strengthening the unity of theory and practice. It based its policy on a scientific, Marxist-Leninist foundation and devoted all theoretical, ideological and educational work to the fulfilment of concrete tasks of communist construction.

Of great significance in advancing ideological and theoretical work was the publication of a second edition of the works of Marx and Engels, the fifth edition of the complete works of Lenin, collections of Party decisions, a thoroughly documented biography of Lenin, a number of manuals and books on theory, the history of the C.P.S.U., philosophy, political economy, and the history of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. By a decision of the Central Committee, work has begun on a many-volume history of the C.P.S.U. which is to sum up the experience gained by the Party and the Soviet people in the struggle for the victory of communism.

The Party proceeds from Lenin's thesis on the growing

role of the masses as the conscious makers of history. The Party consults the people on all the most momentous and most urgent issues of the day. The ideological work of the Party organisations enhances the communist consciousness and the labour and political activities of the masses, and serves as a most important, permanently operating factor in the building of communism.

A significant part in deepening and expanding the Party's ideological influence on the masses is played by political training, lectures, educational work among the masses in the fields of politics and culture and by the press, radio, television, cinema, literature and art. It is indicative that in the past five years the circulation of newspapers has increased by twenty million copies, and the annual circulation of magazines and other periodicals by 417 million copies. More books are published in the Soviet Union than in any other country. That, comrades, is an outstanding success recorded by the Party in the development of socialist culture and the dissemination of communist ideology. (*Applause.*) The Party and the Soviet people think highly of those who conduct propaganda and agitation, workers in the fields of science, education and culture, that huge army of ideological workers, active fighters for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. (*Applause.*)

*In the forefront of ideological work today is the task of thoroughly explaining to the working people the new Programme of the C.P.S.U. which equips the Party and the entire people with a great plan of struggle for the triumph of communism. Our new Programme will serve as the basis on which to educate the masses in the spirit of communism. The Party programme, said Lenin, is a most powerful weapon in our propaganda and agitation. "Every section of our Programme," he said, "is something that every worker should know, should learn and understand."**

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 168.

Ideological work is not an end in itself, but is an important means of fulfilling the basic tasks of communist construction. For this reason, a high level of efficiency is an essential requirement for educational work in the field of ideology under the conditions now obtaining.

The building of communism requires a great labour effort on the part of the people, on the part of literally every Soviet man and woman. Without labour there cannot be a prosperous society, there can be no well-being and happiness for man. The good things of life do not drop like manna from heaven. Every working man and woman must realise this and do his or her bit in the nation-wide cause of communist construction.

You know how industrious bees are; every bee brings its drop of nectar into the common hive. We may well imagine Soviet society as a big communist hive. In our society everyone must increase the national wealth by his labour, and in due time we shall be able to meet all requirements. But just as there are drones in a beehive that the bees themselves and the bee-keeper try to drive out, so there are still some people in our Soviet society who want to live at the expense of society without giving anything in return. There are still people among us who are inclined to regard communism as a society of idleness and indolence. It is unfortunate that a one-sided and simplified picture of the future society is frequently drawn in oral and even in printed propaganda, and there are people who think that under communism a man will neither sow nor reap but only eat cake. (*Animation.*) Such a conception of communism is typical of people who are poor in spirit, of philistines and parasites.

Communism and labour go hand in hand. The great principle, "He who does not work neither shall he eat", will continue to operate under communism and will, in fact, become a sacred principle for everyone. Man's beauty and his fame stem from his work, from what he does, from that which he has created or that which he has per-

formed. The abilities and talents of people, the genius of man, are revealed in labour, the immortality of man is in his labour. (*Applause.*)

The training of man for his life's work, the steeling of people through labour, the inculcation of love and respect for labour as a vital necessity, is the central feature of all work in the field of communist education.

The moulding of the new man is a long and complicated process. People cannot be mechanically transported from the realm of capitalism to the realm of communism. A man steeped in capitalist prejudices cannot be taken into communism. He must first be freed from the burden of the past. It will take time and effort to eliminate the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men, to change in millions of people customs and habits that have evolved in the course of centuries—to complete the change that was begun by our revolution. Survivals of the past are a terrible power that weighs on the minds of people. They persist in the lives and in the minds of millions of people long after the economic conditions that engendered them have disappeared.

At the present stage of communist construction a still more vigorous struggle must be waged against such survivals of capitalism as indolence, parasitism, drunkenness and rowdyism, swindling and money-grubbing, against recurrences of dominant-nation chauvinism and local nationalism, against bureaucratic methods, a wrong attitude towards women, etc. These are weeds that should have no place in our field. (*Applause.*)

Communist education implies the emancipation of the mind from religious prejudices and superstitions which still prevent some Soviet people from displaying their creative ability to the full. A more effective and better organised system of scientific atheist propaganda is needed, one that will embrace all sections and groups of the population, and will prevent the dissemination of religious views, especially among children and adolescents.

Nor must it be forgotten that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people have to be overcome and a new man educated under conditions of a fierce ideological struggle between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. The ideologists of imperialism are doing everything they can to maintain and revive bourgeois morals and prejudices in the minds of Soviet people in order to hamper our progress towards communism.

The education of the new man requires great effort and a wise approach. We are dealing with human beings. Everything in man is rationally interconnected. But it is not the sort of interconnection that exists between the parts of a machine. It is something far more complex. One day, when the Dnieper Power Station was being built, Maxim Gorky saw how the rapids were being cleared. Workers placed explosives under the rocks, there was a dull explosion, the water raged for a time, the rocks subsided and the broad Dnieper flowed smoothly on its way. And Gorky said: "If one such explosion could remove from society all the rocks, all that belongs to the past, all that is ignorant and barbaric, how wonderful that would be!" In the reconstruction of society, however, everything is more intricate and difficult. Human society cannot be cleansed of that which prevents a happy and joyous life without a great deal of sweat and much vexation of spirit.

The shaping of a new type of citizen, a man of great ideals and high moral principles, is one of the greatest achievements of our Party. Our opponents are scared by the political and cultural growth of Soviet people and by their loyalty to communism. It stands to reason that this has not arisen automatically, but has been achieved as a result of the Party's many years of educational work. We are now in a position to propose and put into effect those most noble principles of relations between people that many generations of working people have dreamed of. Those principles are given concrete form in the Communist Moral Code.

The interests of communist construction demand that questions of communist education should be in the centre of the attention and activities of every Party organisation and the general public.

The time has come to put an end to any underestimation of ideological work and to its divorce from organisational work. Any contraposing of ideological and organisational work is incorrect and harmful. The ideological worker, if he really strives to make his work bear fruit, must be a political organiser of the masses. On the other hand, we must always remember that the principal methods of organisational work imply convincing people and educating them in a proper spirit. A higher level of ideological work is an essential condition for the success of our practical activity.

Comrades, our Party's strength lies in its having been able to merge the theory and practice of scientific communism into a single whole in the work of effecting revolutionary transformations. The historic successes achieved by the Soviet people are most convincing evidence of the Party's correct application and creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. In recent years the scope and significance of the Party's theoretical work have greatly increased.

The great doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin always has been and remains our guide to action. The Party will continue to hold high the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism and to preserve its purity, will resolutely sweep from its path all revisionists and other renegades who, under the guise of "renewing" communist theory, attempt to distort it and deprive it of revolutionary principles.

The creators of scientific communism foresaw that ever new problems would arise out of real life and that Communists would have to develop revolutionary theory persistently and in close connection with the socialist transformation of society. This sounds particularly forceful and urgent in our own times, in the period of the rapid,

revolutionary recasting of social relations of radical developments in the history of mankind. Now that those men of genius, the founders of scientific communism, are no longer with us, and day-to-day practice confronts us with a growing number of new questions, the answer to them must be provided by the disciples and followers of Marx and Lenin.

It is a specific feature of the epoch of the full-scale construction of communist society that it confronts us with more and more theoretical questions, the answers to which are to be sought, not only in books, but first and foremost in the living, everyday practice of communist construction. We would be betraying the spirit of our theory if, under these new conditions, we were unable to apply and develop Marxism-Leninism in a creative spirit, if we did not enrich it with new theoretical propositions and conclusions, if we had not courage enough to bring up to date those formulas and propositions that had ceased to conform to new historical experience.

Reality is much richer than any formula. Theoretical propositions must be brought up to date and changed relevantly to changes in the life of society. Our Party has provided excellent examples of such a thoroughly Marxist-Leninist attitude to revolutionary theory.

In the life of our Party the period under review is one in which constructive solutions have been found to many important questions in the building of communism and to many urgent problems of the world emancipation movement. Among them are some major theoretical conclusions—on the dictatorship of the proletariat under present-day conditions; on the laws governing socialism's development into communism; on the ways of creating the material and technical basis of communism; on the formation of communist social relations and the education of the new man; on the variety of forms for the transition from capitalism to socialism; on the more or less simultaneous entry of the socialist countries into communism; on the

possibility of preventing a world war in our times; on the nature of the present epoch, and so on.

The great theoretical work of the C.P.S.U. is most fully embodied in its new Programme, which is the philosophical, economic and political basis of the building of communism in our country. The Party's elaboration of this Programme is not only evidence of historic achievements in economic and cultural development, but demonstrates its great and varied theoretical work. The development of revolutionary theory has become a matter for the entire Party. (*Applause.*)

Our practical successes in the building of communism are at the same time successes in the development of theory. It is precisely from this point of view that we must judge the huge social and economic measures carried out by the Party in recent years. Among them are the reorganisation of management in industry and building, the reorganisation of the machine and tractor stations and the further strengthening of the collective-farm system, improvements in economic planning, the adjustment of school programmes to meet the needs of life, further progress in developing the educational system, and a number of others. The measures effected by the Party constitute a truly revolutionary step forward in the development of Soviet society and are, at the same time, a major contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. They were important decisions dictated by the requirements of the objective laws of communist construction. The Party proceeded from the need to change certain methods of leadership in the economic and cultural fields which, after having played a positive part in the past, had ceased to meet the requirements of life under the new conditions, and might have hampered our development. In implementing important measures the Party takes into consideration both the need to solve current economic and political problems and the perspective of the Soviet Union's advance to communism.

Creative Marxism-Leninism does not tolerate stagnation

of thought, or the worship of formulas that do not accord with the real state of affairs, with the objective situation. Nothing contradicts the essence and creative spirit of revolutionary theory so much as attempts to hang on to propositions whose unsoundness has been proved by the realities of life. An example is the thesis, current for a long time in our economic literature, and, indeed, not only in economic publications, that under socialism the purchasing power of the population should always keep ahead of production, and that this is even one of socialism's specific advantages over capitalism and one of the motive forces of our development. This obviously erroneous assertion, one that contradicts the Marxist-Leninist theory of the relation between production and consumption, arose out of the uncritical, dogmatic acceptance of Stalin's erroneous thesis that in the U.S.S.R. "the increase of mass consumption (purchasing power) continuously outstrips the growth of production...".

It did not worry the champions of this point of view that they were actually justifying the shortage of articles of primary necessity and the perpetuation of the ration-card system and its psychology.

Socialist economy is planned economy. We can and must give every consideration to the population's demand for goods when planning the volume and type to be produced. Lenin said that socialism means "the planned organization of the process of social production to ensure the well-being and all-round development of all members of society...". On more than one occasion he stressed the need to ensure a rate of production development sufficient to create an abundance of goods for the people. We must be guided by these propositions of Lenin's. Our Party is devoting its efforts to the full satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the people. (*Applause.*)

The creative development of Marxism-Leninism is the very foundation of all Party activity, the decisive factor of our successes in communist construction. Guided by

the Leninist principle of the unity of theory and practice, our Party will continue to regard the defence and creative development of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as its most important duty to the peoples of our country and the working people of the entire world.

Comrades, our Congress will discuss the great tasks of building a communist society, the achievement of that great goal which was scientifically substantiated by the great thinkers and revolutionaries Marx, Engels and Lenin. The decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress and the new Party Programme will determine the entire political, organisational and ideological work of the Party.

What are our principal tasks in the field of Party work?

1. First and foremost the Party will direct the efforts of the Soviet people to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, to the perfection of the new social relations and the education of all Soviet people in the communist spirit. The Party, its organisations, all Communists must ensure correct leadership in communist construction, set an example, be in the vanguard, bring a high degree of organisation and planning into all work for communist construction and develop the creative initiative and activity of the masses.

2. The Party must concentrate its attention on the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, on a steady rise in labour productivity and on improving the working people's living standards. Party organisations must head the struggle for technical progress in all branches of the economy, for the wide application of the methods used by innovators and by those who have taken the lead in socialist emulation, and for the all-round development of the movement for communist labour.

3. In conformity with the demands of its new Programme and Rules, the Party will unswervingly observe Leninist standards in Party life and the principle of collective leadership, will make Party bodies and their members more strictly accountable to the Party and the people, will

foster activity and initiative on the part of all Communists and their participation in the elaboration and implementation of Party policy, and will develop criticism and self-criticism. The Party will continue to strengthen the unity of its ranks, preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and conduct an implacable struggle against all manifestations of factionalism and group activity, both of which are incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist Party spirit.

4. The Party will in every way help extend and improve the activities of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organisations, will help enhance their role in communist construction and communist education, will help develop the creative initiative of the masses and strengthen the friendship of all nations of the Soviet Union. The growing scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction make it imperative to strengthen Party, state and public control over, and systematic verification of, fulfilment of decisions. Improvements in the system of control must be effected on a broad public basis to transform it into genuine control by the people.

5. Ideological work, that powerful factor in the struggle for the victory of communism, must be raised to a higher level. The Party will continue working on the new theoretical problems arising out of practice, will educate all Soviet people in a spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, intolerance of all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, in a spirit of greater political vigilance in face of the intrigues of the enemies of communism.

6. The Party regards communist construction in the U.S.S.R. as the fulfilment of its internationalist duty to the working people of all countries. It will continue to work untiringly to strengthen the world socialist system and the unity of the entire international communist and working-class movement. Our Party will develop fraternal contacts with all Communist and Workers' Parties and, together with them, will conduct a determined struggle

for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against the various manifestations of opportunism, against present-day revisionism as the gravest danger, against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Loyalty to the great theory of Marxism-Leninism and ties with the people were in the past, are in the present, and will be in the future the foundation of all our victories, a guarantee of the triumph of communism! (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, this Congress is to examine and discuss magnificent plans for the building of a communist society. These are plans for peaceful creative work, for a gigantic economic and cultural growth, for higher living standards. All the countries of the mighty socialist community are making great headway. Great and clear-cut prospects are ahead of us.

The peoples building socialism and communism do not need war. They adhere to and translate into practice the principle of peaceful coexistence inherited from the great Lenin.

In the name of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, we solemnly proclaim from the rostrum of the Twenty-Second Congress: The Soviet Union will continue to pursue unswervingly the Leninist peaceful foreign policy, and will try to establish mutual trust and co-operation with all states irrespective of their social system. The Soviet Union will continue to strive for the easing of international tension and for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. (*Applause.*)

We have appealed and again appeal to the governments and peoples of the countries that fought together with the Soviet Union against nazi Germany, to put an end to the remnants of the Second World War and remove everything that hinders the strengthening of peace and friendship between nations, everything that holds the threat of a

new war. The Soviet Union's proposals to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and, on that basis, to settle the question of West Berlin, involve no detriment to the interests of other states. The proposals show nothing but solicitude for the strengthening of peace between peoples. We should like to believe that in the end reason will triumph. (*Applause.*)

Under the conditions obtaining today, when there are terribly destructive weapons in the hands of the great powers, it is criminally dangerous to play with fire by fomenting war. We call on the governments of all countries to strive towards mutual understanding and co-operation, towards the peaceful solution of urgent international issues. It is the sacred duty of the peoples to conduct a persistent and energetic struggle, using all available means, for the preservation and consolidation of peace on earth. (*Applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party is taking place on the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The fact that at this Congress our Party is adopting a new Programme is evidence of the historic victories of socialism and communism, is a triumph for the cause of the Great October Revolution, a further victory for Marxism-Leninism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Only forty-four years ago, in the revolutionary days of 1917, our country was faced with the crucial question of choosing a path, of deciding how Russia was to be saved from an imminent national catastrophe. At that time one of the Menshevik leaders said that there was no party in Russia that could assume responsibility for the destinies of the country. It was precisely at that time, in the grim days of 1917, that the leader of the proletarian revolution, Lenin, proclaimed boldly and proudly to the whole world:

"There IS such a Party!" (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Speaking at the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin announced, on behalf of the Central Committee, that the Bolshevik Party was prepared to take power, to assume responsibility for the destinies of our country. He unfolded a breath-taking programme for the victory of the revolution, for the transformation of Russia on socialist lines. Everybody now sees how very right Lenin was when he spoke these momentous words. Our Party took upon itself a tremendous burden, assumed responsibility for the destinies of the country, for the future of its people. The broad shoulders of the Party of Communists proved mighty enough to carry this burden. In the van of the working class and all working people, the Party has, in a brief historical period, fully lived up to its undertaking to transform the country, to make it mighty and prosperous. (*Stormy applause.*)

Everybody now sees and admits this. Yet at the time Lenin announced the readiness of the Party of Communists to assume government of the country, the Russian bourgeois press launched a savage campaign against the Communists, ridiculed and made mock of them. Here is what the monarchist newspaper *New Times* wrote:

“Let us suppose for a moment that the Communists are victorious. Who will rule us then? The cooks, perhaps, or the firemen, the stablemen and furnace-hands. Or perhaps nurse-maids will hurry to a meeting of the State Council between washing babies’ napkins. Who? Who are these statesmen? Stablemen, nurse-maids, cooks—according to the Communists these are the people whose vocation it is to rule the country. Will that come to pass? No! Is it even possible? History will give the Communists a potent answer to that imbecile question.”

And sure enough, history has answered that question with great force. The magnificent victories of the Soviet people in building socialism and communism, in all spheres of economic activity, in the development of science and culture have dispersed like smoke the legend that the

working masses are incapable of creative effort, of governing the state. These victories have shown convincingly that the working people—factory workers, peasants, miners, furnace-hands and cooks—who have taken power into their own hands can govern the state better and more wisely, and develop economy, science, and culture more successfully than, for example, the members of the Russian State Council, the princes, counts, capitalists and landlords who ended their days ingloriously on the émigré scrap-heap. (*Applause.*)

The example of the Soviet Union is an inspiration to all progressive mankind. Never has the great vitality of the theory of Marxism-Leninism been as obvious as it is today, when socialism has gained a complete and final victory in the Soviet Union, when socialism is achieving new successes in all the countries of the world socialist community, when the world communist and working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples are rapidly growing and expanding. The revolution released the enormous energy of the peoples and this energy is transforming the world on socialist and communist lines. Tremendous changes are taking place and will continue to take place in the world under the influence of the achievements of communism. The triumph of communism is inevitable! (*Stormy applause.*)

Ninety years ago Marx, saluting the heroic deeds of the Paris Communards, called them heroes storming the heavens. That was a high assessment of the deeds of the fighters of the Paris Commune, a passionate call for revolutionary struggle. We are proud to be able to say today that the peoples of the Soviet Union, who have built socialism and are now successfully erecting the edifice of communist society, are really storming the heavens both figuratively and literally. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The great army of Communists, of Marxists-Leninists, is the vanguard of the peoples in the struggle for peace and social progress, for the bright future—communism.

Ever more millions of people will rally about the great banner of communism. The cause of progress, the cause of communism, shall triumph! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the great, heroic Soviet people, the builder of communism! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the unbreakable unity and fraternal friendship of the peoples of the world socialist community! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the heroic Party of Communists of the Soviet Union, created and welded by the great Lenin! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the unshakable unity of the international communist and working-class movement, the fraternal solidarity of proletarians of all countries! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy applause.*)

Under the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist Party—forward to the triumph of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Ovation.*)

**ON THE PROGRAMME
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION**

REPORT TO THE 22nd CONGRESS OF C.P.S.U.

October 18, 1961

Comrades, the Twentieth Congress instructed the Central Committee to draft a new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee has done so, and submits the draft, after it has been discussed by the Party and the people, to the Congress for consideration.

Our Congress will go down in history as a congress of the builders of communism, the congress that considered and adopted the great programme for the building of the first communist society in the history of mankind.

From the rostrum of our Congress we address our first words of affection and loyalty to Marx, Engels and Lenin, the geniuses of mankind, the great leaders of the working class. (*Prolonged applause.*) Socialism, which Marx and Engels scientifically predicted as inevitable, socialism, the building of which was outlined by Lenin, has been translated into reality in the Soviet Union. Our country is now on its way to new summits—the summits of communism. (*Applause.*)

In their struggle the working class and its Communist Party go through three historic stages of world impact—

overthrow of the rule of the exploiters, and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; construction of socialism; the creation of a communist society.

Our Party and people have passed the first two stages. And the fact that the Party was invariably successful in each of these stages is due, to a very great extent, to its having a true compass—its militant revolutionary Party programmes built upon the granite foundations of Marxism-Leninism. The first two Programmes were worked out with the immediate participation and guidance of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. When working out the third Programme we constantly turned to Lenin for advice, and were guided by his masterly prevision, his brilliant ideas about the building of socialism and communism. This is why we have every reason to call this Programme, too, a Leninist one. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The twentieth century is a century of striking communist triumphs. In the earlier half of the century socialism gained a firm footing on our planet, and communism will do so in the latter half. The way to this is shown by the new Party Programme, rightly described as the Communist Manifesto of the present epoch. (*Applause.*)

The draft Programme embodies the collective thought of the Party. All Soviet people say: This is our Programme, it accords with our hopes and aspirations.

The ideas set forth in the Programme express the cherished aspirations of all mankind. The draft has been heartily approved by the fraternal parties. It has been received with great enthusiasm by the proletariat, by working people the world over. This speaks of the power of communism, of the great significance of our Programme for the future of mankind.

THE HISTORIC VICTORIES OF SOCIALISM

1. Lenin's Programme Has Been Translated into Reality

Comrades, in October 1917 the Party won its first great victory on the historic path to communism—the rule of the exploiters was overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat was set up. The Party Programme adopted at the Second Congress was fulfilled. The country entered upon the glorious, though unexplored, path of socialist transformation.

A fearless helmsman, our dearly beloved Lenin, stood on the bridge of the Soviet ship. He drew up a brilliant plan of socialist construction. Lenin's Party Programme, adopted at the Eighth Congress, was a daring scientific forecast, a clearcut plan for the building of the new society and an ardent revolutionary appeal to the masses, all in one. The Party proceeded from the fact that we had everything needed to build socialism. It had deep faith in the revolutionary potentialities of the new system and the heroism of the working people.

The difficulties of building the new system were countless. War was raging throughout the vast country. The joint forces of international reaction and domestic counter-revolution bore down upon the Soviet Republic in an attempt to block mankind's road to socialism at its very inception.

The imperialist war and the invasion of interventionists played havoc with Russia's national economy, which had economically lagged 50 to 100 years behind the principal capitalist countries to begin with. In 1919 industrial output in the country was one-fifth that of 1913. Agriculture was at a low ebb.

The difficulties were amplified by the fact that we lacked the experience of organising life along socialist lines, and had to blaze new paths in history. The Soviet

people could not obtain any material or technical assistance from without. The country was in a hostile capitalist encirclement and had to carry on in a state of siege.

Truly titanic efforts were demanded of the Party and the people to surmount all these immense difficulties, and pave the way for the building of the new life.

Our enemies described us Communists as people capable not of building or creating, but only of destroying. Indeed, we tore down the exploiter system hateful to the people. But we did so in order to build up communism, a new and most just social system, on soil cleared of the filth and abomination of capitalism. *The Communists have entered history as the greatest creative force, a force transforming and renewing the world. (Prolonged applause.)*

The facts of history have confirmed that the Communists are the most consistent patriots, the truest sons of their country, the most courageous champions of its interests. It was we, the Bolsheviks, who saved the country from national disaster, from enslavement by foreign imperialists, and who made it great in the eyes of all mankind.

The bourgeois parties, politicians and ideologists met the plan for the building of socialism in Russia with savage hatred and scornful derision. They chanted in unison that the "Bolshevist experiment" would inevitably fail. Churchill predicted a complete decline of all forms of life in Russia and the complete failure of the socialist and communist theories. Today, we could ask Mr. Churchill: Who was the one that failed? Our country, which was economically last among the world's principal countries, has now become the second industrial power and stands in the van of historical progress. Great Britain, in the meantime, once the first power in the world, has irretrievably lost its positions. There you have visual proof of the great transforming power of socialist ideas and of the failure of imperialist ideas. *(Applause.)*

The leaders of the Second International also tried to prove that it was impossible to build socialism in Russia. "Any radical destruction of capitalism is out of the question. . . . Capitalism will revive, it must revive, and probably very soon." This is what Karl Kautsky predicted for our country. He stated bluntly that the Bolshevik Party would not succeed in executing its programme. The Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries chimed in with him. An official document of the Central Committee of the Right Socialist-Revolutionary Party said that "the attempts to turn an economically backward country with a demolished industry and disorganised transport into a socialist basis will do no more than ravage the national economy and plunge the country into chaos and anarchy."

The bourgeois and Social-Democratic quasi-prophets strayed far from the truth. If the Right-wing Socialist leaders had been in the least honest, they would have had to admit that the Bolsheviks were right. The Communist Party turned out to be the only party that knew where to lead the people. It surmounted enormous difficulties, swept aside the Trotskyites, the Right-wing opportunists, the nationalist deviators and other defeatists, and translated its plans into reality, showing unparalleled consistency of word and deed. (*Applause.*)

The chief result of the activities of the Party and the people is the complete and final victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. A great feat of world-wide historic impact has been accomplished. Mankind has been furnished with a science, tested in practice, on the establishment and development of socialism. It is now easier for the other peoples to advance to socialism.

The establishment and consolidation of the socialist state, a state of a new type, and of socialist democracy, a democracy of the highest type, is the principal achievement of the Party and the people in the *political sphere*. The Soviet Union is a country of truly popular rule, freedom and equality.

Our principal historic gains in the *economic sphere* are: the establishment of social ownership and the abolition of private ownership of the means of production which engenders acute conflicts between classes and nations. The bourgeoisie proclaimed that private property, which had existed for thousands of years, was everlasting and sacred. We Communists boldly assaulted that principle. Socialism ushered in an era of social ownership and put an end to anarchy in production, to economic crises and other social upheavals.

In an amazingly short time, a powerful industry was built up, forming the material basis of socialism, the cornerstone of our country's power and prosperity. The Party, equipped with Lenin's co-operative plan, solved the most difficult task next to taking power, that of helping the peasants go over to the socialist path. The voluntary co-operation of the peasantry is an outstanding development in the socio-economic history of mankind.

Take a mental glance at our country, compare it with the past, and you will see how strikingly its face has changed, what a grand path we have travelled in these years.

Russia was regarded as a land of the pick and the barrow, the wooden plough and the spinning wheel. It had one-tenth of the machinery that the United States had, and one-fifth of what Germany had. Today the Soviet Union is a country of advanced technology, of high-powered machine tools and high-precision instruments, of automatic production lines, electronic computers and space-ships. In 1961 the output of our machine-building and metal-working industry was 350 times greater than in 1913, and nearly 1,000 times greater than in 1919.

Russia was regarded as a land of timber, straw and bast, and experienced a real metal famine. Today the Soviet Union is a country of steel and aluminium, of cement and plastics. We produce nearly as much steel as Britain, Federal Germany and France combined.

Russia was regarded as a country of the paraffin lamp and the taper. When the delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets were discussing the GOELRO Electrification Plan there was barely enough electric power in Moscow to light the building in which the Congress convened. Today the Soviet Union has the world's mightiest power-producing giants. We generate more than 300,000 million kwh of electricity. In 1961 there will be about 160 times more power generated than in 1913, and 650 times more than in 1919.

Back in the days when the country was starting socialist construction, Lenin, speaking of the immense tasks that faced us, recalled Nekrasov's famous lines, filled with deep pain for his country and undying faith in its powers:

*Poor and plentiful you are,
Mighty and impotent you are,
Mother Russia!*

It was the unbending resolve of the Bolsheviks, Lenin proclaimed, "to achieve at any price that Russia should cease to be poor and impotent and should become mighty and plentiful in the full meaning of the word".* And we have achieved that! (*Stormy applause.*)

In the *social sphere* the Party has realised the age-long hopes of the masses. All forms of oppression of man by man have been wiped out. The exploiting classes have been abolished. The working class has become the guiding force of society. The peasantry have gone over to socialist farming. Socialist unity of the entire Soviet people has emerged. Women have been given the same rights as men and every opportunity to follow constructive pursuits for the good of society.

In the *ideological sphere* there has been a revolution most far-reaching in content and great in its social signif-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 27, p. 134.

icance and consequences. The Communists have raised aloft the torch of knowledge and science. The cultural revolution has wiped out illiteracy, and millions of people have gained access to the achievements of culture and science. A people's intelligentsia has come into being. We have long since moved into first place in the world in the training of engineers. A socialist culture, the prototype of the universal culture of the future, has developed. Marxism-Leninism has become the ideology of Soviet society. The man-hating ideas nurtured by private ownership have receded into the past. Collective principles have triumphed in the life and work of Soviet people.

The Party has solved *the problem of relations between nations*, a most complicated problem that has troubled mankind for centuries and persists to this day in the capitalist world. Tsarist Russia was known as a "prison of the peoples". The Soviet Union is known as a fraternal family of the peoples, a country where nations live in friendship, and flourish. The Soviet system has roused to new life and led to prosperity all the previously oppressed and under-privileged peoples who stood at different stages of historical development, from the patriarchal clan to the capitalist system. With the help of the more developed nations, above all the great Russian people, the previously backward peoples have by-passed the capitalist path and risen to the level of the advanced peoples. A new historical community of people of different nationalities possessing common characteristics—the Soviet people—has taken shape in the U.S.S.R. They have a common socialist motherland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a common economic basis, the socialist economy, a common social class structure, a common world outlook—Marxism-Leninism—a common goal, that of building communism, and many common features in their spiritual make-up, in their psychology. (*Applause.*)

People's living conditions have been altered radically as a result of all these colossal transformations. In tsarist

Russia the worker's toil was hard and often lasted 12 to 14 hours. His wage was barely enough to keep body and soul together. Many workers lived in slums. The peasants were in the grip of a veritable land famine. Every third family had no horse to plough with. Taxes and other impositions claimed the greater part of the harvest. Most of the peasants were undernourished. They had meat on big holidays only, and sugar was a luxury they could not afford. Each year thousands of peasants were ruined, and swelled the army of unemployed in the towns.

Socialism has given the peoples a different life. Unemployment, that terrible scourge of the workingman, has long been wiped out. With account of the elimination of unemployment and of reductions in the working day, the Soviet workers' real wages have risen 480 per cent, and the real incomes of Soviet peasants more than 500 per cent. Gas, electricity, television, radio, refrigerators, books and newspapers have all come to the homes of the working people. House rents in our country are the lowest in the world. A law abolishing taxes is being put through. The fact that the average life span has risen to 69 years is striking testimony to our successes. Socialism has thereby more than doubled life expectancy. Communism will yield a further rise in life expectancy and make a reality of the poet's dream—"We'll live to longevity, never reaching senility". (*Applause.*)

Socialism has, for the first time in history, provided man with the basic social rights—the right to labour, leisure, material security in old age, sickness and disability, and the right to education. Socialism has given Soviet people a great sense of faith in their own and their children's future, a sense of security, and has moulded them in the spirit of historical optimism.

The colossal power of socialism was demonstrated in the Great Patriotic War, in which the German fascist hordes, considered unbeatable, were crushed.

The victory of socialism has brought about far-reaching changes in the character of social development. For thousands of years people suffered from the spontaneous operation of objective social laws, whose pawns they were. Under socialism people not only become cognizant of objective laws, but master them. The workers and peasants, whom the exploiters treated as an inarticulate and inert mass, have revealed, in the socialist environment, a truly boundless capacity for creative endeavour, wonders of heroism, unparalleled bravery and titanic strength. In the working people of all countries the example of the Soviet Union has nurtured confidence in their strength.

The basic advantages displayed by the socialist system in our country provided the most conclusive answer to the question of what path mankind is to take. The facts show that all the plans of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties have fallen through: these parties have not lived up to their promises. They have not solved any of the basic social problems, nor could they have solved any. History has corroborated that the Communists constitute the only socio-political force that actually solves the social problems troubling mankind and fulfils its programmatic undertakings.

2. The Chief Results of World Development

Comrades, the Party Programme adopted at the Eighth Congress pointed out that the development of imperialism and of its contradictions "has made inevitable the downfall of capitalism and transition to the highest type of social economy". The Programme declared that the era of world-wide proletarian, communist revolution had begun. All subsequent historical development proceeded just as the Marxists-Leninists had foreseen.

Let us compare the political maps of the world in 1919 and in our day.

	1919				1961			
	Area		Population		Area		Population	
	million sq km	%%	millions	%%	million sq km	%%	millions	%%
I. The world . . .	135.4	100	1,777	100	135.4	100	3,017	100
1) The socialist world	21.7	16.0	138.0	7.8	35.1	25.9	1,072	35.5
2) The rest of the world . . .	113.7	84.0	1,639	92.2	100.3	74.1	1,945	64.5
II. The big impe- rialist powers (U.S.A., Brit- ain, Germany —F.R.G., France, Japan, Italy) and their colonies	60.3	44.5	855	48.1	18.6	13.7	541.5	17.9
III. All colonies, semi-colonies and dominions	104.5	77.2	1,230	69.2	14.2	10.5	85.4	2.8
IV. Former colonies and semi-colo- nies that won independence after 1919 (ex- cluding social- ist countries) .	—	—	—	—	72.2	53.4	1,228	40.7

What do these comparisons reveal? The great revolutionary forces of modern time have radically refashioned the face of the earth. Imperialism has irretrievably lost its hold on the bulk of the peoples. The main avenue along which mankind advances has been established. It is socialism.

The formation of the world socialist system is the principal result of the progressive development of society in our epoch. The triumph of socialist revolutions in China and in a number of other European and Asian countries has been the biggest development in world history since October 1917.

The world socialist system is a young system. But it has already accumulated enough experience to draw conclusions of enormous significance for the charting of the ways of mankind's further development.

That the socialist system inevitably replaces the capitalist has now been confirmed by the experience not of just one country, but of a large group of countries. The decisive advantages of socialism have been proved. The new system has ensured high rates of development of the productive forces, steadily rising living standards for the working people, freedom from exploitation, and broad social and political rights for the individual.

The glorious Marxist-Leninist parties of the fraternal countries have contributed substantially to the collective experience of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Besides the vast experience of the U.S.S.R., the international working-class movement is now equipped with the experience of people's democracy, a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the experience of peaceful transition from the democratic phase of revolution to the socialist phase; the experience of utilising parliament and the multi-party system in the interests of socialist construction; the experience of building socialist society in industrially developed countries; the experience of economically underdeveloped countries by-passing the capitalist stage of development in their transition to socialism; and the experience of socialist change in the countryside without nationalising land, in view of the long-time tradition of deep attachment which the peasantry has for private landownership.

Socialism has developed a new type of economic and political relations between states and peoples. Socialist internationalism, all-round comradely co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance, and complete equality of all sovereign countries—those are the main features of the relations obtaining in the socialist community. The age-old antagonism between nations has been wiped out in the

socialist community and the principles of fraternity and friendship among the peoples prevail. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The socialist system is turning more and more into a dominant factor of world development in the interests of peace and social progress. By the force of its example the socialist community is inspiring the working class and all the working people in other countries to intensify their struggle against capitalist oppression, for their essential rights and interests, for social and national liberation, and lasting peace. The facts of life are leading the masses up to the realisation that socialism is the true spring-tide of the world and that capitalism is its yesteryear. (*Applause.*)

The collapse of the colonial system is second in historical significance among the results of world development. The emergence and consolidation of socialism ushered in the era of liberation for the oppressed peoples. It was only when socialism became a powerful force that a historic development such as the liberation from colonial oppression of more than 1,500 million people, could occur. The national-liberation revolutions inflicted a staggering blow to the Bastille of colonialism. Forty-two sovereign states have sprung up on the ruins of colonial empires.

Imperialism turned entire continents into prisons for the peoples. It put chains of slavery on hundreds of millions of people and fenced them off for centuries from civilisation. It warped the economies of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, making them one-sided, with an emphasis on agriculture and raw materials. Judge for yourselves, comrades. In terms of the capitalist economy countries inhabited by more than two-thirds of the population of the non-socialist world produce as little as about one-tenth of the output of the manufacturing industry, approximately 3 per cent of the machinery and equipment, and 5 per cent of the metals. In the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa the annual income per head

of the population is 20 to 25 times lower than in the United States of America.

After the many years of "care" which the capitalist "civilisers" dispensed to the colonies, millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are literally starving to death. The average life span in those regions is about half of what it is in their former metropolitan countries. In Africa child mortality is extremely high. Over 80 per cent of Africa's adult population and over 40 per cent of Latin America's can neither read nor write. Such is the terrible price paid for the so-called civilisation of the "free world". It is only natural that the peoples are tearing down the disgraceful system of relations created by the colonialists.

The third result of world development is an acute all-round weakening of capitalism and a fresh sharpening of its general crisis. The facts have fully corroborated Lenin's analysis of capitalism and of imperialism, its highest stage, presented in the second Programme of our Party. This is why we have deemed it necessary to reproduce the fundamental theses on this matter in the new Party Programme as well.

The socialist and national-liberation revolutions, the growth of the world socialist system and the disintegration of the colonial system—those are decisive factors deepening the general crisis of capitalism, which has in recent years entered a new, third stage. But they are not the only factors adding to the crisis of capitalism. The crisis of world capitalism is a far-flung and all-embracing process involving all aspects of life in bourgeois society—the economy, domestic and foreign policy, and the ideological superstructure.

To begin with, it should be noted that *the economic instability of capitalism has increased steeply and the uneven development of some countries in relation to others has become far more marked.* The rates of the economic development of the capitalist system are dropping, and in some countries are barely ahead of the growth of popu-

lation. Economic crises are becoming more frequent, especially in the United States. War production has become a permanent element of the economy. Militarism has swelled to enormous proportions. Fifteen to twenty per cent of the national income is spent on armaments. A substantial portion of the manpower is not being used to produce material values. The chronic underloading of the production apparatus is all the time increasing in scale. During crises underloading of productive capacities in some industries amounts to as much as 50 per cent. In many countries mass unemployment, to say nothing of agrarian over-population, has assumed the proportions of a real national calamity. According to official statistics 8-10 million out of 85 million industrial workers in the developed capitalist countries of North America and Western Europe, and in Japan and Australia are fully unemployed. This means that on the average one person in every nine is unemployed.

The political instability of world capitalism has increased, especially as a result of mounting class antagonisms. This is indicated convincingly by the deepening of the contradictions between the handful of monopolists and all the other sections of the people, and by the vast scale of the working-class struggle, the mounting struggle of the peasants, and the mass actions of the working people in defence of democracy, against fascism and the despotic militarist regimes. It is also strikingly illustrated by the ever-growing role and influence of the Communist parties.

The structure of imperialism is afflicted from top to bottom by an acute and deep-going crisis. This does not mean, of course, that imperialism is in a state of complete stagnation, that its productive forces are bogged down. A more rapid growth of capitalist economy may be observed at different periods in different capitalist countries under the influence of incidental factors. But on the whole, capitalist relations of production are increasingly inhibiting the development of modern productive forces. In our time

it is the rates of growth of production in the socialist countries that constitute the criterion of their development. In the past decade the average annual rate of growth of the capitalist economy did not, on the whole, exceed 5 per cent, while it was nearly 14 per cent in the socialist world.

Imperialist ideologists and politicians are vainly trying to prove that capitalism still commands great possibilities and "reserves" of development. The Right-wing Socialists and other defenders of imperialism capitalise on the new phenomena in capitalist economy to infer that capitalism is changing its nature and, of all things, evolutionising towards socialism. All that is nonsense, of course. In effect, these new phenomena could not do more to confirm Lenin's analysis of imperialism. They show that there is no such thing as "transformation" of capitalism, and that the process of its growing enfeeblement, sharpening of contradictions, increasing decay and parasitism is well under way.

What, in substance, are the apologists of imperialism pinning their hopes on? Above all on state-monopoly capitalism. But, as we know, state-monopoly capitalism has been operative for quite some time. And what do the facts show? They reaffirm that state-monopoly capitalism by no means signifies the emergence of a new stage of capitalist development distinct from imperialism, that it does not signify the development of the bourgeois state into a mediator, a supra-class force safeguarding private and public interests and the interests of both labour and capital, to an equal degree. State-monopoly capitalism constitutes a fusion of the strength of the monopolies and that of the state into a single mechanism subordinating all aspects of the nation's life to the interests of the financial oligarchy. The monopolies remain the basis of the economy, and not just within the framework of individual countries, but also on the scale of the capitalist world as a whole. Suffice it to say that nearly one-third of world capitalist production is concentrated in the hands of only

200 major monopolies. Like giant octopuses, they have fastened their tentacles upon entire countries and continents, sucking the lifeblood out of the peoples.

True, the transition to state monopolies and increasing intervention by the state in the process of capitalist reproduction make it possible to exercise a certain influence on the development of the productive forces and facilitate a mobilisation of resources in the interests of the financial oligarchy. The state's intervention in economic relations in the interests of the monopolies has had a certain effect, inducing some growth of production and renewal of basic capital in the post-war period. Conscious of the far-reaching social consequences likely to follow economic crises of the scale of 1929-33, the monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to soften by methods of state control the destructive impact of the economic upheavals inherent in capitalism. However, state-monopoly capitalism does not cancel—nor can it cancel—the objective economic laws of capitalism, eliminate spontaneity and anarchy of production, economic crises and the other evils of the capitalist system.

In the U.S.A. state-monopoly capitalism is highly developed. But what good has it done the country? It is in the United States that underloading of plants is most acute. At a time when vast multitudes starve in the capitalist world, U.S. monopolists hand out premiums for curtailments of sown areas and reductions in the output of agricultural produce. In place of the vaunted "full employment", the U.S.A. has a permanent army of many millions of fully and partially unemployed.

It follows that the hopes pinned on state-monopoly capitalism as a means of salvaging imperialism are essentially groundless.

American imperialism aspires to the role of citadel and saviour of world capitalism. The United States is, undeniably, the richest and mightiest power of the capitalist world. But it is becoming more and more the epicentre of

capitalism's economic difficulties. Furthermore, the fact should also be noted that for all of the last decade the share of the U.S.A. in world capitalist production and commerce has been dropping steadily. American capitalism has passed its prime, and is declining.

There is yet another reason why the designs of the United States to "integrate" the whole capitalist world under its aegis proved futile. It is the ineradicable economic strife between the imperialist states. The international state-monopoly organisations springing up under the guise of integration of the capitalist countries, of alleviating the problem of markets are in effect new forms of redividing the world capitalist market and are becoming sources of acute strain and conflict. Objectively, there are two trends that operate and intertwine in the imperialist camp. One is the trend towards joining all its forces against socialism, and the other towards an aggravation of the contradictions between the imperialist powers, and also between the imperialist powers and the other countries of the capitalist world. The United States has not succeeded, and will not succeed, in overcoming the latter trend. The American financial oligarchy does not have the strength of the means to implement its claims to the role of saviour of capitalism, to say nothing of its claims to world domination.

Comrades, the more acutely the exploiting essence of capitalism, its anti-popular ideology and moral degradation come to the fore, the more stridently the advocates of the bourgeoisie try to extol capitalism. But what has capitalism given mankind? It warps the achievements of man's creative genius and turns them against him. It has turned the release of atomic energy into a menace to mankind. Capitalism turns every new technological advance against man. The wealth of a few countries is maintained by the poverty of the peoples of many other countries. Even the pure light of science, as Marx put it, is unable to shine under capitalism but on the dark background of ignorance.

Not only does a mere handful of millionaires and multi-millionaires arbitrarily control the entire wealth of the capitalist world; it makes the destinies of entire nations a coin of exchange. Within the lifetime of a single generation the imperialists have started two world wars. The price paid by mankind for the policy of the imperialists amounts to about 80 million dead or crippled, to say nothing of the incalculable destruction of material values. Some investigators estimate that the cost of the wars and war preparations in the early half of the twentieth century (1900-53) added up in the whole world to a truly astronomical figure—more than \$4,000,000 million.

Let us see what could have been done for man's benefit with these funds. The entire population of our planet could have been supplied free bread for half a century. Comfortable dwellings could have been built with these funds for 500 million families, i. e., for two-thirds of the world population. At present imperialism compels mankind to spend at least \$100,000 million annually for military purposes. If only 20 per cent of that sum were annually spent on helping the underdeveloped countries in the course of 25 years, it would be possible to build power stations totalling 230 million kw and steel works producing 185 million tons of steel a year, irrigate more than 100 million hectares of land, and do many other big things to improve the life of peoples. All this demonstrates once again how urgent the struggle for disarmament is to all the peoples.

To summarise the principal results of world development, we can say: History is developing the way Marx and Lenin predicted. The forces of socialism, all the forces of world progress, are on the upgrade. The peoples are more and more resolutely breaking away from imperialism. The downfall of imperialism and the triumph of socialism on a world scale are inevitable. (*Prolonged applause.*)

II

COMMUNISM IS THE GREAT GOAL OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

Comrades, the new Programme is a new milestone in the history of our Party and of Soviet society as a whole. Each of our Party Programmes corresponds to a definite historical stage in the country's development. Yet all our Programmes are interlinked. Taken as components of a single whole, they form an integral Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution, of socialist and communist construction, a theory confirmed by experience. The Programmes of the Party may be compared to a three-stage rocket. The first stage wrested our country away from the capitalist world, the second propelled it to socialism, and the third is to place it in the orbit of communism. It is a wonderful rocket, comrades! (*Stormy applause.*) It follows the exact course charted by the great Lenin and by our revolutionary theory, and is powered by the greatest of all energies—the energy of the builders of communism. (*Applause.*)

What are the main features of the draft Programme?

The main thing is that *it is a concrete, scientifically substantiated programme for the building of communism.* The draft shows clearly how the bright edifice of communism is to be erected. We see how it should be built, how it looks from within and without, what kind of people will live in it, and what they will do to make it still more comfortable and attractive. We can proudly tell those who want to know what communism is: "Read our Party Programme." (*Prolonged applause.*)

The draft Programme marks *a new stage in the development of the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin.* The Programme furnishes an explicit answer to all the basic questions of the theory and practice of the struggle for communism and to the key questions of present-day world development. The Twentieth and Twenty-

First congresses of the C.P.S.U., which introduced much that was new in principle into the solution of the fundamental issues of Party life and the life of Soviet society, and into the analysis of the processes of world development, have been of enormous, truly historic importance in the drafting of the Programme. It would have been much harder for us to work out such a Programme if there had been no Twentieth and Twenty-First congresses of the C.P.S.U.

The spirit and content of the draft reflect *the unity and indivisibility of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of communist construction*. The Programme defines concrete tasks in industry, agriculture, development of the state, science and culture and in communist education. Comrades, just think of the heights the Soviet people have scaled, if they can chart the perspective of social development for so considerable a historical period.

The third Party Programme is a programme of the whole Soviet people. When the Party was adopting its first Programme it was followed by small groups of politically conscious workers. When it was adopting its second Programme it was followed by the working class and the bulk of the working peasantry. Now it is followed by the whole Soviet people. Our people accepted the Party Programme as their own cause, as the greatest purpose of their lives. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The new Programme signifies a full realisation in practice of the Party slogan, "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man". It gives predominance to matters concerning the further improvement of the people's material well-being and culture, the flowering of the human personality. And that is as it should be. The Bolsheviks hoisted the flag of revolution in order to make the life of the working people joyous and happy. The third Party Programme ushers in a period when all the difficulties and hardships borne by the Soviet people in the name of their great cause will be rewarded a hundred-fold.

The draft Programme proceeds from the new international conditions: *Communism is being built not in a capitalist encirclement, but under the conditions created by the existence of a world socialist system, the increasing superiority of the socialist forces over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war.* The imperialist countries naturally strive to impede the economic and social progress of the Soviet land in every way, forcing it to incur defence expenditures. If this were not so, our rates of development would be still higher. However, as the forces of socialism increase and world imperialism grows weaker, more favourable conditions will arise for our economic and cultural development.

Our Programme is imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism. Lenin's Party has always honourably fulfilled its obligations with respect to its brothers abroad. In October 1917 it brought the dawn of liberation to the world. It erected the beacon of socialism, and all peoples can see it. That beacon illumines their way towards the new social system. Lenin's Party will bear aloft the banner of internationalism in the future as well. The Party now considers it its prime internationalist duty to build communism in a brief space of history. (*Applause.*)

The draft Programme is *a document of true communist humanism; it is imbued with the ideas of peace and fraternity among nations.* We place the continuously expanding might of our country at the service of peace and mankind's progress. When the Soviet Union will have become the first industrial power, when the socialist system will have fully become the decisive factor of world development, and when the peace forces the world over will have grown still greater, the scales will tilt once and for all in favour of the forces of peace and the barometer of the international weather will show: "Clear. The menace of world war is gone never to return." (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, communism is mankind's age-old dream. The working masses trusted that slavery and dependence,

tyranny and poverty, the bitter struggle for one's daily bread, and wars between peoples would give place to a society where Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality and Fraternity reign supreme. (*Applause.*) The spontaneous movement of the masses produced utopian theories of a future golden age.

Spokesmen of utopian socialism produced trenchant criticism of the system of exploitation and its evils. They depicted the society of the future. But they were closer to the truth when they spoke of what would be absent in that society than when they outlined the ways of achieving socialism. For all that, behind the imaginings in these pictures of an ideal social system we still find germs of brilliant ideas. We gratefully recall the names of the great Utopian-Socialists Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Campanella and More, and of our Russian revolutionary democrats—Chernyshevsky, Herzen, Belinsky and Dobrolyubov, who came closer than others to scientific socialism.

But it was Marx, Engels and Lenin who created the theory of scientific communism and indicated realistic ways and means of establishing the new society and the revolutionary forces destined to destroy the old world and build the world of communism.

Marx and Engels defined the most characteristic features of communism. Today, when we are building communist society in practice, we cannot but admire the brilliant foresight of our teachers. Their vision actually reached across an entire century.

Lenin, the great founder of our Party, developed the Marxist teaching of communist society further. He furnished a clear-cut definition of the two phases of communism, charted the plan of building socialism and revealed the objective laws of its development into communist society.

Our conception of the communist system is based entirely on the scientific conclusions of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. But we have an advantage over them

in one, very essential respect: we live in the latter half of the twentieth century and have at our disposal vast and invaluable practical experience of socialist and communist construction. And not on some small island of Utopia cast away in the ocean, as Thomas More pictured it, not in a City of the Sun, as depicted by Tommaso Campanella, and not on a strip of land in distant America, as Robert Owen planned. No, the new life is being built on an immense section of the earth.

Not only are we able today to picture communist society more accurately, but also, and this is most important, to define the practical ways of building it, to impart concrete substance to the principles of scientific communism. We see more clearly and distinctly much that was hidden to our forerunners by the veil of time, because the trends of development of socialist society which lead to the victory of communism have by now become quite tangible. It stands to reason that even now, faithful to the example set by our teachers, we do not attempt to define all the details of a developed communist society.

The draft Programme gives the following definition of communism:

“Communism is a classless social system with one single form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all the springs of collective wealth will flow more abundantly, and the great principle ‘From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs’, will be implemented. Communism is a highly organised society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labour for the good of society will become the prime, vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognised by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.”

Let me go into some of the aspects in the description of communist society. Communism implies highly-organised production centralised on the scale of society as a whole and managed along the broadest democratic lines. Communist society is not an association of self-contained, autarkic economic organisms. By no means. Communist society, more than any other, will need unified economic planning, organised distribution of labour and regulation of working time. The need of this springs from the demands presented by the development of the productive forces, from the far-reaching inter-relation of the various branches of economy, the interests of continuous technical progress and from the communist principles of distribution and consumption. Development of the communist economy is impossible, unless the entire people participate most actively in the management of production.

For the first time, the draft elaborates upon the concrete ways and means of effecting the great communist slogan, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". It is a proper combination of material labour incentives and increasing distribution through public funds that leads up to the implementation of the principles of communist equality.

Some people picture living conditions under communism wrongly and narrow-mindedly. They grasp at just the second part of the formula, "according to needs", and reason something like this: "Under communism you work if you wish, or drift from the Far East to the west, and from the west to the south if you wish; you'll be provided according to needs all the same." A big spoon is all they are equipping themselves with for communism. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

We have to disappoint them from the very outset. Their notion has nothing in common with communism. Communist society will have the most advanced technology, the most advanced and best organised production, the most advanced machinery. But it will be people that operate the machines. Machines are dead things, unless there is a man

to operate them. Thoroughness, good organisation and discipline are therefore a golden rule, an obligatory standard of behaviour for every workingman. He will not be made to perform his duties by the goad of hunger, as under capitalism; he will perform them consciously and of his own free will. Everyone will be conscious of the duty to contribute his labour to the creation of both the material and spiritual blessings. All Soviet people must work so well as to be able to say, when the bright edifice of communism is built: I have done my bit for it as well.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism emphasised that communism is not fenced off by a wall from socialism, that communism and socialism are two phases of one and the same socio-economic formation, distinguished from one another by the degree of economic development and the maturity of social relations.

Socialism does not develop on its own foundation. For all its immense achievements of world historic significance, in many respects—the economic, legal and moral, and in the consciousness of men—it still bears an imprint of the old system, from which it has emerged. Communism is a higher and more perfect stage of social life, and can develop only after socialism is fully consolidated. Under communism all the after-effects of the capitalist system will be completely eliminated.

The fact that communism develops on its own foundation predetermines the distinctive features of its construction. The transition from capitalism to socialism is effected under conditions of class struggle. It involves a radical break-up of social relations, a sweeping social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, the transition to communism proceeds in the absence of any exploiting classes, when all members of society—workers, peasants and intellectuals—have a vested interest in the victory of communism, and work for it consciously. It is natural therefore that the building of communism is effected by the most democratic methods,

by way of improving and developing social relations, with due account of the departure of the old forms of life and the appearance of new forms, of their interlacement and mutual influence. Society will no longer experience the difficulties induced by class struggle within the country. All this will serve to accelerate the rates of social development in the period of transition to communism.

The historical limits of the draft Programme are 20 years. Why did we set this term? When the draft Programme was being discussed, some comrades wondered whether the time allocated to the task was not too long. No, comrades. To prepare society for the establishment of the principles of communism we have to develop the productive forces enormously and create an abundance of material and spiritual values. And that takes a certain amount of time. The bowl of communism is a bowl of abundance, and it must always be full. Everyone must contribute his bit to it, and everyone must take from it. It would be a fatal error to decree the introduction of communism before all the necessary conditions for it have matured. If we were to proclaim that we introduce communism when the bowl is still far from full, we would be unable to take from it according to needs. In that case we would only discredit the ideas of communism, disrupt the initiative of the working people and retard the advance to communism. We base ourselves on strictly scientific estimates, which indicate that we shall, in the main, have built a communist society within 20 years. (*Prolonged applause.*)

What does it mean to build communism in the main? It means that:

in the *economic* sphere the material and technical basis of communism will be created; the economy of the Soviet Union will surpass that of the most developed capitalist countries and move into first place for production per head of the population, the world's highest living standard will be ensured and all the conditions created to attain an abundance of material and cultural values;

in the sphere of social relations the still existing remnants of distinctions between classes will be eliminated; classes will fuse into a classless society of communist working people; the essential distinctions between town and country, and then between physical and mental labour, will, in the main, be eradicated; there will be greater economic and ideological community among nations; the features will develop of the man of communist society, a man harmoniously combining ideological integrity, broad education, moral purity and physical perfection;

in the *political* sphere all citizens will participate in the administration of public affairs, and society will prepare itself for the full implementation of the principles of communist self-government through a most extensive development of socialist democracy.

III

FROM SOCIALIST TO COMMUNIST ECONOMY

1. Creation of the Material and Technical Basis of Communism

Comrades, the draft Programme sets out a majestic perspective for the building of unprecedentedly powerful productive forces in our country, the development of the Soviet Union into the world's leading industrial power. V. I. Lenin said: "We value communism only when it is economically substantiated." The draft Programme furnishes this substantiation.

A material and technical basis for communism will be built up in the U.S.S.R. in the course of two decades. This is the principal economic task, the cornerstone of our Party's general line.

The building of the material and technical basis of communism is the decisive link in the chain of economic, social and cultural tasks, and is prescribed by the internal as well as the external conditions of our country's devel-

opment. It will enable us to carry out the following most important tasks:

firstly, to build up unprecedentedly powerful productive forces and move into first place in the world for production per head of the population;

secondly, to achieve the world's highest productivity of labour, which, in the final analysis, is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system, and to equip the Soviet people with the most advanced technology, to turn labour into a source of joy, inspiration and creative endeavour (*applause*);

thirdly, to develop the production of material values for the satisfaction of all the requirements of Soviet people, to ensure the highest standard of living for the whole population, to create all the conditions for the ultimate transition to distribution according to needs;

fourthly, to gradually convert the socialist relations of production into communist relations, to create a classless society, to erase the essential distinctions between town and country, and later on between mental and physical labour.

Last but not least, it is only in building up the material and technical basis of communism that we can win the economic competition with capitalism and always maintain the country's defences at a level adequate to crush any aggressor who dares to draw the sword against the Soviet Union, the socialist world as a whole. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Do we have all we need to build up the material and technical basis of communism in two decades? Yes, comrades, we do. We have a social system of giant creative power, immense production capacities and inexhaustible natural resources. We have a first-class technology and the most advanced science in the world. The Soviet Union has developed splendid qualified personnel equal to the tasks of communist construction. The Soviet people is led by a wise and battle-hardened Party. (*Applause.*)

The creation of the material and technical basis of com-

munism will, naturally, call for tremendous funds. Capital investments in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. over the coming 20 years have been set at approximately 2,000,000 million rubles. Just think of the scale our capital construction has now assumed, comrades! We have to count in trillions!

Will the mobilisation of such immense resources entail hardships and sacrifices, as in the period of industrialisation? We have every reason to say that it will not. And primarily because a mighty industry has been built up in our country.

The role of heavy industry in the improvement of the people's welfare and in the solution of the problem of accumulation now presents itself in a new way. We know that heavy industry has two categories of plants—firstly, those that produce means of production for industries that also produce means of production, and, secondly, plants that produce means of production for the light and food industries, for agriculture, housing construction and for the cultural and public services. At the time when our heavy industry was only being built up we had to concentrate our resources primarily on the development of plants of the first category and restrict investments in the second category of plants. At present we are able to increase our capital investments considerably in the second category of plants as well, which will step up the rates of growth of popular consumption. In 1980 the output of the first category of plants will have increased about six-fold over 1960 and that of the second category—13-fold. Besides, our heavy industry will produce increasing quantities of cultural and household goods to meet the growing demand. In developing heavy industry, we proceed from Lenin's thesis that "means of production... are not manufactured for their own sake, but only because more and more means of production are demanded by the branches of industry manufacturing articles of consumption".

The 20-year national economic development plan (the general perspective) envisages a considerable approximation between the rates of growth in the production of means of production and the production of articles of consumption. In 1929-40, in industry, the average annual rates of accretion in the production of means of production exceeded the rates of accretion in the production of articles of consumption by nearly 70 per cent, whereas in 1961-80 the difference between them will be approximately 20 per cent.

Heavy industry has always played, and will continue to play, the leading role in extended reproduction. The Party will continue to show constant concern for its growth, since it regards heavy industry as the decisive factor for the building of the material and technical basis and for rapid technical progress, as the basis for the consolidation of the socialist state's defence capacity. At the same time, the Party will do its utmost for heavy industry to ensure a steadily growing output of consumer goods.

We are equal to the planned scale of capital investment also because all social production and the national income will rise steeply. The farther we advance, the greater is the "weight" of each per cent of the national income set aside for accumulation, and, consequently, the greater are the funds we can allocate to capital investment. And one more important circumstance. The further development of technology and rising productivity of labour will serve to increase output per each invested ruble.

On the strength of our experience and our realistic estimates of the future, we are able to fix the approximate scale of production and to speak about time limits for the building of the material and technical basis of communism in terms of concrete figures. Here are a few estimates made by our planning bodies.*

* See p. 194.

The aggregate social product is the most general index for all branches of social production. It is planned to increase it about five-fold in the coming twenty years. The industrial output will rise not less than six-fold, and the aggregate agricultural output approximately 3.5-fold. This is tantamount to saying that another five industrial and more than two agrarian countries like the Soviet Union today, will be created in our bountiful land. (*Prolonged applause.*) *In twenty years Soviet industry will produce nearly twice as much as is now produced in the whole non-socialist world.*

In the coming 20 years the production of the means of production in our industry will increase approximately seven-fold. Our country's basic production assets will be five times as great as they are today. This means, in effect, that our industries will be totally re-equipped with the latest machinery. The production apparatus of the Soviet Union will be the most powerful, the newest and the most advanced. The accumulation of new production assets is a gradual process. It is therefore necessary to make the best use of all the means of production in operation, of all available machinery, raising its efficiency to the utmost.

The Soviet economy will continue to develop at a rapid pace. In the coming twenty years the average annual increase in industrial output will amount to not less than 9-10 per cent. This means that our rates of economic growth will continue to be much higher than those of the capitalist countries.

The draft Programme of the C.P.S.U. has mapped out *the basic trends in the building of the material and technical basis of communism.*

The building of the material and technical basis of communism implies an advance to a new level of technology and proficiency, of organisation of production, and an increasing development of the processes of concentration, specialisation, co-operation and combination. Science is becoming more and more of a productive force, and pro-

duction, a technological application of modern science. As Lenin repeatedly stressed, communism can never be built without the latest technology, without new scientific discoveries.

Development of Soviet Industry in 1960-80
(in prices of July 1,1955)

	1960	1970	1980	Number of times greater than in 1960
Aggregate industrial output in wholesale factory prices (000 million rubles)	155	408	970-1,000	6.2-6.4
including:				
Production of means of production—group "A" (000 million rubles)	105	287	720-740	6.8-7
Production of consumer goods—group "B" (000 million rubles)	50	121	250-260	5-5.2
Electric power (000 million kwh)	292.3	900-1,000	2,700-3,000	9.2-10.3
Steel (000,000 tons)	65	145	250	3.8
Oil (000,000 tons)	148	390	690-710	4.7-4.8
Gas (000 million cu m) . . .	47	310-325	680-720	14.4-15.2
Coal (000,000 tons)	513	686-700	1,180-1,200	2.3-2.34
Output of engineering and metal-working industries (000 million rubles)	34	115	334-375	9.8-11
Mineral fertilisers (in conventional units—000,000 tons)	13.9	77	125-135	9-9.7
Synthetic tars and plastics (000 tons)	332	5,300	19,000-21,000	57-63
Artificial and synthetic fibre (000 tons)	211	1,350	3,100-3,300	14.7-15.6
Cement (000,000 tons)	45.5	122	233-235	5.1-5.2
Textiles (000 million sq m) .	6.6	13.6	20-22	3-3.3
Leather footwear (000,000 pairs)	419	825	900-1,000	2.1-2.4
Cultural and household goods (000 million rubles)	5.9	18	58-60	9.8-10.1

What new implements of labour, to use Marx's words, form the bone and sinew of communist production? They are a system of machines for comprehensive mechanisation and automation. Under the conditions of communist construction automation ushers in a new era in the development of technology. The development and use of chemical products, of new highly-efficient materials, new objects of labour and widespread application of chemical methods will play an increasing role in production. There is a pressing need to increase greatly the durability and reliability of metals and other materials, especially those subjected to extra-high pressures, temperatures and speeds. In the long-term view, sources of raw materials will be greatly increased by deeper penetration into the bowels of the earth and the use of the biological and mineral resources of the oceans and seas.

The draft Programme points to the prime importance of *the electrification of the whole country*. Lenin said that "electrification upon the basis of the Soviet system will achieve final victory for the foundations of communism". Lenin's idea of complete electrification is the keynote of the entire programme of communist economic construction.

Lenin presented the first comprehensive plan for the development of the country's economy—the GOELRO Plan, and described it as the Party's second programme. It was envisaged to raise the output of electric power to 8,800 million kwh a year. The plan was implemented ahead of schedule. As far back as 1947 our country had moved into first place in Europe and second place in the world for electric power output.

The overall capacity of our power stations in 1960 amounted to 66,700,000 kw.

We are on our way to developing new sources of energy and new methods of generating it. A solution of the problem of direct conversion of other types of energy into electric power, with a steep rise in efficiency of power-generating plant, will be highly important.

The general perspective envisages the priority development of electric power production. It is envisaged to raise power output to 2,700,000-3,000,000 million kwh in 1980, i.e., to produce nine or ten times more than in 1960.

In 1980 our country will be generating roughly 50 per cent more power than all the other countries of the world combined are generating today. The result will be an eight- or nine-fold increase in the electric power consumption per industrial worker. (*Applause.*)

By then the Soviet Union is to exceed the United States not only in electric power output but in kilowatt-hours generated per head of population.

This increase will result in a large-scale electrification of transport, agriculture and communal facilities in town and country.

The electrification of the whole country will thus play a key role in advancing all branches of the national economy and stimulating technological progress.

What grand, truly breath-taking plans, comrades! Indeed, the sun of communism is rising over our land! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Party and the people are determined steadily to carry out their plans for construction, which will guarantee the fulfilment of Lenin's programme for the complete electrification of the country.

Our planning bodies have worked out a tentative scheme for the construction of major thermal and hydropower stations. This scheme is subject to most thorough deliberation with respect to each individual station. Considerable alterations may be effected in it by further technical progress.

In the coming 20 years we are to build 180 mighty hydropower stations, about 200 district thermal stations up to 3,000,000 kilowatts each, and 260 big heat-and-power stations.

In Eastern Siberia, we shall complete the Bratsk and Krasnoyarsk hydropower stations and by 1980 plan to build

a few more large-scale ones, such as the Sayan, Ust-Ilim, Boguchany, Yeniseisk and Osinovka stations on the Angara and Yenisei, and a station on the Lower Tunguska. The capacity of each of these is to exceed 4,000,000 kw. (Applause.)

In addition, we shall build two groups of highly effective super-powerful thermal stations there, fuelled with coal from the Kansk-Achinsk Basin—the Itat-Bogotol group in the vicinity of Krasnoyarsk, and the Irsha-Borodino group (each of 3,000,000 kw and up) in the area of Kansk-Taishet.

Large hydropower stations of importance both for electrification and irrigation are to be built in Central Asia. These include the Nurek and Rogun stations on the Vakhsh River and the Toktoghul and Toguztorou stations on the Naryn. A number of large power stations will be built in Kazakhstan, including an Irtysh power group.

The building of the Saratov, Lower-Volga and Cheboksary hydropower stations and of two stations on the Kama River will complete the Volga-Kama hydropower cascade. A six-million-kilowatt hydropower station in the lower reaches of the Ob River will give its power to the single power grid of the European part of the country. In addition, construction is envisaged of a number of powerful thermal stations near Saratov, Stalingrad, Gorky and in the Kuibyshev-Ufa-Orenburg area.

Powerful thermal stations will go up in the Central and Central-Black Earth areas of the European part of the U.S.S.R., south and north-east of Moscow, in the Ukraine near Kiev, Kirovograd and Nikolayev, in the Donets Basin, in Latvia and in Byelorussia. The power industry in the Caucasus will be developed through utilisation of hydro-resources and other sources of energy.

Realisation of the plan will solve the important problem of the Greater Volga and Greater Dnieper. This will, naturally, entail considerable investments. But they will be returned in a comparatively short time. Estimates show that

the output of cheap electric power by the Volga-Kama and Dnieper hydropower stations will almost double. More than 20 million hectares of arid land east of the Volga and in the South will be guaranteed against weather hazards, and it will be possible to reclaim more than 4 million hectares of marshland in the Polesye area and the Baltic republics.

Much freight from the north-western and other regions of the country, and freight from the Baltic Sea will then be shipped to the Mediterranean via the Black Sea ports, and not via Gibraltar, and from the southern regions along the Dnieper, via the Pripet and the Niemen, to the Baltic Sea. The route to the eastern section of the Mediterranean will be reduced by about one half.

The Party Programme envisages a formidable development of machine-building. That is the only way to effect the plan of *comprehensive mechanisation and automation*. We must arrange for the mass production of many types of highly efficient and economical machines, instruments and appliances, of various automatic and radio-electronic devices. We must develop perfected systems of machines for industry, agriculture and building. In the 20 years we shall build 2,800 new engineering and metal-working plants, chiefly in the eastern regions of the country, and reconstruct 1,900 old ones. This will enable us to raise the aggregate output of the machine-building and metal-working industry 10- to 11-fold, including a more than 60-fold rise in the output of automatic and semi-automatic lines.

The *chemical industry* assumes exceptional importance. In the 20 years its output is to rise about 17-fold, coupled with a broad enlargement of the range of products. Polymer chemistry is to advance substantially. The output of synthetic tars and plastics is to increase about 60-fold. The output of artificial and synthetic fibre, of special importance to the production of consumer goods, will climb about 15-fold. The production of mineral fertilisers is to be raised 9- to 10-fold.

Considerable attention is focussed in the general per-

spective on such important branches of heavy industry as the *fuel and metallurgical industries*. Production of all types of fuel will increase about 4-fold. In the 20 years, gas extraction is to be raised 14- to 15-fold, and coal extraction from 513 million tons in 1960 to 1,200 million tons in 1980. In 1980 oil extraction is to be 690-710 million tons. I might point out for the sake of comparison that in 1960 the U.S.S.R. extracted 148 million tons of oil, while the United States extracted 348 million tons.

The iron and steel industry is to have an annual output capacity of some 250 million tons of steel. In 1960 the Soviet Union produced 65 million tons of steel, and the United States 90 million. In as little as nine years Soviet steel production will exceed the present U.S. output by about 55 million tons. Economists estimate that we can raise steel production to a still higher level. But for the time being we have adopted the target of about 250 million tons. The rapid development of substitutes for ferrous metals, improvements in the quality of metals, added economy of metals, and achievements in the designing and manufacturing of machines, will possibly enable us to get by with a smaller amount of steel. In that case the plans for the development of metallurgy will be accordingly amended.

Owing to the demands of such rapidly-growing branches as electric power engineering, chemistry, electronics, instrument-making, atomic and space engineering and high-speed transport, non-ferrous metals will claim a bigger share in the overall metal balance. The output of alloying non-ferrous metals, rare metals and semi-conductor materials will have to be increased. The use of aluminium will expand to an especially marked degree.

The building materials industry should be developed at a high rate. Cement output in 1980 will amount to about 235 million tons, marking an increase of more than 400 per cent in 20 years.

In the coming 20 years the output of all the consumer goods industries is to increase approximately 5-fold. By

1980 the output of textiles, for example, is to rise more than 3-fold, bringing the annual figure up to 20-22 thousand million square metres. The annual output of leather boots and shoes is to amount to something like 1,000 million pairs. The output of cultural and household goods, the demand for which is rising rapidly, will increase 10-fold. This calls for a more expeditious and efficient utilisation of capital investments in the light and food industry, and for hundreds of new factories. The concern shown for consumer and household goods, for domestic appliances, for all the things that make the life of Soviet people easier and more attractive, should not be less than, say, the concern shown for metallurgical equipment.

Comrades, we must take good heed of the fact that productivity of labour is decisive in the achievement of a communist level of production. Rising productivity of social labour is the yardstick of our progress and the most important source of improvement of the living standard. Every other approach to the matter is idle speculation.

We are faced with the formidable task of increasing production, of creating abundance. How to do it if the numerical growth of our labour resources has a limit—in 20 years it will amount to about 40 per cent, with a substantial portion of it going to the non-productive sphere, chiefly education and public health—and considering reductions of the working day. There is only one answer to this question: the productivity of labour has to be raised accordingly. Our planning bodies estimate that over nine-tenths of the increase in the national income in 1961-80 is to be derived from the rise in labour productivity. In the next ten years the labour productivity in Soviet industry will rise approximately two-fold, and in 20 years 4- to 4.2-fold. In view of reductions in the working day, the growth of output per working hour will be still higher.

In the coming 20 years the distribution of the productive forces is to be further improved. This will enable us

to economise social labour to the maximum, to achieve high rates of growth of production and to bring new colossal natural wealth into the service of society.

In the sphere of *distribution of the productive forces* it is proposed:

to build up powerful fuel and power-producing centres in Siberia, using surface deposits of cheap coal and the vast hydropower resources of the Angara and Yenisei;

to turn Central Asia into a key power-producing area, based on its immense resources of gas and hydropower;

to build up new powerful metallurgical centres, so that by 1980 the country should have five all-Union metallurgical bases—in the Urals, the Ukraine, in some regions of Siberia and the Far East, in Kazakhstan and in the central regions of the European part of the U.S.S.R.;

to establish large centres of the chemical industry in areas rich in cheap natural and oil-well gases, and of the oil-refining industry, primarily in the Urals, in the Volga area, the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, Siberia and Central Asia;

to build in regions east of the Urals powerful machine-building industries to meet the bulk of the needs of these areas in machines and equipment;

to carry out large-scale works, transferring large masses of water from the northern regions of the European part of the U.S.S.R. to the Volga basin; to supply water to Central Kazakhstan, Tselinny Territory, the Donets Basin and the Urals; to build water-regulating reservoirs in Central Asia, on the Volga, the Dnieper, the Bug and the Dniester; and to develop on an extensive scale irrigated and meliorated agriculture.

Such are the general prospects for the development of our industry. They are truly grand prospects. But we know perfectly well that the plan of today will become reality tomorrow. The determination of our Party and the people, a people of giant strength, is an earnest thereof! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

2. The Development of Agriculture and Social Relations in the Countryside

Comrades, the draft Programme of our Party furnishes a thorough analysis of the social, economic and political changes that have taken place in the countryside as a result of the victory of the collective-farm system and the consolidation of the socialist system of agriculture. The establishment in the U.S.S.R. of a socialist system of agriculture is a historic victory for our Party, for the Soviet people as a whole.

When the working class accomplished the Revolution under the leadership of Lenin's Party, our enemies took solace in the hope that the Bolsheviki would not succeed in solving the peasant problem, that the peasant would never agree to give up his strip of land and that it would be impossible to turn the peasant-proprietor into a peasant-collectivist.

But the hopes of our enemies foundered. Lenin worked out his brilliant co-operative plan. Guided by it, the Party rallied millions upon millions of peasants to a new life. Not only did the deep socialist furrow erase the boundaries between the individual land-holdings; it also refashioned the private-owner mentality of the peasant. Today we are witnessing the triumph of Lenin's ideas in the reorganisation of agriculture, and in the millions of peasants joining communist construction. *Our Party can take legitimate pride in the fact that it has brought up a new type of peasant, one who marches in step with the heroic working class, and is an active builder of the new life. (Prolonged applause.)*

Along with industry and its striking force, heavy industry, Soviet agriculture constitutes a powerful socialist economy that knows no crises or upheavals.

We have fulfilled the first part of Lenin's co-operative plan by having guided the peasantry along the kolkhoz path, developed a far-flung network of state farms, and

consolidated the collective and state farms. We shall now have to take a new decisive step forward, ensure an advancement of all the collective and state farms, and raise their production to a level worthy of communism.

At the present stage of communist construction, the C.P.S.U. considers the following to be *the chief tasks in the sphere of agriculture*:

to achieve an abundance of high-quality products for the people and of raw materials for industry;

to ensure a gradual transition of the Soviet countryside to communist social relations and to eliminate, in the main, the distinctions between town and country on the basis of a powerful expansion of the productive forces in agriculture.

Let me go into the basic problems of agricultural development, posed by life and the practice of communist construction, and constituting most important theses in the draft Party Programme.

The Communist Party has proclaimed a grand and noble goal—the full satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of man. It will take an unprecedentedly high level of material production to attain that goal. That is why the draft Party Programme presents to the people an imposing plan of agricultural development. As we discuss the Programme we speak in specific terms both about our creative effort of today and about the future of socialist economy. That was how Lenin taught us to approach the tasks of communist construction. In the spring of 1920, Lenin wrote in a letter to Party organisations concerning preparations for the Ninth Party Congress, “We must go forward, we must look ahead, we must bring to the Congress the *practical experience* of economic development, weighed and carefully *summed up* jointly, by the common effort of all the Party members.”*

Such practical experience of economic development has

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 379.

been put into our economic plans, into the agricultural targets. The draft Programme envisages that in twenty years the aggregate agricultural output will rise about 3.5-fold, the aggregate output of grain more than 2-fold, of meat nearly 4-fold and of milk nearly 3-fold.

What products, and how much of them must we produce to satisfy the requirements of the people in full, given the prospective development of Soviet society? On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, the State Economic Council has submitted estimates of the volume of production our country must attain in the coming 20 years. Let me cite these estimates.

**Production of Agricultural Produce
in 1960-1980**

	1960	1970	1980
Grain (000 million poods)	8.2	14	18-19
Meat (000,000 tons, dead weight)	8.7	25	30-32
Milk (000,000 tons)	61.7	135	170-180
Eggs (000 million)	27.4	68	110-116
Wool (000 tons)	357	800	1,045-1,155
Raw cotton (000,000 tons)	4.3	8	10-11
Sugar beet (at refineries, 000,000 tons)	57.7	86	98-108
Oil-bearing seeds (000,000 tons)	4.3	8	9-10
Potatoes (000,000 tons)	84.4	140	156
Vegetables and melons (000,000 tons)	19.2	47	55
Fruit and berries (000,000 tons)	4.9	28	51

As you see, the Party has big plans. Such a vast output of agricultural produce may appear too ambitious to some people. The figures are indeed staggering. To be sure, for many decades, right up to 1954, the aggregate grain harvest in our country was about 5,000 million poods. It is only in the last few years that we began to harvest 8,000-8,500 million poods of grain by virtue of the virgin land development and the introduction of maize. For a long

time, the state procured about 2,000 million poods of grain, and it is only in the last few years that the procurements were raised to 3,000-3,500 million poods. By 1980 grain production is to be raised to 18,000-19,000 million, and state purchases to 7,000 million poods.

In making our great plans, we firmly believe that they will be successfully fulfilled. Our confidence stems from realistic estimates, the incalculable potentialities contained in the socialist system of economy, and from the devoted labour of the Soviet people and its good organisation.

Let us look into the prospective growth of grain production in the major republics—the Russian Federation, and the Ukrainian and Kazakh republics. As for the Byelorussians, we are going to have a talk with them in Byelorussia. We shall say a few things in each other's ear—there are lots of things to be said. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

What contribution is to be made by the working people of the *Russian Federation* to the tasks set in the draft Party Programme? In 1960 the collective and state farms of the R.S.F.S.R. produced 4,800 million poods of grain, and sold the state 1,800 million poods. By 1980 they are to raise production to 12,000 million poods, and grain sales to the state to 4,000-5,000 million poods.

The bourgeois press will perhaps comment on this, saying that in speaking of plans for agricultural production Khrushchov let his imagination run away with him. Let those gentlemen comment if they wish, but let them not forget that this has been said at a Party Congress, on instructions from the Central Committee. This Congress will address a call to Party and people, and the people can move mountains. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

It follows that *the Russian Federation is to increase the production and procurements of grain 150 per cent.* It stands to reason that the task is impracticable with the present crop structure, with millions of hectares sown to oats and other unproductive crops and with vast areas in the humid zone idle under so-called clean fallow.

I would say in jest that if certain officials persist in taking up land with oats, we will feed them on oatmeal. (*Laughter. Applause.*) And it won't be the oatmeal that goes into making porridge for children but the coarser stuff, the kind of which Red Army men used to say during the Civil War: "Dash it, you can never tell whether it's food or fodder rations you're getting." (*Laughter. Prolonged applause.*)

But if we act upon the experience of the foremost farms and research institutions and revise the crop structure, if we replace the less productive crops more boldly and resolutely and make the most of the available opportunities of raising the yielding capacity, the projected grain output will definitely be achieved, and earlier than 1980.

Through the use of what reserves do we expect to carry out the task? A certain amount of grain will be obtained by cultivating lands that lie idle at present. But it is by substituting more productive for less productive crops and by increasing the yield of all crops that we will achieve most of the increase in grain output.

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party for the Russian Federation and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation have, jointly with scientists and specialists, worked out a new crop structure, which offers great prospects of raising grain production. What is new about this structure? The areas under unprofitable and unproductive crops are to be sharply reduced, those under oats by 6,000,000 hectares, and under fodder grass by 9,000,000 hectares. The clean fallow in the humid zone is to be abolished on an area of 9,000,000 hectares.

All in all, 24,000,000 hectares are to be released for more valuable crops. This land will be used for increasing the areas under maize for dry grain, peas, fodder beans and other valuable crops.

The collective and state farms plan to expand *areas under maize* for dry grain from 2.4 million to 7 million

hectares. In terms of a harvest of 40 centners of maize per hectare, this will yield 1,700 million poods of grain.

The area under *leguminous crops* in the republic will expand from 2.6 million to 19 million hectares, including 16.5 million hectares under peas and fodder beans. In terms of a harvest of about 20 centners per hectare, this will yield 2,300 million poods of grain.

The area under *wheat* and other cereals will amount to 68 million hectares. In terms of a harvest of 20 centners per hectare, the total yield of these crops will exceed 8,000 million poods.

The introduction of maize (for grain), peas and beans, and the increase in the yield of all crops will thus enable the collective and state farms of the R.S.F.S.R. to produce more than 12,000 million poods of grain a year and to sell the state 4,000-5,000 million poods. To present the feasibility of growing so much marketable grain more visually, I want to draw your attention to the following figures. In 1961 the Russian Federation, according to plan, is to sell the state 2,100-2,200 million poods of grain. If we sow leguminous crops in place of the 9 million hectares of unproductive fodder grass and on the 9 million hectares of the above-mentioned clean fallow, and harvest 20 centners per hectare, this alone will yield 2,200 million poods of grain. In effect, this will be marketable grain, since the collective and state farms get practically nothing from the above-mentioned areas at the present time. It follows that another 2,200 million poods will be added to the present grain sales figure stipulated in the plan, and the state purchases will add up to more than 4,000 million poods of grain. Thus, selling the state 4,000-5,000 million poods of grain is, after all, not too high a hurdle for the collective and state farms of the Russian Federation to take. Let us applaud them, comrades. (*Applause.*)

We are confident that when a decision has been taken, the working people of the Russian Federation will rally their forces and fulfil the task. (*Stormy applause.*)

The yielding capacity of wheat and other grain crops, and of leguminous crops is estimated for the R.S.F.S.R. at 20 centners per hectare. An average yield of 20 centners per hectare in 20 years, comrades. Surely we can cope with a more difficult assignment than that, surely that is not the limit. Far from it!

It will not be long before the Soviet Union takes in the world grain market a place that will show the imperialist gentlemen how our agriculture can grow. (*Stormy applause.*)

An estimate like that for a term of 20 years is even moderate. Many collective and state farms in our country are now already harvesting 25 to 30, and even 40, centners of wheat and other cereals per hectare. They get this yield at the present level of organisation of production, of agricultural science and technology. But science will advance from year to year, providing practice with great new opportunities. Better grades and hybrids of agricultural plants will appear, and the output of organic and mineral fertilisers, herbicides and other chemicals will rise steeply. The collective and state farms will get improved agricultural machinery. All this will make it possible not only to attain, but also to surpass, the projected level of grain production and state purchases.

Let us take the estimates submitted by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and Council of Ministers. Prior to the extensive introduction of maize, the *Ukraine's* grain potential amounted to something like 1,300-1,500 million poods, and its procurements to 400-500 million poods.

Now that such highly productive crops as maize, peas and fodder beans are being extensively cultivated, *the working people of the Ukraine are quite sure that they will raise grain production to 3,800 million and state purchases to 1,500 million poods.*

How will the crop pattern change on the Ukrainian collective and state farms? An area of 6.5 million hectares

will be sown to winter wheat, over five million hectares, or 28 per cent of the grain acreage, to maize, and about four million hectares, or 21 per cent of the grain acreage, to leguminous crops. Maize and leguminous crops, being the most productive, will comprise nearly half the grain acreage in the Ukraine, and their share in the aggregate grain output will be 60 per cent.

It is planned to obtain the following yields (in centners per hectare):

Grain crops	35
including:	
Winter wheat	30
Maize	50
Peas	30
Fodder beans	32

This year's practice shows that these figures are realistic, for many collective and state farms grew 70 to 80 centners of maize and 30 to 40 centners of wheat and peas per hectare.

The Party assigns *Kazakhstan* a big role in raising the grain output. The republic has its distinctive features. Save for its southern regions, maize is grown there chiefly for silage. The increase in grain output will therefore have to be effected through higher yields, extensive cultivation of leguminous crops and a further development of new land. In the future, when scientists will have produced strains of maize with a shorter period of vegetation, maize will probably be grown for grain in the virgin-land development area as well.

I must say that as I was preparing this report I received a letter from an Azerbaijan plant-breeder. He wrote that he had succeeded in evolving a maize variety whose period of vegetation lasts about 60 days. If that is so, it will offer immense opportunities of expanding the area under maize and pushing maize to the north, to grow it there for grain.

Mr. Rusk told me in Vienna that there is such a variety of maize in America. But his statement has not been borne out, though he promised to prove it to be true. Americans who are familiar with maize, such as Mr. Garst, say there is no such maize in the United States. But if there is none in that country, it would be a good idea to develop such a variety in the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But we should realise that this is a very difficult problem. We are not making progress in agriculture conditional on the solution of this problem. Even if we have no such maize, we shall, with the varieties we do have, fulfil and, indeed, exceed our plans. (*Applause.*)

What crop structure is taking shape in the virgin-land development area of Kazakhstan? All in all, including land to be newly developed, about 32 million hectares in the republic are to be sown to wheat, other grain crops, leguminous crops and maize for silage. Of this acreage 50-55 per cent are to be sown to wheat and other grain crops, 30-35 per cent to peas and fodder beans, and 10 per cent to fodder maize and sugar beet. Those are tentative estimates for just the chief crops. The economy will, naturally, need a wider range of crops; we'll need potatoes, vegetables and oil-bearing plants. But, all the same, chief emphasis in the virgin-land development area will be on wheat, peas, fodder beans, maize for grain and silage, and on sugar beet for fodder.

Given this crop pattern, the grain balance will shape out as follows:

An area of 17.6 million hectares will go to wheat and other grain crops. Given a yield of 20 centners per hectare, this will amount to 2,150 million poods of grain. Of this amount the state farms and kolkhozes will be able to sell about 1,500 million poods to the state.

Peas and fodder beans will occupy an area of 11 million hectares. With an expected yield of 20 centners per hectare, the aggregate output will amount to 1,350 million

poods. Of this amount about 600 million poods can be sold to the state.

It is possible, therefore, to raise the aggregate grain harvest in Kazakhstan to 3,500 million poods, and to sell more than 2,000 million poods to the state.

Kazakhstan, like the other republics, has tremendous potentialities for raising per-hectare yields. When the Party set the task of developing the virgin lands, the expected yield was estimated at eight centners per hectare. As experience accumulated and farming techniques improved, the yields rose considerably at many farms. At present some state farms and kolkhozes in the newly-developed areas get 20 and more centners of grain, chiefly of wheat, per hectare on large areas.

The Mamlyutsky State Farm, of North-Kazakhstan Region, annually harvests 20-22 centners of grain per hectare. High yields are obtained on the Kustanaisky, Petropavlovsky, Kiyalinsky, Chandaksky and other state farms.

Farms that sow large areas to row and leguminous crops, which are a good predecessor to spring wheat, obtain especially good results. The Fyodorovsky State Farm, of Kustanai Region, this year obtained the following yield of spring wheat sown after maize: 26 centners per hectare on field No. 3, and 22 centners per hectare on field No. 7.

We have similar examples not only in Kazakhstan. Many of you know the Altai Agricultural Research Institute. It has been getting a high and stable grain yield for some years by extensively cultivating maize, leguminous and other row crops. In 1961 the Institute harvested 20 centners of grain per hectare on an area of 6,359 hectares, including 20.4 centners of wheat per hectare on an area of 5,140 hectares. And the new Barnaulka-32 wheat yielded 44 centners per hectare. The Strana Sovietov Collective Farm, of Altai Territory, has averaged 20.5 centners of grain per hectare for the last five years. The team headed

by Alexander Bekker, who is a delegate to our Congress, harvested an average of 23 centners of grain per hectare.

The experience gained by collective and state farms suggests ways of developing agriculture on new lands. We cannot any longer restrict crop farming to spring wheat. Along with wheat, we must cultivate more maize, peas, fodder beans and fodder sugar beet, which are important for more efficient agriculture, bigger crop yields, for the rapid progress of livestock farming and the development of the state farms set up on the new land into highly productive farms.

Why does the Party attach so much importance to maize and leguminous crops in the solution of the grain and livestock problem? Many years of experience show that these crops have no equal in yielding capacity and other merits. It has already been noted in the Central Committee Report how much maize has done to raise grain production in the Ukraine, Krasnodar Territory and other parts of the country.

It will probably be right to put leguminous crops on a par with maize in importance. Peas and beans are ancient crops, known to peasants for centuries. There is scarcely a peasant in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, or the Baltic Republics who did not grow good pea harvests. Unfortunately, the people who had for long headed the Ministry of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., brought leguminous crops to ruin.

But there were enthusiasts who cultivated leguminous crops with loving care and showed all the collective and state farms the proper way to obtain bigger grain harvests.

Vasily Mikhailovich Kavun, chairman of the Stalin Collective Farm, of Vinnitsa Region, is a delegate to the Twenty-Second Party Congress. He has enlightened many people with regard to leguminous crops. His kolkhoz has been producing good pea harvests year after year. In 1960 he got 27 centners per hectare on an area of 520 hectares,

and 31 centners per hectare on an area of 708 hectares in 1961. The collective farm devotes considerable attention to maize. Its maize yield per hectare on an area of 900 hectares was 60 centners. Peas constitute 21 per cent and maize 30 per cent of the grain acreage, which adds up to more than half of the total grain acreage. As a result, the average grain yield at the kolkhoz was 38 centners per hectare. (*Applause.*)

All in all, Vinnitsa Region produced 20.7 centners of peas per hectare on a total area of 180,000 hectares this year, and Cherkassy Region 21.5 centners of peas per hectare on an area of 89,000 hectares. (*Applause.*)

Good pea harvests are not confined to the Ukraine alone. The Petrovsky State Farm, of Lipetsk Region, headed by Comrade Volovchenko, a delegate to the Twenty-Second Party Congress, produced 36 centners of peas per hectare on an area of 110 hectares. Depending on the sowing method and the seeding rate, the yield amounted to (in centners per hectare):

wide-row with 45-cm inter-row spacing and 110 kilograms of seed per hectare	22
ordinary row with 15-cm inter-row spacing and 270 kilograms of seed per hectare	33
narrow-row with 7.5-cm inter-row spacing and 270 kilograms of seed per hectare	42.2

This merits close attention. (*Applause.*) Before the war, the deceased Academician P. I. Lisitsyn told me that the Shatilov Station, where he worked, used the narrow-row method of sowing and obtained the highest yields. What we need is to give the foremost methods a thorough test and to appraise them on their merits, in order to fling the doors open to them in production.

There are many collective and state farms in the central regions of the Russian Federation, in Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, regions of Siberia and Kazakhstan, that obtain big harvests of peas on large areas.

We will probably not have the necessary amount of bean

seeds for the next year or two, but more peas. Fodder beans could be replaced by peas, which are also a highly valuable grain crop.

Extensive cultivation of leguminous crops offers agriculture new big possibilities. Leguminous crops do three things simultaneously:

firstly, they yield good harvests and are an important factor for greater grain production, both for food and the needs of animal husbandry. They have a comparatively brief period of vegetation and resist the spring frosts—an extremely valuable property for Siberia and Kazakhstan. The early ripening of leguminous crops takes the strain off the harvesting; the fields can be cleared more quickly and prepared for the next crop.

Peas may be sown early. This is very important for the southern Ukraine, the Volga area and some other regions exposed to hot winds. Peas will ripen earlier there and thus escape the hot winds. Early sowing and their short vegetation period make peas a good first crop for the Krasnodar and Stavropol territories, and in the Kabardinian-Balkar, North-Ossetian and Checheno-Ingush republics in growing two crops a year. It may be recalled that maize is sown at a soil temperature of 10-12 degrees. Peas may be sown much earlier—approximately two or three weeks earlier. They have a vegetation period of 70 to 80 days. If sown late in March or early April, they will ripen by mid-June. After harvesting the peas, which are a good predecessor, maize may be sown on the same fields in the last ten days of June. Four months are left for the latter crop. That is ample time for grain maize to ripen. Thus, peas offer good opportunities of obtaining two harvests a year in the southern regions of the country;

secondly, leguminous crops have a large protein content and will help to radically solve the problem of supplying animal husbandry with protein feeds;

thirdly, leguminous crops raise land fertility. They are a kind of factory of nitrogen, which they extract from the

atmosphere. Other farm crops do not take nitrogen from the air but use up soil nitrogen to grow. Let me quote a few figures supplied by specialists.

Given a yield of 20 centners per hectare, peas extract 105 kg of nitrogen from the atmosphere, leaving 47 kg of nitrogen in the soil after harvesting. In the case of a 30-centner yield they extract 160 kg of nitrogen from the atmosphere and leave 70 kg in the soil.

Given a yield of 20 centners, fodder beans extract 142 kg of nitrogen from the atmosphere and leave 63 kg per hectare in the soil. With a 30-centner yield, they absorb 213 kg of nitrogen from the atmosphere and leave 95 kg in the soil.

In the future, approximately 30 million hectares, and perhaps more, will be sown to leguminous crops in our country. As a result, immense quantities of nitrogen, a highly valuable and, in effect, cost-free fertiliser, will accumulate in the soil. To produce this fertiliser the chemical industry would have had to build many big factories and invest hundreds of millions of rubles.

Some planning officials will probably think: "How nice! The crops will procure their own fertiliser from the atmosphere, and we can therefore build fewer chemical plants."

No, comrades, one of today's most urgent tasks is to develop the chemical industry, raise the output of mineral fertilisers, including nitrogen fertilisers, as well as herbicides and other chemicals to control weeds and pests. It is no exaggeration to say that we must put the production of fertilisers on an equal footing with mechanisation of agriculture, for both are decisive factors in promoting a greater output of agricultural produce. (*Applause.*)

The Party plans to raise the output of mineral fertilisers to 125-135 million tons against the 14 million tons produced last year. We must see to it that the supply of fertilisers for agriculture is raised to the utmost in the current seven-year period.

An extensive programme for the production of mineral fertilisers, a sharp increase of the acreage of leguminous crops, of the density of the cattle population and accumulation of manure will tend to greatly improve yields.

In each zone there are collective and state farms that have shown in each specific case the best methods to rapidly increase yields. I cannot name these farms for every zone, so let me cite but one example.

Many of you know the collective farm in the village of Kalinovka, of Kursk Region, of which I have spoken on a number of occasions. The chairman of that farm, V. V. Grachov, is a delegate to the Twenty-Second Party Congress. The kolkhoz has 6,000 hectares of arable. In 1961 it obtained the following harvest (in centners per hectare):

Winter wheat	32.6
Rye	24.3
Barley	21.6
Millet	20
Peas, with 320 kg of seed per hectare	28
Fodder beans, wide-row sowing	25.6
Sugar beet	350
Maize on cob, for silage	700
Clover (one hay crop)	39

How was it possible to obtain such yields on heavy loam soil? It was possible by virtue of the large number of cattle and, hence, of manure. Only a few years ago Kalinovka (and the collective farms that amalgamated with it) had 91 cows. Today it has 1,050. The grain harvest at the time was 8-10 centners, while today it is 25-30 centners per hectare.

Why has its cattle population grown? Because the collective farmers began cultivating maize, ploughed up the clean fallow, and sowed it to valuable crops. This meant more fodder, more cattle, more manure, and better crops.

There are similar farms in other parts of the country

too. They have paved the way for good harvests, and the task now is to raise all collective and state farms to their level. But raising them does not mean speechifying; it means actually pulling up lagging farms to the level of the advanced ones, or "pulling out" of the saddle those who are in charge of collective and state farms but do not know their job and hamper progress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Greater production of grain will promote a rapid development of animal husbandry. Given an ample supply of grain, silage and other feeds, we can increase the livestock population in a short time and ensure the output of meat, milk and other products required to fully satisfy the requirements of the people.

In working out the agricultural development plan, our Party attaches special importance to irrigation. Irrigation is an integral part of Lenin's electrification plan. Lenin regarded the building of power stations and the development of irrigation as an indivisible whole. Already in the early years of Soviet power, Lenin dreamt of irrigating the fields of Transcaucasia and Central Asia, and of bringing water to the arid Volga steppes.

Now that we have a powerful industry the time has come to draw up and implement an extensive irrigation plan in order to create a stable groundwork to guarantee agricultural production in all circumstances.

On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, the State Economic Council is drawing up a long-term plan of irrigation development. There are today nine million hectares of irrigated land in the country. The task is to raise that figure to about 28 million hectares.

It is proposed:

to develop a new large cotton-growing region in the basin of the Syr Darya River, where, according to preliminary estimates, 800-850 thousand hectares of the Hungry Steppe in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and the Tajik Republic can be irrigated;

to build a hydropower station on the Nurek to irrigate up to 1,200,000 hectares of land in the Uzbek and Tajik republics for cotton, rice and other crops;

to irrigate and develop 600 thousand hectares of land in Turkmenia by means of the Kara-Kum Canal, in order to advance cotton growing;

to develop new rice-growing regions in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers, with irrigated land amounting to about 900 thousand hectares;

to make comprehensive use of the land and water resources of the Volga-Akhtuba flood-plain and the Volga delta in order to develop irrigated farming, to produce vegetables, rice and maize, and to improve conditions for fish and waterfowl breeding;

to irrigate land in the Volga area with the energy of the Lenin Hydropower Station and Twenty-Second Congress Hydropower Station on the Volga;

to use the water resources of the Don, Kuban and other rivers in the south of the European part of the Russian Federation in order to irrigate over one million hectares of land and expand rice, grapes, vegetables and industrial crops;

to irrigate an area of 4.5 million hectares in the Crimea and other regions in the south of the Ukrainian Republic and in Moldavia with the waters of the Dnieper, Bug, Dniester and Danube, in order to expand production of rice, maize, sugar beet, grapes, fruit and vegetables, and to develop animal husbandry;

to carry out major irrigation schemes in Transcaucasia.

Once the irrigation programme is completed, our country will be able to produce additional millions of tons of cotton, maize, rice and sugar beet, and more animal products.

Our Party will achieve the deliverance of man from the vagaries of the elements, and give man mastery over nature. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, when I analysed the trends of development to be followed by our industry, I said that raising the productivity of labour was the paramount problem of communist construction. This applies equally to agriculture.

In the draft of its Programme the Communist Party envisages a rise of not less than 150 per cent in the labour productivity of agriculture for the first ten years, and a 5- to 6-fold increase for the twenty years. That is a difficult task. But the ways of solving it have been found. We now have in all branches of agriculture models of labour worthy of communist society.

Take the productivity of labour attained by the foremost farmers in the principal branches of agriculture.

Grain growing. The average outlay per centner of grain for the country's state farms is 2.1 hours at 4 rubles 10 kopeks.

The Gigant State Farm, of Rostov Region, in the meantime, takes 38 minutes, or about one-third, at a cost of 1 ruble 53 kopeks to produce 1 centner of grain.

Sugar-beet production. The country's average outlay per centner of sugar beet grown on state farms is 3.2 hours at a cost of 1 ruble 80 kopeks, while the team of V. A. Svetlichny, of Krasnodar Territory, where cultivation of sugar beet is mechanised, expends 17 minutes, or one-eleventh, at a cost of 30 kopeks, or one-sixth of the country's average outlay.

Cotton growing. An average of 52 hours at a cost of 25 rubles 30 kopeks is expended by the state farms of Uzbekistan to produce a centner of cotton, while Comrade Kuchiev's comprehensively mechanised team of the Malek State Farm, of Tashkent Region, takes 10 hours at a cost of 7 rubles 30 kopeks.

Livestock products. The average yield of milk for state farms with manual labour is 30-40 tons a year per milkmaid tending 10-12 cows. Zinaida Zabolina, milkmaid at the Shuisky State Farm, of Ivanovo Region, has different

results. She works on a mechanised farm equipped with herringbone-type installations. In 1960 Comrade Zabolina tended 150 cows and milked 307 tons. In 1961 she was joined by her husband, Dmitry Zabolin, who is a mechanic. The two of them tend 300 cows and have undertaken a yield of 650 tons of milk, of which they have already turned in 510 tons. They spend 4.8 man/hours per centner of milk, whereas 14 hours are expended on an average by the state farms in the country.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from these examples? Today already the foremost state and collective farms exceed the productivity of labour registered at most of the state and collective farms 5-6 and more times over. It should be noted that it did not take them decades to make this advance in labour productivity, but no more than the last few years. It is our task so to organise production as to have the entire mass of collective and state farms attain that productivity of labour in the near future.

This is a difficult task. It will call for considerable effort on the part of the Party and the people, and a substantial material outlay by the state. But that is not all. We must stop letting things drift, for that is still holding up the development of agriculture in many respects. There is still not enough active intervention and competent influence on agricultural production on the part of some Party organisations. The past is still making itself felt in this respect—when the collective farms used not the manpower required, but all the manpower they happened to have.

The situation is different now. Agriculture is becoming more and more mechanised, and the demands imposed on it are rising. The old approach and outmoded notions about agriculture have got to go. The main thing is to ensure the maximum output with the minimum outlay of labour.

It is one of the most important tasks, therefore, to work for the further mechanisation and electrification of agriculture in every sector, and for a better utilisation of ma-

chinery. And that depends, almost entirely, on the experience and organising ability of our cadres, on the people into whose care the machinery has been entrusted. Labour productivity on collective and state farms must not be raised by over-exerting muscular power, but by supplying agriculture with more of the latest machines. All collective and state farms should, in the shortest possible time, be supplied sets of machines in keeping with the advanced technology of agricultural production. Special emphasis should be laid on developing machines for more progressive methods of grain harvesting, fully mechanising the cultivation of maize, cotton, flax, sugar beet and potatoes, and for mechanising jobs in animal husbandry.

We must introduce more efficient machines, especially tractors, combines and transport facilities. We can, and must, for example, organise production of new powerful high-speed 200-220 h. p. tractors, complete with implements, for the country's steppe lands. The C.C. C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. have already passed appropriate decisions. They will be 3 to 4 times more efficient than the DT-54 tractors now in use, and will yield tremendous economic advantages. Let me cite the estimates submitted by specialists to show the advantages of powerful tractors in ploughing one million hectares of arable:

	DT-54	200-220 h. p. tractor
Average daily performance	7.6 hectares	21.2 hectares
Tractors required for autumn ploughing (20 days, 2 shifts daily)	6,600	2,400
Tractor operators required	13,200	4,800

These estimates are for one million hectares. But there are about 80 million hectares of ploughland in the country where we could use powerful tractors. The economic ad-

vantages of such tractors would therefore increase many times over.

We must take serious measures to develop further the production of tractors and farm machinery. We must increase the capacity of the tractor works and other plants producing agricultural machines and equip them with up-to-date plant. The designing offices should be staffed with experienced personnel able to develop new machines.

Comrades, the draft Party Programme regards the development of the productive forces in the countryside and the formation of communist social relations as being indivisibly connected. This is only natural, because communist social relations evolve in the process of labour, in the process of developing production, in the country-wide struggle for communist construction.

What will be typical of our countryside in its advance towards communism? In technical equipment and organisation of production socialist agriculture will approach the level of industry. This means that there will be far-reaching qualitative changes in the nature of labour. In step with the rising cultural and technical level of collective farmers and state-farm workers and the equipment of all branches of agriculture with modern machinery, farm labour will develop into a variety of industrial labour.

In communist construction in the countryside, we must draw on the wealth of experience accumulated by our country in developing socialist agriculture. What does this experience show? Two types of socialist enterprises have emerged in Soviet agriculture—the state farms and the collective farms.

The state farms were founded on Lenin's initiative as state-operated socialist agricultural enterprises. Their purpose was to show the advantages of large-scale socialist farming over small-scale individual peasant farming, to serve as models for the peasants around them.

Our Party has successfully accomplished Lenin's plan of state-farm development. The state farms have become

a big force. They have become highly productive enterprises widely employing modern machinery and the latest achievements of science. They have attained a higher productivity of labour, and are consequently producing cheaper agricultural products. In 1960 labour outlays per centner of grain (excluding maize) amounted to 2.1 hours at state farms and to 7.2 hours at collective farms. The respective outlays per centner of milk were 14.2 and 20.8 hours. The state farms expended 66 man/hours and the collective farms 118 man/hours per centner of gain in the weight of cattle, and 57 man/hours and 133 man/hours respectively per centner of gain in the weight of pigs.

As already noted in the Central Committee Report, the share of state farms in the output of agricultural products has increased very greatly in the last few years. The advantages of state farms came to the fore with new force in the virgin-land project, and in solving the problem of supplying big cities and industrial centres with milk, potatoes and vegetables.

It stands to reason that not all state farms are today models of good agricultural organisation. Much work has still to be done for every state farm to use the reserves and possibilities of large-scale mechanised farming better and more fully.

The other form of large-scale socialist agriculture are the kolkhozes. They are a form worked out by Lenin to effect the transition of millions of small-scale individual peasant farms to socialism. The kolkhozes have been a school of communism for the Soviet peasantry. They did much to overcome centuries-old private-owner habits and engaged the peasants in collective labour and in large-scale collective farming. The collective farms have gone a long way in their development. The present-day collective farms are a far cry from the original agricultural artels, where primitive equipment was used and the standard of labour organisation was low, and where the principle of distribution according to the number of mouths prevailed. The

collective farm of today is a large-scale mechanised farm. In recent years, as a result of the measures taken by the Party, the collective farms have grown much stronger. Their collective assets have expanded, their output of agricultural produce has grown, and the living standard of collective farmers has risen.

Some comrades ask which trend—the collective-farm or state-farm trend—agriculture will follow in its further development? The Party considers that communist construction in the countryside will proceed through the development and improvement of the two forms of socialist production. One socialist form of farming should not be contraposed to the other. The collective, as well as the state farms, are large-scale socialist enterprises allowing for an effective use of the achievements of technology and science, and for a rapid expansion of social production. Given equal material resources, good organisation of production and competent management, both forms can produce good results.

If the productivity of labour in many collective farms is at present lower, and costs of production higher than at state farms, this is not due to the kolkhoz form having, as it were, exhausted itself and ceased to correspond to the development of the present productive forces. The reason for it lies elsewhere—above all in the organisation of production, in the management, and in the level of technical equipment. Wherever experienced personnel, good organisers and specialists are available, wherever the proper accent is laid on mechanising production and the principle of material incentives is properly applied, the state farms and the collective farms flourish alike. It is important to stress in this connection that the objective conditions for a rapid advancement of the kolkhoz economy are available literally everywhere.

The main thing is to help the collective farms to improve their organisation of production, to make the most of modern machinery and scientific progress, and thereby to

attain a higher productivity of labour. It is important to reinforce the weaker collective farms with competent personnel—chairmen, brigade leaders and farm specialists. The task is to bring all collective farms up to the level of the foremost state farms.

The state shows enormous concern for strengthening and developing the collective farms. In turn, each collective farm should make it a sacred duty to fulfil the state plans strictly, to expand its production and other collective assets, and to ensure that collective farmers' incomes rise in step with the rising productivity of their labour.

The role of the state farms, those foremost socialist agricultural enterprises in the countryside, in the further development of agriculture and in providing an abundant supply of farm produce, will continue to increase. We must make the state farms into first-class factories of grain, cotton, meat, milk, wool, vegetables, fruit and tea. It is also important that the state farms become models not only of a better organisation of production, but also of living conditions, culture and communist education.

As production on the collective and state farms develops and social relations there advance, agriculture will ascend to a higher level that will make it possible to go over to communist forms of production and distribution. The principle of material incentives will play an important part in attaining this goal. We must continue to combine moral and material stimuli, to encourage those who produce more products for society, and to promote good discipline and communist consciousness by propagating the best models of labour.

Comrades, our Party has drafted a grand plan of agricultural development. All of us remember the difficult circumstances in which we built up socialist agriculture. Taking guidance from Lenin's behests, the Communist Party skillfully surmounted the difficulties and led the peasantry along the socialist path. Now we have emerged on the high road of communist construction. Wonderful prospects

have opened before us. This does not mean, of course, that our advance will be all plain sailing, effortless and easy.

To build up an ample supply of agricultural produce, we shall have to climb quite a few steep gradients, and cope with many complicated problems. Enriched by its great historic experience, the Party will lead the peasantry boldly and confidently to communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

3. Improvement of the People's Well-Being and Achievement of the Highest Living Standard

Comrades, the C.P.S.U. is advancing a great task—to achieve in the coming twenty years a living standard higher than that of any capitalist country and to create the necessary conditions for achieving an abundance of material and cultural values.

Within the first ten years already all sections of the Soviet people will be enjoying sufficiency, and will be well provided for. Communism will thereby demonstrate its decisive advantages over capitalism in a matter which directly concerns everybody without exception. *For the first time in history insufficiency will be fully and finally eliminated.* This will be an imposing achievement of the new society. No capitalist country can set itself this task.

There are two basic conditions that will enable the Soviet people to attain the highest living standard. Firstly, a growth of labour productivity, of all social production and of the national income that exceeds the possibilities of capitalism. Secondly, application of the growing productive forces and social wealth in the interests of the entire people. The Communist Programme of abundance, therefore, rests upon a solid foundation, whereas the numerous bourgeois publicity projects for “public welfare” are no more than new attempts to deceive the masses.

The Party considers that, while continuing to develop heavy industry and other branches of the national economy, we can and must, in the immediate future, achieve accelerated rates of growth in the living standard. The real income per head of the population will double in the next ten years, and increase more than 250 per cent in twenty years. This rise in the real incomes of the population will derive from the growth of the *national income* of the U.S.S.R. By 1980 the latter will amount to an annual 720-750 thousand million rubles, i.e., to approximately five times that of 1960.

What are the basic trends to be followed in the improvement of the people's living standard?

Within the next few years *all sections of the population will get good, high-quality food*. The following rise is envisaged in food consumption per head of the population in the 10 years: meat and meat products—2.5-fold, milk and milk products—2-fold, butter—1.5-fold, vegetable oil—2-fold, eggs—2.2-fold, fish and fish products—1.5-fold, sugar—1.5-fold, vegetables and melons—2.3-fold and fruit and berries—nearly 5-fold, while bread and potato consumption is to drop somewhat. This means that the share in the diet of the most nourishing and high-grade food products will rise. Public catering will be developed to the utmost. In the next 10 years it will expand more than 3-fold, and approximately 13-fold in 20 years. It will gradually take precedence over home cooking. Prices at catering establishments will be steadily reduced.

In the coming 10 years *all Soviet people will be able to acquire consumer goods in adequate quantities, and in the subsequent ten years the consumer demand will be met in full*. The plan envisages that in 20 years consumption per head of the population will increase approximately 3.5-fold for clothing and footwear, and 5.5-fold for cultural and household goods. The output of furniture is to be raised 6- to 8-fold. Up-to-date electric domestic

machines and appliances will effect the electrification of the home.

State-operated and co-operative retail trade in town and country will increase (in comparable prices) 2.5-fold in 10 years and 5-fold in 20. The popular demand for public laundries and repair shops for clothing, footwear and domestic appliances will be met. We must develop all types of public services, so that all who wish could substitute them for household work.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state attach special importance to a complete solution of the housing problem. No social system has been able to solve that problem. Today, housing construction in our country has assumed an unprecedented scale. In the last five years alone, nearly 50 million people were given new housing accommodation. *In the course of the next 10 years we must put an end to the housing shortage. At the close of the second decade every family will have a separate comfortable flat.* This will involve an increase of the country's housing facilities by about 200 per cent in 20 years. Average annual housing construction will climb roughly from about 135 million sq m in 1961-65 to 400 million sq m in 1976-80, surely a truly colossal programme!

While preserving the big cities as industrial and cultural centres and, concurrently, checking their excessive growth, we should develop and build well-appointed small and medium towns. Our communities should conform increasingly to the conception of "green towns" or "garden towns". They will combine all the best features of a modern city—comfortable dwellings, thoroughfares, communal and public services, children's, cultural and sports institutions—with all the best features of a rural community—abundant greenery, ponds, and healthful air.

The draft Programme envisages further *reductions of the working day*, which will make for a rapid improvement of the people's cultural and technical level, and for adequate leisure. We have already effected a reduction to a

7-hour and, in a number of branches, to a 6-hour working day. Within the first ten years a 6-hour working day, or a 35-hour working week, will be established for the bulk of the working people, and still shorter working time (30 hours a week) for the rest. *The country building communism will have the world's shortest working day.* Rising labour productivity will enable us to effect further reductions of working hours.

At the same time, the length of paid vacations will be increased for industrial and office workers to three weeks, and subsequently to a month. Gradually, the system of paid vacations will also be extended to collective farmers.

Comrades, we shall proceed from the socialist principle of distribution according to labour to communist distribution according to needs. Besides an abundance of material and cultural values, this will depend on a no less important condition—the transformation of labour into a vital necessity for one and all. Until this condition is met, attempts to “introduce” communist distribution irrespective of a citizen’s labour contribution would be outright levelling that would disrupt production. The Party is resolutely opposed to any such “line”.

The Party considers that in the coming twenty years payment according to labour will remain the chief source of satisfaction of material and cultural requirements. The principle of payment according to labour is a powerful incentive for greater production. It stimulates the growth of the working people’s cultural and technical level and contributes thereby to a gradual elimination of the essential distinctions between physical and mental labour. It is an important source of growth of the real incomes of the population and, as social wealth increases, makes it possible gradually to reduce the disparity between the higher and lower wage brackets. While developing and strengthening moral labour stimuli in every way, we must apply the principle of distribution according to labour consistently

and to the fullest extent as an important lever in the building of communist society.

A task of historic significance will be fulfilled in the U.S.S.R. within the next ten years: *the bracket of low-paid industrial and office workers will disappear*. The process of narrowing the gaps between the wage brackets has nothing whatsoever in common with wage-levelling, because it is indivisibly connected with the replacement of unskilled labour by skilled labour. The wages of skilled workers must keep pace with the rising productivity of labour. On collective farms, where labour productivity will rise more rapidly, the average incomes in the coming twenty years will climb at a faster rate than those of industrial workers. Pay increases are envisaged for such sections of the Soviet intelligentsia as engineers, technicians, agronomists, medical personnel, teachers and cultural workers.

Yet another avenue of raising the living standard—*extension of the public consumption funds*—will also assume ever-increasing importance. Distribution among members of society through these funds proceeds regardless of the quantity and quality of their labour, that is, free of charge. It is envisaged in the draft Programme that these funds will rise more rapidly than wages, inasmuch as they lead directly to communist distribution. An increase is planned of the annual public consumption funds by over 900 per cent, from 24,500 million rubles in 1960 to 255-265 thousand million rubles in 1980. At the close of the twenty years they will comprise about half of the total income of the population.

It is important that the growth of public funds be properly combined with the principles of material incentives and distribution according to labour. The draft Programme sets out the following main trends in the development of public consumption funds for the coming twenty years: gradual transition to maintenance at public expense of children and all the incapacitated, free education and

medical treatment of the population, rent-free housing and free communal and transport facilities. Maintenance at public expense of children and the incapacitated is a lofty and humane undertaking consistent with the lofty ideals of the new system. And we are proud, comrades, that we shall soon be equal to it. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The time is not distant when we shall be able to provide free hot meals at all schools and supply school children with free textbooks and school uniforms. This is to be followed by the abolition of maintenance fees at nurseries and kindergartens, and at day-care schools. At present the greater part of children's maintenance expenses is paid by the working people, whereas at the close of the coming twenty years about 75 to 80 per cent of the cost of the maintenance and education of children will be covered by society. State allocations for the maintenance of children and adolescents will increase more than 10-fold in 1961-80.

The fact that society is increasingly undertaking the maintenance and education of children, as well as the maintenance of public services, has an immense social impact, since it will serve to eliminate the last remnants of women's inequality in daily life. These measures also tend to do away with the inequality that falls to the lot of large families.

Full maintenance of all persons non-able-bodied at public expense will be provided at the same time. The pensions will gradually rise. The network of boarding-houses for old people and invalids will be extended to a point where it will meet the demand. In the second decade we shall be able gradually to adopt a single system of pensions for all the non-able-bodied.

All these measures will create conditions for a further improvement of the health of Soviet people and a rise in life expectancy. An extension of the network of public health institutions will play a big part in this. The urban and rural population's requirements of all forms of qualified

medical services will be met in full. Special emphasis will be laid on measures to prevent diseases. It is planned to increase considerably the number of hospitals, sanatoria, holiday homes and boarding-houses. In addition to free medical treatment, instituted in our country a long time ago, there will be free accommodation of patients at sanatoria and free dispensation of medicines.

Rent-free modern housing and free basic communal services for every family will be a wonderful achievement of communist construction. In the second decade we shall also launch another major social development—free public catering (meals) at enterprises and offices, and for collective farmers at work.

The Soviet people already enjoy such social advantages as are out of the reach of the working people in the capitalist countries. They know nothing of exploitation, unemployment, crises, or racial and other pay discriminations. They are confident of the future. (*Applause.*) However, at present the Soviet Union is still behind the United States in average per capita consumption and the general level of real incomes per head of the population. Two things should be borne in mind in this respect: the level at which we began, and the price that, unlike the United States, we have had to pay for the war. In 1980 the real per capita incomes in the U.S.S.R. will exceed the present level of incomes of the working people in the U.S.A. by about 75 per cent. But we should also bear in mind that hidden behind the average per capita figures in the case of the United States are millions of fully and partially unemployed, semi-skilled and unskilled workers getting low wages, living in slums and lacking the bare necessities. In our country every family will be adequately provided for, and will ultimately enjoy material and cultural advantages in plenty. (*Applause.*)

The draft Programme points out that the projected plans of improving the living standard can be fulfilled successfully in conditions of peace. Moreover, an easing of inter-

national tension and an attendant reduction of military expenditures would enable us to raise the people's standard of living still higher. Our struggle for peace is an integral part of the struggle for communism, for the flowering of the Soviet land and the improvement of the people's well-being.

Comrades, the imposing programme for improving the living standard of the Soviet people is imbued with immense social content. It reveals in a striking way the noble features of our popular system and evokes the admiration of broad sections of people the world over. Western bourgeois propaganda admits that the targets set in the draft Programme are feasible, and considers this the "main challenge" to the Western Powers.

Well, we think it is high-minded to issue a challenge for the creation of better living conditions for the people. Why should not the capitalists, who have amassed vast capital by plundering the peoples, accept a challenge like that? Why should not they convert the industries working for war to civilian production, and raise workers' wages? We think the working people in the capitalist countries would also welcome abolition of house rents, which in some countries consume nearly one-third of their earnings. Would not the American people welcome it if medical services, on which they spent nearly \$20,000 million in 1960 alone, were made free?

But, as we know, capitalism's motto is to suck man dry. And when a person is no longer fit for work capitalist society abandons him to his lot: if you have no money, starve; if you have no home, sleep under a bridge. That is what the "free world" is like, that is what bourgeois "freedom" is like. Socialism has put an end to these man-hating canons. The motto of communism is, "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man". And under communism, which is being built by the people and for the people's happiness, the word Man will sound prouder than it has ever sounded before! (*Prolonged applause.*)

4. Planning and Management Must Meet the Demands of Communist Construction

Comrades, to implement successfully the enormous tasks set in the draft Programme, we must see to it that planning and management live up to the demands of full-scale communist construction. This is stipulated, firstly, by the tremendously growing scale of production and building, and by the development and extension of economic ties; secondly, by swift scientific and technical progress; thirdly, by the immense social, cultural and technical advances in the sphere of labour; and, fourthly, by the extension of the democratic foundations of economic management and the mounting activity of the masses.

Communist construction calls for proper and effective use of all production resources and a rational economy of labour. Lenin's wise words, "Socialism means accounting", are acquiring still greater significance in the period of communist construction.

Here is what the figures tell us. Within the term of the general perspective, the savings derived from reductions in the cost of industrial production alone are to yield 1,400-1,500 thousand million rubles, or nearly three-quarters of the aggregate capital investment in the national economy. At present each per cent of the funds saved in production and building becomes a tremendous source of additional production rises and improvements in the living standard. Yet even what would seem an insignificant slip in planning or an incidental misuse of funds entails a loss of many millions.

The 2,000,000 million rubles to be spent on capital construction in twenty years is six times as much as the sum invested in all the years of Soviet power. Dealing on so big a scale we cannot make literally a single step without heeding the popular rule: "Measure thy cloth thrice and cut but once". In so doing, we cannot proceed without the most precise of calculations of *what, how and where*

to build to the greatest advantage at the least cost. The slightest slow-up in the commissioning of so great a number of new projects would reduce enormous sums to dead stock. On the other hand, what considerable resources would be released if the schedule were reduced, and how many more dwellings, children's institutions, schools, hospitals and holiday homes could be built on these resources in excess of the plan!

Life itself calls for scientific grounding and economic foresight of a new, far higher order in the fields of planning and management. The drafting of plans and endorsement of economic measures should be preceded by a thoroughgoing scientific analysis of the problems of economic and technical development. Economic and technical research should further the proper solution of economic problems. In other words, it should help us work out the most advantageous proportions in the national economy, make the most effective use of natural resources, production capacities and new machinery, effect the best distribution of the national income and capital investments, find additional ways and means of accelerating rates of economic development, etc.

What are the demands exacted of planning in our time? It is essential, firstly, that we should have progressive planning standards for the use of all types of instruments of labour, raw and other materials, for technological methods and time limits for various jobs; it should be law for every manager to introduce those standards and to abide by them strictly. Secondly, every plan should be accurately balanced with respect to its various elements and provided with the necessary reserves.

Economic organisation and planning should lay a still stronger accent on modern technology, to give it what people call "the green light". After all, the material and technical basis of communism is already being laid in technical projects, in plants that are being commissioned today and which will also be operating in 15 or 20 years.

It is up to the designers to reflect the latest scientific and technical discoveries and improvements in their new projects to the fullest extent and in good time. It is essential to make more effective the system of introducing new technology on a centralised basis, from above, and to promote a country-wide mass movement for technical progress, from below.

Enterprises which have done well in putting to use new machinery and turning out new products should be encouraged materially and morally, and should have precedence over those that are conservative and cling to the old. We should achieve well-adjusted co-operation throughout the country, co-ordinated in time, among specialised enterprises manufacturing various elements of every type of new machinery. Establishment of close and business-like collaboration among scientists, designers, technologists and workers at all stages, from designing and surveying, and the manufacture of experimental samples, to mass production, acquires special importance. Finally, it is essential that a technical project should be considered and approved only after its economic efficiency has been thoroughly proved.

It is safe to say that our progress towards communism and the Soviet people's standard of living will depend to a very great extent on how well we succeed in accelerating construction, reducing its cost and improving its quality, in making effective and wise use of investments and production facilities, and in getting the maximum of output per unit of production capacity at the lowest cost. It is essential for this purpose that we reorganise planning and accounting, state and public control, socialist emulation, and all the ways of evaluating and encouraging the work of every employee, team, factory-shop, enterprise and economic administrative council, in such a way as to obtain the greatest productive effect of each machine tool, machine, and the equipment, in order that capital investments are returned as quickly as possible. As I have said

in the Central Committee Report, we must uproot the erroneous practice of scattering and "spreading out" resources among a multitude of projects.

It would do no harm if we were also to learn from the foremost capitalist models how to speed up construction, and start up and run new enterprises. In his day, Lenin said that we should learn how to trade. Much water has run under the bridge since then. We have accumulated tremendous experience in building and management, and possess an incomparable advantage over capitalism. But even now we should not scorn useful foreign experience, and should discerningly borrow from the West all that is technically and organisationally useful, including methods of accelerating the turnover of funds and getting greater returns from capital investments.

In the course of communist construction *continuous improvement of the quality of output* is a prime economic and political task. The slogan, "Soviet-made means the best", advanced in the pre-Congress period, should be a guiding principle for every enterprise.

The draft Programme is imbued with the idea that highly productive and scientifically organised labour equipped with the finest machinery is the cornerstone of communism. For this reason, *a rational use of manpower* is the most important aspect of planning and management.

The introduction of new machinery will release millions of people, including people engaged in ancillary and auxiliary jobs. It will also release many people engaged in farming. The managerial, administrative and office apparatus will shrink considerably. Millions of women will be relieved of household work. They will reinforce the ranks of the working people engaged in the national economy. In view of the most extensive development of public health, education and culture, the number of people engaged in these and other non-productive spheres will grow to the greatest extent—nearly 3-fold in 20 years.

In terms of the country as a whole this will require a well-organised system of mass training and extension courses, and planned re-distribution of manpower strictly on the basis of free choice and the principle of material incentive. Suitable living and cultural conditions should be created to encourage people to move to jobs in new regions.

The growing scale of construction and the mounting rates of technical progress call for continuity in planning. It is now absolutely impossible to draw up one-year plans for production, machinery, capital investments and labour, without thoroughly considering all the aspects of long-term development. Each annual plan should be an organic part of the long-term plan for a number of subsequent years. At the same time, it is necessary in the case of long-term plans to, so to speak, make them "down-to-earth" and amend them with due account of the actual fulfilment of annual plans.

In the period of communist construction the role and importance of centralised planning, which co-ordinates all spheres and branches of our economy, are enhanced. The priority of the interests of the state, effective control over the maintenance of state discipline in economic activities everywhere and by all without exception, and resolute elimination of all manifestations of parochialism and a narrow departmental approach, are essential premises for the advance towards communism.

The Leninist line—to develop in every way the democratic foundations of economic management in combination with centralised administration by the state—is clearly expressed in the draft Programme. Centralised administration by the state must draw upon the creative initiative of the masses and give this initiative ever greater scope. This calls for a further gradual extension of managerial powers and of the responsibility of local bodies, and of enterprises. The role and the rights of trade unions and other mass organisations, particularly the primary ones,

should be extended to the utmost; the personnel should participate more broadly and actively in the management of enterprises.

Our policy, our line for the entire period of communist construction, is to effect a proper combination of material and moral stimuli. So long as society is in the socialist stage, it cannot dispense with distribution according to labour, with commodity-money relations and with such categories as price, profit, finance and credit. In our country these economic tools have a socialist content and serve the building of communism. When communism will have been built, they will be outdated and replaced by the superior economic categories of direct assessment and distribution of social labour.

In the course of communist construction it is our task to make still greater use of, and to improve, the financial and credit levers, financial control, prices, and profits. We must elevate the importance of profit and profitability. In order that enterprises fulfil their plans better, they should be given more opportunities to handle their profits and use them more extensively to encourage the good work of their personnel, and to extend production. (*Applause.*) It is highly important to work out and introduce forms of collective incentives, in order to make each workingman materially interested not only in the results of his own labour, but in those of collective labour as a whole.

Comrades, the plan for the development of the productive forces of our country for the coming twenty years is truly imposing. It is not merely breath-taking figures showing the increase in the output of coal, steel, oil, grain, meat and milk. It is a magnificent plan for the creation of a society where man will be a genuine master of nature and of social relations, and where a high living standard will be attained for the whole people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is worth living, working and fighting for such grand goals. There is no loftier task, no task more purposeful and interesting for our Party, trade union and Komsomol

organisations than that of organising the struggle for the realisation of the general perspective, for the building of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST SOCIAL RELATIONS, AND THE MOULDING OF THE NEW MAN

Comrades, in the transition to communism the mighty growth of the productive forces is accompanied by a gradual development of socialist social relations into communist relations. The establishment of a communist economy, the advancement of social relations, and the moulding of the new man are interlinked processes. The economy is the basis for change in social relations and man's consciousness, while the advancement of social relations, and the growth of the communist spirit, culture and activity of people are a necessary condition for economic progress.

1. The Building of a Classless Society in the Soviet Union

The development of the Soviet Union has reached the historical period when the task of building a classless communist society of free and socially conscious working people is being solved directly.

The wealth of experience accumulated by Soviet society confirms the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the abolition of classes and class distinctions necessitates:

First, overthrowing the rule of the exploiting classes, the landlords and capitalists, and abolishing their private ownership of the means of production, which constitutes the economic basis of exploitation of man by man. In our country this task was carried through as a result of the October Revolution, the nationalisation of land and

capitalist property, and the restriction and ousting of the capitalist elements.

Secondly, *converting individual small-scale commodity production into large-scale collective production, completing the construction of a single socialist system of economy, and abolishing the last of the exploiting classes, the class of kulaks.* This task was accomplished by collectivising the countryside, organising the handicraft in co-operatives, and abolishing the kulaks as a class.

Thirdly, *removing the class distinctions between workers and peasants, the essential distinctions between town and country, and creating conditions for an organic fusion of physical and mental labour.* How is this third task being accomplished? It stands to reason that our further advance to a classless society is bound up, above all, with a rapid growth of the productive forces. It is precisely a high level of the productive forces and socialist relations of production that actuate the gradual obliteration of the distinctions between the labouring classes.

And that, comrades, is something we know not only from theory. We see it in practice. The character of the peasant's labour, and his general make-up, are changing under the effect of the wide use of machinery and electric power. He is steadily approaching the industrial worker in technical knowledge.

National property, the property of the whole people, is the basis for the life of the entire population, the kolkhoz peasantry included. At the same time, features characteristic of national property arise and take root in co-operative-kolkhoz property. Life itself is steadily bringing the national and co-operative forms of property closer together, and will ultimately lead to the emergence of a single, communist property and a single, communist principle of distribution.

In the process of communist construction, as a result of major changes in production techniques and in the nature of labour, yet another very important social problem will

be gradually solved—removal of the essential distinctions between physical and mental labour. We already observe these processes in our daily life. Millions of people with a secondary education have come to work at industrial enterprises and the collective and state farms. Tens of thousands of workers and collective farmers are getting a higher education in their free time. The worker's labour is gradually approaching that of the engineer. Take the foreman, for example. He unquestionably belongs to the bracket of engineers and technicians, to the intelligentsia. Yet he is also a worker. Or take the army of innovators, of workers-rationalisers. The contribution they make to technical progress is often of a kind that only a major specialist would be equal to. The same may well be said of the foremost farm workers, who are veritable professors in their field.

The elimination of distinctions between classes, now under way, makes for an ever greater social homogeneity of society. It stands to reason that this is a gradual and long process. The class distinctions will not be removed to the last until a full communist society is built.

Hand in hand with this process, and indivisibly linked with it, there will emerge *communist equality*, that is, complete social equality of people implying identical relations to the means of production, complete equality in distribution, and harmony of individual and society on the basis of an organic blending of personal and public interests. Classless communist society will thus constitute the highest form of organisation of the human community.

2. From the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to a State of the Whole People

The draft Programme of the Party raises, and resolves, a new important question of communist theory and practice—the development of the dictatorship of the working class into a state of the whole people, the character and

the tasks of this state, and its future under communism. *The state of the whole people is a new stage in the development of the socialist state, an all-important milestone on the road from socialist statehood to communist public self-government.*

Half a century ago our Party was the only party to put the Marxist-Leninist idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat into its programme. If we managed to survive in the bitter struggle against domestic and world reactionaries, if we managed to translate into reality mankind's age-old dream of socialism, we owe this, to a tremendous degree, to the fact that we possessed a powerful instrument for the transformation of society—a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The experience of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the victory of socialism is possible only if the dictatorship of the proletariat is established.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is born of the conditions created by the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the process of its establishment, socialism has to overcome the resistance, often of a most bitter kind, of the reactionary forces of the old world. Comrades, remember the fierce resistance put up against us by the landlords and capitalists with the most active support of the forces of world reaction. One could also refer to an event of the relatively recent past—the counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary in 1956. It furnished added proof that to effect the transition to socialism, the working class must have a power capable of crushing the resistance of the exploiters, consolidating the victory of the revolution, preventing in time all attempts to restore the rule of the bourgeoisie, and ensuring defence against aggressive acts by international reactionaries.

It should be stressed that the proletariat resorts to force solely against the capitalists and landlords, and their abettors, and not against the labouring classes. It is this that accounts for the profoundly democratic nature of prole-

tarian power. The bourgeois state is a dictatorship of the exploiting minority over the overwhelming majority of society, whereas the proletarian state expresses the interests of the vast majority of society. The working class leads the peasantry and the other labouring sections of society, its allies and brothers-in-arms, and helps them to take the socialist path of their own free will. This leadership, being a characteristic feature of proletarian power, sets it poles apart from the bourgeois state, which knows no other relations but those of domination and subjection.

Lenin taught us that the working class needs dictatorship to build a socialist society, to wipe out all exploitation of man by man. "This goal," Lenin explained, "cannot be achieved overnight. It requires a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to socialism, because reorganisation of production is a difficult thing, because it takes time to effect radical changes in all spheres of life, and because the tremendous force of habit for the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois way of economy can only be broken through a long and dogged struggle. That is why Marx speaks of the entire period of proletarian dictatorship as of a period of transition from capitalism to socialism."* It follows, according to Marx and Lenin, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a state of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

It stands to reason that when socialism had triumphed *completely and finally* in our country and we entered upon the *period of full-scale communist construction*, the conditions which necessitated the dictatorship of the proletariat disappeared, its domestic purposes were fulfilled.

The working class is the only class in history which does not entertain the purpose of perpetuating its domination. When the conditions which gave rise to its dictatorship disappear, when the tasks which society could accom-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 358.

plish solely with its help are consummated, the state gradually develops, under the leadership of the working class, into a nation-wide organisation of all the working people of socialist society. With the victory of socialism and the country's entry into the period of full-scale communist construction, the working class of the Soviet Union has on its own initiative, consistent with the tasks of communist construction, transformed the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people. That, comrades, is a fact unparalleled in history. Until now the state has always been an instrument of dictatorship by this or that class. In our country, for the first time in history, a state has taken shape which is not a dictatorship of any one class, but an instrument of society as a whole, of the entire people. (*Stormy applause.*)

Communist construction no longer requires the dictatorship of the proletariat. All working people in our society have equal rights. To be sure, the working class continues to play the leading role in society also during the transition to communism. It retains this role because it is the most advanced and most organised class, a class associated with machine industry, one that is the most consistent bearer of communist ideals.

It would be wrong to think that there is a wall between a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the interests of the overwhelming majority of society, and the state of the whole people. From the moment of its inception, the dictatorship of the proletariat contains features of universal socialist democracy. As socialism develops, these features become accentuated, and following its complete victory they become determinant. The state develops from an instrument of class domination into an organ expressing the will of the whole people.

The might of our society and state, far from diminishing, increases many times over in the course of its development from the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, because new sources of strength

appear alongside the old. Coupled with the continuous growth of its economic potential, the social basis of our state has gained added strength and has expanded, and society has become more united and monolithic than ever before. Therein lies the chief source of strength of the state. Every worker, every peasant, every intellectual can say: We are the state; its policy is our policy, and the task of developing and consolidating it, of defending it against all encroachments, is our common task. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But why, for all that, is the state as such being retained, though the antagonism of classes, the main thing that gave rise to it, has disappeared? It is being retained because the tasks which society can solve only with the aid of the state are not as yet consummated. These tasks and functions of the socialist state are clearly specified in the draft of our Party Programme.

The state will remain long after the victory of the first phase of communism. The process of its withering away will be a very long one; it will cover an entire historical epoch and will not end until society is completely ripe for self-administration. For some time, the features of state administration and public self-government will intermingle. In this process the domestic functions of the state will develop and change, and gradually lose their political character. It is only after a developed communist society is built in the U.S.S.R., and provided socialism wins and consolidates in the international arena, that there will no longer be any need for the state, and it will wither away.

The fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary does not in any way imply any relaxation of public order and legality. The Party attaches great importance to a further strengthening of legality and of law and order, and to the protection of the rights of citizens. The rights, freedom, honour and dignity of the Soviet citizen will be closely protected by society and by the state. Those who expect that public order in our country will be less rigid, are in for a woeful disappointment. Alongside

the state organs, public organisations of working people will play an increasing role in combating anti-social and criminal elements. The fight against misappropriators of public property, against parasites and rowdies will be waged still more effectively, since it will have become the business of all working people and their organisations.

Comrades, you know that in the last few years, especially after the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., tremendous effort has been put into restoring the Leninist standards of Party and government activity, and into further extending Soviet democracy. We do not consider, of course, that the task of perfecting our political system is already consummated. We must do everything to perfect and develop the state of the whole people, to draw the masses more and more into administration and control of the organs of state.

To begin with, a word about *the role of the representative organs of power*. The terms of reference of the Soviets will expand. They will be, to a still greater extent, "the working corporations" performing the practical function of managing the economic and social processes that Marx and Lenin had in mind when analysing the nature of truly popular power. Many of the matters which are today allotted to the competence of the executive bodies of state power and administration will be handled directly by the Soviets and their committees.

The transition to communism calls for a continuous *improvement in the work of the state and economic apparatus, and for the development in it of democratic principles and principles of social work*. The apparatus of the government, economic and other organs must be made still simpler, still cheaper to run, and still more efficient, and should respond promptly and considerately to citizens' requests. It is essential that we completely eradicate such survivals of the past as officialism, indifference, formalism and red tape, and not only publicly censure, but strictly prosecute, administratively and legally, officials guilty of

a bureaucratic treatment of the needs and requests of the working people.

The advancement of socialist democracy is bound up with a *heightening of the role of mass organisations*, such as the trade unions, the Komsomol, the co-operatives and the cultural and educational societies.

Lenin called the trade unions schools of administration, schools of management, schools of communism. This fundamental appraisal by Lenin of the role of the trade unions has special significance during the transition to communism. Through the trade unions industrial, professional and office workers exert a mounting influence on economic affairs, help improve the work of enterprises and control over production. Furthermore, the role of the trade unions is made greater by virtue of the rights of legislative initiative that are being given them, and of some of the functions previously performed by state bodies.

The activities of the *Komsomol*, the militant organisation of Soviet youth, play an important part in the life of our society. The youth, comrades, are our replacements. They are the future of our country. They are an active and creative force which can move mountains in the struggle for our ideals. We must show daily, truly paternal concern for the education of the *Komsomol* members.

The administration of our state is effected *for* the working people and by the working people. We set ourselves the task of drawing all citizens without exception into the administration of the affairs of society.

How do we plan to solve this task?

First, by creating ever better material and cultural living conditions for every working man and woman.

Secondly, by perfecting the forms of popular representation and the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system.

Thirdly, by extending the practice of nation-wide discussions of the more important matters of communist construction and of draft laws of the Soviet state.

Fourthly, by extending in every way the forms of public control over the activities of the organs of state power and administration, and by making this control more effective.

Fifthly, by systematically renewing the composition of the governing organs, by increasingly and consistently implementing with regard to leading officials of the state apparatus and of public organisations the elective and accountability principle, and gradually extending this principle to all leading officials of state and public organisations, and cultural institutions.

Our ideological opponents keep vociferating that capitalism is a free world and try to discredit our socialist democracy in every way. But the truth about socialist democracy, the finest democracy on earth, cannot be concealed. After all, it is an incontestable fact that the socialist world is steadily and consistently developing and extending democracy, while the capitalist world is abridging and curtailing what stunted democracy there is in bourgeois society.

Never before has actual power in the leading imperialist countries been concentrated in the hands of so small a handful of monopolists as today. The Americans themselves described Eisenhower's administration as a Big Business administration. Indeed, more than a score of its members were either millionaires themselves, or were in the employ of the biggest corporations. Of the 19 ministers in the British cabinet 12 are directly associated with the monopolies, and in Adenauer's government 12 of its 18 members are direct representatives of big concerns and stock companies. In the governments of the imperialist countries individuals change, one millionaire or his protégé replacing another, but all of them serve the interests of the monopolies.

Bourgeois ideologists speak of equality in capitalist society. But what is the equality they imply? Take the social structure in the capitalist countries. It is a monstrous pyramid of social inequality. At its apex are a handful of industrial and financial oligarchs. Like the corrupt nobility

of the Roman Empire in its decline, they wallow in luxury and over-satiation. In the meantime, the hundreds of millions of people who constitute the base of this pyramid are condemned to privation and lack of rights. In the United States a handful of moneybags, one per cent of the population, controls nearly 60 per cent, and in Britain a group of no more than one per cent controls over 50 per cent, of the national wealth.

Now take the electoral system in the capitalist countries. It is being continuously refashioned and adapted to ensuring to a maximum the interests of the monopolies, and to distorting the true will of the electors. The present electoral system in France is a good example. At the latest elections there, the Communist Party, which polled 3,882,204 votes, won a mere ten seats in the National Assembly. In the meantime, the reactionary U.N.R., which polled 3,603,958 votes, i.e., less than the Communists, won 188 seats. If this is not outright dictatorship of monopoly capital, then what is? If this is not mockery of the will of the people, then what is? The working people comprise the overwhelming majority of electors. But are they represented in the parliaments? Is it not a fact that there is not a single worker, not a single small farmer, in the Congress of the United States, a country with more than 50 million factory and office workers and working farmers?

The monopoly bourgeoisie makes the utmost use of all levers—the press, the radio, television and all other means of indoctrination—to deceive the masses, to blunt their minds and paralyse their will. Whose will, for example, can the press controlled by millionaire Hearst reflect? It reflects just one will—the will of the monopoly tycoons.

The bourgeoisie employs the police and army more and more frequently in its struggle against the people. Think of all the blood of the people shed in the capitalist countries in the last decade! The police baton and police bullets hold an increasingly prominent place in bourgeois democracy's arsenal of "arguments".

Such is their "free world", a society with no true freedom and no democracy, a society based on social and national oppression and inequality, on the exploitation of man by man, on the flouting of human dignity and honour.

The flowering of democracy in the socialist countries, on the one hand, and on the other the increasing curtailment of the already curtailed democracy in the capitalist countries—these are the *two opposite trends in the political development of the contemporary world*. We are doing our utmost, and will continue to do our utmost, to further perfect our social system and our democracy as a model of the socialist way of life for all peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

3. The Growing Closeness Between Nations and Consolidation of Friendship Among the Peoples

The draft Programme sets *a course towards a further economic and cultural advancement of the Soviet Republics, and a still greater all-round rapprochement between nations in the process of full-scale communist construction.*

Under socialism, two interlinked progressive tendencies are operating in the national question. First, there is a rapid, all-round development of each nation. The rights of the Union and Autonomous republics are expanding. Secondly, the socialist nations are drawing closer and closer together under the banner of proletarian internationalism; they influence and enrich each other more and more.

Full-scale communist construction is a new stage in the development of national relations in the Soviet Union. Closer co-operation among nations depends, above all, on correct economic policy. The draft Programme envisages a comprehensive development and specialisation of economy in the Union republics. The economy of each will continue to develop as an integral part of a single Soviet economy.

The greater the contribution which each republic makes to the common cause of communist construction, the broader and the more comprehensive become the interrelations between the Soviet nations.

The economic development of each Soviet republic is the result of fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance among all the Soviet peoples. Take the development of the virgin land in Kazakhstan. The republic would never have coped with so formidable an undertaking on its own. Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and people of many other nationalities gave it a helping hand. Or take our factories and building projects. They are friendly, multi-national collectives, where workers are esteemed not for the colour of their skin or for the tongue they speak, but for their attitude towards their work, their contribution to the communist cause. The population in the various republics is becoming more and more mixed in national composition. There is an exchange of qualified personnel between them. All this strengthens international bonds between the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Improvements in the forms of national state organisation of the peoples of the Soviet Union are another expression of the development of the socialist nations. The Party will continue to meet all the requirements that arise in this sphere. Full use must be made of all the possibilities provided by the Soviet principles of federation and autonomy. Even today the realities prompt the setting up of some inter-republican zonal bodies for a better co-ordination of the efforts of the various republics in implementing the plans of communist construction.

The growing closeness among the nations and nationalities of our country is also promoted by cultural development and ideological work. The exchange of spiritual values among them is on the upgrade. The cultural achievements of one nation are made available to others. This leads to a mutual cultural enrichment of the peoples of the Soviet Union, to a strengthening of their international-

ist foundations, to the formation of the future single, universal culture of communist society.

The forms of national culture do not ossify; on the contrary, they develop continuously. Outmoded forms inconsistent with the tasks of communist construction drop away, and new forms emerge. National flavour is quite natural in literature and art. But all too often we have encountered archaisms in this respect. In architecture, for example, obviously outmoded forms are sometimes extracted from the dim past, though they are absolutely inconsistent with present living conditions and people's requirements. And we know that only forms that are in keeping with our epoch have a future.

The Party will continue to ensure the free development of the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union, ruling out all restrictions, privileges and coercion in the use of the various languages. Every citizen enjoys, and will enjoy, complete freedom in the choice of the language of instruction for his or her children. There are no hindrances whatsoever to the development of national languages in our country. But their development must not lead to any accentuation of national barriers; on the contrary, it should lead to a coming together of nations.

It is to be noted that the non-Russian peoples show a growing inclination to learn the Russian language, which has in effect become the second native language of the peoples of the Soviet Union, a medium of international intercourse, an avenue whereby each nation and each nationality achieves access to the cultural wealth of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and to world culture. (*Applause.*) The voluntary study of the Russian language, now under way, is a positive factor in the development of co-operation among the nations. (*Applause.*)

A rapprochement of nations is proceeding in our country, and their social homogeneity is growing. Complete unity of nations will be achieved as the full-scale building of communism proceeds. But even after communism will

have been built in the main, it will be premature to proclaim a fusion of nations. Lenin, it may be recalled, pointed out that state and national distinctions will exist long after socialism will have triumphed in all countries.

We come across people, of course, who deplore the gradual obliteration of national distinctions. We reply to them: Communists will not conserve and perpetuate national distinctions. We will support the objective process of the increasingly closer rapprochement of nations and nationalities proceeding under the conditions of communist construction on a voluntary and democratic basis. It is essential that we lay greater stress on the education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. Even the slightest vestiges of nationalism should be eradicated with uncompromising, Bolshevik determination.

The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is one of our greatest gains. Let us guard it as the apple of our eye! (*Stormy applause.*)

4. Communist Education and the All-Round Development of the Individual

Comrades, education of people in the communist spirit is an all-important element of communist construction.

The creation of the highest productivity of labour, the development of communist social relations and the firm establishment of the standards of communist behaviour are inconceivable without an advancement in the consciousness and cultural level of all members of society. The higher the consciousness of the members of society and the fuller and broader their creative activity, the better and more rapidly shall we implement the programme of communist construction.

What are the tasks we have in view when we speak of the moulding of the new man? They are:

consolidation of the communist world outlook: deep faith in the communist ideals, a conscious attitude to civic duty, socialist internationalism and patriotism, loyalty to country, readiness to defend it even at the cost of one's life;

education through labour, development of the communist attitude to labour, to social production;

consolidation of the principles of communist morality, voluntary observance of the standards of communist behaviour;

cultural development, knowledge of the fundamentals of science, general and polytechnical education, aesthetic and physical education.

Communism ennobles man. *Communism is the full flowering of humanity and of the individual.*

While instilling new, communist traits of character in all members of our society, the Party attaches special importance to the communist education and training of the youth. The Party and the people have brought up a wonderful generation of devoted builders of socialism and heroic defenders of our country, who have won undying glory. Today we are preparing people for life in communist society. The communist generation have to be moulded from childhood. They have to be cared for and steeled from their youth. We must see to it in all earnest that there are no moral cripples in our country—no victims of incorrect education and bad example. Whenever young fruit-trees have been damaged to any degree, much effort has to be put into tending them back to healthy growth. Furthermore, these efforts are not always successful. It is the same with the people of the new generation.

The new man is moulded, not only under the influence of the educational work of the Party, the Soviet state, the trade unions and the Komsomol, but also of the very pattern of life of society—the mode of production, the forms of distribution, the public services, the socio-political activities, the legal norms and the court practices. We must

make the most of all economic, social and family, political and legal levers to develop the communist consciousness of people and to eradicate survivals of bourgeois psychology and morals.

The bourgeoisie associates the freedom of the individual with private property. But millions of people in the capitalist countries have no property, and to them bourgeois property is not an earnest of freedom, but a heavy burden. To the petty proprietor property is not a condition for the development of the individual; rather, it is a chain that keeps him fully dependent on monopoly capital. It is only to capitalists that private property furnishes complete freedom to exploit the working people and to amass fabulous profits. The wealth of experience accumulated in our country, and that of the world socialist system as a whole, shows that it is not private but commonly-owned property that delivers man from all types of social dependence and provides broad opportunities for the free development of the individual. Our people have become imbued with the lofty sense of collectivism, comradeship and loyalty to civic duty.

The draft Programme attaches great importance to the further moulding of the progressive scientific world outlook of Soviet people. And that is only natural. After all, man cannot successfully develop spiritually if his head is stuffed with mystical ideas, superstitions and false conceptions.

For the first time in history, the world outlook of millions of people rests on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism, which has become the ideological weapon of the people in the struggle for a better life, for the victory of communism. Marxism-Leninism has placed mankind in the correct, accurately computed historical orbit leading to the bright communist future! (Applause.)

We are revolutionaries and internationalists, and cannot be indifferent to the propaganda of reactionary views. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the bourgeoisie obscuring

and corrupting the minds of people, and fomenting chauvinism. The Party will continue to expose imperialist ideology.

Communist consciousness is fashioned and consolidated in the active struggle for communism, in work for the common weal. Communist ideas must logically lead to communist deeds in the behaviour of every man, the work of every collective, every organisation and institution.

It is creative labour that constitutes the basis of communist education, of the all-round development of the individual. Labour has always been, and always will be, the source of man's existence and development. The motto, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat", exists in different forms in all languages, among all peoples.

The Communists have made it their purpose to deliver people, not from labour, but from the exploitation of their labour. Man's labour and his being provided with all the good things of life are blended organically in the communist principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Communist education has the all-important purpose of instilling in each man the awareness that man cannot live without labour, that he cannot live unless he creates the means of life. All the good that Soviet man does is done for himself and for society as a whole. Doing one's work conscientiously, doing all things well and in time means showing concern for one's comrades, who also work for everybody, oneself included. It is this that embodies the comradely co-operation and mutual assistance of the people of the new society.

The bourgeoisie oppresses and humiliates working people. The Communists extol and glorify free labour as a source of life and of the well-being of all men, and as an earnest of social progress and prosperity. (*Applause.*)

The draft Programme contains the *moral code of the builder of communism*, the ethical standards of the new society, its moral tenets.

For over a hundred years bourgeois ideologists have been accusing the Communists of negating morals, of undermining the moral pillars of society. The bourgeoisie needs this falsehood to cover up its own immorality. What is the basis of the moral tenets of the exploiting classes? It is most clearly illustrated by sayings such as these: "What will not money do?", "Cheat your fellow lest he cheat you", "Money doesn't smell", and "Man is to man a wolf".

We do, indeed, negate these brutal and cynical canons. We contrapose to them the moral principles of collectivism and humanism expressed in the following magnificent words: "One for all, and all for one", and "Man is to man a friend, comrade and brother". (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is our task to make the new moral principles a vital need for all Soviet people. Much still has to be done to wipe out the vestiges of the past. In public life the progressive is not fenced off from the old and backward. The progressive wins in the end, but the survivals of the old retard progress. The force of good example grows, and that is the basis of our education. But, as you know, weeds grow fast if they are not controlled in good time.

We must induce the general public to pay greater attention and take a more exacting attitude to people's behaviour. After all, ill deeds are committed by people who are mostly members of some collective, of an organisation, of a trade union, the Komsomol, a collective farm, or of some cultural and educational society or association, and sometimes even members of our Party. We must use the moral weight and authority of public opinion more actively in combating those who break the rules and standards of socialist behaviour.

We want to make all people harmoniously developed. What other class besides the working class, and what other ruling party besides the Communist Party, has ever set the task of developing the capacities and gifts of *all* working people?

It is in the cultural advancement of the people that the

Party sees the earnest of victorious communist construction. Our country has reached the final stage of the cultural revolution, whose main purpose is to build up all the necessary ideological and cultural premises of communism. The most important task at this stage is to raise the cultural and technical level of all workers and peasants to the level of the intelligentsia, so as to eliminate, in the main, the essential distinctions between mental and physical labour.

In the coming 20 years the bulk of members of society will, through one medium or another, receive a full secondary, specialised secondary or a higher education. That is a formidable, but quite feasible task.

General and polytechnical secondary (11-year) education for all children of school age is to be brought into effect in the course of the coming 10 years. According to the School Law the children must, after completing eight years of schooling, work at enterprises or at collective farms, and study simultaneously to obtain a full secondary education. This creates the opportunity both for a higher education and for highly-skilled work at the factory or farm.

It is also essential that in the coming ten years the young people employed in the national economy who have no secondary education should get an education equal to at least eight years of schooling. This is an important and urgent task. It should be borne in mind that during the war many boys and girls were unable to receive a secondary education. Due concern should be shown for these young citizens of our country.

Soviet schools play an especially important role in the all-round and harmonious development of man. In educating school children in the spirit of communism, schools must instil in them the best qualities and habits, prepare them for conscientious labour according to ability, for using sensibly the social facilities, for unflinching observance of the communist moral code and standards of behaviour.

A very big role in the education of the rising generation devolves on the schoolteachers, who may well be called the spiritual mentors of the youth. The role of the schoolteacher should be enhanced in every way, and he should be surrounded with attention and care. (*Applause.*)

The Party attaches great importance to the further development of educational establishments—boarding-schools, day-care schools, and pre-school institutions. Public and family education are not opposed to each other. The family's educational influence upon children should blend with their education by society.

People who say that the significance of the family drops during the transition to communism, and that it disappears entirely with time, are absolutely wrong. In fact, the family will grow stronger under communism. Completely disencumbered of material considerations, family relations will become pure and lasting.

While focussing its efforts on instituting universal secondary education, the Party also sets the programmatic goal of *making all forms of higher education still more accessible to everybody*. At present we have an enrolment of 2,600,000 in our higher educational establishments. By 1980 it is envisaged that enrolment at higher educational establishments will rise to eight million, i.e., more than three-fold. The network of higher evening and correspondence schools will expand very greatly.

We still have to eliminate the considerable lag in the cultural and technical level of the rural population behind that of the urban population, so as to remove the essential distinctions between town and country in that sphere as well. It is necessary that all organisations dealing with matters of culture redouble their attention to the raising of the cultural level in the countryside.

In the next few years large-scale measures are to be taken to develop extensively the material basis of culture—paper factories and printing plants, radio and television stations, theatres, film studios and cinemas, clubs

and libraries. This will naturally involve large material outlays. But our society, which is building communism, will not grudge the means to meet the cultural requirements of Soviet people to the fullest.

In our age of rapid scientific and technical progress the development of society and of the individual is inconceivable without a planned and all-round utilisation of the achievements of science. As Lenin once said: "No dark force will withstand the alliance of science, the proletariat and technology."* These prophetic words have become living reality. We have smashed and destroyed the evil force of the exploiters. We have wiped out for good all forms of economic and spiritual oppression. And now we are concentrating more and more of our effort on eliminating man's dependence on the elements, on subjugating them to man's will. Man will thereby take the last hurdle on his road to the realm of true freedom.

Science is called upon to respond to the requirements of the present day, to serve as a militant and effective weapon in solving the pressing problems in the national economy, and in developing the productive forces of society. In the future science will find ways to control thermo-nuclear reactions so that the limitless sources of nuclear energy will be employed for peaceful purposes; to control the climate and the weather; to conquer disease and ensure longevity for people; to control the vital processes of organisms; to create a countless number of artificial materials with desired properties; and to explore outer space and set up reliable communication routes in the Universe. This will constitute an entire epoch in the history of world science and technology, provide man with inexhaustible resources of energy, and make him the true master of nature.

The importance of the social sciences will increase steadily in the study of mankind's historical path to communism,

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 376,

the investigation of the processes of capitalism's collapse, the elaboration of the scientific foundations of planned guidance of social development, economic and cultural construction, in the moulding of the materialist world outlook in people, in the education of the man of communist society and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. The Party will see to it that all provinces of human knowledge flourish.

It is the honourable and patriotic duty of Soviet scientists to consolidate the already won advance positions of Soviet science in the key spheres of knowledge, and to ensure that Soviet science occupies a leading place in all the basic fields of world science. (Applause.)

Literature and art play a big part in moulding the new man. By upholding communist ideas and genuine humanism, literature and art instil in Soviet man the qualities of a builder of the new world, and serve the aesthetic and moral development of people. The Party calls on all who are engaged in literature and art to use new and bold forms in treating contemporary subjects.

Amateur art, which is spreading widely, offers a great medium for the emergence and development of popular talents and gifts. However, this does not eliminate the need for developing the professional arts. It will be the artistic activities of professional companies and distinguished men of the arts that will, in the future as well, serve as a model for amateur art. In its turn, amateur art will serve as an inexhaustible source for the enrichment and advancement of professional literature and art.

Socialist and communist culture is a new, and the highest, stage in man's cultural development. We have all the necessary conditions to scale successfully the summits of communist culture. *(Prolonged applause.)*

V

COMMUNISM AND MANKIND'S PROGRESS

Comrades, fulfilment of our Party Programme will exert a most profound influence on the course of world history.

By the force of its example, communism in the making attracts to the banner of Marxism-Leninism new hundreds of millions of working people all over the world. The building of communism means, first and foremost, a rapid development of the productive forces, a steep rise in the people's cultural and living standards, and creation of conditions for a peaceful and happy life. The entire course of social development has borne out Lenin's prevision that it is through their economic construction that the countries of victorious socialism exert their chief influence on the development of the world revolution. Peaceful economic competition is the main arena of the contest between the socialist and the capitalist systems.

The outcome of this competition will be determined in tremendous degree by the competition between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

The Party sets the task of converting our country, within the next decade, into the world's leading industrial power, of winning preponderance over the United States both in aggregate industrial output and in industrial output per head of the population. By approximately the same time, the U.S.S.R. will exceed the present U.S. level of agricultural production per head of the population by fifty per cent, and will surpass the U.S. level of national income.

But that is only the first objective. We shall not stop at that. *In the course of the second decade, by 1980, our country will leave the United States far behind in industrial and agricultural output per head of the population.*

The economy of all the countries of the world socialist system, and not only that of the Soviet Union, is developing far more rapidly than the economy of capitalism. Compared with the pre-war level, the countries of the socialist

community have increased gross industrial output almost seven times over, while the increase for the countries of capitalism is less than two-and-a-half times. Preliminary estimates indicate that by 1980 the socialist system will account for about two-thirds of the world's industrial output.

Some say that figures are dull. But the figures showing the growth of our system are pleasant to quote and, I think, pleasant to hear. I remember that in our young days we had a song, "Race forward, steam locomotive! The goal is communism". Today it is not on a steam locomotive that we and the entire socialist system are speeding forward, but on a powerful electric locomotive. There can be no doubt that our socialist express will outrace capitalism, and leave it behind. Capitalism has neither the strength nor the hauling power any more. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Communist construction in our country is an integral part of the building of communist society in the socialist community as a whole. The successful development of the world system of socialism opens up prospects for the transition of the socialist countries to communism at more or less the same time, within one and the same historical epoch. The world system of capitalism is governed by the law of uneven economic and political development, this leading to an aggravation of contradictions and an intensification of the rivalry between states. The development of the world socialist system is governed by diametrically opposite laws. It is marked by a steady and planned economic growth of each country, by a more rapid development of the states that were economically backward under capitalism, and by all countries drawing level in their development.

Countries that once lagged behind because of specific features in their historical development have, within the framework of the world socialist system, come very close to the level of the advanced socialist countries in a very

brief period thanks to the all-round assistance and support of the latter. However, the degree of development of their productive forces is not yet the same. These are the objective factors that rule out any one definite "hour" of entry of all the socialist countries into the higher phase of the new society. It is only natural that the full-scale building of communist society will begin in those countries as the necessary conditions for it arise. This accords with the interests of the socialist system as a whole, because it will accelerate the common advance of the peoples to communism and create more favourable conditions for greater support and aid for the other socialist countries by those in which communism has been victorious.

It is indisputable to Marxists-Leninists that the basic interests of the socialist states call imperatively for the maximum strengthening of their community. Any course steered towards the construction of socialism in isolation, separately from the world socialist community, runs counter to the objective laws of development of a socialist society. Such a course is harmful, since it may weaken the forces of socialism in the face of the united front of imperialist reaction; it encourages nationalistic tendencies, and in the long run may lead to a loss of the socialist gains.

Whatever guise it may don, nationalism is the most dangerous political and ideological weapon employed by international reaction to undermine the unity of the socialist countries. As the draft Programme states, "The Communists consider it their prime duty to educate working people in a spirit of internationalism, socialist patriotism, and intolerance of all possible manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Nationalism is harmful to the common interests of the socialist community and, above all, to the people of the country where it obtains, since isolation from the socialist camp holds up that country's development, deprives it of the advantages deriving from the world socialist system and encourages the imperialist powers to

make the most of nationalist tendencies for their own ends.”

Soviet people have the most friendly feelings for their brothers in the socialist countries in Europe and Asia. They rejoice at their successes and take pride in their victories. They have helped them in building up a new life, and will continue to do so. In fair weather and foul, the peoples of the socialist countries act according to the principle—all for one and one for all. Whoever lifts his hand against the socialist gains of the peoples of our community will be hurled back by a thousand million builders of socialism and communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

As regards Yugoslavia, I have said in the Central Committee Report that we have fought, and will continue to fight, against the revisionist views of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; at the same time we have stood, and stand now, for the all-round promotion and strengthening of state relations with Yugoslavia. Concerning the struggle for peace, our views coincide on many points with those of Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union advocates bringing closer together and consolidating all the forces that are fighting against the imperialist warmongers, for peace and friendship among the peoples.

Comrades, the draft Programme of the C.P.S.U. gives expression to the incontrovertible fact that communism has become the most powerful force of our times. Today Communist parties are working in 87 countries of the world, and have a membership of about 40 million. And what vast numbers of people follow the Communists, share their views and convictions, and approve and support their policies. Communism has struck deep roots and is developing mightily. More than one-third of mankind are building a new life under its banner. In many non-socialist countries, too, the working class is dealing sledge-hammer blows at the foundations of capitalism.

The world is going through an epoch of revolutions. *Socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist national-liberation*

revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, broad peasant movements, popular struggles to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes, and general democratic movements against national oppression—all these merge in a single world-wide revolutionary process undermining and breaking up capitalism.

The draft Programme delineates the paths of peaceful and non-peaceful development of revolution. In this question, as in all others, our Party stands solidly on the principles collectively formulated by the world Communist movement in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

In the present epoch more *favourable international conditions* have arisen for the development of the world revolutionary movement, due mainly to the consolidation of the forces and the growth of the influence of the socialist system. The example set by socialism is exerting a powerful influence on people's minds, making them active fighters for the new system. Peoples rising in revolution can rely on support from the socialist countries in the struggle against any attempts by world reaction to export counter-revolution. In building a new society they can get help of every kind from the socialist countries.

The *internal conditions* for the transition of new countries to socialism are also more favourable in the present epoch. Among these conditions are the general weakening of capitalism, and the deepening of its contradictions; the numerical growth and the better organisation and consolidation of the working class, and its greater influence on society; the growing number of allies of the working class, who are objectively interested in the struggle against imperialism and in the abolition of the omnipotence of monopolies; and the founding and consolidation of Communist parties in almost all countries of the world.

But we should not lose sight of the difficulties that confront the revolutionary forces. Since the war the monopolist bourgeoisie has formed a new reactionary "Holy Alliance"—military blocs spearheaded not only against the

socialist countries but also against the revolutionary working-class and the national-liberation movements. It has inflated the apparatus of violence and suppression to monstrous proportions. Concurrently, it is resorting to new and refined methods of splitting the working class and corrupting the trade union movement, for which end it makes extensive use of reactionary Social-Democratic and trade union leaders. It conducts a frantic anti-communist campaign, and has rallied all the enemies of the working people under this black flag. The possibility is not to be ruled out that the monopoly bourgeoisie will fall back on the most extreme and sanguinary means of retaining its domination. In these circumstances Lenin's words ring still truer today than ever before. The working class, he said, must "gain mastery of *all* forms or aspects of social activity without exception", and must be prepared for "a most rapid and sudden replacement of one form by another".*

In the present epoch the tasks of the popular-democratic, the national-liberation and the socialist revolutions are drawing closer and becoming more interwoven. The logic of social development has led to all these revolutions being directed primarily against one principal foe—imperialism, the monopolist bourgeoisie.

It is often asked what course the world liberation movement will follow.

It stands to reason that in the highly-developed capitalist countries the conditions for the transition to socialism have fully matured. After accomplishing their national-liberation, anti-imperialist revolution, the seething underdeveloped states of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be able to effect the transition to socialism. Today practically any country, irrespective of its level of development, can enter on the road leading to socialism.

The world revolutionary process is extending ever wider, involving all the continents. There was a time when, una-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 76.

ble to destroy the first socialist state in the world by military means, the imperialists tried through a *cordon sanitaire* to fence it off from the rest of the world. However, the revolutionary activity of the peoples of Europe and Asia has now extended the borders of socialism from the Elbe to the South China seas. The imperialists have done everything possible to confine the ideas of revolution within these bounds, but neither mountains nor oceans are obstacles to the ideas of freedom. This has been vividly borne out by the victorious revolution in Cuba. (*Stormy applause.*)

The freedom-loving Cuban people have raised the banner of the people's anti-imperialist revolution, and cleared their land of the foreign plunderers and their henchmen. Workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and the middle strata of the urban population have rallied around the banner of the revolution. This is one of the chief sources of the strength of the Cuban revolution, and a guarantee of its further social progress. This small, faraway, sea-girt island has now become an unquenchable beacon of freedom, which is lighting the way to progress for all the peoples of Latin America. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Cuba lies far from the Soviet Union, but our peoples are close. Our hearts are with you, heroes of Cuba, who are defending independence and freedom against U.S. imperialism, and who have inscribed socialist aims on your battle standards. (*Stormy applause.*) Our people have rendered, and will continue to render assistance to the fraternal Cuban people in their sacred struggle for their just cause. (*Prolonged applause.*)

As the socialist system grows stronger, as its advantages over capitalism reveal themselves more fully and socialist and democratic forces all over the world increase, more and more countries at various levels of development will enter upon the path of revolution and join the system of socialism, as streams add their waters to a mighty river.

In its revolutionary struggle, the working class will continue to encounter various opportunist trends impeding

consolidation of its forces and achievement of its aims. As long as capitalism exists, these trends will appear time and again, under various guises. That is why the draft Programme emphasises the necessity of a struggle both against the ideology of social-democratism and revisionism, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

The C.P.S.U. will continue to do its utmost to fulfil its internationalist duty to the working class and the working people of the whole world honourably; it will continue to work for the greater unity and solidity of the ranks of the great army of Communists of all lands. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, our successes in communist construction will be of exceptional significance to the destinies of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, these vast and long-suffering continents, which are rising to full stature as the makers of their own history and searching for paths towards a rapid rise in their economy and culture.

The national-liberation movement has entered the final phase of the abolition of colonial rule. The newly-free peoples are setting themselves the task of consolidating their political independence, of launching an offensive against economic backwardness so as to eliminate it, and of destroying all forms of dependence on imperialism.

But their path is not an easy one. Imperialism is losing the open battles with the national-liberation movement, but is not laying down its arms. Its methods are becoming subtler. The monopolists want to carry out a far-reaching plan for the preservation and consolidation of their positions in the underdeveloped countries, and are concealing the real essence of this plan with pious talk about aid. In this, the U.S. imperialists are second to none.

Of course there can be no question of the imperialist powers giving disinterested aid to the underdeveloped countries. The monopolies cannot give up their super-profits.

Their aims remain what they have always been—to keep

the underdeveloped countries in the position of agrarian appendages and sources of raw material, and to go on exploiting their peoples. If, nevertheless, the imperialists proclaim an "aid" policy, it is an insincere measure, and one that has been forced upon them. It never occurred to the financial oligarchy to extend aid of any kind to the underdeveloped countries while imperialism was in sole control of the world. The situation changed when the Soviet Union and the world socialist system broke the imperialist powers' monopoly of machinery deliveries, of granting loans and credits, and of technical know-how. The imperialists were then forced to change their tactics, and start talking of economic "aid" to the underdeveloped countries.

They expected that in these countries prayers would be sent up and gratitude expressed to those who made dollar hand-outs. Instead, the U.S. imperialists heard curses addressed to them. Why? Because actually the U.S.A. is granting but a tiny fraction of the tremendous sums it extracts from the underdeveloped countries. Indeed, between 1946 and 1959 each dollar invested by the U.S.A. in all the underdeveloped countries brought in \$2.5 profit. Soviet economists have calculated that the monopolies of the U.S.A. and other Western countries annually extract \$20,000 million from the underdeveloped countries. If that is aid, then what is robbery? And robbers are never thanked, they are only cursed. (*Applause.*)

The monopolists are trying to retain the underdeveloped countries within the imperialist orbit, to keep them in an unequal position in the capitalist world system of economy. This is a vain attempt. The peoples of the underdeveloped countries do not wish to remain tied to imperialism. They see the example set by socialism. It is not from books alone that the peoples now judge socialism, but first and foremost by its actual achievements. The peoples see that it has taken not centuries, but the lifetime of one generation for Soviet power to do away with the country's

age-old backwardness, and for the Soviet Union to become a mighty world power.

The achievement of political independence by the former colonies has had a favourable effect on their economic development. The rate of growth of production has gone up. Before the Second World War these countries had an average annual rate of development of one per cent, but of late years this figure has gone up to 4 per cent. In many of these countries a state sector has been set up, and the national industry has begun to develop.

But these are only the first steps. The heritage of colonialism is still deep-rooted. The principal economic problems still await solution. Meanwhile, the upper crust of the bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, who have linked up their destinies with foreign capital, are doing all they can to keep the underdeveloped countries in the system of world capitalism. The road on which the imperialists and their henchmen want to drive these countries can in no way solve the problems over which the peoples arose in struggle against the colonialists.

What is the way out? History provides a clear answer to this question: the way out should be sought along the non-capitalist path of development. Those who want to know what fruits are to be gathered on this path should take a glance at the flourishing republics of Soviet Central Asia and at the other parts of our country that, after the October Revolution, bypassed the thorny path of capitalist development. (*Applause.*)

A country cannot simply drift on to the non-capitalist path of development. Only active struggle by the working class and all working people, only the unification of all democratic and patriotic forces in a broad national front, can lead the peoples on to that path.

Marxist theoretical thought, by a deep study of the objective course of development, has discovered a form in which the unification of all the sound forces of a nation can be most successfully achieved. That form is national de-

mocracy. Reflecting as it does the interests not of any one particular class but of broad strata of the people, a state of this type is called upon to consummate the anti-imperialist revolution for national liberation.

It is the good fortune of the peoples who have achieved national independence that they are entering upon the road of independent development at a time when the forces of imperialism and their ability to affect the course of events are steadily declining, while the forces and influence of socialism are steadily growing. In the circumstances it will be immeasurably easier for them to solve the problems of economic and social development.

The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the young, newly-free states, or of imposing socialism upon any of them. There has not been, is not, and will not be any export of socialism. But neither must there be any imposition of colonialism, or any export of counter-revolution.

The C.P.S.U. considers alliance with peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism to be a cornerstone of its international policy. Our Party regards it as its internationalist duty to help peoples who have set out to win and strengthen national independence, to aid all peoples who are fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the fulfilment of our vast plans will be of decisive help in carrying out communism's historic mission—the abolition of war, and the establishment of everlasting peace on earth.

The experience of history has shown that war is as inherent in imperialism as the struggle against imperialism and the policy of the consolidation of peace are inherent in socialism. Human memory cannot forget the events inscribed in the annals of history not in ink but in the blood of millions. From the time the U.S.A. unleashed the first war of the epoch of imperialism in 1898, imperialism has

plunged the peoples into a succession of "local wars", and has twice hurled mankind into world holocausts of unparalleled fury. Moreover, the ruins of towns and villages were still smouldering and the wounded hearts of millions who had lost relatives in the Second World War had not yet healed when the U.S. imperialists already "staked their claim" to a third world war.

In the imperialist camp, and first and foremost in the U.S.A., groups are operating who behave like reckless gamblers. They give no thought to the calamity that the new war they are hatching would bring mankind. The use of thermo-nuclear and rocket weapons would turn all continents into zones of the mass annihilation of people and the destruction of material values. In a thermo-nuclear world war, the factor of distance will lose its former significance, and the Western Hemisphere will become the scene of a terrible holocaust. In our times war cannot, and must not, serve as a means of settling international disputes.

It may be asked: isn't there a contradiction between the recognition that there is a danger of war, and our striving to expel war from the life of society. No, comrades, there is no contradiction in this.

The Party's confidence that already the present generation has every possibility of preventing a world war is grounded in a profound and comprehensive analysis of the forces operating on the international scene. This analysis leads to an indisputable conclusion—the balance of world political, economic and military forces has changed in favour of the peace camp.

What gives it this preponderance? Primarily, the following factors:

First, the Soviet Union, one of the mightiest powers of today, is directing all its efforts towards the preservation and consolidation of world peace. While the growing might of any big imperialist power was invariably accompanied by a growth of its aggressive aspirations and, con-

sequently, led to a more acute threat of war, the growth of the forces of the first socialist state in the world has created, and is creating, effective guarantees against the danger of war, and increasing the chances of its being prevented. Since the time the Soviet Union won first place in the world in the decisive fields of science and technology and placed this preponderance on the scales of the struggle for peace, the possibility that world security can be ensured has increased many times over.

Secondly, another mighty force now stands, together with the Soviet Union, in the way of the imperialist aggressors—all the countries of the world socialist camp. Under the conditions of imperialism the emergence of any alliance of states is aimed at preparing new wars; the countries of the socialist community, on the contrary, are pooling their efforts exclusively to achieve the triumph of the cause of peace and social progress.

Thirdly, one more new force has appeared on the world scene—a large group of young national states in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are interested in the preservation of peace for the accomplishment of the tasks of national regeneration. The majority of these states uphold a policy of peace. The fact that the vital interests of the peoples of these countries and the interests of the peoples of the socialist states coincide is the objective basis for uniting their efforts in defence of peace. Expressing, as it does, the will and the power of two-thirds of mankind, so mighty a front can make the imperialist aggressors retreat.

Fourthly, the role that the masses of the capitalist countries now play in world politics has grown tremendously too. In the presence of the threat of a thermo-nuclear war, a coalition without precedent in history is in the process of formation, a coalition of heterogeneous mass movements united by a desire to rid mankind for all time of the catastrophe of war. The international working class, which is becoming more and more aware of its historic respon-

sibility for the fate of mankind, has become the great organising force of this coalition. The banner of peace is in the firm hands of the many-million-strong army of Communists of all lands.

Such are the principal forces that, in our times, are blocking the way to war. They are truly countless today. Tomorrow they will become more powerful still. Fulfilment of the economic plans of the socialist countries will be of decisive importance for the consolidation of these forces. The fulfilment of the plans set forth in our Programme will make still more powerful the material basis on which the defenders of peace can rely.

Mankind can and must prevent war. That task, however, can be achieved only given the most active and resolute action by all peace-loving forces. *To curb the imperialists in good time, to give them no opportunity to use lethal weapons, to prevent war and not allow it to flare up—such is the crucial issue today. (Applause.)*

The great service rendered by Lenin, by our Party, lies in their having brought forward the only foreign policy principle correct for the period of the existence of two social systems, that of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social structures, which is now being implemented. The principle of peaceful coexistence is winning the minds of hundreds of millions of people. Even representatives of bourgeois circles, those that are capable of sober thinking, recognise the telling force and role of this principle.

Genuine stability in the relations between states with different social systems can be achieved only when the arms race will no longer be a sword of Damocles hanging over the peoples, that is to say, in conditions of general and complete disarmament. It is not on a foundation of military might, but on a foundation of general disarmament that a genuinely reliable system of international security can be created. That is why our Party, the Soviet Government and the whole of our people are determined

to fight for disarmament, to look for paths to that objective, until this historic task is at last fulfilled.

Imperialism wants to turn the policy of "brinkmanship" into a constantly operating norm in international relations. What we want to turn into a constantly operating norm in international relations is durable peace and the general security of the peoples. The politics of imperialism are an expression of the selfish interests of a handful of monopolists. The politics of socialism embody the interests of all mankind. That is why we are convinced that the cardinal principle of socialism's foreign policy—the principle of peaceful coexistence—will be the banner under which all the peoples will rally, all those who want genuine peace and prosperity for mankind. (Applause.)

In adopting its new Programme, our great Party solemnly proclaims to the whole of mankind that it sees as the principal aim of its foreign policy not only the prevention of world war but also its expulsion for all time from the life of society, already within the lifetime of our generation. (Prolonged applause.)

Our policy of peace is a principled, outspoken, socialist policy. We are defending the cause of peace not because we are weak. We were able to rout our enemies and ensure ourselves conditions of peace even when the young socialist republic was besieged on all sides by the imperialist wolves, when it was incomparably weaker than the imperialists in the military and economic sense. During the Second World War the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to the defeat of the Hitler war machine, and saved humanity from fascist enslavement. Can there be any doubt of the fate that awaits the imperialist maniacs if they dare attack the socialist gains of the peoples in the new situation, now that the Soviet Union has tremendous might at its disposal, now that the powerful socialist community is marching by its side in serried ranks, now that we are backed by hundreds of millions of people all over the world? In these conditions the launching of a war

will mean the end of the anti-popular imperialist system. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our unshakable confidence in this does not mean that we are underestimating the forces of imperialism in the slightest. We know that imperialism is still strong. The possibility of a new war being unleashed by the imperialists cannot be written off. The imperialist maniacs may dash headlong into adventures, in an attempt to stay the course of history. In a situation like that we have only one path—we must strengthen our might, create the most powerful weapons, and be prepared at any moment to hurl back any attacks made by the aggressors. (*Applause.*) We have declared more than once, and we declare again, that we are prepared to disband our army, and sink our atomic bombs and our rockets in the ocean, but of course only given general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Until the imperialist powers agree to that, we shall see to it that our Armed Forces possess the most up-to-date means for the defence of our homeland—atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons and rockets of every range—and that all types of armaments are maintained at the due level. The strengthening of the U.S.S.R.'s defences and of the might of the Soviet Armed Forces—such is the paramount task of the Soviet people. (*Stormy applause.*)

Communists are in duty bound to look history boldly in the face. As long as the war danger exists, as long as there are in this world imperialist jungles inhabited by preying tigers, we must educate all our people, our youth, in a spirit of devoted love for the homeland, readiness to defend it, sparing neither strength nor life itself. Our cause is a great one, and to defend that cause the Soviet people will give their all. If the imperialists challenge us to war, we shall not only take up that challenge without hesitation, but, with all the devoted gallantry and courage inherent in Communists, we shall deal the enemy a devastating blow. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, all the content of our new Programme confirms the fact that communism serves peace, the creation of conditions for the exclusion of war from the life of society. It is clear to everybody that one who sets oneself such unprecedented tasks in the economic and cultural spheres, and in improving the people's living standards, cannot seek war. The Programme for the construction of communism is at the same time a historic programme for consolidating peace and international security. (*Prolonged applause.*)

VI

RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME

Comrades, since the day of its publication, political life in the Soviet Union has centred around the draft Programme. The ideas it contains have, moreover, spread far beyond the bounds of our country and have met with a very warm response in the hearts of millions of people living in all countries and continents.

The discussion of the draft Programme has demonstrated with great force the close and unseverable ties between the Party and the people, and the democratic nature of Soviet society, a society in which the people are the masters of their own fate.

Permit me to deal first with the results of the discussion of the draft Programme in the Party and in the country, and then to comment briefly on the response it has aroused throughout the world.

1. Unanimous Approval of the Draft Programme by the Party and the People. Amendments to the Draft

The discussion of the draft Programme acquired dimensions unprecedented even in the history of our Party and the Soviet state. This was only natural because the aims

of the Programme and the tasks elaborated in it concern and enthuse each and every one.

The draft Programme has been thoroughly discussed in all its aspects at meetings of all primary Party organisations, at district, city, regional and territorial Party conferences, and at congresses of the Communist parties of the Union republics. Over nine million Communists, that is, the entire Party, took part in those discussions. More than 500,000 meetings were held at factories, collective farms, offices, army, navy and air force units, and trade union and Komsomol organisations, at which the draft Programme was discussed. About 73,000,000 people attended them. More than 4,600,000 people spoke on the draft Programme at Party meetings, conferences, congresses of the Communist parties of the Union republics and at meetings of working people.

In addition to this, the Central Committee of the Party, local Party bodies, the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, radio and television have received more than 300,000 letters and articles.

Statistics, however, is unable to gauge the exact number of people who participated. The discussion permeated the entire ideological life of the country and was carried on in the most varied forms—at meetings of factory personnel, at state and collective farms, in offices, institutes and schools, and in friendly talks at work and at home. It may be said without exaggeration that the draft Programme was discussed by the whole people and was accepted by the people as their own programme, as the purpose of their life. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Congress has every reason to affirm that the *draft Programme has been unanimously approved by all Communists and by the entire Soviet people.* (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) The ideas contained in the Programme and the plans it outlines have been accepted not only in the minds but in the hearts of all Soviet people. The speeches and letters of Party members and non-Party people are

filled with lofty thoughts and feelings. In the letters—many of them could more truly be called poems, so inspired and emotional are they—people welcome the new Party Programme with all their hearts and express their firm determination and eagerness to work for its implementation. The thoughts and feelings of the people are reflected in those letters as the sun is reflected in a drop of water. (*Applause.*)

The discussion of the draft Programme was strictly to the point and was conducted on a highly-principled ideological level. This is further evidence of the political maturity of the many-million-strong army of Communists, of all Soviet people. It is gratifying to note the profound knowledge of theory and practice with which the Soviet people tackled the wide range of big, new and complicated problems connected with the building of a communist society. The draft Programme has widened the ideological horizons of the Soviet people. They now see more clearly their great goal and the tasks that have to be done. The Programme has imparted great creative power to the nation-wide socialist emulation movement in honour of the Congress. This shows convincingly that the Party and the people have virtually adopted the Programme and are already working for its implementation. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, the numerous proposals for amendments to the draft Programme are marked by a creative effort to find the best solutions to the problems presented; they show the profound interest that all Soviet people have in the building of communist society to proceed as efficiently as possible.

Permit me to report to the Congress that all proposals have been thoroughly studied by the Central Committee. To begin with, I will speak of those proposals that the Central Committee considers acceptable. I shall mention only the most significant of them.

1. The Central Committee supports the proposals to stress more strongly in the Programme the significance of accelerated technological progress, the fuller and more rational employment of production capacities.

2. The Central Committee considers as correct the proposals to include a special point in the Programme on the need to make capital investments more efficacious, the impermissibility of scattering investments and the importance of concentrating them in the decisive sectors.

In the course of the discussion attention was rightly called to a lack of co-ordination between the erection of new industrial buildings and the provision of equipment for them. We actually do suffer great losses from this lack of co-ordination. For instance, on January 1, 1961, there were industrial buildings with a total floor area of millions of square metres that had not been completely equipped, on the one hand, and stocks of equipment to the value of hundreds of millions of rubles for which the necessary buildings were not ready, on the other. The Central Committee and the Government already have measures in hand to improve capital construction in our country. It is an urgent task to establish strict order in this important matter.

3. At some Party meetings and conferences it has been proposed that the Programme make provision for the establishment of an iron and steel centre in the heart of the European part of the Soviet Union, using the world's biggest ironfield, the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, as the basis. This proposal is in accordance with plans. I have already said that by the end of the twenty-year period we plan to complete a third metallurgical centre in Siberia, and to establish two more new iron and steel centres. We are of the opinion that it would be desirable to state in the Programme in which areas they are to be built. Party organisations, planning bodies and all executives in the iron and steel industry would then bear greater responsibility for the implementation of the plans.

4. In view of the numerous proposals received, the Central Committee considers it essential to add to the relevant section of the Programme a special point on the conservation of natural resources and their proper use. Our forests, waters, fish and other natural resources constitute tremendous national wealth. As we march forward towards communism we must treasure what nature provides, we must use our resources wisely and rationally, we must restore and multiply the wealth of our forests, rivers and seas.

5. Comrade Nektov, Hero of Socialist Labour, and many other people working in agriculture quite rightly propose that the Programme emphasise the need for care and good maintenance of farm machinery. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that the efficiency of tractors and other machines in many collective and state farms is low because of poor maintenance and, what is more important, they go out of commission prematurely. A negligent and, at times, even barbarous attitude to machinery hampers the growth of farm output and is a sheer waste of national property.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics must immediately elaborate a system of economic, organisational and technical measures that will ensure the long life and better maintenance of tractors, harvester combines and other machinery.

6. Many proposals have been received from working people, especially from women, to reduce the time required for the fulfilment of such an important task as the further expansion of the network of children's pre-school institutions. The draft Programme envisaged the expansion of the network of nurseries and kindergartens to give an opportunity, in the second decade, to all families so desiring to maintain their children in them. The Central Committee, in due consideration of the wishes expressed during the discussion of the draft Programme, deems it essential to

meet these wishes and to do everything possible to satisfy the demand for nurseries and kindergartens within the next few years. (*Applause.*)

There have also been proposals that mothers of large families should, at their own request, be permitted a shorter working day and have their wages adjusted accordingly. The Central Committee considers it necessary to instruct our government and trade union bodies to study and elaborate relevant proposals.

Many people have suggested at Party meetings, meetings of working people, and in letters to the Central Committee, that the resolution of the housing problem should be speeded. Taking note of the numerous suggestions on that score, the Central Committee deemed it necessary to point out in the Programme that by the end of the first decade families that are still living in substandard and over-crowded dwellings, will get new flats. (*Applause.*)

In the course of the discussion proposals were made on literally every aspect of the life of our society, all of them permeated with deep concern for the all-round improvement of our economic and cultural development. Many of the proposals concern specific questions of the development of industry, agriculture, planning and management, and the improvement of the work of our state and economic administration, and making it cheaper to run. Many of the proposals concern the expansion of research work on various problems and, most important of all, the application of the latest scientific achievements in industry and agriculture, in the transport services, in building and in communications. Many of the submitted proposals deal with questions of ideological work, communist morality, education, culture, and with further measures to combat parasitism, money-grubbing and other manifestations of private-property psychology. Valuable proposals have been tendered in the sphere of town-planning, especially housing construction and urban and rural improvement. There have been many proposals on other problems as well. The

basic line for the solution of these problems is laid down clearly in the draft Programme. But many of the proposals concern important questions of state, economic and cultural development and of political and ideological educational work. They are deserving of serious consideration. The final text of the draft Programme has been edited with due consideration for these proposals. The Central Committee will study all proposals attentively and will instruct the relevant Party, state or other bodies to take the necessary practical steps.

Party members and non-Party people have offered many critical remarks and many proposals on the work of local Party, governmental, economic and trade union organisations and institutions. Defects have been pointed out in production, in trade and public catering, in the distribution of housing and the maintenance of dwelling houses, etc. Instances of bureaucratic methods and red tape and abuse of official status by individual executives have been exposed. Our Congress should instruct Regional Committees, Territorial Committees, and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics to make a thorough study of these criticisms and proposals, to adopt measures to remedy the defects exposed and report on those measures to relevant plenary meetings and then to current Party conferences and congresses.

There have been some proposals, few, it is true, whose authors have an unrealistic approach to the solution of some problems of communist construction. Some comrades, for instance, propose that the Programme should provide for the overall electrification of the country, including that of the farms, within the next ten or even five years. Proposals have also been made that the Programme provide for other no less "resolute" but economically unrealistic measures. We understand the feelings of such comrades, but we cannot agree with them. It would be wrong to include in the Programme anything that we cannot yet accomplish. By such commitments and

promises we would only be discrediting the Programme. (Applause.)

There is yet another type of proposal, submitted by people whose approach to the processes taking place in life is, I would say, scholastic, and not creative. Some comrades, for example, are of the opinion that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be retained until the final victory of communism has been achieved. These comrades do not take into consideration the objective conditions that have grown up in our country, and base themselves exclusively on random quotations, losing sight of the essence of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the form of state in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the first phase of communism. They do not take into consideration the fact that there are now only labouring classes in our socialist society, classes engaged in socialist production, and socially, politically and ideologically united. After the complete and final victory of socialism in our country there is no basis for the dictatorship of one class. And, indeed, in respect of which class can there possibly be a dictatorship in our country? We have no such classes.

Such comrades, moreover, are of the opinion that since the alliance of the working class and the peasantry has remained, the dictatorship of the proletariat should also remain. But they do not understand that the workers' and peasants' alliance needed the dictatorship of the proletariat to combat the exploiting classes, to transform peasant farming along socialist lines and to re-educate the peasantry, and to build socialism. Now that those tasks have been accomplished the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is successfully developing and growing stronger without the dictatorship of the proletariat under the conditions of a socialist state of the whole people. (Applause.)

Those comrades also refer to the fact that the organisational, economic, cultural and educational functions inher-

ent in the dictatorship of the proletariat also remain in the period of the transition to communism. These functions, however, will remain under communism as well. If we are to be consistent, the dictatorship of the proletariat must, according to the logic of those comrades, also remain under communism. The fallacy of such arguments is obvious to everyone.

The proposition on the development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people as formulated in the Programme, corresponds fully to reality. This state is a product of reality; it expresses our policy on the political organisation of society, a policy aimed at the all-round development of democracy. (*Applause.*)

Some comrades propose forbidding kolkhoz trading, and some of the more zealous propose doing away with trading altogether and replacing it with direct distribution. Is there any need to prove that these comrades are running a long way ahead? The question of whether or not there is to be trading is not decided by somebody's wish or by decree. In order to effect a transition to direct distribution we must create the necessary material and technical basis and an abundance of material values. So long as that does not exist we must not curtail, but, on the contrary, develop and perfect Soviet trade. (*Applause.*) Nor can kolkhoz trading be prohibited since it plays a noticeable role in supplying the population with foodstuffs. The collective farmers need to sell part of their produce. Furthermore, fixed prices on the kolkhoz market cannot be established administratively, as some comrades suggest. A reduction in prices on the kolkhoz market should be effected primarily by increasing the output of farm produce and not by administrative measures. The latter should be applied firmly only against profiteers. At the same time the work of the co-operatives must be improved, they must help the collective farmers realise their surplus produce.

In view of the importance of the continued expansion of Soviet trade, the Central Committee is of the opinion that

it would be to good purpose to include in the Programme a point on trade and its improvement in the period of communist construction.

Our Party, being a Party of scientific communism, advances and accomplishes the tasks of communist construction, as the necessary conditions for it arise and mature. Above I gave details of the Party's plans in the sphere of production and living standards. Some comrades, however, propose going considerably farther than the planned targets and extending, in the near future, the principle of the free satisfaction of the requirements of members of society to a broader range of material and cultural values; this would be tantamount to introducing equal pay for all, irrespective of qualifications or the nature of the work performed. Such proposals are profoundly erroneous. To take such a path would be to remove the material stimulus for higher labour productivity, to hamper the building of communism. (*Applause.*)

As we all know, on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Party, considerable work has been done in recent years to bring order into the wages system. These measures have resulted in considerable reductions of high incomes and of the salaries of some categories of employees. At the same time the minimum rate of wages has been raised. The established procedure of abolishing the income-tax is also helping to narrow the gap between the incomes of various categories of working people. In short, much has been done to reduce the gap between the incomes of the various groups of the population. It is stated clearly in the draft Programme that the Party will continue to pursue this course consistently and unswervingly in order that by the end of the first decade, the very category of low-paid workers ceases to exist in our country and the well-being of the whole people rises. (*Applause.*) Simultaneously with wages, the social funds will increase at an accelerated rate, which will eliminate disproportion in incomes and bring about a more rapid improvement in

the living standard of low- and medium-paid workers. All wage-levelling tendencies are contrary to the interests of the development of production and the raising of living standards, contrary to the education of the working people in the spirit of a communist attitude to labour.

We must stringently enforce the principle of "he who does not work, neither shall he eat", the principle of pay according to work performed. At the same time we must close all loopholes that enable anti-social elements to rob society, acquire incomes from sources other than labour and live a parasitic life. We must suppress profiteering and similar offences with a firm hand, making full use of Soviet legislation and of the influence of public opinion.

We favour a steady improvement in the living standard of the entire people, but are opposed, at the same time, to any excessive accumulation of property by individuals, which fosters private property psychology.

In the course of the discussion many amendments of an editorial nature have been proposed. The Central Committee has examined these amendments. Some of them improve the text, and have been inserted in the draft Programme distributed to you.

Such are the principal questions presented in the course of the discussion of the draft Programme.

2. International Comments on the Draft Programme

Comrades, the draft Programme of the C.P.S.U. has acquired the character of a document of truly world-wide importance and has already had considerable influence on the political climate of the world. It has aroused the keen attention of the masses in the countries of the socialist camp, of the general public in the imperialist states and of the peoples that have won their independence or are still groaning under the heel of the colonialists. It has penetrated to the most distant corners of the earth, and

has forced its way into the columns of even the most reactionary bourgeois publications.

It is naturally gratifying to us Soviet Communists to know that the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the many-million-strong army of Communists of all countries, have given the draft Programme high praise. As internationalists, we are happy when the Communists of other countries state that they draw inspiration for their own practical activities and struggle from the Programme, that the achievements of our Party multiply their forces, the forces of freedom, peace, and socialism throughout the world. Permit me, on behalf of the delegates to the Twenty-Second Congress, on behalf of the members of our Party, on behalf of the entire Soviet people, to express our heartfelt thanks to all the fraternal parties, to Communists throughout the world for their support of our plans and our aims. (*Prolonged applause.*) We assure you, our brothers in other countries, that our Leninist Party, holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism, will do everything in its power to bring mankind closer to a world of peace, happiness and prosperity, to communist society. (*Stormy applause.*)

All people holding progressive, democratic views note that the Programme provides solutions to the most urgent problems of the day, and will play an outstanding part in social movements and in the progressive changes of modern times. As far as the bourgeoisie and its press are concerned, they have to admit that the Programme and its fulfilment will have an exceptional impact on the situation throughout the world.

An examination of the statements made by prominent bourgeois and Right-wing Socialist personalities in respect of the draft Programme of our Party will enable us to draw a number of conclusions that are of significance in matters of principle.

It must first of all be said that a real battle between the two ideologies, the communist and the bourgeois, has de-

veloped around the ideas of the Programme. We may safely say that the communist ideas embodied in the gigantic plans for construction vividly demonstrate their immeasurable superiority over bourgeois ideology, over the ideology of violence and destruction, and score fresh victories over that ideology. (*Applause.*)

The first victory is that bourgeois ideologists now admit that communism, as a new socio-economic organisation of society, is becoming an ever more powerful force in our times. In the nineteenth century the bourgeoisie declared that communist ideals were a utopia and those who championed them were persecuted and baited. In the first three decades of the twentieth century they carried out several "anti-communist" crusades on an international scale, and in a number of countries communism was declared to have been buried for all time. In the fifties they were loud in their assertions that communism was suffering from an "incurable crisis". But a few years passed and imperialist reactionaries were forced to take note of the colossal growth of communism, its vitalising force and its growing significance to world history. (*Applause.*)

Extremely typical of the evolution of bourgeois views are the statements made by such a serious bourgeois weekly as the British *Economist*. At the time our Party adopted its second programme the *Economist* asserted that Bolshevism was on its last legs, but is now compelled to admit that the Programme is "a projection of current trends", and that "the promises in the manifesto do not look fanciful". (*Applause.*)

The Communists have shown that they do not waste words, that they fulfil all their promises. They have compelled even their opponents to respect their plans. (*Applause.*) Communism has entered present-day life tangibly and visibly, it has occupied a leading position in it and there is no power that can check its victorious advance. (*Stormy applause.*)

An analysis of world comments permits of still another important conclusion; the great idea of the Programme, that communism and peace are indivisible, is becoming ever more widespread among the population of the capitalist countries. Even many representatives of the bourgeoisie have to admit that a country that has announced such great plans of construction must want peace. In the U.S.A., the citadel of imperialism, the democratic public contrapose the Programme of our Party, that magnificent charter of peace and humanism, to the plans of the American imperialists for military mobilisation, plans bringing sorrow, sweat and blood. The Australian *Sydney Morning Herald*, an old hand at anti-Soviet slander, had to admit that the Soviet Union, having such a grandiose plan in view, calls for peace. And here is what a bourgeois newspaper in another part of the world, the Lebanese *An Nahar*, has to say: "The advocates of war have been dealt a crushing blow. Once the substance of the Programme is understood by everybody, the flag of peace will be raised everywhere."

What do such admissions tell us? They tell us that the Programme has administered a big new defeat to the aggressive forces, to those who worship the hydrogen bomb.

The great ideas of the Programme are shattering to pieces the myths and anti-communist inventions of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. Communism's power of attraction is growing and the ideas of communism are acquiring more and more supporters. The new Programme is helping ever-growing numbers of people to realise that communism is superior to capitalism economically, politically and morally, that the future belongs to communism. It is not difficult to see the causes of the alarm that has gripped the bourgeoisie and their advocates; they obviously have nothing to contrapose to the Programme of the C.P.S.U. They have nothing to say about the future, they cannot plan for a single year, to say nothing of twenty years. The Burmese writer, Dau A Ma, expressed it very well when she said, "The United States is the monarch of capitalist society, the

'commander-in-chief' in the struggle against communism. That country, even if it wanted to out of spite, could not draw up any plan that would compete with the Soviet plan. The same is true of Britain. She is unable to compile a single plan similar to that of the Soviet Union".

The imperialist bourgeoisie are particularly worried about the effect of the Programme on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Albert Gore, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, warned in alarm that the appeal of the Programme to the under-privileged nations must not be underrated.

The ideas of the Programme really do have great attraction for all people exploited by capitalism. *The Times of India* wrote: "Since the Communist Manifesto, there has not been a more inspiring communist document. The practicability of the Programme is also not doubted; at least the Afro-Asian nations are impressed by Soviet achievements which create a kind of conviction in them that anything that Russia promises it can achieve." Not a bad testimonial for our Programme and our activities! (*Applause.*)

Imperialist propaganda is continually inventing new methods of lauding capitalism and scaring the peoples of the newly-free countries with the difficulties of a non-capitalist path of development. The more the imperialist bourgeoisie do this, however, the more obvious becomes their fear of advanced ideas that inspire the peoples in the struggle for the final abolition of colonialism, in the struggle for social progress. As far as we are concerned, we do not foist our ideas on anybody. If, however, the peoples of the newly-free countries choose to adopt the ideas of socialism, the ideas of progress, all we can say, on the basis of our own experience, is that they will be doing the right thing. (*Applause.*)

Imperialism's ideological lackeys are trying to comfort their masters with sham arguments to the effect that the ideas of communism are not in any way attractive to the

population of the Western countries. But they are, gentlemen! The ideas of communism are alive and are gaining ground wherever there are people who toil and are humiliated by capitalism. Do you want to know what millions of people in the countries of your lauded "civilisation" are thinking? Ask any of the workers living in fear of the morrow, or any of the ruined farmers, ask the unemployed in the breadlines, ask all those who want peace and happiness for their children. You will learn that millions of people in your own countries are drawn to communism. I want to quote a letter to *Pravda* from an unemployed American. "This draft and its meaning," he wrote, "holds to all the world an answer to the daily murder of workers everywhere by capitalist crimes against the people of the world. The Soviet people can't imagine what a great source of strength this Programme is to us who live under capitalist rule." This unemployed appeals to the Soviet people: "I can only close by saying, hurry, complete this task, the whole world looks to you in the Soviet Union to fulfil, complete this program, as fast as can be done, and thus save millions who would otherwise die of exploitation, ground down, give up." That document was written in his heart's blood; it is a genuine expression of the thoughts and feelings of our brothers in the capitalist countries.

The ideas of the Programme, the ideas of communism, are spreading over our planet because hundreds of millions of people who are downtrodden and under-privileged see in them the embodiment of their best feelings and aspirations. The witch-doctors of capitalism cannot fence off the peoples from the idea of progress by means of police cordons and "iron curtains". Communism is the hope of the peoples, the guarantee of their radiant future! (*Stormy applause.*)

The imperialist bourgeoisie still do not, of course, want to admit their ideological defeat. That stands to reason, since it would mean political suicide for them to do so.

They are making feverish efforts and using any means to minimise the significance of the draft Programme of the C.P.S.U., to weaken its influence on the masses.

The ruling élite of capitalist society are making vain attempts to contrapose their own platform, some plan for the preservation of capitalism, to our Programme. But how often have we read and heard of plans for the rejuvenation of capitalism. Yet capitalism is inexorably decaying. That, too, stands to reason, for there are no means that can save the doomed system. Such a system does not and cannot possess ideas that inspire the peoples. None other than the *New York Post* has provided damning evidence of the poverty of bourgeois ideology. "For several years," says the paper in connection with the draft Programme, "a number of American leaders have been wrestling with the concept of 'national purpose', and have come up with little more than empty abstractions."

Hence, capitalism has no positive programme of its own and no arguments to offer in criticism of our Programme. In this unenviable plight, the legion of bourgeois apologists searched in an arid desert for anti-communist arrows. But they did not find anything except the poisoned arrows of slander, insinuations and rigged quotations. Hence the utter confusion, impotent malice in the camp of the enemies of communism.

Bourgeois critics have shouted in chorus, as though in response to a command—the Programme is not feasible. The familiar incantations that we know since the first Soviet five-year plans have again appeared in the columns of the reactionary newspapers—"utopia", "mirage", "illusion". Perhaps the opponents of our Programme are in possession of some figures, calculations or facts? Nothing of the sort. Every proposition in our Programme is substantiated. They have nothing but noisy declarations. Every figure of ours is computed and proved. They are as afraid of figures as the devil is of holy water. We have given an exact scientific analysis of the course of historical devel-

opment. They have nothing but hysterical incantations, a fruitless predicting from tea-leaves. They put so much zeal into them that they do not even realise how they drop into obvious contradictions and cannot make their stories hang together. Moreover, they bang their heads together. One group of the critics shouts, "the Programme cannot be fulfilled", while another group shouts, "This is a challenge! Save yourselves if you can!" The French newspaper *Figaro* maintains that the new Soviet plans are "castles in the air". The Austrian newspaper *Das kleine Volksblatt* calls on the West "not to regard the gigantic aims the Kremlin sets itself as mere castles in the air, for those aims are a challenge to the West in the real sense of the word". Here it is truly a case of "understand if you can"! As you can see these critics lost their way in a forest of not even the three proverbial pine-trees, but merely of two!

The second hobby-horse the critics of our Programme try to ride is the worn-out tale of the absence of the freedom of the individual under communism. The Austrian Social-Democratic newspaper *Arbeiter Zeitung* tried to give a "basis" to this absurd assertion. Here is what the paper says: "We believe that on the day after tomorrow a Soviet citizen actually may get a free ticket to travel, but we do not believe that it is at all likely that he will have the right to go where he wants." (*Laughter.*) If anybody were to ask a Soviet citizen whether he could go wherever he wanted, he would look at his interlocutor as at one who was mentally deranged and had escaped from a lunatic asylum. (*Laughter. Applause.*) Soviet people go wherever they like. In answer to the same question, what would the hundreds of Americans, those "freedom riders" who travelled through the southern states and ended up behind bars, have to say?

No less ridiculous is another line in bourgeois propaganda. They announce, without a second thought, that the conditions the Soviet people want to achieve under communism already exist in the U.S.A. and certain other cap-

italist countries. It would be difficult to imagine a greater mockery of the facts, mockery of the living conditions of working people in the capitalist countries. Just think of it—the American newspapers admit that the “level of unemployment remains a national scandal”, that millions of people are actually starving. And yet attempts are being made to delude those millions, who are experiencing all the “joys” of the American way of life, into believing that their requirements are met according to needs. Year after year American newspapers report that medical services are ruinously expensive in America and now they would have us believe that they, too, have free medical attention. Yesterday the American press was telling the whole world that rent is the ruination of millions of families and today, according to their hack writers, housing in the U.S.A. is almost rent-free. They have all got hopelessly mixed up with their lies, those would-be critics!

The Programme of the C.P.S.U. consistently pursues the line of coexistence and peaceful competition. As we see, the call to peaceful coexistence scares those who do not want peace. Some bourgeois newspapers go so far as to say that peaceful coexistence is a “weapon of world revolution”. The *New York Times*, one of the leading newspapers of the capitalist world, said in commenting on the Programme that it is a new declaration of war on the free world, a declaration of a military, political, economic and propaganda war.

That, gentlemen, is hysterics. Your nerves have given way. In what part of the Programme did you find anything in the nature of a declaration of war on the capitalist world? Which article, which proposition of the Programme gives you grounds for such assertions? There are not, and cannot be, any such grounds. If the ink-slingers on the *New York Times* are still harping on the old theme, it only goes to show again that they are afraid of peace, of coexistence, since they realise that capitalism cannot stand up to a peaceful competition with socialism. Imperialist

circles pin all their hopes on war and are thereby demonstrating again and again how much their plans are inimical to the vital interests of the peoples.

We are not in the least upset that the obscurantists and reactionaries are maliciously attacking our Programme. We should be upset if they were to praise us. If the forces of obscurantism are arrayed against our Programme, the latter must be hitting the mark. We are following our own road, the road of communism, with confidence, and are quite certain that sooner or later all mankind will take that road. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

VII

THE PARTY IN THE PERIOD OF FULL-SCALE COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades, the grandeur of the new Programme speaks of the grandeur of our Leninist Party. In giving expression to the lofty ideals of communism our Party is creditably performing its mission as leader of the revolutionary transformation of society. *Our Marxist-Leninist Party which came into being as a party of the working class has become the party of the entire people.* In this is manifested the monolithic unity and might of Soviet society, welded by common interests and outlook. At all times, in fair weather and foul, in days of triumph and in days of stress, *the Party is with the people and the people are with the Party.* (*Stormy applause.*) The Communist Party is the force that rallies the will, the efforts and energies of our people to accomplishing the tasks that confront us in the new stage of historical development.

Today, when our country possesses vast material potentialities, a highly-developed science and technology, when the initiative of the masses is in full tide, the rates of our progress depend chiefly on the correct implementation of the envisaged political line on a country-wide and local

scale, on the proper and effective functioning of all our state and public organisations, on their ability to make proper use of the advantages of the socialist system. Hence the need to enhance the directing and organising role of the Party in the period of the full-scale building of communism. (*Applause.*)

Along what principal lines will the Communist Party develop during this period? We consider that it will be along the lines of:

further enhancing the role of the Party as the highest form of social and political organisation, its guiding influence in all spheres of communist construction;

strengthening the unity between the Party and the people, extending the variety of forms of Party ties with the non-Party masses, raising ever larger sections of working people to the level of Party members in political consciousness and in activeness;

further promoting inner-Party democracy, enhancing the significance of the name of Party member, rousing all Communists to still greater activity and initiative, strengthening the unity and solidity of Party ranks. (*Applause.*)

It should be stressed that a new, higher standard of the Party's political work and organisational leadership has to be attained to correspond to the period of the full-scale building of communism. Adoption of the new Programme is a great historic act. But it is only the first step. The main thing is to implement the Programme. The imposing tasks set out in the Programme place very high demands on the Party as a whole, and on every Party organisation.

The Rules of the C.P.S.U., which our Congress will adopt on the basis of the new Programme, elaborate the Party's organisational principles in conformity with the conditions and tasks of the period of full-scale communist construction.

The question of how elected Party bodies should be formed is one of fundamental importance. The draft Programme proposes a new procedure, which ensures *regular*

renewal of the composition of the leading Party bodies. We believe that it would be advisable to apply this procedure also to elected bodies of state and public organisations.

The transition to this system will be a big step forward in the development of our democracy. It is in accord with the new period in the political organisation of Soviet society, when the state has become a state of the whole people, and the Party, the spokesman of the will and interests of the whole people. A distinctive feature of this period is the tremendous growth of the Party's ranks and of its ideological power, the growth of its cadres, and the unprecedented rise in the political and cultural level of the people. (*Applause.*)

When the Party was coming into being, it comprised a handful of advanced workers and intellectuals, who embraced Marxism because they wanted to know the laws of history and were seeking a revolutionary way out of the contradictions existing in society. Professional revolutionaries thoroughly devoted to the communist cause, they formed the guiding core of the Leninist Party, which organised and politically enlightened the working class and the working masses, led them in the assault on the old exploiter system, and secured the triumph of socialism. From its very inception, the strength of our Party lay in its high ideological integrity, in the cohesion and discipline of its ranks, in its ties with the masses, and in the support it was given by the working class and the labouring peasantry.

In the battles for the victory of the October Revolution, in the fire of the Civil War, on the fronts of socialist construction, in the grim ordeal of the Great Patriotic War, and in the post-war years, the strength of our Party multiplied, its ranks grew, its cadres became steeled. Shoulder to shoulder with the Communists, non-Party people too, who in their bulk are kindred in spirit with the Communists are today actively building communism.

Whereas in the early years of the Revolution we had

only a small number of leading Party workers, today we possess inexhaustible possibilities for promoting new people to leading posts. It is necessary to introduce procedures that will make it impossible for comrades who have been elected to leading posts to bar the way to fresh forces and will, on the contrary, give the latter an opportunity to apply their knowledge and ability in responsible posts in Party, government, trade union and other mass organisations, in the leadership of the Party and the country. We have many capable, educated people. All they lack is experience, and that is where our leading comrades should prove their worth as persons capable of training new cadres.

Every organism consists of separate cells and is continually renewed as some cells die off and others are born. The Party and society as a whole are subject to the same process, to the same law of life. This natural process cannot be checked or violated without causing harm to the development of the organism of the Party and society as a whole.

It is an open secret that there are comrades among us who in their time were duly appreciated and elected to leading offices, and that they have been occupying them for dozens of years. During this time some of them have lost the ability to conduct affairs in a creative spirit, have lost all sense of the new, and have become a hindrance. To keep them on at these posts just because they were elected to them in the past would be wrong. Surely we shouldn't confine ourselves perpetually to the same persons, once elected to leading bodies. That is not our policy. (*Applause.*) Naturally, if Party comrades are not re-elected to a Party body after the expiration of their term of office, this must not be a reason for discrimination. If a Communist has done well throughout his term in office, we must give him full credit for it. (*Applause.*)

Our task is to draw into leading Party and government work younger comrades who have proved their worth in

work. Guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of generations of revolutionaries and builders of socialism, the new forces, in co-operation with the seasoned cadres, will successfully strengthen the might of our country, advance its economy, science, technology and culture. If we take into account that there are hundreds of thousands of elected bodies in our ramified system of primary and higher Party organisations, of our government bodies and public organisations, it will be clear that every regular election will bring millions of new people into the leadership.

The regular renewal of cadres, the promotion of new comrades who have proved their worth, the combination in our Party and state orchestra of young workers and workers mature in experience, is a law of development of the Marxist-Leninist party. In this the Party proceeds, in particular, from the lessons derived from the consequences of the cult of Stalin's person. I have spoken on this subject on more than one occasion, and in particular in the Central Committee's Report to the present Congress. The drafts of the Programme and the Rules, these basic documents of the Party, formulate propositions that should provide a safeguard against any recurrence of the cult of the individual, and raise a dependable barrier against it. We declare from the rostrum of the Congress: the Party must take all the necessary measures to bar the way to the cult of the individual for all time. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Regular renewal of elected bodies must henceforth become an implicit rule of Party life, of government and public life. This will open new opportunities for effecting the principles of collective leadership still more consistently.

The Party relies on the collective experience and collective thought of the Communists, of the entire people; it gives every encouragement to the initiative displayed by mass organisations, by all Soviet people. Every good inno-

vation, every good idea, every valuable proposal should be given the most thoughtful consideration and active support, and should be realised. But we have officials who ignore the diverse manifestations of initiative displayed by the masses. To them the only important thing is what they themselves think or say. This is not a communist, but a bureaucratic point of view. It is the duty of all leading workers, all Party organisations, to apply the talents and abilities of every citizen for the good of communist construction. (*Applause.*)

The proposed system of forming elective bodies opens new opportunities for developing criticism and self-criticism aimed at resolutely rooting out cases where individuals are personally dependent on the whims of their superiors, doing away with elements of nepotism, and the mutual concealing of shortcomings and mistakes in work. The principle of renewal will make it possible to clear the elective bodies of people who are not inclined to consider the opinion and will of the leading collective of the given organisation and of the masses, who have lost their sense of responsibility to the Party and the people. Henceforth the elective bodies must be regularly renewed and must absorb the most capable people who have proved their worth and are devoted to communism.

It is in the best interests of our work to ensure a proper combination of old and new cadres and continuity in leadership, especially in the higher bodies. Without continuity it would be difficult to pursue a correct home and foreign policy and to direct economic and cultural development with success. Continuity of leadership is one of the basic Leninist principles. Lenin teaches us: "That, in fact, is one of the functions of a Party organisation and of Party leaders worthy of the calling, namely, through the prolonged, persistent, variegated and comprehensive efforts of all thinking representatives of the given class, to evolve the knowledge, the experience and—in addition to knowledge and experience—the political instinct necessary for the

speedy and correct solution of intricate political problems.”*

The prestige of Party workers, of its leaders is a valuable asset of the Party. While we reject the cult of the individual, we do not by any means waive the need of training leading Party workers and enhancing their prestige. The whole point is that Party leaders should be promoted from among the Party rank and file on the merits of their talents, and their political and business capacity, that they should have close ties with the Communists, with the people. That is how the development of Party leaders proceeded in Lenin’s lifetime. That is how it should be today. (*Stormy applause.*)

We must implicitly observe and develop the Leninist standards of Party life and the principle of collective leadership, ensure strict supervision by the Party rank and file of the activities of the leading bodies and their officials, encouragement of the activity and initiative of all Communists, their really constructive participation in the elaboration and implementation of Party policy, the development of criticism and self-criticism.

If a party always looks ahead, if it always turns to the people and draws on their intelligence, enriching and broadening its experience, it can weather all trials. Our Party, founded and reared by Lenin, is just such a party. (*Stormy applause.*) So let us, comrades, always sacredly cherish and ever more consistently put the behests of our immortal leader and teacher into effect. Our successes will then be all the greater. (*Prolonged applause.*)

At the new stage of our development it is especially important to improve Party leadership of government and economic bodies, and trade union, Komsomol, co-operative and other mass organisations. This is an essential condition for enhancing the organisation of the people and for mobilising their creative powers. While bearing responsibility

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 50.

for the state of work in all spheres of communist construction, the Party organisations must not assume functions assigned to government bodies and public organisations. The main thing in the Party's leadership of the mass organisations is to mobilise their efforts to build communism; regularly to improve the composition of their leading bodies; to promote, properly place and train cadres.

At the present stage the role and responsibility of the Party member are particularly great. The name of Communist is a high one. Today, as never before, he is expected to be in the van of the struggle for the implementation of the Party's policy. In his devoted service to the people, and in his behaviour in public and in private life, a Communist should set an example of observing the communist moral code and thereby contribute to the development and strengthening of communist relations. (*Applause.*)

A cardinal source of the Party's strength and invincibility lies in its unshakable ideological and organisational solidity. In its arsenal the Party retains organisational guarantees against all manifestations of factionalism and group activity incompatible with Leninist party principles.

The measures envisaged in the draft Programme concerning renewal of cadres, prevention of the cult of the individual, and an extensive promotion of inner-Party democracy are truly revolutionary measures. They are organically connected with the Party's general plan, its tactics and strategy in the struggle for communism. Realisation of these measures will make it possible to develop on a still broader scale the training of capable cadres devoted to communism, to promote the activity of the Party, of all the mass organisations, of the whole people. This means that the development of the economy and culture, the building of communism will proceed still more successfully.

Comrades, the elaboration of the programme for the full-scale building of communism is evidence of the tremendous theoretical strength of our Party and its Central

Committee. Armed with the Programme, we Soviet Communists shall, as it were, rise to new heights affording a clearer view of our communist future. (*Applause.*) What gives us this strength? First and foremost, Marxism-Leninism—our ever victorious and constantly developing doctrine. The process of socialist and communist construction is, at the same time, a process enriching Marxist-Leninist theory through the practical experience of the millions of working people. The new Programme is an outstanding theoretical and political document containing both the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory on communism and the new conclusions drawn from the experience gained in implementing these principles in socialist and communist construction.

We are advancing along uncharted paths. We have to elaborate a large variety of problems arising in the course of communist construction, to develop and give concrete expression to theoretical propositions. Just as a living organism cannot grow normally without sunlight, so communist construction cannot succeed unless its course is illumined by Marxist-Leninist science. The task of our Party is to show constant concern for the development of our Marxist-Leninist theory, a most reliable compass indicating the way to new victories for communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, we, the delegates to the Twenty-Second Congress, have the great honour of considering and adopting the new Programme of the C.P.S.U.—the programme of communist construction. The realisation of this Programme will usher in the happiest era in the history of mankind.

For centuries mankind dreamt of a society without exploitation, without social and national oppression, a society where the bloody scourge of war would no longer threaten people. Many died the death of heroes in the struggle for the people's cause. But happiness remained no more than

a dream, and sorrow and tears, the lot of the peoples. The greatness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine lies in that it has shown the realistic way to realising the aspirations of the people of labour. To our Party has fallen the good fortune of translating into reality the first phase of communism, socialism, and of leading the Soviet people to the higher phase of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

By raising the torch of liberty, the banner of socialism and communism over the world, our Party has glorified the twentieth century as the century of revolutionary, sweeping changes in the destinies of man. The heroic struggle of the great army of Communists of all countries who have carried the masses along with them, has accelerated the course of history, has brought closer the realisation of mankind's finest ideals. But how much faster history will advance when a communist society has been built in the Soviet Union!

The communist cause is advancing with giant strides. The standard-bearers of communism, the Marxist-Leninist parties, have demonstrated that they are parties of revolutionaries and innovators, the makers of the people's happiness. Progressives in all countries associate with Communists all that is most fine and most radiant. The forces of communism are legion. The truth of life, the truth of history is on the side of Communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The triumph of communism has always been the cherished ultimate aim of the Leninist Party. This dream of communism is now becoming a reality. Not only our descendants, comrades, but we as well, our generation of Soviet people, shall live under communism! Knowledge of this inspires every Soviet citizen, spurs him on to live and work with unparalleled enthusiasm. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Programme shows everyone the place he should occupy in the ranks of the builders of communism, how to work and study for the good of communism, how to prepare

oneself to live in a communist society. So let us, comrades, devote all our efforts, all our energies to hastening the day when the sun of communism will shine over our land! (*Stormy applause.*)

The banner of Lenin inspired us in the struggle for the triumph of socialism. And we were victorious! (*Stormy applause.*)

The banner of Lenin inspires us in the new historic stage of our country's development—the stage of communist construction. (*Stormy applause.*)

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist Party, forward to the triumph of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause, ovation. All rise. Cheers. Shouts of "Long live the Communist Party!", "Long live Leninism!", "Long live the Leninist Central Committee!", "Long live Communism!"*)

CONCLUDING SPEECH

October 27, 1961

Comrade Delegates, we have come to the end of our discussion of the Central Committee's Report and the Report on the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has proceeded at a high political level. Many delegates to the Congress have spoken from this rostrum. What may be said of these speeches? I think you will agree with me that each speech may be described as a report, as an account to the Party. Everyone who ascended this rostrum spoke of the most agitating, the most essential things that have been accomplished or have still to be accomplished. The speeches were imbued with indomitable faith in the triumph of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All the speakers unanimously approved both the Central Committee's political line and practical activities, and the draft of our Party Programme, a programme for the building of communism. The Twenty-Second Congress is a most vivid demonstration of the unity of our Leninist Party, of the fact that all the Soviet people are lined up squarely behind it. (*Applause.*)

The entire content of the Twenty-Second Congress has reaffirmed our Party's unwavering fidelity to the line worked out by the Twentieth Congress. (*Applause.*) It is now still more evident that the Twentieth Congress has,

by removing all the after-effects of the period of the personality cult, opened a new chapter in the history of our Party and exercised a beneficial influence on the development of our country and of the world communist and working-class movement as a whole. (*Applause.*)

The attention of our Congress is focussed on the Party Programme, a programme for the building of a communist society. All the delegates to the Congress who spoke from this rostrum approved the draft Programme submitted by the Central Committee, and discussed in a business-like manner concrete practical ways of translating it into reality. They expressed deep confidence that the new Programme will be successfully realised, and the readiness of Soviet people to apply all their energies to fulfilling the third Programme as successfully as the first and second. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our Programme derives its strength and vitality from the devoted labour of the Soviet people. What joy and pride one feels when listening to the speeches of such wonderful innovators as Valentina Gaganova, Alexander Kolchik, Maria Rozhneva, Vasily Kavun, Vasily Smirnov, Alexander Gitalov and many others! How much initiative, inventiveness, skill and perseverance in labour our foremost men and women show in fulfilling their duty to their country and people! It is the millions of such innovators that are the flower and pride of our Soviet society. (*Applause.*)

It is very important at present that all working people at each factory, each building project, each collective and state farm, should concentrate on fulfilling and over-fulfilling the production plans. The higher the productivity and the higher the quality, the more values will we create; and the more values there are, the more rapid will be the Soviet people's advance towards the great goal, the building of a communist society. (*Applause.*)

Representatives of all the republics and of many territories and regions of our country—Party and government

officials, people prominent in industry and agriculture—our wonderful beacons, as they are figuratively called, have spoken at the Congress; so have scientists, writers and art workers, and representatives of our glorious Armed Forces.

The delegates spoke of the key questions of communist construction. They spoke of the ways and means of building the material and technical basis of communism; of the urgent questions concerning the work of industry and the further development of agriculture; of the outlook for still greater progress in science, culture, education, art and literature in our country; of the tasks of moulding the man of the new communist society. All these matters were deeply and thoroughly examined by the Congress. Now, at the Twenty-Second Congress, we can see still more clearly that communist construction has become the practical task of the Party, the cause of all the Soviet people. (*Applause.*)

The delegates' speeches were highly principled, business-like and intolerant of shortcomings. The comrades rightly called attention to the need for developing to the utmost the productive forces of Soviet society, for better planning and organisation of production, more efficient economic management, and for properly utilising the potentialities of industry and agriculture. The submitted proposals aimed at obtaining the maximum economic results at a minimum outlay of labour.

Important questions concerning the further improvement of economic management were raised during the debate on the Central Committee Report and the draft Programme. The Congress has shown that the Party unanimously approves of the measures effected in that field by the Central Committee and the Government in the last few years. In particular, everybody welcomed the creation of economic administration areas and of councils for the co-ordination and planning of the work of economic councils in the enlarged economic administration areas.

The delegates to the Congress unanimously approved the measures taken in recent years by the Central Committee of the Party and by the Government in the field of agriculture.

We have heard many vivid and purposeful speeches here. The proposals made at the Congress on various aspects of economic, scientific and cultural development, and concerning the work and the living conditions of Soviet people, merit every support. It is difficult to so much as enumerate all the valuable proposals made during the debate.

Comrade Keldysh was quite right, for example, when he stressed the need for organising joint scientific institutions in the economic administration areas and the Union republics.

Comrade Rozhneva raised the question of abolishing night shifts for women. That is a big problem. You will realise that its complete solution will take time and require the necessary conditions. The Central Committee and the Government will look into the problem and do everything possible to solve it. (*Applause.*)

Comrade Gitalov stressed very appropriately that we need to promote far and wide the experience of the comprehensive mechanisation of agricultural operations.

A number of other important proposals was made during the debate. Their implementation will unquestionably help to accomplish the tasks we confront. The Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the local Party and government bodies should study all these proposals closely and take the necessary measures.

Comrades, delegations from nearly all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world are attending our Congress. The speeches made from this rostrum by our dear guests and the salutatory messages the Congress has received from the fraternal parties express the great unity of the world communist movement, and confirm once more that all the Marxist-Leninist parties approve and

support the Leninist policy of our Party. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Allow me, on behalf of the Congress and of our Party and the Soviet people, to express profound and heartfelt gratitude to the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world for their high evaluation of the activities of the Soviet Communist Party and of its role in the international communist and working-class movement, for their confidence and their wishes of success in the implementation of our new Programme. (*Stormy applause.*)

May I assure you, dear foreign comrades and brothers, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to bear aloft the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, that, with added energy, it will build communism, where Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all peoples will reign supreme. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The speeches made at our Congress by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries have shown that the fraternal parties abide unanimously by the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. The socialist camp has again demonstrated the solid unity of its ranks, the growth and the increased cohesion of the forces of world socialism. (*Applause.*)

The presence at the Twenty-Second Congress of delegations from eighty Marxist-Leninist parties, and the speeches they have made here, indicate the powerful growth of the world communist and working-class movement, of the national-liberation movement, and the unshakable loyalty of the Communists of all countries to the principles of proletarian internationalism, bequeathed to us by Marx, Engels and Lenin. (*Prolonged applause.*) All of us rejoice that the world over the forces of fighters for the people's happiness, for peace and social progress, for communism, are maturing and becoming steeled. (*Applause.*)

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of this Congress to cordially thank the representatives of the democratic national

parties of the independent African states of Guinea, the Republic of Ghana and the Mali Republic. These parties are not Communist, but we are glad that they have accepted our invitation and sent their delegations to the Twenty-Second Congress. Representatives of these parties are attending our Congress; they can see and hear what the Communists are engaged in, and what tasks they set themselves.

We ask these delegations, when they return home, to convey to their parties and their peoples the best wishes of our Congress, of the Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*) All Soviet people wish the independent African states that have taken or are taking the path of independent economic and political development, much success and prosperity. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, in their speeches at the Congress the delegates voiced approval of the foreign policy of the Soviet Government. The matters raised in the Central Committee Report and in the Report on our Party Programme are also being discussed outside this auditorium. It is not only our friends, but our opponents as well, who are taking part in the debate. They, too, voice their opinion about the domestic and foreign policy of our Party, and assess it from the point of view of their class.

The successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have tremendous appeal. Like the rising sun, they illumine the right road for other peoples to achieve victory for the most just social system in the shortest historical space of time.

Being aware of this, the imperialists would like to retard our swift advance. It is this that accounts for the aggressive nature of the policy pursued by the ruling circles of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and the other imperialist powers. Their policy is not determined by the interests of peace and the tranquillity of people, but by the profit-seeking interests of the monopolists, by the desire to preserve the domination of the impe-

rialists. It is for these ends that they strive to step up international tension and obstruct a peaceful settlement of pressing international problems.

Take the problem of abolishing the survivals of the Second World War in Europe. Any further delay in solving it may have grave consequences to the cause of peace.

The Soviet Union has long been proposing that a peace treaty be signed with Germany and that the situation in West Berlin be normalised on that basis, ending the occupational regime in that city. The Soviet Union wants to create the conditions for peaceful coexistence in the heart of Europe.

What could be more just than this aim? Do we threaten anyone? Do we want to take something from the West? We do not. After the peace treaty is signed, the relations between the European countries will be normalised and the peoples will have a better opportunity to develop good-neighbour relations.

But in reply to our peaceful proposals, the Western Powers openly threaten to take up arms against us.

Today, the Western Powers "explain" condescendingly that the Soviet Union may, just imagine it, conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, but has no right to abandon commitments undertaken by the allied victor-countries when Hitler Germany was defeated.

What commitments do they have in mind? Is it the commitments to root out German militarism and revanchism, to which the Soviet Government is indeed applying its efforts, and which the Allies undertook after the Second World War had ended? No, they do not refer to the commitments assumed jointly by the Western Powers and ourselves in Yalta and Potsdam, and which they have long since forsaken in favour of the NATO military plans. By threatening war they want to make us perpetuate the rights of the United States, Britain and France to occupy West Berlin.

It may be asked why they need these rights now, more than 16 years after the war ended? The Western Powers pretend to need these rights "to safeguard the freedom" of West Berlin. But neither the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, nor the other socialist countries have any designs upon the freedom of West Berlin.

The Western Powers speak of "freedom", but what they mean by it is the occupation of West Berlin. They want to keep their armed forces and intelligence centres there, that is, they want to continue using West Berlin for their hostile, subversive activities against the German Democratic Republic, against the Soviet Union, against all the socialist countries. This is their real purpose and it is for this purpose that they cling to the rights of occupation, which have outlived their day. What is more, they want us to help them in this.

They want us to ensure, like traffic police, the uninterrupted transportation to West Berlin of their military supplies, spies and saboteurs, to be used for subversive acts against ourselves and our allies.

Who do these gentlemen take us for? Do they actually imagine that they may do anything they please and that they can make us act against our vital interests and the interests of world peace and security?

It is time—high time—they realised the simple fact that today the only way in which they can negotiate with the Soviet Union, and the socialist community as a whole, is from a position of common sense, not of strength. (*Prolonged applause.*) And common sense and justice are on our side, not on theirs.

No sensible person will understand why or agree that the Western Powers have a legal or moral right to attack us if we sign a German peace treaty and the occupation regime in West Berlin is ended. Millions of Americans, Britons and Frenchmen, in fact all peoples, will bitterly condemn anyone who ventures to start a war in reply to the conclusion of a German peace treaty. (*Applause.*)

The policy of the Western Powers on the German question is not prompted by the interests of peace but primarily by the interests of the militarist and revenge-seeking forces in West Germany. The chief demon shaping that policy is Chancellor Adenauer.

The aggressive militarist circles do not conceal their hatred for the Soviet state and our peace policy. Nor does that surprise us in the least. The imperialists cannot be expected ever to grow fond of our social system. But whatever their feelings for socialism, let them give up all hope of ever imposing their capitalist system on the socialist countries. (*Applause.*) Today we can say to them once again: Don't lose your senses, gentlemen, don't try to test the strength and durability of our system. (*Prolonged applause.*) Everyone knows that our enemies have tried it more than once in the past, and knows what came of it. (*Applause.*)

As has been pointed out in the Central Committee Report, the Soviet Government holds that if the Western Powers show a readiness to settle the German problem, the issue of dates will not be so important. In that case we will not insist on a treaty being signed before December 31. We are not superstitious and we believe that both the 31st and the 13th may be lucky days. (*Animation. Applause.*) The important thing is not the date but a businesslike and fair solution of the problem. We want the Western Powers to acknowledge the necessity of doing away with the vestiges of the Second World War for the sake of preserving peace on earth, in the interests of all countries, of all mankind. (*Applause.*)

We are willing to meet with Western representatives, to exchange views with them, in order to prepare the ground for fruitful negotiations. But it is essential to really prepare for negotiations and seek agreement in order to find, at a conference attended by all the countries concerned, mutually acceptable solutions to the issues relating to the elimination of the vestiges of the Second World War.

But the Soviet Union will not have negotiations for their own sake, negotiations which the Western Powers could take advantage of to delay a peaceful settlement in Europe. If anyone is counting on this, let him know in advance that his expectations will never materialise. Such is our stand. We have adhered to it, and we abide by it firmly. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Bourgeois propaganda has been most vociferous lately over the Soviet Union's forced resumption of nuclear weapons tests. It became quite hysterical after the forthcoming test of a 50-megaton nuclear weapon was announced at this Congress. Some people assert that such tests run counter to moral principles.

Strange logic, that. When the United States first made an atom bomb, it found it legally and morally justifiable to drop such bombs on the defenceless people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Those were acts of senseless cruelty, acts utterly unwarranted from the military point of view. Hundreds of thousands of women, children and old men were burned alive in the atomic blasts. And it was done merely to frighten the peoples into bowing their heads to America's might. Some U.S. politicians were proud of that massacre, and strange as it may seem, they still are.

No U.S. Government or President has ever declared since the end of the war that those were immoral acts. Why? For the simple reason that they are guided by the imperialist moral principle that might is right. They thought their monopoly in nuclear weapons would enable them to gain world dominion.

But it was not long before the Soviet Union developed a powerful thermo-nuclear weapon and thereby ended the U.S. monopoly in this field. (*Prolonged applause.*)

When we launched our first sputniks, when Soviet ships blazed the first trails into space and Comrades Gagarin and Titov accomplished their unprecedented flights round the earth, the world saw that the Soviet Union was far ahead

of the United States in important fields of science and technology. Even President Kennedy had to admit that the United States is faced with the arduous task of overtaking the Soviet Union in this sphere. You will observe that the word *overtake* has now appeared in the American vocabulary as well. (*Animation. Applause.*)

I have said on more than one occasion that the Soviet Union will overtake the United States in maize production, though Americans have been rather sceptical of it. But overtaking a country in maize production is easier than in space exploration. Space is so much tougher to handle! (*Animation. Applause.*) The facts show that the situation has changed considerably in favour of socialism.

But while the U.S. President speaks of the need of overtaking the Soviet Union, Secretary of State Rusk goes on calling for a policy "from positions of strength". A few days ago he said Mr. Khrushchov should know that the United States was strong. He made it clear that the Western Powers mean to go on talking to us "from positions of strength". It looks as if the right hand did not know what the left was doing.

The minds of some Western leaders are obviously working in the wrong direction. If peace is to be something more than a mere spell of calm, or a respite, between wars, it is indispensable to create a situation that would rule out war for ever.

The Soviet Union is far from seeking to dictate its will and terms to other countries. Even though we have achieved indisputable superiority in rocketry and nuclear arms, we have proposed general and complete disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapons under the strictest international control. Moreover, the Soviet Union has unilaterally effected a considerable reduction of its Armed Forces, dismantled its military bases on foreign soil and carried out a series of other measures of a similar nature.

As we all know, the United States, Britain and France, far from following the Soviet example, have lately been stepping up the arms race, increasing their armed forces and holding troop manoeuvres near our borders. They are openly threatening us with war over the German peace treaty.

In the face of outright threats and the danger of war, the Soviet Union was compelled to take appropriate steps to increase its defensive power so as to be able to defend the Soviet people and the peoples of the great commonwealth of socialist countries.

We were confronted with the necessity of improving our thermo-nuclear weapon and testing new types of it. The decision which the Soviet Government took on the matter in view of the serious aggravation of international tension had the understanding of all who cherish peace and refuse to shut their eyes to the dangerous intrigues of the enemies of peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In adopting that decision, the Soviet Government realised, of course, that the reasons which made us renew the tests would not be understood correctly and immediately by all. Indeed, today fair-minded people, too, express concern over the consequences of the nuclear explosions that are being carried out. I have been receiving letters and telegrams from some of them. We have no grounds to question the sincerity of those people, who fear that the nuclear blasts may contaminate the atmosphere.

To those people we say: Dear friends, ladies and gentlemen, the peoples of the socialist countries would like nothing better than that the sky above our planet should be clear and serene. What we live and work for is to achieve a happy future for the peoples, to turn the earth into a flowering garden. We have children, grandchildren and even great-grandchildren just as you have. And we are thinking not only of their present but of their future as well. I must say that our scientists are doing everything

necessary to reduce the harmful after-effects of the tests to a minimum.

But we cannot forgo those tests at a time when the U.S., British, French and West German imperialists are making preparations to destroy not only the socialist gains but also the peoples of our countries. For they do not merely threaten to contaminate the atmosphere but want to take the lives of millions of people.

In the face of a very real threat to our security, the Soviet people had to take measures to increase the defence might of the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth as a whole. We would be poor leaders if we did not improve all the means of defence required for the security of the Soviet state. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is very regrettable indeed that certain fair-minded people abroad have so far been unable to grasp the complicated international situation. Imperialist propaganda is taking advantage of the humane sentiments of those people as it seeks to prevent us through them from improving the necessary means of defence and to facilitate preparations for a new war against us.

In strengthening the defences of the Soviet Union, we act not only in our own interests but in the interests of all the peace-loving peoples, of all mankind. When the enemies of peace threaten us with force, they must and will be countered with force, and greater force too. (*Stormy applause.*) If there is still anyone today who cannot understand this, he is certain to understand it tomorrow. (*Applause.*)

We again draw the attention of the leaders of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and other countries to the fact that the most sensible thing to do would be to discard the policy "from positions of strength" and of "cold war". (*Applause.*) In international relations, it is necessary to pursue the realistic policy of peaceful co-existence. (*Applause.*)

And this means taking into consideration the reality that developing successfully on our planet, side by side with the capitalist world, and growing stronger year by year, are the countries of the world socialist system. In our times it would be simply ridiculous and short-sighted not to see this, or to ignore it.

The imperialists are not pleased that the socialist countries are growing and developing. They would like to limit us and to teach us like children how to live on earth. For they regard Soviet power as an illegitimate child. And they simply cannot resign themselves to the fact that we are now so grown up that we are not only learning but can also teach many things to others. Here, too, there is a contradiction between the old and the new, as you see. It stands to reason that we cannot, and will not, live as the imperialists want us to. And they don't like it, they threaten us and say they will use the stick on us. But if they try, we shall go for them with a full-sized broom-stick. (*Stormy applause.*)

Speaking seriously, the wisest thing for states with different systems would be to coexist peacefully, to build up good-neighbour relations. A neighbour is not a husband or wife that can choose a partner by mutual consent. We cannot choose our neighbours; their presence does not depend on our desires. Our country, for instance, has as its neighbour in the south present-day Iran, whose rulers are pursuing a policy that is anything but good-neighbourly. If it were up to us, we would probably choose a more pleasant neighbour. I suppose the rulers of Iran would also prefer a different neighbour. But historical development has placed our countries side by side, as neighbours. And there is nothing to be done about it, we have to take account of the situation as it really is. You must not interfere in the affairs of your neighbours or allow them to interfere in yours. (*Applause.*)

I should like to deal in somewhat greater detail with such an important theoretical and political question as the

character of modern imperialism, and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems is the cardinal issue of our times. The states existing on the globe make up two different world systems—the socialist and the capitalist. For all the power of modern science, it is impossible to cut the globe in two and allot each of the two systems a definite area, to disengage them if I may say so. And this means that the coexistence of countries with different social and political systems is a historical fact.

There is a grim struggle, a debate, going on between the two social systems as to which system is better and which provides more benefits for man. Should this debate between the two different systems be settled through war or through peaceful economic competition? Unless one proposes to resort to armed conflict as a means of settling the disputes arising between states, one must accept the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. The socio-political system of each country is the internal affair of its people, and the people themselves should and do decide this issue as they see fit.

Some people attack us, accusing us of oversimplifying or toning down the appraisal of the international situation when we stress the necessity of peaceful coexistence in present-day conditions. We are told that whoever lays emphasis on peaceful coexistence shows an underestimation of the nature of imperialism and, indeed, comes into conflict with the Leninist appraisal of imperialism.

The classical definition of imperialism given by Lenin is well known. Lenin's definition of imperialism reveals the reactionary, aggressive character of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism. Imperialism is inseparably bound up with wars, with the struggle to divide and redivide the world, to enslave the peoples and bring them under the rule of monopoly capital. It is capable of any adventurous undertaking.

This appraisal of the nature of imperialism fully retains its validity. Our Party, far from denying the accuracy of this appraisal, reaffirms it, and proceeds from it always in shaping its policy, in elaborating the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle, as our draft Programme clearly shows. At the same time the Party must, if it is to adhere to creative Marxism-Leninism, take account of the important changes that have come about in the world since Lenin furnished his analysis of imperialism.

We are passing through a time when there exist two world systems, when the world socialist system is making rapid progress and the day is not far off when it will also surpass the world capitalist system in the production of material benefits. As regards science and culture, in a number of spheres the countries in the world socialist system have already outstripped the capitalist countries considerably. Today the world socialist system is more powerful than the imperialist countries in the military sphere as well.

That being so, it is no use saying that nothing has happened or changed in the world within recent decades. Those who say so are out of touch with reality and see nothing of the important changes taking place in the balance of the world forces.

It is true that the nature of imperialism, its aggressive character, has not changed. But the possibilities it now has are different from those it had at the time of its undivided rule. As matters stand, imperialism can no longer dictate its will to all, or pursue its policy of aggression without hindrance.

The predatory aspirations of the imperialists, who are intent on redividing the world and enslaving other peoples, are checked by the invincible forces of the world socialist system, above all of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*) These forces subdue the wolfish appetites of the imperialists. Hundreds of millions of people in the peace-loving countries, and in fact all the peoples, are champion-

ing peace. This is the important thing, and it has to be understood. (*Applause.*)

Here is an example to make clear the idea I have just expressed. The tiger is a beast of prey and will be one as long as it lives. But a tiger will never attack an elephant. Why? After all, the flesh of an elephant is hardly less tasty than that of any other animal, and a tiger would probably not mind feasting on it. But it is afraid to attack the elephant because the elephant is stronger than the tiger. If a tiger were mad enough to attack an elephant, it would be sure to lose its life—the elephant would trample it to death. (*Animation. Applause.*)

In films on Africa or Asia, you must have seen kings, princes, rajas and other notables go tiger shooting on elephants. They do so because they know that it is safe to hunt tigers in that way. To continue the simile, it must be said that the Soviet Union and the socialist world are today a tougher proposition for the imperialists than the elephant is for the tiger. (*Animation. Applause.*)

Imperialism is much in the same position as the tiger. Today the imperialists are compelled to bear in mind—not so much because they are reasonable as because, if I may say so, their instinct of self-preservation suggests it—that they cannot crush, plunder and enslave everyone with impunity. The imperialists are forced to take into account the mighty forces blocking their road. They realise that if they start a world war, the imperialist system, which is so hated by the people, is bound to fall. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The might of the world socialist system is now greater than ever. That system already constitutes more than one-third of mankind, and its forces are growing fast; it is the great bulwark of world peace. (*Applause.*) The principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is of vital importance today.

This is not seen only by hopeless dogmatists who have learned general formulas on imperialism by heart and ob-

stinately ignore reality. And this is the stand which the hard-headed Molotov still takes. He and his like do not understand the changes that have occurred in the world, nor the new phenomena of life. They are trailing behind developments, and have long since been a handicap and a deadweight. (*Applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, the Central Committee Report, as well as speeches by delegates to this Congress, dealt with the erroneous stand of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour, who have set out to fight against the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress of our Party and to undermine the foundations of friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The representatives of fraternal parties who spoke here said that they share our concern over the state of affairs in the Albanian Party of Labour and emphatically condemn the dangerous actions of its leaders, which prejudice the basic interests of the Albanian people and the unity of the socialist commonwealth as a whole. The speeches made by delegates and by the representatives of fraternal parties show convincingly that the Central Committee of our Party was absolutely correct in reporting to this Congress, frankly and from a standpoint of principle, that Soviet-Albanian relations are in an abnormal state.

It was our duty to do so because, unfortunately, our numerous attempts to normalise relations with the Albanian Party of Labour yielded no results. I should like to stress that the Central Committee of our Party has shown the greatest patience and done all in its power to restore good relations between our two parties.

Members of the Presidium of the C.C. C.P.S.U. made repeated attempts to meet the Albanian leaders to discuss the questions that had arisen. As far back as August 1960 we twice proposed a meeting to the Albanian leaders, but they evaded it. And they just as stubbornly rejected talks

with us during the Moscow Meeting of the fraternal parties in November 1960.

When a meeting was finally arranged at the instance of the C.C. C.P.S.U., Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu wrecked it, and began actions that may only be described as provocative. The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour withdrew arrogantly from the November Meeting, thus showing that they refused to take the collective opinion of the fraternal parties into consideration. They rudely turned down our subsequent proposals for meeting to exchange views and remove the differences, and stepped up their campaign of slanderous attacks against our Party and its Central Committee.

The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour do not mind using any methods to conceal from their people the truth as to what our Party and our people are doing. Albania is the only country in the socialist community not to have published the full text of the draft Programme of the C.P.S.U. The Albanian press carried only some parts of the draft, deliberately creating a distorted picture of the activities of our Party. That fact speaks for itself. Indeed, even the opponents of communism were unable to keep silent about our Programme.

We are aware why the Albanian leaders are concealing the Programme of the C.P.S.U. from their Party and their people. They fear the truth like death. The Party Programme is our sacred cause, it is our lodestar in communist construction.

Had the Albanian leaders published it in full, Albania's working people would have seen who lies and who speaks the truth; they would have seen that all the activities of our Party, and all its plans, are in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples, including the interests of the Albanian people who are friendly to us. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our great Party has more than once been a target for bitter and foul attacks on the part of overt and covert

enemies of communism. But we must say in so many words that we do not recall anyone passing at so giddy a speed as the Albanian leaders have done from professions and vows of everlasting friendship to unbridled anti-Soviet calumny.

They apparently expect in this manner to clear the ground for winning the right to receive hand-outs from the imperialists. The imperialists are always ready to pay thirty pieces of silver to those who split the Communist ranks. But pieces of silver have never brought anyone anything but dishonour and ignominy. (*Applause.*)

Obviously, the Central Committee of our Party had to tell this Congress the whole truth about the pernicious stand of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour. Had we not done so, the Albanian leaders would have continued to insinuate that the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party was afraid to inform the Party of the differences it had with the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour. Our Party and the Soviet people should know about the conduct of the Albanian leaders. And let this Congress, which is entitled to speak on behalf of the entire Party, take its stand on the matter, let it pass its weighty judgement.

This Congress emphasised the readiness there is to normalise relations with the Albanian Party of Labour on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. But what was the Albanian leaders' reaction? They came out with a clamorous statement slinging mud at our Party and its Central Committee.

Comrade Chou En-lai, leader of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China, voiced in his speech concern over the open discussion, at this Congress, of the issue of Albanian-Soviet relations. The main point in his statement was, as we see it, the anxiety that the present state of our relations with the Albanian Party of Labour might affect the unity of the socialist camp.

We share the anxiety expressed by our Chinese friends, and appreciate their concern for greater unity. If the Chinese comrades wish to apply their efforts towards normalising the relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and the fraternal parties, there is hardly anyone who can contribute to the solution of this problem more than the Communist Party of China. That would really benefit the Albanian Party of Labour, and would meet the interests of the entire socialist commonwealth. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It is true, of course, that Communists should shape their inter-Party relations in such a way as to leave no loophole for the enemy. Unfortunately, the Albanian leaders have grossly flouted this principle. They have long since been openly assailing the policy of the Twentieth Congress, thereby furnishing the bourgeois press with food for all kinds of speculation. None other than the Albanian leaders have been shouting from the house-tops about their special stand and their special views, as distinct from those of our Party and other fraternal parties. This became evident at the Fourth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, and has been even more so of late.

Why did the Albanian leaders launch a campaign against the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of our Party? What is the heresy they espy in those decisions?

To begin with, the Albanian leaders resent the emphatic condemnation of the cult of Stalin's person and its harmful consequences. They disapprove of our having firmly condemned the arbitrary methods and the abuses of power which hit many innocent people, including prominent representatives of the old guard, who together with Lenin founded the world's first proletarian state. The Albanian leaders cannot speak without annoyance and rancour of the fact that we have for ever put an end to a situation in which one man was able to decide at will highly important questions bearing on our Party and our country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Stalin is no longer among the living, but we considered it necessary to brand the disgraceful methods of leadership that flourished in the atmosphere of the cult of his person. Our Party does this to ensure that such practices never recur.

One would think that the Leninist course adopted by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and supported by the fraternal parties should also have been backed by the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour, since the cult of the individual is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism. What happened, however, was that the Albanian leaders began to extol the cult of Stalin's person and launched a bitter struggle against the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., in an effort to divert the socialist countries from this correct course. Needless to say that that was no accident. All that was pernicious in our country at the time of the cult of the individual manifests itself in even worse form in the Albanian Party of Labour. It is no longer a secret to anyone that the Albanian leaders maintain their power by resorting to force and arbitrary methods.

The situation in the Albanian Party of Labour has been abnormal and harmful for a long time now. In that situation, anyone whom the leadership does not favour may be subjected to a cruel repression.

Where are the Albanian Communists who founded the Party and fought against the Italian and German fascist invaders? Almost all of them have fallen victim to the bloody crimes committed by Mehmet Shehu and Enver Hoxha.

The C.C. C.P.S.U. has received more than one letter from Albanian Communists asking us to prevent the Albanian leaders from doing injustice to the finest sons and daughters of the Albanian Party of Labour. Delegates to this Congress can form an idea of the moral make-up of the Albanian leaders by reading some of those letters.

The Albanian leaders accuse us of interfering in the

internal affairs of the Albanian Party of Labour. I should like to say what they mean by this so-called interference.

A few years ago the C.C. C.P.S.U. pleaded with the Albanian leaders for Liri Gega, former member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Albanian Party of Labour, who was sentenced to death together with her husband. For a number of years she had been a member of leading bodies of the Albanian Party of Labour, and had taken part in the liberation struggle of the Albanian people. In appealing at that time to the Albanian leaders, we were prompted by humane considerations, by the desire to prevent the shooting of a woman who, moreover, was pregnant. We considered, and still consider, that as a fraternal party we had a right to express our opinion on the matter. Indeed, even in the blackest periods of reaction the tsar's satraps, who tortured revolutionaries, could not bring themselves to execute pregnant women. And here is a socialist country where a woman about to become a mother was sentenced to death and executed. It was an utterly unwarranted act of cruelty. (*Commotion. Voices: "Shame!"*)

Today honest people are being cruelly persecuted in Albania merely because they make bold to speak out for Soviet-Albanian friendship, of which the Albanian leaders like to talk in such pompous and florid terms.

Comrades Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, prominent functionaries of the Albanian Party of Labour, were expelled from the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; what is more, they are now being openly branded enemies of the Party and the people. And this just because Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko had the courage honestly and openly to voice their disagreement with the policy of the Albanian leaders, and called for unity between Albania, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Those who today advocate friendship with the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U. are regarded as enemies by the Albanian leaders.

How are we to reconcile these facts with the vows and assurances of friendship for the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union that came from Shehu and Hoxha? It seems that their talk about friendship was so much hypocrisy and eyewash.

That is the situation in the Albanian Party of Labour, and that is why the Albanian leaders are opposing the Leninist course adopted by the Twentieth Party Congress. For Shehu, Hoxha and others, putting an end to the cult of the individual would mean, in effect, relinquishing key posts in Party and government, and that is something they do not want to do. We are confident, however, that the time will come when the Albanian Communists and the Albanian people will have their say, and then the Albanian leaders will have to answer for the damage they have done to their country, their people, and the cause of socialist construction in Albania. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, our Party will continue to fight against revisionists of all hues as it has done so far. In strict accordance with the principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the meetings of Marxist-Leninist parties, we have exposed, and shall continue untiringly to expose, the revisionism that found expression in the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. We shall also struggle perseveringly against dogmatism and all other deviations from Marxism-Leninism. (*Applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, the Twenty-Second Congress may in all truth be called a congress of the Leninist Party's solid unity, a congress of complete unanimity and cohesion. Our enemies are frightened by the growing unity of our ranks. They are speculating on the fact that this Congress has paid

considerable attention to the harmful consequences of the personality cult, and also to the final exposure of the anti-Party factional group. But the enemies of communism are wasting their efforts—it will get them nowhere.

What distinguishes the Marxist-Leninist parties from all other political parties is that Communists do not hesitate to boldly expose the shortcomings and faults in their work and eliminate them. Criticism, no matter how severe, helps us make progress. This is a sign of the Communist Party's strength, an indication of its unshakable faith in its cause. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Many comrades who have spoken here have wrathfully condemned the subversive, anti-Party activities of the handful of factionalists headed by Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov. Our entire Party and the whole people have rejected these renegades who opposed everything new, who strove to re-establish the harmful methods prevailing at the time of the personality cult. They wanted matters to go back to those trying times for our Party and our country when nobody was safe from violence and repressions. Yes, that is precisely what Molotov and the others wanted.

We definitely reject such methods of so-called leadership. We stand for the decision of inner-Party matters according to Leninist standards, by methods of persuasion and broad democracy, and we shall remain firm in this respect. (*Applause.*) The Party's strongest weapon is its ideology, the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, which has brought many splendid victories to our Party, the Soviet people and the international communist movement. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Is it possible for different opinions to arise within the Party at various periods in its activities, especially at turning points? Yes, it is. What is to be done with those who express opinions differing from those of the others? We are against repressions in such cases; we stand for Leninist methods of persuasion and explanation. (*Applause.*)

Let me remind you of an episode from the history of our Party. On the eve of October, at the decisive moment when the question was whether there was to be a great socialist revolution or not, Zinoviev and Kamenev attacked in the press the Party's intention to begin an armed uprising and thus revealed the plans of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party to its enemies. It was a betrayal of the cause of the revolution.

Lenin exposed Zinoviev and Kamenev and demanded their expulsion from the Party. The subsequent development of the revolution fully bore out the correctness of Lenin's policy of armed uprising. When Zinoviev and Kamenev later announced that they had been mistaken, and admitted their guilt, Lenin displayed great magnanimity towards them and himself raised the question of their reinstatement in the Party leadership.

Lenin pursued a firm policy aimed at developing inner-Party democracy. He always relied on the mass of Communists and non-Party people.

In the years that followed Lenin's death, the Leninist standards of Party life were grossly distorted in the conditions of the cult of Stalin's person. Stalin elevated curtailments of inner-Party and Soviet democracy to the level of standards of inner-Party life and the life of the state. He grossly violated the Leninist principles of leadership and permitted arbitrary methods and abuses of power.

Stalin could look at a comrade sitting at the same table with him and say: "There's something shifty about your eyes today." After that you could consider that the comrade whose eyes had supposedly been shifty had become a suspect.

Comrade delegates, I wish to inform the Congress of the reaction of the anti-Party group to the proposal to discuss at the Twentieth Congress the question of the abuses of power in the period of the personality cult.

Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Voroshilov and others

raised categorical objections. In answer to their objections, they were told that if they opposed the raising of the question we would let the Congress delegates decide. We did not doubt that the Congress would be in favour of discussing the question. Only then did they agree, and the question of the personality cult was submitted to the Twentieth Party Congress. But the factionalists did not cease their struggle even after the Congress; they did their utmost to hamper an investigation of the abuses of power, fearing that their role as accomplices in mass repressions would be revealed.

Mass repressions began after the assassination of Kirov. Considerable effort will still be required to establish who was guilty of Kirov's death. The deeper we look into the records concerning Kirov's death, the greater the number of questions that crop up. There is the outstanding fact that Kirov's assassin had on two previous occasions been detained by security people in the vicinity of Smolny and had been found to be carrying a weapon. But someone had ordered his release on both occasions. Then this armed man turned up in Smolny, in the very corridor along which Kirov usually passed. And it somehow happened that at the moment of the assassination the chief of Kirov's bodyguard was far behind him, although, according to his instructions, he had no right to lag so far behind the man he was guarding.

There is another very strange fact. When the chief of Kirov's bodyguard was being taken for interrogation—he was to have been interrogated by Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov—an accident was deliberately staged on the way, as the driver of the car afterwards said, by those who should have taken the guard chief for interrogation. They then reported that the chief of the bodyguard had been killed in the accident, although he was actually killed by those escorting him.

That is how the man who guarded Kirov was killed. Afterwards the people who had killed him were shot. This

was obviously not an accident but a deliberate crime. Who could have committed it? A thorough study of this complicated case is now being made.

It turned out that the driver of the vehicle in which the chief of Kirov's bodyguard was taken for interrogation is still alive. He has said that when they drove to the interrogation, a Commissariat of the Interior officer sat in the cab with him. The vehicle used was a lorry. (Of course, it is very strange that the man should have been taken to be interrogated in a lorry, as though in that particular case no other vehicle could be found. Apparently everything had been prearranged in detail.) Two other Commissariat of the Interior officers were in the back of the lorry with the chief of Kirov's bodyguard.

The driver further relates: As they were driving along the street, the man sitting in the cab with him suddenly wrenched the wheel from his hands and headed the lorry straight into a house. The driver snatched the wheel back and turned the lorry, so that only the side struck the wall of the house. He was later told that the chief of Kirov's bodyguard had been killed in that accident.

How was it that he was killed and yet none of those travelling with him were hurt? Why was it that the two Commissariat of the Interior officers who were escorting the commander of Kirov's guard were themselves shot? Apparently somebody had to have them killed in order to cover up all traces.

There is still very, very much that has not been cleared up concerning the circumstances of this and other cases.

Comrades, it is our duty to make a thorough, all-round examination of cases of this sort that are due to abuse of power. The time will come when we shall die, for we are all mortal, but as long as we continue working, we can and must find out a great deal and tell the truth to the Party and the people. It is our duty to do all in our power to establish the truth now, because the longer the

time that passes since those events, the more difficult it will be to re-establish the truth. You cannot bring back the dead, but the facts must be faithfully recorded in the history of the Party. And it must be done to prevent for ever the recurrence of similar cases. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

You may imagine how difficult it was to solve such problems when there were people on the Presidium of the Central Committee who had themselves been guilty of abusing power, of mass repressions. They stubbornly opposed all measures for the exposure of the personality cult and then began a struggle against the Central Committee. They wanted to change the composition of its leading body and revise the Leninist policy of the Party, the course mapped out by the Twentieth Congress.

Naturally, they did not want to examine such matters. You have heard Comrade Shelepin's speech. He said a lot at this Congress, but it stands to reason he did not at all tell you everything that has now been revealed. Thousands of absolutely innocent people perished, and, remember, every person is a story. Many leading Party, government and army people lost their lives.

Of course, those people on the Presidium of the Central Committee who were responsible for breaches of legality, for mass repressions, tried hard to prevent the exposure of the arbitrary acts perpetrated in the period of the cult of the individual. Then they launched an anti-Party factional struggle against the Central Committee leadership, concentrating their fire mainly against me as First Secretary of the Central Committee, since I, by virtue of my duties, was the one who had to raise those questions. I had to take their blows and counter them. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The members of the anti-Party factional group wanted to seize the leadership in the Party and the country and remove those comrades who had made exposures of the criminal acts committed in the period of the personality

cult. The anti-Party group wanted to put Molotov in the leadership. If they had done so, there would certainly have been no exposures of those abuses of power.

Even after the Twentieth Congress, which condemned the cult of the individual, the anti-Party group did everything it could to prevent the exposures from going any further. Molotov said that in big matters good and bad things occur. He tried to justify the acts that had taken place at the time of the personality cult, and claimed that such acts are possible and may yet recur. Such was the line taken by the anti-Party factional group. It was not just an error. It was a calculated, criminal, adventurous position. They wanted to divert the Party and the country from the Leninist path, they wanted to revert to the policy and methods of leadership of the period of the personality cult. They miscalculated, however. The Central Committee, our entire Party, the whole Soviet people, firmly rebuffed the anti-Party group, exposed and defeated the factionalists. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Delegates have spoken here with pain in their hearts of many innocent victims among prominent Party officials and statesmen.

Such prominent army leaders as Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich, Kork, Yegorov, Eideman and others were victims of the repressions. They were military men who had great services to their credit, especially Tukhachevsky, Yakir and Uborevich, who were outstanding soldiers. Later Blücher and other prominent army leaders suffered from the repressions.

A rather curious report once found its way into the foreign press to the effect that when Hitler was preparing his assault on our country he had his secret service fabricate a document describing Comrades Yakir, Tukhachevsky and others as agents of the German General Staff. This "document", allegedly secret, fell into the hands of President Beneš of Czechoslovakia, and he, presumably prompted by good intentions, forwarded it to Stalin. Yakir,

Tukhachevsky and other comrades were arrested and were then killed.

Many splendid commanders and political officers of the Red Army met their deaths. Here among the delegates there are comrades—I withhold their names in order not to cause them pain—who spent many years in prison. They were “persuaded”, persuaded by certain methods, that they were either German, British, or some other spies. Some of them “confessed”. There were even cases when some of those people, on being told that the charge of espionage had been withdrawn, themselves insisted on their previous depositions; they thought it better to stick to their false depositions in order the sooner to put an end to their torment, the sooner to go to their death.

That is what the personality cult means. That was the meaning of the actions of Molotov and the others who wanted to restore the evil practices of the period of the personality cult. That is what the anti-Party group wanted to bring the Party back to, and that is why the struggle against them was so acute and so difficult. Everybody realised what it meant.

I knew Comrade Yakir very well. I also knew Tukhachevsky, but not as well as I knew Yakir. During a conference in Alma Ata this year his son, who is working in Kazakhstan, came to me. He asked me about his father. What could I say to him? When we were examining these cases in the Presidium of the Central Committee and were informed that neither Tukhachevsky, Yakir, nor Uborevich had committed any crimes against the Party and the state, we asked Molotov, Kaganovich and Voroshilov:

“Are you in favour of their rehabilitation?”

“Yes, we are,” they answered.

“But it was you who executed those people,” we said indignantly. “When were you following the dictates of your conscience, then or now?”

They did not answer that question. And they never will. You have heard what kind of resolutions they wrote on letters addressed to Stalin. So what can they say?

In his speech to this Congress, Comrade Shelepin told you how these fine representatives of the Communist Party in the Red Army were killed. He also quoted a letter from Comrade Yakir to Stalin, and read to you the resolutions on that letter. It should be said that at one time Stalin had a lot of respect for Yakir.

I can add that at the moment Yakir was shot he shouted, "Long live the Party, long live Stalin!"

He had so much faith in the Party, in Stalin, that it never occurred to him that the lawlessness was deliberate. He thought that enemies had infiltrated the organs of the People's Commissariat of the Interior.

When Stalin was told how Yakir had behaved before his death, he cursed Yakir.

Let us recall Sergo Orjonikidze. I was present at his funeral. I believed it when I was told at the time that he had died suddenly, because we knew that he had heart trouble. Much later, after the war, I learnt quite by accident that he had committed suicide. His brother had been arrested and shot. Comrade Orjonikidze realised that he could no longer work with Stalin, although he had been one of his closest friends. Orjonikidze held a key post in the Party. Lenin had known and valued him, but things had come to a pass where Orjonikidze could no longer work normally, and in order not to have encounters with Stalin and not to share responsibility for his abuses of power, he decided to commit suicide.

The fate of the brother of Stalin's first wife, Alyosha Svanidze, who was less known to the bulk of our Party membership, was also a tragic one. He was a veteran Bolshevik, but Beria, by means of various machinations, made a case to the effect that Svanidze had been planted near Stalin by the German secret service, although he was Stalin's very close friend. And Svanidze was shot. Be-

fore he was shot, he was told that Stalin had said that if he asked forgiveness he would be pardoned. When Stalin's words were repeated to Svanidze, he asked: "Why should I ask forgiveness? I have not committed any crime." He was shot. After Svanidze's death Stalin said: "See how proud he is, he died but wouldn't ask forgiveness." It never occurred to Stalin that Svanidze was, above all, an honest man.

And that is how many absolutely innocent people died.

That is what the cult of the individual means. That is why we cannot show the slightest tolerance towards abuses of power.

Comrades, the presidium of this Congress has received letters from veteran Bolsheviks, who write that in the period of the personality cult outstanding Party leaders and statesmen, such true Leninists as Comrades Chubar, Kosior, Rudzutak, Postyshev, Eiche, Voznesensky, Kuznetsov and others, were done to death although they were innocent.

The comrades propose perpetuating the memory of those prominent Party and Government leaders who fell victim to the unwarranted repressions in the period of the personality cult.

We consider this a fit and proper proposal. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) It would be advisable to instruct the Central Committee that will be elected by the Twenty-Second Congress to take a positive decision on this question. Perhaps a monument should be erected in Moscow to perpetuate the memory of comrades who fell victim to arbitrary practices. (*Applause.*)

At the time of the personality cult, the Party was deprived of normal conditions of life. People who usurp power cease to be accountable to the Party—they put themselves beyond its control. That is the chief danger of the personality cult.

It is indispensable always to maintain in the Party a situation in which every leader is accountable to the Party

and its bodies, and in which the Party can replace any leader when it sees fit. (*Applause.*)

Since the Twentieth Congress, the Leninist principles of Party life and collective leadership have been restored in the Party. The new Party Programme and the Rules reaffirm the provisions restoring the Leninist standards of Party life and precluding recurrences of the personality cult.

The Twentieth Congress of our Party condemned the cult of the individual, restored justice and demanded the elimination of the distortions that had taken place. The Central Committee adopted decisive measures to prevent a return to arbitrary and unlawful practices. The anti-Party group consisting of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and others tried hard to prevent the implementation of these measures.

The factionalists made an attempt to seize the leadership and divert the Party from the Leninist path. They intended to deal harshly with those who upheld the policy mapped out by the Twentieth Congress. When the anti-Party group was defeated, its members thought they would be dealt with as they had dealt with people at the time of the personality cult, and as they would have liked to deal with those who approved of the restoration of Leninist standards in Party life.

A conversation I had with Kaganovich was typical. It took place the day after the June Plenary Meeting of the C.C., which expelled the anti-Party group from the Central Committee, completed its work. Kaganovich telephoned me and said:

"Comrade Khrushchov, I have known you for many years. Please do not let me be dealt with as people were dealt with under Stalin."

Kaganovich knew very well how people were dealt with at the time, because he himself had taken part in dealing with them.

I replied:

"Comrade Kaganovich, your words are further proof of the methods by which you intended to achieve your infamous aims. You wanted to turn the country back to the methods that prevailed at the time of the cult of the individual. You wanted to use violence against people. You measure others with your own yardstick. But you are making a mistake. We act, and shall continue to act, strictly in conformity with Leninist principles. You will be given a job," I said to Kaganovich, "and you will have the opportunity of working and living in peace if you work honestly as all Soviet people do."

That was the kind of conversation I had with Kaganovich. It shows that when the factionalists had failed they thought they would be dealt with in the same way as they would have dealt with Party cadres had they succeeded in carrying out their treacherous designs. But we Communists-Leninists must never allow ourselves to abuse power. We firmly adhere to Party, Leninist positions and believe in the strength and unity of our Party, and that the people are solid behind the Party. (*Stormy applause.*)

Many delegates spoke indignantly of the members of the anti-Party group and produced facts to expose the group members' criminal activity. The indignation of the speakers is understandable and justified.

I should like specially to say a few words about Comrade Voroshilov. He approached me several times and spoke of what his feelings were. One can, of course, understand the state he is in. But we political leaders must not go by feelings alone. Feelings differ and they may be misleading. Here at the Congress Voroshilov listens to criticism levelled at him and goes about like a broken man. But you should have seen him when the anti-Party group raised its hand against the Party. At that time he displayed activity, and appeared in full armour and with all his medals on, so to say—all but riding on a horse.

The anti-Party group used Comrade Voroshilov in its

struggle against the Central Committee. It was not accidental that the factionalists chose him to speak to members of the C.C. who insisted on a plenary meeting of the Central Committee. The anti-Party group expected that Voroshilov would be able through his prestige to influence members of the Central Committee and shake their determination in their struggle against the anti-Party group. To help Voroshilov in his talks with members of the Central Committee, the anti-Party group also detailed Bulganin. But Bulganin did not enjoy the prestige that Voroshilov had. They therefore pinned more of their hopes on Voroshilov as one of the oldest Party officials. But even that did not help the factionalists.

The question arises how Comrade Voroshilov got himself mixed up with that group? Some comrades know of the personal dislike there was between Voroshilov and Molotov, between Voroshilov and Kaganovich, and between Malenkov and Voroshilov.

Yet, in spite of these relations, they joined forces. Why? On what basis? Because after the Twentieth Congress they were afraid of further exposures of their unlawful actions in the period of the personality cult, afraid they would have to answer before the Party. After all, it is no secret that all the abuses at that time were committed with their backing and that, moreover, they took an active part in them. Fear of responsibility and a desire to revive the practices that had prevailed in the period of the personality cult united the members of the anti-Party group despite the personal dislike between them.

Comrade Voroshilov has made grave mistakes. But I consider, comrades, that we must not approach him in the same way as we would other active members of the anti-Party group, such as Molotov, Kaganovich or Malenkov. It must be said that during the sharp struggle against the factionalists at the beginning of the June Plenary Meeting of the C.C., when Comrade Voroshilov saw the solidarity of the members of the Central Committee in their strug-

gle against the anti-Party group, he evidently realised that he had overstepped the mark. Voroshilov saw that he had leagued himself with men who were opposing the Party; he condemned the actions of the anti-Party group and admitted his mistakes. He thereby helped the Central Committee to some extent. We must not underrate that step on his part, comrades, because at the time it came as support for the Party.

Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov is widely known among the people. For that reason his participation in the anti-Party group together with Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and the others strengthened the group, as it were, and made a certain impression on people inexperienced in politics. By leaving that group, Comrade Voroshilov helped the Central Committee in its struggle against the factionalists. So let us repay that good deed of his with good and make his position easier. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Voroshilov was sharply criticised. This criticism was correct because he made grave mistakes which Communists cannot forget. But I think that our approach to Comrade Voroshilov should be considerate and that we must show magnanimity. I am sure he sincerely condemns what he did and repents. (*Applause.*)

Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov has lived a long life and has done a lot of good for our Party and people. I wish to say that when the Central Committee was considering Comrade Voroshilov's request to release him from his duties as President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet because of ill health, the members of the Central Committee spoke warmly of him despite the mistakes he had made. In May 1960, in recognition of his services to the Party and state, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet awarded Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. (*Applause.*)

I think Kliment Yefremovich will, together with us, work actively for the cause of our Party. (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, the Twenty-Second Congress has forcefully confirmed that the course of the Twentieth Party Congress, a course to restore and further develop the Leninist standards of Party and state life, to heighten the leading role of the Party and promote the creative initiative of the masses, is the only correct course. The Twenty-Second Congress reaffirms this beneficial course. The Programme and Rules of the Party, and the decisions of the Congress provide further guarantees against recurrences of the cult of the individual. The role of the Party as the great inspiring and organising force in communist construction is rising still higher.

I should also like to say a few words about the following. In many of the speeches at this Congress, and not infrequently in the press as well, when mention is made of the activities of the Central Committee of our Party, special emphasis is placed on my person, and my role is stressed in the implementation of major measures of the Party and the Government.

I appreciate the kind feelings these comrades are prompted by. But allow me to state most emphatically that everything said about me should be credited to the Central Committee of our Leninist Party, to the Presidium of the Central Committee. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) In fact, not a single important measure, nor a single responsible speech, was undertaken in our country on anyone's personal instructions. They are all the result of collective discussion and collective decision. (*Prolonged applause.*) This concluding speech, too, has been considered and approved by the leading collective. (*Prolonged applause.*) Our great strength, comrades, lies in collective leadership, in a joint decision of all matters of principle. (*Stormy applause.*)

Whatever abilities a leader may possess, and no matter how much energy he puts into the work, no real, lasting success can be achieved without the support of the collective, without the most active participation of the entire

Party and the broad masses in the implementation of the measures planned. That is something all of us must understand well and constantly bear in mind. (*Applause.*)

Communist leaders owe their strength to the activity of the masses they lead. Leaders who correctly understand and express the interests of the Party, the interests of the people, who struggle for these interests without stinting their strength, energy and even life, and who, in big and small things alike, are inseparable from the Party as the Party is inseparable from the people, will always have the support of the Party and the people. And the cause that such leaders champion is bound to triumph. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Naturally, one must possess the qualities needed for the struggle for the cause of the Party, for the vital interests of the people. After all, our ideological adversaries, our enemies, concentrate their fire first and foremost against leaders who, rallying the active, and through it the entire people, round the directing bodies, carry on along the only true, the Leninist, path.

Here at the Congress much has been said, for example, about the furious energy with which the anti-Party factionalists Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and others attacked the Leninist Central Committee of the Party and myself. In opposing the Party line charted by the Twentieth Congress, the splitters concentrated their main fire against Khrushchov, who did not suit them. Why against Khrushchov? For the simple reason that, by the will of the Party, Khrushchov had been elected First Secretary of the Central Committee. The factionalists sorely miscalculated. The Party defeated them both ideologically and organisationally. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Central Committee of our Party displayed an exceptionally high degree of political maturity and a truly Leninist understanding of the situation. It is characteristic that not a single member or candidate member of the Central Committee, nor a single member of the Auditing

Commission supported the miserable handful of splitters. (*Prolonged applause.*)

While firmly opposing the revolting practices of the cult of the individual, Marxists-Leninists have always recognised the authority of leaders, and will continue to do so.

But it would be wrong to single out any leader, to set him apart in any way from the leading collective, to indulge in praising him excessively. This is contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It may be recalled how uncompromisingly Marx, Engels and Lenin spoke out against people who indulged in extolling their merits. Yet it is truly difficult to overrate the great role of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the founders of scientific communism, and the services they rendered the working class and all mankind. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Any inclination to self-praise and to special accentuation or excessive exaggeration of the role of individual leaders is thoroughly alien to true Marxists-Leninists. It is simply insulting to them when anyone importunately tries to set them apart, to isolate them, from the leading nucleus of comrades. (*Stormy applause.*)

We Communists value highly and support the prestige of correct and mature leadership. We must safeguard the prestige of leaders recognised by the Party and the people. But every leader must bear in mind the other side of the matter—never to plume himself on his position, to remember that by holding an office he merely performs the will of the Party, of the people, who have invested him with, albeit supreme, power, but never lose control over him. (*Applause.*) The leader who forgets this pays severely for such mistakes. I would say that he pays for it during his lifetime, or the people do not forgive him even after his death, as was the case with the condemnation of the cult of Stalin's person. (*Applause.*) One who forgets that it is his duty to perform the will of the Party, of the people, cannot really be called a leader. We must have no

such "leaders" either in the Party or in the machinery of the state. (*Applause.*)

To be sure, for many reasons a great deal of power is concentrated in the hands of the individual holding a high office. A leader appointed by the Party and the people must not abuse his power. In the Reports to the Congress, mention has already been made of the measures we have effected, and will continue to effect, in order to ensure that the ugly practices of the personality cult are never revived. But there is one thing no clause in the Rules can provide for—the collective of leaders must understand well that a situation must not be allowed to arise where any one authority, however deserving, may cease to heed the opinion of those who promoted him. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, we must not—we simply cannot—allow a situation to arise and develop in which the merited prestige of an individual may assume such forms that he will get the notion that he may do anything he pleases and no longer needs the collective. In that case the individual concerned may stop heeding the voice of other comrades put in the leadership, like himself, and may start to suppress them. Lenin, our great teacher, was firmly opposed to that, and the Party has paid too high a price for not having heeded his wise counsel in the past.

So let us be worthy pupils of Lenin in this important matter as well. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, for more than a hundred years a struggle has been going on between the two ideologies—the ideology of the working class as expressed in the Marxist theory of scientific communism, and the ideology of the exploiting classes, bourgeois ideology.

With the appearance of the theory of Marx and Engels the working class, the most revolutionary class, acquired a powerful ideological weapon in the struggle for its

emancipation, for the revolutionary transformation of society, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At first the ideas of scientific communism were comprehensible only to the more progressive intelligentsia and the foremost section of the working class. The development of revolutionary consciousness was no easy task. The spreading of the new ideas and their assimilation encountered considerable difficulties because these ideas called for waging a revolutionary struggle to destroy the capitalist system, the system of brutal exploitation.

That struggle required sacrifices and privations, and called for great deeds in the name of the future to be built on the ruins of capitalism. It called for a grim revolutionary class struggle, a struggle that only the most courageous people were equal to, people who had instilled in themselves hatred for the exploiting system and were confident of the inevitable victory of the working class. It was the best of the best who took this path, the finest of the revolutionaries, and they emerged victorious after overcoming incredible difficulties. (*Applause.*)

It was most fortunate for the working class of our country that more than half a century ago the leadership of their revolutionary struggle was assumed by the Party founded by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. At its Second Congress, the Party adopted its first Programme, which had been drawn up with the close collaboration of Lenin. The chief task proclaimed by that Programme was to overthrow the power of the capitalists and landlords and establish the power of the working class and all working people.

Under the banner of the great ideas of Marxism, the working people of Russia accomplished a socialist revolution in October 1917 and took power into their own hands.

But on taking power, the working people received as their heritage an economy ruined by the world war. They had to overcome serious difficulties, suffer great privations

and make many sacrifices. They had to repel the invasion of the interventionists, suppress internal counter-revolution, build up an industry, put a disrupted and neglected agriculture on its feet, rehabilitate the transport services, organise trade, and overcome havoc and hunger. The working class had to have a clear understanding of the need to work devotedly for the sake of the morrow, of the future.

It was a very complicated and difficult but noble task. Only people who were willing to make sacrifices today in order to provide a better future for their children and grandchildren could be drawn into the struggle to fulfil that task.

After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat our Party adopted its second Programme, a programme of socialist construction, drawn up by Lenin. The paramount result of the implementation of the second Programme was the final and complete victory of socialism in our country, which became a country with a mighty industry, a large-scale agriculture, and advanced science and culture.

We have now entered the third stage of the great struggle, comrades. We are adopting the third Programme of the Leninist Party, a programme of communist construction. How far we have advanced, and how different conditions are today from those in which the second Programme of the Party was adopted, to say nothing of the first!

Socialist economy has built up such strength and possesses such energy that, from the heights we have now reached, we can challenge the most powerful capitalist country, the United States of America, to a peaceful economic competition.

Today the struggle between the two ideologies is quite different from what it was at the dawn of Marxism. The ideas of scientific socialism have conquered the minds of the masses and become a tremendous material force. They

have become reality, and the material and technical basis of the new society is being created by the labour of peoples. The struggle has spread from the sphere of ideology alone to that of material production.

Today it is not only the foremost section of society but also the peoples of our country and other socialist countries that are conducting a struggle to achieve the great ideals of communism. The Soviet Union is now storming the heavens, both literally and figuratively, and in translating the ideas of communism into reality is demonstrating the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system. (*Stormy applause.*)

Today socialism is not merely an idea for the sake of which the Party calls upon the working people to struggle. Socialism has become a reality. We say—look at the Soviet Union, at the socialist countries, and you will see what the working class and all working people are capable of accomplishing when they are in power and are carrying the ideas of scientific communism into practice. See what they have achieved in a brief historical period! Their successes and their example exert a powerful influence on the masses of the working people, on the peoples of the whole world. (*Applause.*)

Socialism is already today, and not somewhere in the future, giving great material and spiritual benefits to the peoples who have set out to build a new life. The example of the socialist countries is becoming more and more attractive to the working people of all countries. The ideas of communism are spreading far and wide, are taking deeper root, and are inspiring hundreds of millions of people to become the makers of their own history.

The powerful, and ever more rapid, movement towards communism will sweep aside everything that bars the way to our cherished goal, the building of the most just society on earth. (*Prolonged applause.*) It is not a struggle of some individuals against others with the object of legalising their rule over the others; it is a struggle against oppression,

slavery and exploitation, a struggle for the happiness of all. We firmly believe that the time will come when the children and grandchildren of those who today do not understand and do not accept communism will live under communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, the tasks which the Twenty-Second Congress sets the Party and the people are truly great. It will require immense effort on the part of the entire Party and the entire people to translate our majestic Programme into reality. But we have all that is needed to fulfil this Programme. (*Applause.*)

The task now is to direct, without wasting a single day, all our efforts, the whole of the tireless, inexhaustible energy of our people, towards accomplishing the practical tasks of communist construction. (*Applause.*)

The Programme has been unanimously endorsed by this Congress. The task now is to realise it, with the fervour characteristic of Bolsheviks. (*Applause.*)

Our Congress is splendid evidence of the readiness and determination of the Party, of all Soviet people, to achieve their great aim, the construction of communism in our country. And there is no doubt whatsoever that communism will be built in the Soviet Union, for such is the will of the Party, of the people. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

After the Twenty-Second Congress the delegates equipped with the programme for building a communist society, will be returning to various parts of our great country. Our aims are clear, our course is charted. And we shall start fulfilling our Programme, not in the distant future but today. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, never before have our forces, the forces of world socialism, been as great as they are today. The new Programme opens before the Party and the people the most radiant, breath-taking vistas. The sun of communism

is rising over our country. Let us do everything to hasten, by our tireless labour, the day when this sun will flood with its light the boundless spaces of our wonderful country! Let us devote all our forces, all our Bolshevik energy, to the triumph of communism! (*Stormy applause.*)

Under the leadership of the glorious Leninist Party—forward to the victory of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Ovation. All rise. Voices: "Long live our Communist Party!", "Glory to the Soviet people!", "Long live communism!", "Long live friendship among the peoples!", "Glory to the fraternal Parties!"* Representatives of the fraternal parties of other countries can be heard saluting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The hall resounds with thunderous hurrahs.)

**TOAST AT A KREMLIN RECEPTION
ON THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

November 7, 1961

Dear Comrades, Friends, Messrs. Ambassadors of the capitalist countries!

Today is a festive day for Soviet people. We are celebrating the forty-fourth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind.

This revolution meant a sharp turn in our country's history. It was also a turn in world history. The October Revolution overthrew the capitalists and landlords, placed the working class in power, paved the way for deliverance from exploitation to all the peoples, and also from the wars into which they were dragged by the exploiting classes.

The first decree of Soviet power written by the immortal Lenin in the historic days of the October Revolution of 1917 was the Decree on Peace. The whole world learned in those days from revolutionary Petersburg not only of what the October Revolution heralded to the peoples of our country, but also of what it heralded to all the peoples. The Lenin Decree on Peace called for peace and a peaceful life for the peoples. We are true to these noble Leninist ideas, these Leninist behests. (*Applause.*)

Today, too, we call upon all the peoples, all the states to promote peace and friendship. Herein lay and lies the great force of our foreign policy, the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. (*Applause.*)

Today, some leaders abroad, particularly leaders of the NATO military bloc countries, reproach us because the Soviet Union has decided to hold nuclear weapons tests. What can we say in reply to this?

As I said at the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party, we would be happy if it were possible not only to avoid testing these weapons but to relieve mankind from them altogether. We would be happy if the other nuclear powers agreed together with us to manufacture no such weapons, to destroy them and thus stop testing them for all time. (*Applause.*)

I declare solemnly once again that the Soviet Union is prepared to do so.

It is said that experimental nuclear explosions are harmful to people's health. Yes, it has been scientifically established that they are harmful to health. But the use of nuclear weapons in a war is millions of times more dangerous not only to people's health, but to their very lives. Yet it is clear that these weapons are not being manufactured just to be stored away in the dumps.

We fully appreciate the feelings and aspirations of the people who wish to end nuclear weapons tests. This coincides with our feelings and aspirations.

Is there a way to end nuclear weapons tests once and for all? Yes, there is. That way is general and complete disarmament, on which the Soviet Union insists. It is the abolition of armies and armaments, including the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. (*Applause.*)

Our decision to hold nuclear tests was a forced measure taken in reply to the threats of starting a war against the Soviet Union if it signs a German peace treaty. In these conditions we would have betrayed the behests of the great Lenin, the interests of our Motherland, if we had not

seen to her security and shown concern for the life and well-being of the Soviet people, for the security of our friends. (*Applause.*) We trust that all honest people realise that we are doing this in the interests not only of our country, but also of world peace. (*Applause.*)

Thus, in order to end nuclear weapons tests it is necessary to stop threatening the Soviet Union, to achieve agreement on a German peace treaty, and to rid the international atmosphere of the inflammable material that has accumulated due to the policy of the Western Powers. And the main thing—it is necessary to agree to general and complete disarmament, and to carry it out. The matter rests now with the Western Powers. (*Applause.*)

As for the Soviet Union, it calls on the Western Powers to stop nuclear weapons tests, to sign an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control, to join the Soviet Union in concluding a German peace treaty, and to normalise the situation in West Berlin on its basis. (*Applause.*) The Soviet Union calls on all concerned to clear the international atmosphere of the dangerous tension. All this will effectively facilitate removal of the danger of a new war and the consolidation of international peace. (*Applause.*)

I ask you to raise your glasses to general and complete disarmament, to the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, to peace and friendship among nations. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH
AT A LUNCHEON FOR THE PRESIDENT
OF FINLAND

November 24, 1961

Dear Mr. President,
Dear Finnish Guests,
Dear Friends,
Comrades,

Mr. President, it gives us great pleasure to welcome you here, in Novosibirsk. Thousands of kilometres lie between this growing industrial and cultural centre of vast Siberia and the land of Suomi. But you did not hesitate to make the long journey here, Mr. President, because it was prompted by the national interests of your country, the interests of strengthening peace. You have thereby demonstrated once more your sincere devotion to peace and international co-operation, which we always highly appreciated and now appreciate.

When we suggested Novosibirsk as the place for our meeting, we naturally had our own "ulterior" motives, which I now take the liberty to reveal. We thought that in crossing our country from West to East you would again see at first hand that the Soviet people are preoccupied with peaceful constructive labour and want nothing but peace. Now, after the conclusion of the historic Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., which adopted the grand Programme of our Party—a programme of communist construction—our people are gripped by immense labour

enthusiasm and we are glad that your visit, Mr. President, is taking place at this memorable time.

Lately, many articles have been written and many statements made in the West about the Soviet Government's proposal to the Government of Finland concerning military consultations in connection with the increased threat of an armed attack by the West German militarists. Our ill-wishers have spared no effort to pass black off for white and to pervert this peaceful step of the Soviet Government. However, in spite of this smoke-screen, laid to mislead public opinion, the truth is gaining ground.

Strenuous efforts are being made to lull our senses with dulcet words about the "peacefulness" of the Bonn militarists and the "harmlessness" of their aspirations. They think that the great Soviet state can be duped like the foolish mouse of the well-known children's story. There is only one thing we can reply to this: Nothing will come of it.

Our country has learned its lesson once and for all from its many centuries of experience with regard to the ambitions of the German militarists and revenge-seekers, which are a peril to peace. The sad record of the past leaves no doubt in anyone's mind that the former Hitlerites who now control the West German Bundeswehr and are clambering to posts of command in NATO must not be given arms. Knowing their penchant for military adventures, we cannot trust their word, not even their most solemn pledges.

Some people in the West are trying to prove that the aggressive aspirations of the Bonn militarists are no cause for anxiety, because the present F.R.G. army is no more than the pug-dog of the Russian fable barking at the elephant. It is quite true that, as the saying goes, the Bonn militarists have guts too thin to impose their will on the mighty Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries, which are capable of delivering a devastating blow at an aggressor. But knowing the adventurism of the West German revanchists and militarists, we cannot be blind to the possibility of their provoking an armed conflict, and,

taking advantage of their NATO connections, inexorably drawing a number of other countries into it, even against the will of some of them.

You have probably heard that the joint communiqué issued after Adenauer's meeting with President Kennedy mentions the Chancellor's statement that West Germany has put all her armed forces at NATO's disposal. Adenauer is telling the truth, but not the whole truth. The Bundeswehr is indeed a part of the NATO forces. This means in effect that by setting the tune in that aggressive alignment, the Bundeswehr command headed by former Hitler generals and officers—dyed-in-the-wool militarists and revanchists that they are—is gaining control over the armed forces of all the NATO countries. Speidel and other Hitlerites now command not only the West German troops, but also the troops of their allies, and have thereby secured the chance to utilise them in the pursuit of their imperialist aims.

We therefore regard it as our prime duty to take all the necessary measures at once, before it is too late, to tie the hands of the West German militarists and revenge-seekers—who have the cheek to demand a revision of the post-war state frontiers—and thereby to strengthen the peace and security of all the peoples of Europe. It is these deeply peaceful wishes that prompted our proposals for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the normalisation on its basis of the situation in West Berlin.

It goes without saying that we cannot disregard the developments in the Baltic Sea area and in the North of Europe. In recent years the Soviet Government has done much to ensure that this region remains a peaceful and calm corner of Europe. Not only did we refrain from any military measures in the Baltic Sea basin. We went even further, and unilaterally closed down the naval base in Porkkala-Udd earlier than envisaged, began reducing our Armed Forces, advanced the proposal of an atom- and rocket-free zone in the North of Europe, and declared our

willingness to guarantee the status of this zone together with other Great Powers.

As we followed this course, which accords with the interests of all the North European peoples, we naturally expected other countries in the area of the Baltic and the North of Europe, and above all the NATO members, to follow suit.

But the answer to our peace-loving steps was intensified NATO war preparations in that area under the leadership and with the active participation of the West German militarists. And when, by the rights of a good neighbour, we tried to prevail upon the leaders of the Scandinavian countries party to NATO that this policy would lead to no good, they confined themselves to lame excuses and continued to extend their military and political ties with the Bonn military.

Mr. President, we know that you personally and the Government of Finland attach great importance to the maintenance of close, friendly relations with the Scandinavian countries. And we understand it, because Finland has much in common with these countries. Yet I take the liberty of saying what I think. We are firmly convinced that by yielding to pressure and demands on the part of NATO, and especially the military circles of the F.R.G., and by joining in ever new military preparations, Denmark and Norway are undermining their security and contributing to an aggravation of the situation in the North of Europe and the Baltic area, making the position of their neutral neighbours more complicated and shifting the peril emanating from the German militarists and revanchists closer to the shores of Finland and the Soviet Union. We therefore understand Mr. Kampmann, Prime Minister of Denmark, when he says that the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from Denmark. To be sure, we do not fear the Danish people, who are known to be peace-abiding, because we know that they stand firmly for peace. But we also know that Denmark, and Norway too, are being increasingly

drawn into the war preparations made by NATO and the F.R.G., and that the day may come when the West German militarists will take advantage of their positions in the North of Europe to involve those countries in armed conflicts with our country in disregard of their will and desire to live in peace with us. In these conditions we have to follow closely the developments in that area.

In the present situation, when the West German militarists and their patrons and allies of the NATO bloc have in reply to our peaceful proposals begun arming post-haste, turning on heat in international affairs over the West Berlin issue, we can no longer to our deep regret regard the North of Europe as the area of peace and tranquillity that it has been hitherto. This is why we sent a Note to the Government of Finland with the offer of drawing up joint measures to fortify the frontiers of Finland and the Soviet Union.

I must point out that after the Soviet Government Note to the Government of Finland was published, the Danish and Norwegian leaders continue regarding the military contacts of their countries with the F.R.G. through rose-coloured spectacles. The Norwegian Government invited West German War Minister Strauss to Oslo to discuss questions of military co-operation. As for the Danish Government, it started talks with the F.R.G. a few days ago concerning a joint Danish-West German military command, which will fortify still more the positions of the Bonn militarists in the North of Europe and the Baltic area. We would rather not think so, but it all looks very much like a kind of military demonstration.

It is said friendship is steeled in trials and difficulties. And we hope that the good-neighbour co-operation between the Soviet Union and Finland will develop and emerge even stronger from the complications in the international situation. I should like to stress that the increased international tension and the vital interests of both the Soviet and the Finnish peoples call for a further strengthening of all-round co-operation between our countries

and for the firm confidence that Finland will tomorrow, as it does today, adhere to its chosen foreign policy, the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, in which we in the Soviet Union have complete faith.

Finnish neutrality is an important guarantee that peace and tranquillity will prevail in the North of Europe and in the Baltic area.

We do not interfere, and do not want to interfere, in the home affairs of Finland or of any other country, but we would be poor statesmen if we did not follow closely the development of the political situation in countries along our frontiers. It is no secret, after all, that the foreign policy of a country is shaped by the people in power, and therefore it is not all the same to us what course is pursued by this or that leader and the political forces behind him, which strive for power.

Let me say frankly—and this is probably nothing new—that the activities of Finland's Right-wing groups, the Tannerites, aimed at undermining Finnish friendship with the Soviet Union, the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, are causing us grave concern. As we analyse the policy of those quarters, the statements in the press expressing their views, we ask ourselves whether they are trying to pave the way for the revival of a "brotherhood-in-arms" with the West German revenge-seekers and militarists. This is something we cannot overlook in the present international situation.

Mr. President, we are glad to exchange opinions with you on all the questions arising in connection with the international developments. Let me assure you that in solving these questions the Soviet Government is always striving to create the most favourable conditions for the further development and consolidation of friendship and confidence between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Finland. We are glad to see in you a statesman who sincerely shares our desire of friendship.

Permit me to raise a toast to your health, Mr. President, to Soviet-Finnish friendship and to world peace!

**SPEECH
AT THE FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS
OF TRADE UNIONS**

December 9, 1961

Dear Comrades, Friends,

Before conveying greetings to the Congress delegates, I should like to depart somewhat from the text I have prepared.

I am most deeply and pleasantly moved by the very cordial welcome and by the sympathy the comrades gathered here have shown me, as the representative of the great Soviet Union. Believe me, such welcome is particularly precious and pleasant to me, a worker, a former miner who knows what labour means. Like every working man I have had my share of toil. Therefore it is unpleasant to me when a single personality is glorified, personality cult is alien to me. I am happy not when I am greeted but when the praise accrues to my people, my working class. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The sympathy and kind sentiments you demonstrate, and the ardour of your hearts, I interpret as approval of the deeds accomplished by the working class of former Russia, now the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) It gives me great pleasure to thank you for this because it shows your correct understanding of our efforts and aspirations. And our efforts are concentrated on the building of communism! (*Prolonged applause.*)

I do not know whether all those present here uphold the principles of communist construction, although it naturally interests me. But that, indeed, does not show the character of a person. Those who do not understand communism today may become its supporters tomorrow because communism attracts people by its practical activity to promote the well-being and happiness of all mankind. And even if some people do not recognise communism today they are sure to accept it tomorrow. (*Stormy applause.*)

It may be said that Khrushchov is again handing out propaganda. If you think so, you are not mistaken. (*Animation. Stormy applause.*) Yes, I was, am, and always shall be a propagandist. As long as the heart continues beating in my breast I shall propagate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas of communist construction! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Shouts of approval: "Long live communism!"*)

I am a Communist, a representative of a great party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union created by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (*stormy applause*), a representative of the Party which is leading the working class to victory and is already reaping the fruits of its heroic struggle for the people's happiness. (*Applause.*) Our Party took shape deep underground, it worked in the gloom of the tsarist regime and reaction. At that time many of our enemies did not take seriously the strength of the Party Lenin was building up.

But Lenin was a great Marxist. He had a fine understanding of the mighty forces inherent in the Marxist theory, and he used to say: if we establish a party of the working class we shall overturn Russia with that party. Such a party, the Party of Bolsheviks, was established, and it worked out its first Programme. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, overthrew the tsarist regime in Russia, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism were victorious, the world's

first Soviet Socialist Republic was set up. (*Stormy applause.*)

At that time our country was ravaged by war and famine. But even then, while the Civil War was still in progress, while guns were still roaring throughout the Land of Soviets and Moscow was surrounded by the white armies, Lenin drew up the second Programme of our Party. This, comrades, was at a time when our enemies thought that the days of Soviet power were numbered, that Soviet Russia would at any moment cease to exist. Such was the time in which the Programme of socialist construction in our country was adopted.

The well-known English writer Wells wrote a book *Russia in the Shadows* in which he described Lenin as the dreamer in the Kremlin. Even that visionary, who wrote good science fiction, did not possess imagination enough to understand the real-life thinking of the great Lenin.

The first two Programmes of the Party were successfully implemented. Now we have adopted our third Programme, a programme of communist construction. And all this has been accomplished in something like fifty years. Is this not a feat of heroism performed by our Party, by the working class of our country, by the entire great Soviet people? (*Stormy applause.*)

Today, reading the Programme of communist construction adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress, our opponents, the enemies of socialism, no longer say that it is fantasy. On the contrary, they say today that it is necessary to mobilise the forces of the capitalist world, to show what capitalism is capable of. It is they who have to demonstrate. And to whom?

Yes, there now exists a force that compells them to demonstrate capitalism's potentialities to all the peoples of the world. This force is the socialist camp, the power of the creative ideas of Marxism-Leninism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, ideas inspire people in their struggle for their set aims. Therein lies their power. But when the ideas of Marxism-Leninism became, so to say, state ideas, when they acquired a material basis, they began to influence a greater number of people. A study of the theoretical propositions and the practical experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries now enables everyone to see to what great efforts nations are aroused by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism when the masses assimilate those ideas, when the working class, the working people, proceeding from those ideas, take power into their own hands and build their own state. This is a mighty force which nothing can resist. And let the imperialist, monopolist and all kinds of colonialist gentry—for they are one and the same—know that no prayers, no incantations can reverse the march of history to make it move in the opposite direction. Victory will be ours, comrades! (*Prolonged applause.*)

I take the cordial greetings you accorded me as a salutation to the ideas on which our Soviet state is built, as a salutation to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, as a salutation to the endeavours of our people who have raised high the red banner, have been carrying it for 44 years, and are scoring victories under it. (*Prolonged applause.*) If I am mistaken, tell me—I shall not take offence, I can uphold my ideas.

I must apologise to you, Comrade Frachon, for I said that my speech would take 25-30 minutes and promised not to depart from the prepared text, even though you did not limit me. But now you see that I have not quite kept my promise. (*Animation. Applause.*) I do not think you will judge me too severely for this, friends and comrades. (*Applause.*)

Dear comrades, friends, allow me, first of all, to thank you cordially for the great privilege of addressing this Congress which represents the broadest mass organisation of the international working class. On behalf of the Soviet

Government and the Soviet people I whole-heartedly greet all participants in the Congress and wish you success in dealing with the great and responsible tasks confronting the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It gives us pleasure to think that the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions is meeting in Moscow—the capital of the world's first socialist state, whence the voice of the victorious working class, the voice of socialism, peace and international friendship has resounded ever since the Great October Revolution. (*Applause.*)

The World Federation of Trade Unions is the child of the international working class, the embodiment of the growth of its organisation and class consciousness. Trade unions of all continents are represented at this Congress. It is being attended by delegates from trade unions of different trends and this makes your Congress a representative and truly world-wide assembly of working people.

The working class is the most progressive class in contemporary society, the exponent and the most active fighter for the realisation of the true ideals of those who labour. The time has come when His Majesty the Working Class has grown to such an extent, gained in strength and achieved such victories that it can determine the course of the historical development in favour of peace, democracy and socialism. The powerful forces of the working class, the forces of socialism are steadily pushing out the old world of the exploiters. (*Applause.*)

Workers are already masters of their own fate on vast expanses of our planet and are building up a new life in alliance with all working people. At the same time millions of their brothers—working people in non-socialist countries—are rising with increasing resolve to fight for their rights and their interests and are undermining the pillars of the capitalist exploiting system.

No class throughout the history of mankind has such great accomplishments as the working class has. The

working class has proved able not only to destroy the old world, the world of exploitation and violence, but able also to build up a new society, the society of socialism, of prosperous, happy and free life for the masses of the people.

Look at our country. In the course of 44 years of Soviet power the workers, peasants and Soviet intelligentsia have transformed the formerly backward Russia, have turned it into a country of advanced industry and agriculture, a country of high cultural achievement, into a country marching in the vanguard of mankind's progress. The Soviet sputniks and luniks, the miraculous spaceships, the first flights to outer space in history accomplished by the heroes Yuri Gagarin and Herman Titov, reflect with particular clarity the powerful development of productive forces, science and engineering, the flourishing of the creative genius of the free Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The working class of the Soviet Union, and later of the other socialist countries, has shown that it is a class which creates, a class which builds the most progressive socio-economic system, a class that is the vehicle of highest culture, of real civilisation. History provides a clear answer to the question of which social class can ensure the people peace, social progress, prosperity and happiness. This can only be done by the working class, by the masses of the people who have taken power into their own hands.

Our trade unions have played a big part in everything achieved by the Soviet people. Defining the role of trade unions in a socialist state, Lenin said that they should be a school of economic management, a school of administration, a school of communism. And they have become such a school. (*Applause.*) The trade unions have done a gigantic job in rallying and organising the working people, in developing emulation, in inculcating a new labour discipline. The trade unions have trained excellent contin-

gents of leading workers active in all spheres of production, state administration and culture. Trade unions take the lead and display initiative in everything that concerns government, the management of the economy, the life of the people and the raising of their cultural standards.

From the very first days of its existence, our socialist state has been inseparably linked with the international working-class movement and has relied upon its sympathy and support. Our people have always felt their class brothers side by side with them. We highly appreciate the support of the plain folk of all countries, their solidarity with our cause. Allow me to express to you—and through you to the entire international working class, all the workers of the world—the Soviet people's heartfelt gratitude for this fraternal support. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet working class, our whole people are, in turn, seeking to do everything to justify the trust of the international working class and to contribute by their achievements to its advance towards a bright future. We do not hide the fact that our road has been a hard one, we followed unexplored, untrodden paths. And we gladly share our experience with the workers of other countries, knowing that this experience will make their way easier.

The Soviet Union has now entered a new stage of development. The Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. adopted a programme for the building of a communist society whose banner proclaims its great aims: Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness. (*Prolonged applause.*) Many generations of people have dreamed of this just society, of a golden age. The greatness of Communists and of their Marxist-Leninist teaching lies in their having given expression to the best dreams of mankind and laid down true paths to the establishment of the justest society on earth. Now that we have our Party Programme, everyone can see plainly what com-

munism means and what benefits it brings the people. The whole Programme is permeated with one aim: "everything in the name of man, everything for the benefit of man." In our country the people have long acquired the right to work, to rest, to maintenance in old age, in the event of sickness or disability, and to education. Education and medical services in our country are free. Now we are making further advances. There will be a gradual transition to the maintenance of children and all those unable to work at the expense of society, free housing, communal services and transport, and free meals (lunches) at the place of work. The living standard of the Soviet people will be the highest in the world. (*Applause.*)

History has confirmed that only the working class is capable of ensuring true democracy. All exploiting classes remained and still remain in power only by means of harsh dictatorship, by suppressing the will of the majority. The imperialist bourgeoisie implements its dictatorship by brutal terroristic methods. As distinct from other classes, the working class does not strive to perpetuate its power. It rules the country by democratic methods, steadily expanding and improving them, enlisting all strata of society in state administration. The working class of the U.S.S.R. was the first in history to demonstrate this. (*Applause.*) With the completion of socialist construction and the entry into the period of full-scale construction of communism, the Soviet state, which came into being as a state of proletarian dictatorship, has become a state of the whole people. This is a graphic indication of the great democracy of the working class.

The period of communist construction is a period of the steady growth of the role of trade unions and other public organisations. Our general course is to develop the activity of all Soviet citizens and draw them into participation in managing the affairs of society, to promote the activity and broaden the functions of public organisations.

The significance of the trade unions in particular will greatly increase in this period. If we depict the whole of economic, cultural and social activities in our country as a ship piloted by such an experienced navigator as the Communist Party, then the trade unions will also have their place beside it on the bridge of this ship. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In our country no question of any importance is settled without the participation of trade unions. The trade unions are called upon to step up their activity in managing economy, to help the working people acquire the know-how in managing state and public affairs, to act as initiators in the emulation for communist labour, to show constant concern for the material interests and rights of the working people.

Comrades, the items on the agenda of the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions excite every working man and woman no matter in what country he or she lives. By its struggle for the interests of the working people the World Federation of Trade Unions has earned the deep respect of those who labour in all parts of the world. The WFTU adheres undeviatingly to class positions, fights consistently to extend the rights of the working class in the capitalist countries, to realise its social and economic demands. The working people particularly value the WFTU's resolute and consistent struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for general and complete disarmament, for the complete abolition of the disgraceful colonial system. (*Applause.*)

Under the conditions now obtaining, the question of questions is the struggle for peace, for the prevention of a thermo-nuclear war. The aggressive circles of the imperialist powers pursue the policy of intensifying the arms race, give new life to old centres of war danger and create new ones, intensify the cold war, and the most rabid among them openly call for a hot war. It is now

more important than ever before to mobilise all forces for the struggle against the war menace.

History has given the international working class special responsibility for the defence of peace. No working class leader, no worker in our time can fail to ask himself: has everything been done to mobilise and rally the peace-loving forces of the working people to struggle for the prevention of war?

The first and decisive step in this direction is to end the arms race and to work for general and complete disarmament. The arms race devours huge sums of money. Never before has mankind spent such great material values on the preparation of weapons of death. The world's expenditure on wars and preparations for war have amounted to over 4,000,000 million dollars in the first half of the century. This is a tremendous sum, enough to provide free bread for all the people on earth for half a century, or to build comfortable homes for 500 million families. Expenditures on armaments have particularly increased in recent times. By spending more and more billions on the arms race, the bourgeoisie takes away bread and butter from the worker, and milk from his children. But the most dangerous thing is that huge stockpiles of weapons for the destruction of people are being built up. Defence of the economic interests of the working people is inseparable from the struggle against the danger of a new war, against the arms race.

The Soviet Union, pursuing consistently the tried and tested Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, champions and will continue resolutely to champion, general and complete disarmament under international control and will do everything possible to prevent a new war. (*Prolonged applause.*)

To prevent the launching of a new war it is necessary to render the sources of war danger harmless in good

time, to regulate all unsettled international problems by negotiation.

The imperialists would like to settle international problems in their own way: strangle Cuba, drown in blood the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, annex the German Democratic Republic and, if it were possible, the other socialist countries too. But we have told them and tell them again: you, gentlemen, do not think realistically! The balance of forces in the world today is not what it used to be. The age of the undivided rule of the exploiters is over. Only madmen can dream of again shackling peoples with the chains of colonialism and imperialism. Nothing will come of it, gentlemen! Nothing will ever come of it! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Naturally, the predatory nature of imperialism has not changed. Imperialism has not become peace-loving. Its rapacity has not diminished. The fact is that the world has changed tremendously. It would do some imperialists no harm to have their brains scrubbed, the better to appreciate this fact. (*Applause.*) With the emergence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which already have a population of over a thousand million, with their successes in the development of economy, science and technology, the international working class has acquired a mighty material basis to curb the aggressors and prevent wars between states. It now has something to oppose to the forces of war. (*Applause.*)

Formerly we had only the solidarity of the working class, our ideas, to oppose to the forces of imperialism. But the imperialists had arms, they could start war at their discretion. The situation in the world today is different. Today, in addition to proletarian unity, in addition to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, there are in the world socialist countries with their population of more than a thousand million. Those countries have powerful armies, a flourishing economy, highly developed engineering, pro-

gressive science and culture. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) Therefore, speaking of the possibility of preventing world war we do not resort to prayers to rid us of wars but we point to the forces, to the might of the socialist camp, the strength of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the strength of the peoples fighting for peace! If an aggressor starts war, the Soviet Army will reply to the aggressor's blow with its own mighty devastating blow! (*Prolonged applause.*)

This is a deviation from the text, but in order that our opponents should not say that Khrushchov is resorting to threats, I say—we threaten no one. On the contrary, the Soviet Government calls for peace and disarmament. We only warn the hotheads: if you fail to understand the calls for peace and unleash a war against the socialist countries, unavoidable destruction awaits you. (*Prolonged applause.*) Victory is absolutely beyond your reach. The socialist camp now has everything to oppose the forces of war! (*Stormy applause.*) Not to see this means to underestimate the possibilities of the international working class and to overestimate the forces of imperialism. A correct understanding of this question is of great significance for the proper determination of policy under the conditions obtaining now that imperialism is no longer the dominant factor in international relations.

In elaborating our policy we proceed precisely from this understanding of the situation. Here is an example. We have carried out thermo-nuclear tests. Unfortunately not everybody has so far understood that this was a correct step forced on us by necessity. But this was a measure that had great importance for the preservation of peace. As a result of the tests that have been carried out, the forces of socialism, the international labour movement, have received a powerful new weapon for curbing the imperialist aggressors—the thermo-nuclear bombs of a capacity from 50 to 100 megatons and more. This is tremendous power, comrades!

It is, of course, a means of annihilation. But the imperialist camp is still pursuing the policy of Dulles, a "positions of strength" policy. And if we were to come out with a cross and with prayers, if we were to kneel before the imperialists and appeal to them for humanity, they would laugh at us and regard it only as our weakness and their strength. Instead of this we say: Messrs. imperialists, hold your horses! (*Animation. Stormy, prolonged applause.*) If you want to pursue a "positions of strength" policy, here is the strength that will oppose your strength, here it is! You do not yet possess 50- and 100-megaton bombs while the Soviet Union already has a bomb of even higher capacity than 100 megatons. (*Applause.*) We are not using and shall never use this weapon to obtain anything by threats. No! But we shall use this weapon if the enemy starts a war against the socialist countries. Let everybody whom it may concern, mark this well. (*Animation. Stormy applause.*) When the imperialists now have to decide the question of whether or not to unleash a war, the 50- and 100-megaton Soviet bombs will always be a sword of Damocles hanging over their heads. (*Applause.*) The question arises—what is the role of the nuclear rocket weapon in the hands of the Soviet state? Does it hold in check the aggressiveness, the rapaciousness, of imperialism? I believe, comrades, that our nuclear rocket weapon is a powerful factor holding the aggressive intentions of the imperialists in check. (*Applause.*)

The Western press alleges that when Khrushchov was speaking about the settlement of the German question he described some West European states as "hostage countries". We do not want any hostages, we do not want to frighten anyone, we want disarmament and the destruction of accumulated weapons, we want to live in peace and friendship with all peoples. Such is our goal, such are our ideals! (*Stormy applause.*)

But, dear sirs—I am addressing those ruling quarters

in the Western Powers on whom, to a great extent, the solution of international questions and guarantee of peace depends—take note of our warnings: if a war is started, this time it will not be a pleasant stroll like the one Hitler intended to take across the steppes of the Ukraine to Moscow and the Volga. He did reach the Volga, but he died in Berlin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We can assure the imperialists that this time they will not be able to march across the steppes of the Ukraine and the fields of the Soviet Union, because if there is a war it will be entirely different from those of the past. A devastating retaliatory blow will be dealt against any aggressor because the means of delivering thermo-nuclear weapons are now so powerful that they can deliver them to any point on the globe. If we could land the spaceships of Yuri Gagarin and Herman Titov at a prearranged spot, we could of course send up other “payloads” and “land” them wherever we wanted. (*Applause.*)

I am saying this that thick-skulled politicians may realise that our dispute about the course history may take should be settled not by war but in peaceful economic competition. If you, the ideologists of imperialism, believe in the stability of the capitalist system, why do you reach out your arms and want to start war against the socialist countries? Show us what capitalism is capable of. You are older than us in years, but socialism, figuratively speaking, is now a child whose muscles have so filled out that it is ready to enter into competition with capitalism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The world knows our programme for the next twenty years. We say that in this period we shall build communism in the main, we shall create the material and technical basis of communism. You say that the teaching of Marxism-Leninism is wrong. In that case it is only to your advantage that we err, that we have adopted wrong positions. But you capitalist gentlemen are wiser when you argue among yourselves than when you write about

communism for others. (*Animation. Applause.*) The more reasonable people in the capitalist world realise that capitalism will be superseded by the new, rising society.

We believe in our ideas, we believe in the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism, we believe that only along this road will mankind reach happiness. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

I know that not all of you in this hall are Communists, that not all of those present here share the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This, comrades and friends, is a personal matter for every individual. But do not take offence at me either, permit me to believe in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Many of you will realise the greatness of these ideas tomorrow, if you do not realise them today. The best teacher is life, history, and it teaches one the truth! I wasn't born a Communist, either, the capitalists taught me, and I became a Communist. (*Animation. Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Many honest people in various countries express concern over the harmful consequences of nuclear tests for the health of mankind. We understand their concern and we also strive to put an end to the explosion of thermo-nuclear bombs. But as long as the imperialists threaten us with war, the socialist countries have to think above all about preventing whole cities and millions of people from being destroyed by nuclear bombs and not about radioactive fallout from tests.

Comrades, in my talks with different people, I have to explain, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., our peaceful foreign policy. The imperialists are building up nuclear stockpiles in their countries and threaten us with war, and we would be short-sighted, we would be nincompoops if we, having the possibility to develop powerful thermo-nuclear weapons that would deter the aggressor, did not do so. Some people say that this will have a bad effect on the health of people. But had we not created such weapons we would have found

ourselves unarmed in the face of the armed imperialist camp.

Well, I said to such people, you want to create conditions that would enable the imperialist rulers to destroy not only all our gains but even the peoples of the socialist countries, while we, although understanding this, would not even carry out test explosions because they might pollute the atmosphere.

But if you imperialist gentlemen want to destroy us, we shall do everything we can to frustrate your intentions, and if you unleash a war we shall do everything to destroy in that war the imperialism which engenders wars. What is the use of fresh air if the imperialists are preparing death for people in the flames of a devastating nuclear war? What kind of statesmen would we be, if we failed to understand this and did not prepare to deal a crushing rebuff to the imperialist aggressors? In saying this I am referring to the Soviet leaders, to myself as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who enjoys the confidence of the people, as Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, who enjoys the confidence of the Party, because much depends on the direction in which we pursue and shall pursue our policy.

I am of the opinion that our peaceful foreign policy is the only correct, Marxist-Leninist policy. The course we have adopted, by which we are guided and which we follow, is the correct course, meeting the most vital interests of the peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We would be glad, not only to carry out no tests of nuclear weapons but to free mankind from them completely by banning their production and destroying the accumulated stockpiles. We have already said to the ruling circles of the Western countries and repeat again: stop pursuing a "positions of strength" policy towards other countries, agree to general and complete disarmament and the question of atomic tests will disappear in its entirety.

We are aware of the harm of the tests, we know that they poison the atmosphere. The imperialists cry loudly about this harm when we stage tests. But when they carry out tests themselves they prefer to say nothing about it.

The Soviet Union has now submitted new proposals for the conclusion of an agreement to discontinue nuclear tests; it is proposed that the powers in possession of atomic weapons should carry out no tests while the talks on this agreement are in progress. And with what result? Despite our appeal the Western countries are staging new tests of nuclear weapons. From this we draw the necessary conclusions. This makes it obligatory for us to keep a watchful eye on the military preparations in the West and gives us the right to continue our tests, whenever necessary, in order to continue building up the might of the socialist camp. And you certainly know that the might of the countries of socialism is placed entirely at the service of the cause of peace. (*Applause.*)

We have declared and declare again that war is not fatally inevitable. The united forces of the socialist camp, the working class, the trade unions, the national liberation movement, the peace-loving non-socialist countries are greatly superior to those of the imperialist camp. Those forces can prevent war if they are united, if they fight tirelessly against imperialism, the imperialism that is striving to spark off another war.

Considerable efforts are required to achieve a solution of international problems in the interests of peace and justice, in a way that takes into consideration the will and sovereign rights of the peoples. The point is that the aggressive forces of imperialism do not want a peaceful settlement. The Soviet Government proposed to conclude a peace treaty with Germany, to normalise the situation in West Berlin and thus strengthen the peace. To all these peaceful proposals the imperialist powers replied by war hysteria, by stepping up the arms race, they began to build up their armed forces in Europe, to carry out mo-

bilisation measures, and openly threaten with war if the Soviet Union signed the German peace treaty. But we are not to be intimidated.

Maybe the imperialists want to impose on us a competition in stockpiling weapons. They increased their military budgets, and we increased ours. Now the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has ended, and you have seen the budget it approved. In this budget we have provided for the building of factories and houses, the extension of the network of hospitals and schools, etc., but we have not forgotten to appropriate funds for defence either.

So, Messrs. capitalists, if you think of competing with us in this, you will be defeated too, because our economy, our Soviet system, our socialist state can ensure a rapid development of economy and culture within the framework of the adopted Programme of communist construction and, at the same time, keep our defences at the required level. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are for negotiations on the German question, but we are for genuine negotiations, that is, negotiations on a peaceful settlement, on the liquidation of the remnants of the Second World War. Some Western statesmen, on the other hand, would like to reduce the talks to the question of consolidating and "improving" the occupation regime in West Berlin. It is even proposed to establish some sort of international corridor to link West Berlin with West Germany, and to assign to us, so to speak, the role of a traffic policeman there. Strange people. One might think that they are in the state of lethargy and still consider the Soviet Union to be the country it was in the first years of Soviet power. But we have long since changed the boy's shorts for Daddy's long trousers. (*Animation. Applause.*) It is to be assumed that the authors of this idea do not take it seriously themselves. Do they really expect to persuade us to assume such an unenviable role? It is high time it were realised that this idea

is completely unrealistic and that it does not help to settle the problem.

The most reasonable solution of the German question is to conclude a peace treaty with both German states, establish West Berlin as a free city, ensure free access to West Berlin on the basis of an agreement with the country through which this line of communication passes. Such is the realistic solution of the German question which the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp uphold and will continue to uphold.

To curb the aggressors, increased activity on the part of all peace forces, and the international working class in the first place, is necessary. I believe you will agree with me that not everything has yet been done to bring into play all the forces of the labour movement so as to resist those who are preparing another war. The workers of the United States, West Germany, Britain, France, Japan, Italy and other capitalist states are no less interested in preventing another devastating war than the workers of the socialist countries. The international working class now has immeasurably increased possibilities and if it uses them, peace for mankind will be ensured. (Applause.)

The abolition of the disgraceful system of colonialism has tremendous significance for the consolidation of peace, for mankind's progress. We are in favour of all peoples shaping their own destinies, we want them to be free from both old and new colonialists. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America need no instructions or advice from colonialists. What path these peoples will choose is their own internal affair. The peoples that have passed through the tremendous school of struggle against the colonialists will decide themselves how to build their life and whose example to follow. The important thing is that a working class is growing up in all these countries and that class knows full well what to do and what path to follow. We wish all peoples of Africa, Asia and

Latin America freedom, the abolition of the remnants of colonialism, we wish them happiness and prosperity. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the working class of the Soviet Union, all the working people of our country, constantly demonstrate their solidarity with their class brothers in the capitalist countries and follow their heroic struggle with deep sympathy. They give full support to the great efforts of the World Federation of Trade Unions to increase the working-class struggle against the yoke of the monopolies. Class struggle, and not the reconciliation of the working class and its organisations with the exploiters—such is the great principle of the proletarian movement, the most important condition for its new victories.

As has been justly stressed at your Congress, unity of action by all contingents of the working class is of primary importance for the success of the labour movement. Now that the forces of reaction are uniting on an international scale in order to stifle everything advanced and progressive, it would be an irreparable mistake for the labour movement to withdraw to its national quarters and trade unions and fail to oppose a powerful labour front to the international front of reaction.

The trade unions, as mass non-party organisations of the working class, unite the working people of different political and religious convictions. This opens up broad prospects for unity of action and business-like co-operation of trade unions in the struggle for the class interests of the working people. Indeed, it is clear that all those who adhere to common class positions will always find a common language with each other, a common platform, and an acceptable form for unity of action. (*Applause.*) The time has come for representatives of different trade-union organisations to sit down at the same table and draw up a platform of struggle for the interests of the workers, of struggle against the war danger, for peace and for vital rights, national independence and social

progress. The working class of all countries has the same interests and the same aim, all workers are brothers. The militant slogan "workers of all countries, unite!" indicates the true path to the realisation of the ideals of the working class. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the Land of Soviets came into being with the slogans of peace and creative labour and it devotes all its endeavours to these noble aims. In the years of the Second World War, the Soviet people, by accepting the main blow of the rabid fascist barbarians and routing them, saved civilisation, saved many peoples from destruction and extinction. And today the Soviet people bears the main brunt in the struggle against the war menace, to save the world from the horrors of nuclear war. The principal aim of our foreign policy as set forth in the Programme of our Party is to co-operate with all the peace-loving peoples to deliver mankind from a destructive world war. Our people are engaged in peaceful creative labour.

It is said that it is better to see something once than to hear it a hundred times. Therefore, the Soviet Government invites the Congress participants to acquaint themselves with the life of the Soviet people, with the work of our economic, cultural and public organisations. You will see that they all work tirelessly for the welfare of the people, in the interests of the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the highest legislative body in the Soviet state, has in these days been in session close to this hall. The deputies discussed the economic development plan for 1962 and approved it. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. thus considered questions of the practical implementation of the programme of communist construction. And this is further convincing proof that the Soviet people is vitally interested in peace, that it was, is and will be a consistent and sincere fighter for peace. The Soviet people and its organisations extend a hand to all

who want to co-operate in the struggle to prevent a new world war. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Allow me once again, dear comrades, to wish you success in fulfilling your important mission of struggle for the vital interests of the peoples, for peace, national independence and social progress. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the international working class—the leading force of our time! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the solidarity, unity and brotherhood of the working people of all countries! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live durable peace on earth! (*Stormy, prolonged applause that became an ovation. All rose. Greetings were shouted in many languages. The Congress delegates enthusiastically sang the "Internationale".*)

REPLIES
TO QUESTIONS BY MINORU ODA,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF "CHUBU NIPPON SHIMBUN"

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. N. S. Khrushchov was approached by Minoru Oda, Editor-in-Chief of the Japanese newspaper, *Chubu Nippon Shimbun*, with the request to reply to his questions. Khrushchov's replies follow.

Question: What conditions do you think are essential for the maintenance of a lasting and stable peace?

Answer: You are quite right to put the question of peace on earth first in the list. The question of peace is the most burning question of our time, because it concerns the fate of all the peoples of the world, the fate of every individual.

What must be done to maintain lasting peace?

It is essential that relations between countries with different social systems should be based entirely upon the principle of peaceful coexistence, that countries should reciprocally reject war as a means of settling international disputes. The Soviet Union, as you know, is consistently following a policy based on the recognition of this principle.

In order to preserve and strengthen peace it is essential to solve the problem of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The Soviet Union has again and again proposed, and now proposes, that the nuclear-missile arms race be ended, that the entire inflated war machine of the countries be destroyed, and that war bases and all armaments, including the nuclear bomb stockpile, be eliminated and their manufacture prohibited for all time.

The current situation in Western Europe, where the remnants of the Second World War have not been removed to this day and a policy to strengthen the West German revenge-seekers and militarists prevails, is a grave threat to world peace. It is essential to end this extremely dangerous situation by signing a German peace treaty and normalising on its basis the situation in West Berlin through declaring it a demilitarised free city.

The consolidation of peace will be greatly promoted by the final abolition of the disgraceful system of colonialism. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America should be given an opportunity to decide their future for themselves and to be free from all forms of colonialism.

Active peace work by all the peace-loving peoples, including the people of Japan, which is able to make a substantial contribution to this noble cause, will be of decisive importance for the establishment of lasting peace on earth. I have been told the Japanese have a good saying: "Never put off a good deed". So I would like to wish the Japanese people in this new year of 1962 that they carry on the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of world peace with fresh vigour and determination.

Question: What do you think about the outlook in Soviet-Japanese relations, and, in particular, about the opinion widespread among the Japanese people that it is necessary to settle the territorial question?

Answer: I am sure that in spite of the existing difficulties, relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan can be greatly improved, since the peoples of the two countries stand to gain from it. As we have pointed out time and again, there is every opportunity for a further extension of mutually-advantageous commercial, cultural and scientific ties.

The Soviet Government has put in much effort to secure genuine good-neighbour relations between our countries. It will continue to strive for this end. But the development of ties between two countries depends on the good will of the two sides. We have to note with regret that the Japa-

nese Government, bound by its military agreement with the United States, does not as yet seek a full normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union. This is why it is again raising the so-called territorial question, although that question has been settled long ago and the Japanese Government itself has undertaken to abandon all claims to territories in the possession of the Soviet Union. To all appearances this question demonstrates not only the absolutely unrealistic attitude of certain Japanese quarters, but also the fact that Japan is under pressure from abroad on the premise that this will upset the Japanese and incite them against the Soviet Union. Evidently there are still people who would like to capitalise on a quarrel between the Soviet Union and Japan.

I can repeat again and again: no controversial territorial questions exist between the Soviet Union and Japan. This is quite evident from the pertinent international agreements.

What we are now asked to do, in effect, is to make certain territorial concessions to Japan. To be sure, speaking abstractly, one country may in certain circumstances meet another country halfway and voluntarily yield part of its territory for the sake of consolidating mutual ties and friendship. Such precedents are known in history. It may also be recalled that in its day the Soviet Government voiced its readiness to meet Japan's wishes and to examine the question of transferring the islands of Habomai and Shikotan to it in certain circumstances. But it was taken into account that the Japanese Government assured us at the time of its eagerness to maintain and develop friendship and good-neighbour co-operation with the Soviet Union. Subsequent developments, however, and above all Japan's concluding a new military treaty with the United States, indicated that the actions of the Japanese Government were at variance with its assurances. In these circumstances any concession on our part, far from improving Soviet-Japanese relations, could do damage to them and to the security of the Far East, and benefit those aggressive

foreign forces which are discharging military control over Japan and are sharpening their knives against the Soviet Union, using Japanese territory for this purpose.

I hope the Japanese people, who are eager to embark firmly on the path of independent peaceful development, have the right idea of the situation and appreciate our position. It appears that the Japanese Government, too, though it makes such claims, does not believe that they can be satisfied. One cannot seriously expect the Soviet Union to give up a part of its territory that can be used for the establishment of new bases against our country. The Japanese themselves would surely think us naive and short-sighted people if we did so. To put it briefly, it is out of the question.

This is how matters stand with the so-called territorial question.

We are optimists and are certain that the time will come when Japan will be free from foreign troops and bases, and that this will clear the path for the further development of good-neighbour relations between our countries. It is to be hoped that then there will be no difficulty in settling the practical questions which hang fire in the present circumstances, obtaining through the fault of the Japanese circles who are sacrificing the vital interests of their sovereignty and security for the sake of narrow designs connected with the transformation of Japan into a foreign war base.

I should also like to say that Japan and its people are losing very much due to the present state of relations between our countries, and, equally, due to the present state of Japan's relations with its other great neighbour, the People's Republic of China.

In conclusion, allow me through your newspaper to congratulate the Japanese people on the New Year and sincerely to wish them peace, happiness and prosperity.

*Published in "Pravda"
on January 1, 1962*

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED
BY AUSTRIAN PROFESSOR HANS THIRRING**

Dear Herr Thirring,

I have received your letter asking me to reply to some questions that seem to me to reflect the wish prevalent among many Western progressives to understand the substance of the important historic changes transpiring in the world and the desire to promote mutual understanding between countries with different social systems and an easing of the international tension.

I respond gladly to your request.

Question: Does the prediction of the final victory of communism throughout the world frequently made in their speeches by communist statesmen simply express their firm belief in the superiority of that system, or is the spreading of communism throughout the world purely and simply its ultimate goal to be pursued on all accounts?

Answer: Bourgeois propaganda deliberately spreads an incorrect idea of communism, attempting to sow seeds of mistrust in this great teaching.

Yes, we are firmly convinced in the complete and final triumph of communism. This confidence is based on a knowledge of the laws governing the development of human society discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin, which hold as good as the laws of nature in the sense that they operate objectively.

Communism replaces capitalism just as inevitably as feudalism replaced slave-owning society and capitalism replaced feudalism. And this does not happen because we want it to happen, but because the communist system secures a higher development of the productive forces than all the other formations, because it secures the maximum satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of every individual, genuine democracy and complete freedom for society and for each of its members. Capitalism, which is based on the exploitation of man by man, on the oppression of the majority by the minority, cannot survive the historical competition with the system which has inscribed on its banner the goal of delivering all men from social inequality, from all forms of oppression and exploitation, from the horrors of war, and which proclaims Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all the peoples.

“Revolution is not made to order,” our Party Programme says. “It cannot be imposed on the people from outside.” When and how communism triumphs in a country will depend on the people of that country. The Soviet Union adheres firmly to the position of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and consistently pursues the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Question: What proof could you furnish the opponents of communism that the proposal for the peaceful coexistence of the two different socio-economic systems presupposes recognition of the right of the two systems to exist and that, consequently, coexistence will also be a long-term condition that can continue without any time limit so long as either of the two systems justifies itself in peaceful competition within its own geographical region and conforms to the wishes of its population?

Answer: You have really asked two different questions: about the peaceful coexistence of the two different socio-

economic systems, and, as you put it, about the "right to exist" of a social system.

The problem of peaceful coexistence could not be simpler. Capitalist and socialist countries exist side by side on our planet. The rise of socialism was an inevitable objective historical development. However, the capitalist world categorically refused to recognise this, and has repeatedly resorted to war to destroy its unwelcome neighbour. Everybody knows the outcome of these attempts.

The sad experiences of the past and the new balance of forces in the world arena should, one would think, have taught the capitalist leaders not only to speak words of peace, but to shape their international policy accordingly. It is not war, not an arms drive, not the erection of ever new war blocs, that should settle the controversy between the two systems. In the final analysis, it will not be the system which produces the greatest quantity of means of destruction and of war bases that will triumph, but the system which provides man with a better life, that is, satisfies his material and spiritual requirements more fully.

The peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is an objective necessity in the development of human society in our time. The peoples and the states have only one choice: either peaceful coexistence and economic competition between socialism and capitalism, or a murderous nuclear-missile war. No other alternative exists.

By the way, the capitalist countries should be no less, if not more, interested in eliminating the war threat. The superiority is not on their side, they have lost it for good.

Peaceful coexistence is the general line of Soviet foreign policy. It springs from the very nature of our state, which has no classes or social groups interested in war, in the seizure of foreign resources, the enslavement of other peoples.

The Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has adopted an imposing programme. In

the next twenty years unprecedentedly powerful productive forces will be created, which will secure the world's highest living standard for Soviet citizens and satisfy their requirements. It is self-evident that a country which plans so great an advance in its peaceful economic development, which intends to invest 2,000,000 million rubles in its national economy over twenty years, has set its sights on peace, and not on war.

The Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-economic and political systems does not merely imply an absence of war, a state of temporary and unstable armistice. It presupposes the maintenance between these countries of friendly economic and political relations and envisages the establishment and development of a variety of forms of peaceful international co-operation.

What practical steps must be taken for this end? The Soviet Union has made not a few concrete proposals, whose adoption would guarantee lasting peace. The realisation of the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament under strict international control, the immediate abolition of the disgraceful colonial system, the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the normalisation on its basis of the situation in West Berlin would remove the chief causes of the existing international tension, destroy the very machinery of war and enable all peoples to go calmly about their peaceful and creative labour.

As before, the Soviet Government is ready to do its utmost to resolve the burning international problems by peaceful means, by negotiation based on due consideration for the interests of all the parties concerned.

Firmly convinced of the advantages of the socialist system, the Soviet Union offers the capitalist countries peaceful competition. In long-term peaceful competition unrestricted by any fixed time limit the people will see that the socialist system is the most just and the most progressive, and that the future belongs to it.

As for the "right of existence" of this or that social system, this right may be effected solely by the peoples themselves, by whether or not the system in question accords with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. Some people in the capitalist countries nurture the idea of setting conditions to the socialist countries: we are prepared to coexist with you peacefully, they say, if you guarantee that capitalism will exist for ever.

To this we reply: Gentlemen, we want to keep the peace with you, we favour economic competition. The socialist countries do not intend to interfere in other people's affairs and to export revolution. But neither is anybody entitled to export counter-revolution to other countries, to crush and suppress peoples when they try to fling off the capitalist yoke and to remould their life along new and just principles.

At a meeting with members of the Austro-Soviet Society during my visit to Austria in 1960, which I always recall with great satisfaction, I said that you cannot drive people to paradise with a club, or to drive them to communism by means of war. When people realise that communism alone will give them a truly free and happy life, they will come running of their own free will. This position of ours stems from the substance of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and no honest man in the West should be unclear or doubtful on this score if he does not deliberately pervert the aims of the Communists and the policy of the socialist countries.

It is the people itself that judges which of the two existing systems—the socialist or the capitalist—"justifies itself". This question is settled by history. It is being settled now in favour of socialism, which gives people prosperity, freedom and peace on earth.

Question: Are you also of the opinion that if Karl Marx could rise from the grave today and see with his own eyes how our society has changed since 1848 due to the appearance of nuclear weapons, rockets, new technology, auto-

mation of production and means of mass communication, he would speak on many points differently than in the *Communist Manifesto*?

Answer: The genius of Marx and Engels enabled them to see far into the future, to discover the key objective laws governing the development of human society and to determine the most typical features of communism. The supreme service they did lies in their having created a scientific theory of communism and thereby showing the only correct way of destroying the material and spiritual slavery in which the oppressed classes languished.

In the hundred odd years since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* tremendous changes have occurred in the world in the fields of science and technology and in the development of society. The world is far different today from what it was in Marx's time. A new social system, socialism, has emerged and is progressing well, and the bottom has been knocked out of the world colonial system. Capitalism, too, which entered the imperialist stage of development at the turn of the twentieth century, has undergone certain changes. However, the substance of capitalism as a society based on the exploitation of man by man remains unchanged, just as it was in Marx's time, and the intrinsic contradictions of capitalism have become still more acute.

The opponents of Marxism are trying to prove that capitalism has changed into something halfway between capitalism and socialism. They go to the length of substituting expressions like "welfare state", "people's capitalism", "economic humanism", etc., for the very word "capitalism". The big changes transpiring currently in science and technology are presented by these opponents of Marxism as the beginning of a new epoch of prospering capitalism. But this playing about with pretty words cannot repudiate the obvious facts: scientific and technical progress does not, and cannot, alter the substance of capitalism as a social formation. Scientific and technical development has

not eliminated antagonistic classes and class contradictions in capitalist society. For all that the worker has substituted an excavator for a spade, he suffers brutal capitalist exploitation. This exploitation is absolutely inescapable under capitalism. Such is the law of the capitalist social system.

Marxism is a living and creative teaching that has nothing in common with dogmatism and outdated formulas. After Marx, Lenin enriched Marxism with the most important new theoretical conclusions. All of the experience of our time, the emergence and development of the socialist community and the growth of its might, and the extensive spreading of socialist and communist ideas throughout the world incontrovertibly confirm Lenin's words that Marx's teaching is all-powerful, because correct.

The Communists of the Soviet Union, who are creatively developing the ideas of Marx and Lenin, have drawn up a new Party Programme. The realisation of this Programme will enable them to give effect to the age-old dream of mankind about a society without classes, without social and national oppression, without wars. If Marx were among us today, among the Communists of the mid-twentieth century, he would see communism's triumphant march across the earth, rejoice over the realisation of the great ideas set out in the *Communist Manifesto*, and would proudly say: "Yes, the ideas of communism are alive and triumphant. The future belongs to them."

Respectfully,
N. KHRUSHCHOV

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on January 3, 1962

**DIARY OF VISITS,
TALKS AND RECEPTIONS
1961**

- January 3* Government delegation of Indonesia calls on N. S. Khrushchov
- January 4* N. S. Khrushchov receives Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources of Pakistan
- January 4* P. Thorsteinsson, Ambassador of Iceland to the U.S.S.R., calls on N. S. Khrushchov
- January 10* N. S. Khrushchov receives a delegation of cultural workers from Ecuador
- January 13* N. S. Khrushchov receives K.P.S. Menon, Ambassador of India to the U.S.S.R.
- January 18* N. S. Khrushchov receives a delegation of the Japan-U.S.S.R. Society
- January 21* N. S. Khrushchov receives Llewellyn E. Thompson, Ambassador of the United States to the U.S.S.R.
- February 13* N. S. Khrushchov receives Ahmed Mestiri, Ambassador of the Republic of Tunisia to the U.S.S.R.
- February 13* Mohamed Awad el-Koni, Ambassador of the United Arab Republic to the U.S.S.R., calls on N. S. Khrushchov
- February 14* N. S. Khrushchov receives F. Korurturk, Ambassador of Turkey to the U.S.S.R.

- February 18* N. S. Khrushchov receives Minister Mo-
hammad Jamin, Chairman of the National
Planning Council of Indonesia
- March 9* N. S. Khrushchov receives Llewellyn
E. Thompson, Ambassador of the United
States to the U.S.S.R.
- March 27* N. S. Khrushchov receives a government
delegation of the Rumanian People's
Republic
- March 27* N. S. Khrushchov receives K.P.S. Menon,
Ambassador of India to the U.S.S.R.
- March 28* N. S. Khrushchov receives János Kádár,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,
and Ferenc Münnich, Chairman of the Hun-
garian Revolutionary Workers' and Peas-
ant's Government and member of the Polit-
bureau, Central Committee of the Hunga-
rian Socialist Workers' Party.
- March 30* N. S. Khrushchov receives Antonin No-
votny, First Secretary of the C.C. of the
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and
President of the Czechoslovak Socialist
Republic, Viliam Široký, member of the
Politbureau of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
and Chairman of the C.S.R. Government,
and Otakar Šimunek, Deputy Chairman of
the C.S.R. Government
- March 30* N. S. Khrushchov receives a government
delegation of the People's Republic of
Bulgaria
- March 30* N. S. Khrushchov receives a government
delegation of the Mongolian People's Re-
public

- March 30* N. S. Khrushchov receives a government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic
- March 31* N. S. Khrushchov receives a government delegation of the German Democratic Republic
- March 31* N.S. Khrushchov receives Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Defence of Ceylon
- March 31* N. S. Khrushchov receives General Ne Win, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Burmese Union
- April 1* N. S. Khrushchov receives Llewellyn E. Thompson, Ambassador of the United States to the U.S.S.R.
- April 4* N. S. Khrushchov receives Yen Chi-chuang, Minister of Foreign Trade and head of a government trade delegation of the People's Republic of China
- April 5* N. S. Khrushchov receives Prime Minister of Afghanistan Sardar Mohammed Daoud
- April 7* N. S. Khrushchov receives John Bernal, Executive President of the World Council of Peace
- April 7* N. S. Khrushchov receives Prime Minister of Afghanistan Sardar Mohammed Daoud
- April 7* N. S. Khrushchov receives a delegation of Members of Parliament of Libya
- April 10* N. S. Khrushchov talks with Walter Lippmann, U.S. political commentator
- April 18* N. S. Khrushchov talks with Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Laos
- April 24* N. S. Khrushchov receives Hans Kroll, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the U.S.S.R.

- May 3 N. S. Khrushchov receives a delegation of Members of Parliament of the United Arab Republic
- May 3 N. S. Khrushchov receives Leao de Moura, head of a Brazilian trade delegation
- May 4 N. S. Khrushchov receives a youth delegation from Cuba
- May 17 N. S. Khrushchov receives Roeslan Abdulgani, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council of Indonesia
- May 20 N. S. Khrushchov receives Ghanshyam Dass Birla, Indian industrialist
- May 22 N. S. Khrushchov receives M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General of India
- May 25 N. S. Khrushchov receives K.P.S. Menon, Ambassador of India to the U.S.S.R.
- May 25 N. S. Khrushchov receives Abdi Rashid Shermarke, Prime Minister of the Somali Republic
- May 26 N. S. Khrushchov receives a delegation of Members of Parliament of Bolivia
- June 3-4 N. S. Khrushchov meets John F. Kennedy, President of the United States
- June 5 President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia Ahmed Sukarno visits N. S. Khrushchov
- June 6 N. S. Khrushchov receives Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Laos Prince Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvang, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Hak Sat' Party
- June 9 N. S. Khrushchov talks with Ahmed Sukarno
- June 9 N. S. Khrushchov talks with members of a delegation from Nigeria
- June 20 N. S. Khrushchov receives Abdul Wahab

- Mahmoud, Ambassador of the Iraq Republic to the U.S.S.R.
- June 27* Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Pham Van Dong calls on N. S. Khrushchov
- June 29* A Party and Government Delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic calls on N. S. Khrushchov
- June 30* N. S. Khrushchov receives Prince Souphanouvang
- July 3* N. S. Khrushchov receives Pham Van Dong
- July 8* N. S. Khrushchov receives Koca Popovič, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia
- July 11* N. S. Khrushchov receives Subimal Dutt, Ambassador of India to the U.S.S.R.
- July 11* N. S. Khrushchov talks with Kwame Nkrumah, President and Head of Government of the Republic of Ghana
- July 23* N. S. Khrushchov sees Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, and Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party
- July 26* N. S. Khrushchov receives John McCloy, special assistant to the U.S. President for Disarmament
- July 27* N. S. Khrushchov receives Pham Van Dong
- July 31* A Party and Government Delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic calls on N. S. Khrushchov
- July 31* N. S. Khrushchov receives diplomatic representatives of African countries
- August 2-3* N. S. Khrushchov negotiates with Amintore Fanfani, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy
- August 5* N. S. Khrushchov receives Sadok Mokad-

- dem, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia
- August 7* N. S. Khrushchov receives Cesar Barros Hurtado, Ambassador of Argentina to the U.S.S.R.
- August 7* N. S. Khrushchov receives Bashir Ben Abbas, Ambassador of Morocco to the U.S.S.R.
- August 7* Ambassador of Yugoslavia Lazar Mojsov calls on N. S. Khrushchov
- August 8* N. S. Khrushchov receives Raymond Schmittlein, French public figure
- August 10* N. S. Khrushchov receives a Brazilian delegation headed by João Goulart, Vice-President of Brazil
- August* N. S. Khrushchov talks with Drew Pearson, U.S. journalist
- August 27* N. S. Khrushchov sees Kwame Nkrumah
- August 29* N. S. Khrushchov sees Kwame Nkrumah
- August 31* N. S. Khrushchov receives Leslie Plummer and Konni Zilliacus, British political leaders and members of Parliament
- September 4* N. S. Khrushchov sees Maurice Thorez
- September 6* N. S. Khrushchov receives Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India
- September 6* N. S. Khrushchov receives Prime Minister of the Republic of India Jawaharlal Nehru and President of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah
- September 7-8* N. S. Khrushchov sees Jawaharlal Nehru
- September* N. S. Khrushchov talks with Cyrus Lee Sulzberger, *New York Times* foreign affairs commentator
- September 14* N. S. Khrushchov receives Ahmed Mestiri, Ambassador of the Republic of Tunisia
- September 14* N. S. Khrushchov receives Mamadou Fadia-

- la Keita, Ambassador of the Republic of Mali to the U.S.S.R.
- September 14* N. S. Khrushchov receives Sori Caba, Ambassador of Guinea
- September 14* N. S. Khrushchov receives Hisanari Jamada, Ambassador of Japan to the U.S.S.R.
- September 15* N. S. Khrushchov receives Paul Reynaud, French political leader
- September 16* N. S. Khrushchov receives an Iraqi military delegation
- September 16* N. S. Khrushchov receives Dr. Subandrio, Deputy First Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia
- September 16* N. S. Khrushchov talks with Osvaldo Dorticos, President of the Republic of Cuba
- September 18* N. S. Khrushchov receives Sardar Mohammed Naim, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan
- September 19* N. S. Khrushchov receives a government delegation of the Congo Republic (capital in Brazzaville)
- September 19* N. S. Khrushchov receives Paul-Henri Spaak, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Belgium
- October 9* N. S. Khrushchov receives Abdul Hakim Shahalami, Ambassador of Afghanistan to the U.S.S.R.
- October 9* N. S. Khrushchov receives Mohammed Murad Ghaleb, Ambassador of the United Arab Republic to the U.S.S.R.
- October 9* N. S. Khrushchov receives Gabriel Lucio Arguelles, Ambassador of Mexico to the U.S.S.R.
- November 3* N. S. Khrushchov receives Giuseppe Co-dacci-Pisanelli, President of the Inter-Parliamentary Union

- November 4* N. S. Khrushchov talks with János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government
- November 4* N. S. Khrushchov receives Blas Roca and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, members of the national leadership of the United Revolutionary Organisations of Cuba
- November 5* N. S. Khrushchov receives D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Indonesia
- November 6* N. S. Khrushchov receives a delegation of the German Democratic Republic
- November* N. S. Khrushchov sees Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Viet Nam and President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
- November 9* N. S. Khrushchov receives Luis Carlos Prestes, Chairman of the national leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party
- November 9* N. S. Khrushchov receives Hans Kroll, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the U.S.S.R.
- November 24* N. S. Khrushchov sees President of the Republic of Finland Urho Kaleva Kekkonen
- December 1* N. S. Khrushchov receives Foreign Minister of Norway Harvald Lange
- December 18* N. S. Khrushchov receives Alpha Diallo, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Republic of Guinea
- December 18* N. S. Khrushchov receives John Banks Elliot, Ambassador of the Republic of Ghana to the U.S.S.R.

- December 26* N. S. Khrushchov receives Jasui Kaoru, Chairman of the Japanese National Council Against Nuclear Weapons
- December 27* N. S. Khrushchov receives Mahjoubi Ahar-dane, Minister of National Defence of the Kingdom of Morocco and Chairman of the Popular Movement Party
- December 27* C. Mijatovič, Ambassador of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia to the U.S.S.R., calls on N. S. Khrushchov
- December 30* N. S. Khrushchov receives General Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland Ville Pessi, and Member of the Politbureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of Finland, Paavo Koskinen

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