

CONTENTS

Malenkov's Speech Before the Supreme Soviet.....	7
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, MEASURES FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN THE U.S.S.R., Report Delivered at a Plenary Meeting of the C.C., C.P.S.U., September 3, 1953	31
The Decree on Developing Animal Husbandry.....	51
Decree on Increasing Output of Consumers' Goods.....	63
Decree on Increasing Output of Food Products.....	85
TOWARDS ABUNDANCE, Results of the Fulfilment of the 1953 State Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.....	124
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years, 1953- 1964.....	129
Plenum of the Central Committee, 23 February - 2 March 1954.....	129
MEETING OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, February 8 and 9, 1955.....	134
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO THE 20th PARTY CONGRESS, February 14, 1956.....	146
REPORT by N. A. BULGANIN, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the 20th CONGRESS of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, On the Directives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the USSR 1956-1960, THE DIRECTIVES of the Sixth-Five Year Plan as approved by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, February 1956.....	176
Directives of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. on the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the U.S.S.R.	

(1956-60), (Adopted unanimously on 25 February 1956)	210
BOOKLETS on the 20th CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U., speeches of V.M. MOLOTOV, G.M. MALENKOV, A. I. MIKOYAN, M.A. SUSLOV,	217
D.T SHEPILOV.....	217
SPEECH BY A. I. MIKOYAN, Member of the presidium of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., 16 February	218
SPEECH BY M. A. SUSLOV, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. at the 20th CONGRESS of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February 16, 1956.....	226
SPEECH BY D.T. SHEPILOV, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. AT THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, FEBRUARY 16, 1956.....	232
SPEECH BY G. M. MALENKOV, Member of the presidium of the central committee of the C.P.S. U. and Minister of Power Stations of the U.S.S.R. at the 20TH CONGRESS of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February 17, 1956.....	250
SPEECH BY V. M. MOLOTOV, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. at the 20th CONGRESS of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union February 18, 1956	270
RESOLUTIONS OF THE 20th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, (February 1956).....	274
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953- 1964.....	286

22 January 1957.....	287
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964.....	289
Plenum of the Central Committee 13-14 February 1957	290
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964.....	299
Plenum of the Central Committee 22-29 June 1957	300
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964.....	302
Plenum of the Central Committee 25-26 February 1958	303
N. S. KHURSHCHOV, CONTROL FIGURES FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. FOR 1959-1965, Report and Concluding Speech Delivered at the 21st Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union January 27 and February 5, 1959.	310
RESOLUTION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U. ON THE REPORT OF COMRADE N. S. KHRUSHCHOV "CONTROL FIGURES FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965", CONTROL FIGURES FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965.....	344
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964.....	360
26 June 1959.....	360
Report by Nikita Khrushchov to the USSR Supreme Soviet, May 5, 1960.....	363

THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM, DOCUMENTS OF THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, October 17-31, 1961.....	371
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, 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.....	371
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, REPORT TO THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U., October 18, 1961.....	403
F. R. KOZLOV, AMENDMENTS TO THE RULES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, REPORT TO THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U., October 28, 1961.....	423
RESOLUTION OF THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U., (Adopted Unanimously on October 31, 1961)	424
ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, RESOLUTION OF THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U., (Adopted Unanimously on October 31, 1961).....	437
PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.....	437
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953- 1964.....	466
Plenum of the Central Committee 5-9 March 1962	466
Meat Prices Raised to Cover Costs, Spur Output.....	471
Khrushchev Tells Cubans of Farm Price Problem.....	486

Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964.....	490
23 November 1962.....	490
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964.....	501
18 January 1963.....	501
Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964.....	510
Plenum of the Central Committee 14 October 1964	510
Communiqué [On the retirement of Khrushchev], 14 October 1964.....	510

THE CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS

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Each week the Current Digest of the Soviet Press presents a selection of the contents of the Soviet press, carefully translated in full into English, or objectively condensed by competent editors, and arranged by subject matter. The translations are presented as documentary materials without elaboration or comment. They state the opinions and views of the original authors, not of the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies appointed by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. These materials are published in order that they may be of direct assistance to persons engaged in the research and interpretation of public affairs.

Malenkov's Speech Before the Supreme Soviet

Session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.—SPEECH BY COMRADE G. M. MALENKOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. (PRAVDA and Izvestia, Aug. 9, pp. 1-4. Complete text:) Comrade Deputies! The draft of the state budget submitted by the government to the present session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet completely ensures the financing of the tasks Connected with the development of the national economy in 1953, the third year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Accomplishment of these tasks will be an important step forward on the path of building a Communist society in our country.

The state budget reflects the policy of the Soviet government and of our party aimed at development and steady progress of the socialist national economy.

Of the budget revenue, totalling 543,357,000,000 rubles, the greatest part, 86%, Comes from Industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy. In turn, financing of the national economy Is the largest Item among budget expenditures.

For the further development of the national economy, the 1953 budget provides 192,500,000,000 rubles, or more than 36% of all budget expenditures, as compared with 178,800,000,000 rubles last year. Apart from budget allocations, under the national economic plan almost 98,000,000,000 rubles are assigned to this same purpose from funds of enterprises and economic organizations received from their profits and other

sources. Thus altogether more than 290,000,000,000 rubles will be assigned to financing the national economy in the Current year, ;IS Compared with 265,000,000,000 in 1952. In this connection one must bear in mind that the ruble's purchasing power has increased as a result of the price reduction which has been carried out and consequently the amount for financing the national economy is actually being increased even more.

Funds assigned for development of the national economy ensure the uninterrupted growth of social production as the basis for further advance in the public welfare and further strengthening of our country's defense capacity.

The state budget reflects the Soviet state's concern for a steady rise in the working people's living standard and cultural level.

Expenditures for education, public health, social and cultural services, pensions and payments to the population on bonds of the state loan amount this year to 139,500,000,000 rubles, compared with 129,600,000,000 in 1952. In addition to this, expenditures of budget funds have been made in order to reduce state retail prices, providing the public with a gain of more than 46,000,000,000 rubles a year, and to carry out a number of other measures directly calculated to improve the people's material well-being.

All in all, the public will receive from the current year's budget, 192,000,000,000 rubles, constituting 36% of all budget expenditures, compared with 147,000,000,000 rubles last year. At the same time, the working people will contribute 65,000,000,000 rubles to the budget out of their personal earnings, through taxes, assessments and subscriptions to the state loan, or 21,000,000,000 rubles less than last year. Consequently, this year the workers,

collective farmers and office employees will receive from the budget 127,000,000,000 rubles more than they will contribute to it from their personal incomes; In 1952 the public received 61,000,000,000 rubles more than it contributed to the budget.

The state budget envisages defense expenditures totalling 110,200,000,000 rubles. This sum represents 20.8% of the entire expenditure side of the budget, compared with 23.6% in 1952.

In proposing that this sum be allocated to defense spending, the government proceeds from the fact that we are obliged to perfect and strengthen the Soviet armed forces untiringly in order to ensure the security of our motherland and to be ready to give a crushing rebuff to an aggressor who might seek to disturb the peaceful life of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

1. On Immediate Tasks In the Sphere of Industry and Agriculture and Measures for Further Improvement of the Well-Being of the People. —Comrades! In connection with the discussion of the budget I should like to speak of certain immediate tasks in the sphere of industry and agriculture, solution of which would enable us to accomplish more successfully our main task—ensuring further improvement in the material well-being of the workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia, all the Soviet people.

The economic results attained in the first six months of 1953, just as the results in the years 1951 and 1952, show that our industry is successfully meeting the goals of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The volume of industrial production in 1953 will be approximately two and a half times as great as in the pre-war year 1940.

The growth in output of the basic branches of heavy

industry is characterized in the following data..

In 1953 output will be as follows: more than 38,000,000 tons of steel, more than twice the 1940 figure; more than 320,000,000 tons of coal, 93% more than in 1940; more than 52,000,000 tons of oil, almost 70% more than in 1940; more than 16,000,000 tons of cement, nearly three times as much as in 1940; 133,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electric power, 2.8 times as much as in 1940. Output of the chemical industry in 1953 will be triple what it was in 1940; production of machinery and equipment will increase to 3.8 times the 1940 figure.

As for the production of consumers' goods, the picture is as follows.

In 1953 there will be produced 5,300,000,000 meters of cotton textiles, 34% more than in 1940; more than 200,000,000 meters of woollen fabrics, approximately 70% more than in 1940; more than 400,000,000 meters of silks, more than five times as much as in 1940; 3,600,000 tons of sugar, almost 70% more than in 1940; 400,000 tons of butter, exceeding by almost 80% the pre-war industrial production of butter.

These figures are graphic evidence of the successes attained by our Industry.

It is known that the Party began the industrialization of the country by developing heavy industry—metallurgy, the fuel and power industry and expansion of our own machine building. Assuring the independence of our motherland would have been Inconceivable without this. The Party firmly and unswervingly maintained its line in the struggle against the Trotskyite and right-wing capitulators and traitors who opposed building up heavy industry and demanded the transfer of funds from heavy industry to light Industry. Adoption of these proposals

would have meant the doom of our revolution, the doom of our country, for we should have been disarmed in the face of capitalist encirclement.

Recollect, Comrades, what our industry was like when the Party set its course toward industrialization of the country. On the eve of the 14th Party Congress—in the economic year 1924/25—only 1,868,000 tons of steel were produced in the Soviet Union, only 16,520,000 tons of coal were mined, and the power plants turned out less than 3,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity. In output of ferrous and nonferrous metals, coal, oil and electric power, we took bottom place as compared with the big capitalist states. We had no tractor, automobile, aviation or tool-building Industries, and there was no chemical industry or agricultural machine building to speak of.

Today our country has a powerful and technically perfected heavy industry.

In the 28 years which have elapsed since the 14th Party Congress manufactured goods output has increased 29 times. The increase of production today over that of 1924/25 is as follows: steel 21 times, coal 19 times, electric power 45 times. The chemical industry and machine building, most branches of which were established from scratch, have grown at an even faster rate.

During this time new Industrial centers were established in the Volga region, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, areas of the European North, Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. We possess a well developed heavy industry In all the economic regions of our country.

Solution of the problem of developing heavy industry as the prime task fundamentally changed the correlation between heavy and light industry in the total volume of

industrial output.

Heavy industry now employs approximately 70% of all industrial workers. While means of production constituted 34% of the total of goods produced by U.S.S.R. industry in 1924/25, they constituted 58% by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan—in 1937—and in 1953 approximately 70%.

Thus, heavy industry, which in 1924/25, as in prerevolutionary Russia, accounted for only one-third the total volume of industrial production, today accounts for more than two-thirds the total volume.

Along with the development of heavy industry, rail and water transport have grown and developed in our country. Motor and air transport have been established. In the period from 1925 to 1953 freight shipment by all forms of transport increased 13.5 times; freight shipment by rail increased more than 15 times.

We shall continue in every way to develop heavy industry—metallurgy, the fuel, power, chemical and lumber industries, machine building, the building industry—and to develop and improve our transport. We must always remember that heavy industry is the foundation of foundations of our socialist economy, for without its development it is impossible to ensure further growth of light industry and growth of agriculture's productive forces and to strengthen our country's defense capacity.

Today, on the basis of the progress we have made in the development of heavy industry, we have all the necessary conditions for bringing about a sharp rise in production of consumers' goods.

We have every possibility to do this and we must do it. During the past 28 years production of means of production as a whole increased approximately 55 times in our country, while production of consumers' goods

increased only about twelvefold in this period. Comparison of the 1953 production level with the level of pre-war 1940 shows that during this interval as well the output of means of production more than tripled but production of consumers' goods increased 72%.

The volume of production of consumers' goods which has been attained cannot satisfy us.

Hitherto we have not had the opportunity to develop light and food industry at the same rate as heavy industry. Now we can and consequently we must accelerate the development of light industry in every way in the interests of securing a faster rise in the living standards and cultural level of the people.

Over a long period we channelled capital investment mainly into development of heavy industry and transport. During the years of the five-year plans, i.e., from 1929 to 1952, following state funds, calculated in today's prices, were invested in capital construction and the acquisition of equipment: in heavy industry, 683,000,000,000 rubles; in transport, 193,000,000,000; In light industry, 72,000,000,000, and in agriculture, 94,000,000,000.

The government and the Party Central Committee consider it necessary to increase considerably the investment of funds in development of light industry, the food industry, particularly fishing, and agriculture, to make adjustments in the direction of substantially increasing the plans for production of consumers' goods, and to give machine-building and other heavy industry plants a greater part in production of consumers' goods.

It is our pressing task in two to three years to raise sharply the supply to the public of foodstuffs and manufactured goods—meat and meat products, fish and fish products, butter, sugar, confectionery, yard goods, clothing, footwear, cooking utensils and tableware,

furniture and other cultural and household goods; to make a substantial increase in the supply to the public of all consumers' goods. (Stormy applause.)

As is known, the Fifth Five-Year Plan provides that production of consumers' goods in 1955 shall be approximately 65% greater than in 1950. We have the possibility of developing production of consumers' goods in such volume as to meet this goal of the five-year plan considerably before 1955.

However, we cannot be satisfied merely with increased volume of output of consumers' goods. The quality of all manufactured consumers' goods is a question of no less importance.

It must be admitted that we have been lagging behind as regards the quality of items of mass consumption and we must resolutely correct this matter. Many enterprises still turn out articles of unsatisfactory quality which do not meet the demands or satisfy the tastes of the Soviet consumer.

Mass consumers' goods produced by our industry, while generally durable, leave much to be desired in finish and appearance. To the shame of our workers in industry, the consumer not infrequently prefers to buy articles of foreign make merely because they are more attractive. Yet we have every opportunity to produce attractive fabrics of good quality, clothing which is smart and well made, durable and elegant footwear. We have every possibility for attractively finishing all articles and satisfying the requirements of the public.

The Soviet people have the right to demand of us, and above all of the workers in industry producing mass consumers' goods, durable, well finished articles of high quality. It is our duty to meet this demand with action. It is the duty of every enterprise to produce high-quality

goods and to exhibit constant concern for this durability and attractive appearance of the articles.

It is our task to make a sharp improvement in the production of consumers' goods and to ensure faster development of light and food industry.

But in order to bring about a sharp expansion in production of consumers' goods we must first of all concern ourselves with further development and growth of agriculture, which supplies the public with foodstuffs and light industry with raw materials.

Our socialist agriculture has made great progress in its development. The communal economy of the collective farms is growing and becoming stronger year by year and the output of agriculture is increasing.

Our country is fully supplied with grain. Deliveries to the state of cotton, sugar beets and meat and dairy products have considerably increased as compared with pre-war times. In 1952, 3,770,000 tons of raw cotton were delivered, 1.7 times as much as in 1940, and 22,000,000 tons of sugar beets, almost 30% more than in 1940. Deliveries of meat to the state last year amounted to 3,000,000 tons, one and one-half times the amount of deliveries in 1940; deliveries of milk came to 10,000,000 tons almost 1.6 times as much as in 1940. In addition to deliveries to the state, our agriculture provides large quantities of meat, milk and other foodstuffs through cooperative and collective farm trade.

Deliveries of grain and of other farm products are proceeding in well organized and successful manner this year also.

Great progress has been made in providing agriculture with new and up-to-date machinery, which has made it possible to mechanize many forms of work completely, to lighten the labor of the collective farm

peasantry and to make its work more productive.

The successes of agriculture are considerable and constitute an indisputable achievement of our collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations, state farms and our socialist system.

However, it would be a serious mistake to fail to note the lagging of a number of important branches of agriculture and the fact that the present level of agricultural production does not correspond to the increased technical equipment of agriculture and the potentialities inherent in the collective farm system.

We still have quite a number of collective farms and even entire districts where agriculture is in neglected condition; in many districts of the country the collective and state farms obtain low yields of grain and other crops and have big losses in harvesting; as a result of poor development of the communal economy, some collective farms still have insufficient incomes in cash and in kind and pay little in cash, grain and other products for the collective farmers' workdays.

It must be admitted that matters are still unsatisfactory as regards the development of animal husbandry and in this respect we are still far from satisfying the growing requirements of the public for meat, milk, eggs and other livestock products. It is known that animal husbandry was insufficiently developed before the war also. Although much has been done since the war to re-establish and increase the herd of cattle, the lag in development of animal husbandry has not yet been overcome. The rate of increase in the herd of cattle is insufficient and the meat and dairy yields still remains low. On many collective farms communal animal husbandry has not yet become the highly productive and highly profitable branch of farming which it should be. All

this has an adverse effect on the economic condition of the collective farms and harms the national economy.

There is also a grave lag in production of potatoes and vegetables, which prevents better supply of these products to the population of cities and industrial centers, not to mention the fact that the shortage of potatoes retards the development of animal husbandry.

It is one of our very important duties to put an end as fast as possible to the neglected state of agriculture in the lagging districts and collective farms, to see to development and strengthening of the communal economy of collective farms and on this basis to increase considerably the payment in cash, grain and other products to collective farmers for their workday units.

We must end the intolerable lag in development of animal husbandry, establish a firm fodder base, provide premises for cattle and poultry, and secure a sharp rise in meat and dairy yields and a faster increase in the number of head of cattle, particularly cows.

We must overcome the lag in production of potatoes and vegetables in order to make substantial improvement in supply of these items to the population of cities and industrial centers and within the next few years bring the production of potatoes and vegetables up to a volume which would fully meet not only the demand for them on the part of the public and industry, but also the needs of animal husbandry for potatoes.

It is our duty to secure a further, more rapid increase in production of grain, bearing in mind that this is necessary for the country not only in order to satisfy the population's growing requirements as regards bread, but also for rapid development of animal husbandry and supply of grain to districts which produce technical crops. In order to intensify the struggle against harvest losses

and to increase the actual harvest of grain and other crops it is necessary to put an end to the incorrect practice whereby the results of the collective farms' work in production of grain and other crops were assessed not by the actual harvest but by the apparent harvest yield. It must not be forgotten that our country, our collective farms can be rich only in crops actually stored in the barns, not in crops still out in the fields. (Applause.)

We must continue to develop technical crops in every way, particularly cotton, flax, sugar beets and oil-bearing crops.

It is our immediate task to secure in the next two to three years the establishment in the country of an abundance of food-stuffs for the public and of raw materials for light industry on the basis of general development of the whole of agriculture and further organizational and economic strengthening of the collective farms. (Applause.)

In order to succeed in accomplishing this task the government and the Party Central Committee have deemed it necessary to carry out a number of important measures to secure the further rapid development of agriculture—first and foremost, measures to raise the economic interest of collective farms and collective farmers in developing the lagging branches of agriculture.

One cannot regard as normal the existing situation in which necessary economic stimuli have been created for collective farms and collective farmers to develop some branches of agriculture and some crops, such as cotton, sugar beets, tea and citrus fruits, while there is insufficient economic encouragement by the state for developing production in a number of other branches—potato and vegetable cultivation and especially animal husbandry.

There is, of course, no question of lowering the economic stimuli for collective farms and collective farms to increase the production of cotton, sugar beets and other crops which are strongly encouraged by the state. On the contrary, it will be necessary to continue to look after further thorough development of these important crops.

But It Is a matter of applying a number of measures to raise the material interest of the collective farms and collective farmers in increasing the production of potatoes and vegetables and the development of animal husbandry.

Without increasing the retail trade prices and while unswervingly maintaining the policy of further lowering them, the government and the Party Central Committee have decided to raise the prices paid this very year for meat, milk, potatoes and vegetables supplied to the state by the collective farms and collective farmers as obligatory deliveries; to organize extensive state purchases of surpluses of grain, vegetables, potatoes, meal, milk, eggs and other farm products at higher prices from collective farms and collective farmers who have completed their obligatory deliveries; to develop collective farm trade extensively, aiding the collective farms in organization of the sale of surpluses of farm products at collective farm markets and through the consumers' cooperatives.

Together with raising the material interest of the collective farmers in developing the communal economy of the collective farms, the government and the Party Central Committee have decided also to amend and substantially change the incorrect attitude which has taken hold among us toward the private auxiliary establishment [i.e., garden plot and private livestock] of

the collective farmer.

It is well known that while the communal economy constitutes the main strength of the collective farm, each collective farmer, under the Collective Farm Statutes, has an auxiliary

farmstead to satisfy certain personal needs of the collective farm family, since these needs cannot yet be met fully by the artel economy.

In consequence of the defects existing among us in tax policy with regards to the collective farmers' private auxiliary farmsteads, there has been a decrease in recent years in income to the collective farmers from their private auxiliary farmsteads and a reduction in the number of cattle, particularly cows, privately owned by the collective farm households, which is in contradiction to our party's policy in the sphere of collective farm development.

In this connection the government and the Party Central Committee have deemed it necessary to bring about a considerable reduction in the quotas of obligatory deliveries from the collective farmers' private auxiliary farmsteads and have decided, as Finance Minister Comrade Zverev has already announced, to alter the system of assessing the collective farmers' agricultural tax, reducing the cash tax on each collective farm household by an average of approximately half and cancelling entirely the existing arrears of the agricultural tax of past years. (Applause.)

The state budget provides appropriations for raising the prices paid by the state for meat and dairy products, potatoes and vegetables, and allows for changes in revenue in connection with the reduction in the agricultural tax and the obligatory deliveries of meat and dairy products by collective farmers. Through the

measures for the economic encouragement of collective farms and collective farmers and also through the measures in the sphere of tax policy, the collective farms' and collective farmers' incomes will be increased in 1953 alone by more than 13,000,000,000 rubles, and over a full year by more than 20,000,000,000 rubles.

The state budget also provides appropriations for carrying out new, additional measures for greatly improving the mechanization and electrification of agriculture, for increasing the production of mineral fertilizers and for increasing agronomical and zootechnical help to the collective farms.

Among the most important measures are the following:

- the establishment in the M.T.S. of permanent cadres of tractor drivers, machine operators and workers with other specialties, since lack of such permanent cadres of machine operators is one of the main causes of the unsatisfactory utilization of machinery in agriculture;

- improvement in supplying agriculture with machinery and tractors; especially cultivator tracks, and strengthening the repair facilities of the M.T.S.;

- extension of work on electrification of agriculture both by building new rural power plants and by connecting the M.T.S. and state and collective farms with the state power grids;

- a considerable increase in supply of mineral fertilizers to state and collective farms;

- assigning to each collective farm for steady work one or two agricultural specialists, who will be maintained on the staffs of the M.T.S.;

All these measures will greatly facilitate the successful solution of the main task confronting the collective farms, M.T.S. and state farms—the task of

comprehensively raising the harvest yield of all crops, increasing the head of livestock and raising its meat and dairy yields, and increasing the gross and marketed product of fanning and animal husbandry.

In the current year the state proposes to spend on the development of agriculture a total of approximately 52,000,000,000 rubles out of the state budget and other state funds. It should also be borne in mind that in the current year the collective farms will receive from the state 3,500,000,000 rubles in long-term credits for the development of their communal economy. Out of their own funds the collective farms will make capital investments totalling not less than 17,000,000,000 rubles in 1953.

Comrades! We are faced with great tasks in developing agriculture. There is no doubt that if all our collective farmers and agricultural workers, all our industrial workers, engineers and technicians in industry producing farm machinery and fertilizers, if we all apply ourselves with determination and perseverance to our common task of further developing agriculture and do not begrudge it either effort or means, the task of creating an abundance of foodstuffs for the public and raw materials for light industry in the next two to three years will be successfully met. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)



The task of comprehensive development of trade, of improving the organization of state, cooperative and collective farm trade, becomes more important than ever in connection with the further development of industry producing consumers' goods and the development of agriculture.

Our Soviet trade serves the interests and needs of the people. It is called upon to serve socialist society, to assist the development and strengthening of socialist production and to link it with popular consumption. The extensive network of state and cooperative stores, stalls, warehouses and bases on the collective farm markets bring to the people the varied assortment of consumers' goods produced by our industry and agriculture. Soviet trade is also a vital link in the general system of production and economic relations between state industry and collective farming.

Trade under socialism is and will remain for a long time the basic form of distribution of consumers' goods among members of socialist society, the basic form by which the growing individual demands of the workers will be satisfied.

In order that Soviet trade may successfully perform functions vitally necessary to socialist society, we must show constant concern for its comprehensive development. The government is daily concerned with questions of the development of Soviet trade. This finds its reflection in the ceaseless growth of the volume of goods directed into the trade network, in the systematic lowering of prices of food and manufactured goods, in the expansion of the network of trade enterprises, in wide assistance to the collective farms in the sale by them of surpluses of agricultural output.

In order to satisfy the growing purchasing power of the population, the government took additional measures in recent months to develop trade by increasing the production of mass consumers' goods and deliveries of goods to the market from other sources; a large number of machine-building factories have been converted to production of mass consumers' goods. As a result of

these measures goods to the value of 32,000,000,000 rubles will be sold in the current year over and above the 312,000,000,000 rubles' worth initially allocated for sale to the public between April and December, 1953. (Applause.) In addition, stocks of goods in great demand among the population, in particular cotton, wool, and silk fabrics, ready-made garments, furniture, cooking utensils, fats and vegetable oil, sugar, fish, meat and preserves, have been increased. The sale of wheat flour of the best grades has been increased. Sale to the public of lumber and building materials and such manufactured goods as cars, motorcycles, bicycles, household refrigerators, clocks, television sets and radios has also been increased.

These measures are beginning to show results. As is well known, the volume of retail trade in 1952 rose 10% by comparison with the previous year. In the first quarter of the current year it increased 7% and in the second quarter 23% by comparison with the corresponding periods of last year.

But this is insufficient. The present volume of trade cannot satisfy us. There are serious deficiencies in the very organization of trade itself; in a number of districts not all articles needed by the population are sold. There are frequently occasions when a buyer has to go to another city or another district to buy this or that article.

Trade and planning organizations must carefully study the public demand for goods. The need for thorough consideration of the public's demand all its various needs stem from the very nature of Soviet trade. Only thus is it possible to organize better distribution of stocks of goods throughout the country's districts.

The task is to have sufficient stocks of food and manufactured goods in the next two to three years so

that all necessary goods may be bought in every city and every rural district.

The five-year plan provides that retail trade through the state and cooperative outlets in 1955 shall be approximately 70% greater than in 1950. We have every possibility of meeting this goal even in 1954. (Applause.)

Trade organizations have a great responsibility for the quality of mass consumers' goods. Trade must widely use all its economic levers to influence production toward increasing the output of goods demanded by the public and reducing production of goods for which the public shows no demand.

Comrades! Further Improvement of housing conditions and health services and enlargement of the network of schools and children's institutions are of great importance in improving the public welfare.

Despite the fact that we engaged in extensive housing construction prior to the war and even more in the years since the war, the need for housing is still far from met and an acute shortage of housing is felt everywhere, This is particularly true in the cities, because the urban population of our country has greatly increased. While the urban population was 26,000,000 in the 1926 census and 61,000,000 in 1940, it is approximately 80,000,000 today.

State capital investments in housing construction for this year have been considerably increased, and the total volume is almost four times the expenditures for this purpose in pre-war 1940. But housing construction is still proceeding badly, plans for housing construction are still not fully met, and funds allocated by the state for this purpose are still not fully utilized. Many executives of ministries and local Soviet and Party organizations do not pay sufficient attention to housing construction. We still

have many executives who do not bother about housing. When new enterprises are erected, sufficient housing for the workers and employees often is not built and as a consequence great manpower difficulties often arise. Many builders have acquired a deep-rooted habit of opening new houses to tenancy when many building details are unfinished or negligently finished. This lowers the quality of the housing and arouses justified indignation of the workers.

The task is to improve housing construction and to ensure unconditional fulfilment of the state plans for construction and repair of dwellings.

We also need more schools, medical establishments and children's institutions. The national economic plan for 1953 envisages a 30% increase over last year in the building of schools, 40% in the building of kindergartens and nurseries, and 54% in the building of hospitals.

Despite all the deficiencies, the building of schools, hospitals and children's institutions this year is proceeding faster than other kinds of building. However, there are many instances of the funds allocated not being fully used, and construction of schools and children's institutions is often delayed. The plan for building children's institutions is being badly met at light industry enterprises, where, as is well known, many women work and therefore the question of kindergartens and nurseries takes on particular importance. The building of children's institutions is proceeding unsatisfactorily in the Ukraine, Belorussia and a number of provinces of the Russian Republic.

Great responsibility for extending the network and improving the functioning of schools, hospitals, nurseries and kindergartens rests with the Ministry of Public Health, the Union republic Ministries of Education, and local

Soviet and Party organizations, upon whom it is incumbent to increase their concern for the building of schools, children's institutions and hospitals and to pay more attention to this matter.

Comrades! In order to meet the urgent tasks which face us in the sphere of industry and agriculture and in the matter of improving the welfare of the people, it is necessary to raise all our economic and organizational work to a new and considerably higher level.

It would be wrong not to see the substantial defects in work of state and economic agencies, defects which cause considerable damage to the national economy. The decisions of the 19th Congress of our party spoke of this. It must be admitted that the ministries and local Party and Soviet agencies are still fulfilling the Congress directives unsatisfactorily and are not taking necessary steps to improve the work of directing the enterprises. The task is to eliminate energetically the existing shortcomings.

An example of unsatisfactory direction of the enterprises is the lack of attention by our economic, financial and planning agencies to questions of reducing the unit costs of output.

It is well known that unit costs are the basic evidence of the quality of all work of an enterprise. Yet many business executives, forgetting this, are little interested in the question of profitability of an enterprise. In a number of branches of industry the state plan goals for lowering unit costs of industrial output and for increasing labor productivity were not met in the first six months of this year. Industry still has many unprofitable enterprises where the unit cost of a product is greater than the established price of the product; the losses of such enterprises are covered by profitable and properly

functioning enterprises. The existence of unprofitable plants, factories and mines which live at the expense of advanced enterprises undermines the foundations of cost accounting in our industry, does not create the necessary incentives for further increase in accumulations and has an adverse effect on increasing the revenue of the state budget.

In the coal and lumber industries there are very many unprofitable enterprises and the losses are very high. For a number of years many enterprises in these branches have not fulfilled the plans for lowering unit costs and raising labor productivity. As a result, the unit cost of products of the coal and lumber industries is still high, and high unit costs of coal and lumber prevent lowering the prices not just of these products but also of many other types of manufactured articles.

Losses of unprofitable industrial enterprises amounted to 16,000,000,000 rubles in 1952; Considerable losses were suffered by unprofitable enterprises in the first six months of 1953 also.

A bad situation with regard to meeting the plan goals for lowering unit costs prevails not only in industry: building costs are still high and losses still great in the majority of building organizations; many Machine and Tractor Stations do not meet the plan goals for unit cost of work; the matter of lowering unit costs of river transport is still unsatisfactory and the tasks of reducing costs in trade are not being accomplished.

A decisive requirement for reducing unit costs is growth of labor productivity in all enterprises. We have every possibility for more successful solution of this task. The advanced technology in our enterprises, correctly used, provides the opportunity to lighten the labor of the workers more and more and to ensure steady growth in

labor productivity. Of great importance for increasing the productivity of social labor and lowering the unit cost of products is correct, rational organization of production, raising the proportion of workers directly engaged in the basic production process at the expense of subordinate maintenance and auxiliary personnel.

The lowering of unit costs and increasing labor productivity in all branches of production is of decisive significance for improving the material welfare of the Soviet people. The higher the productivity of labor in our enterprises, the lower the unit cost, the lower are the prices of all products and goods and the higher the standard of living of the people.

The task is to put an end to the negligent attitude to questions of the unit cost of products, to see to systematic lowering of unit costs and to make every enterprise profitable.

In order to solve more successfully the tasks facing us, it is necessary to raise substantially the responsibility and quality of work of all the units of state administration and economic management.

Amalgamation of the ministries was carried out and the powers of Ministers were considerably extended in recent months. These measures are yielding good results in the management of the economy and have made it possible to economize almost 6,500,000,000 rubles this year. But it must be admitted that maintenance of administrative staffs is still costly. The government will continue to improve the work of the state apparatus and cut its maintenance costs more determinedly. At the same time, it must be said that we shall have to make certain corrections to the reorganization of the ministries in connection with the new tasks of further growth of various branches of the national economy.

Our national economy is confidently advancing along the path of further sharp progress. The source of our strength is the great activeness and initiative of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia. We have great opportunities for accomplishing our chief task—the maximum satisfaction of the steadily growing material and cultural demands of the people. We are firmly convinced that we shall rapidly attain great successes in accomplishing this task. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

II. International Situation and Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union. Comrade Deputies! In reviewing our domestic questions we cannot, naturally, disregard the international situation.

The International situation at present is characterized first and foremost by the great successes achieved by the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the entire camp of peace and democracy in the struggle to ease international tension, strengthen peace and prevent a new world war.

In the East there has been an end to the slaughter which carried off a tremendous number of human lives and which was fraught with the danger of the most serious international complications.

...

(p.3-8)

**N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, MEASURES FOR THE
FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF
AGRICULTURE IN THE U.S.S.R., Report
Delivered at a Plenary Meeting of the C.C.,
C.P.S.U., September 3, 1953**

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Moscow 1954**

Comrades, the big successes achieved by the Soviet people in the development of socialist industry make it possible for the Communist Party and the Government to proceed to an effective solution of the problem of creating an abundance of articles of popular consumption in our country.

The great Lenin taught that "the only possible material basis for socialism is a large-scale machine industry that is also capable of reorganizing agriculture."* Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people have created a comprehensively developed heavy industry which serves as the mighty foundation of the socialist economy. With this foundation, it is now practically possible to organize a steep increase of output of all the light industries and the food industry, and considerably to expand the production of articles of popular consumption, since the basic purpose and main task of the socialist mode of production is the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society.

But in order to organize this steep increase of output of articles of popular consumption, our agriculture must be advanced at accelerated speed.

* V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 32, p. 434

The most vital and important task of our national economy in the present stage is, while continuing to the utmost to develop heavy industry, to secure a steep increase of output in all branches of agriculture and sharply to increase the supply of foodstuffs to all the peoples of our country within the next two or three years, and at the same time to ensure a higher level of material prosperity for our entire collective-farm peasantry.

However, it must be said with all frankness that the enormous potentialities latent in our large-scale socialist agriculture are being utilized unsatisfactorily. We have quite a number of backward and even retrograde collective farms and whole districts. In many collective farms and districts crop yields are still low. Productivity of agriculture, especially in the case of animal husbandry and the growing of fodder crops, potatoes and vegetables, is increasing very slowly. A marked discrepancy has arisen between the rate of development of our large-scale socialist industry, of the size of our urban population and the material standards of our working masses on the one hand, and the level of agricultural output on the other.

In general, our country's cereal requirements are being satisfied, in the sense that our country has all the grain it needs, our Government maintains the necessary reserve stocks, and we are to a certain extent exporting grain. As the living standards of our working people rise, the popular demand for bread tends to diminish in favour of meat and dairy products, vegetables, fruit and so on. But precisely in these branches of agriculture there is to be observed in these past years a marked discrepancy between the rapidly growing requirements of the people and volume of output. The lag of a number of major branches of agriculture is impeding the further

development of the light and food industries, and retarding the growth of incomes of the collective farms and collective farmers.

What are the reasons for the general inadequate level of agricultural output, and for the lag of a number of major branches of agriculture?

The Communist Party has consistently pursued the course of developing heavy industry to the utmost, as an essential condition for the effective development of all branches of the national economy, and in this respect it has achieved eminent success. To this primary problem of the national economy we directed our chief attention and assigned the bulk of our forces and resources. Our most competent personnel were engaged in the work of industrializing the country. We were not in a position to ensure a high rate of development of heavy industry, and of agriculture and of light industry at one and the same time. The necessary prerequisites for this had to be created. Now they have been created. We have a powerful industrial base firmly established collective farms, and trained forces in all fields of economic development.

But there are other reasons for the lag of a number of major branches of agriculture, reasons rooted in shortcomings in our work, in defects in the guidance of agriculture, reasons, that is, which depend upon ourselves.

First among these reasons is the infringement in a number of branches of agriculture of the principle of material incentive. That every enterprise and every individual worker must have a material interest in the returns from labour expended is one of the basic principles of socialist management. V. I. Lenin pointed out that the transition to communism would require a long

series of years, and that in this transitional period the economy would have to be built not relying on enthusiasm directly, but, with the aid of the enthusiasm engendered by the great revolution, on personal interest, on personal incentive, on economic advantage. Otherwise, V. I. Lenin added, "you will never get to communism, you will never lead these scores upon scores of millions of people to communism."*

Yet the facts show that this principle of material interest, of giving a material incentive to all engaged in the work, is not observed in a number of major branches of agriculture.

...

Further, cardinal principles of the Rules of the Agricultural Artel are infringed in many of the collective farms. Comrade Stalin said that the corner stone of the artel form of the enterprise is the principle of properly combining the common interests with the personal interests of the collective farmers, while subordinating the personal interests to the common interests. It was in accordance with this guiding principle that the Rules of the Agricultural Artel laid down that, side by side with the socially conducted enterprises of the collective farm, which is the chief and all important enterprise, every collective farm household has the right to maintain a small personal husbandry of its own. This auxiliary husbandry is necessary so long as the socially conducted enterprise of the collective farm is not sufficiently developed and is unable fully to satisfy both the common needs of the collective farm and the personal requirements of the collective farmers.

This cardinal principle of artel enterprise has been infringed in many of the collective farms. That could not but result, and has indeed resulted, in a reduction of the

number of cows, sheep and pigs in the personal husbandries of the collective farmers.

...

One not unimportant reason for the serious lag of some branches of agriculture is the distinctly unsatisfactory utilization of the abundant and powerful machinery which the state has supplied to the machine and tractor stations. Hand labour still predominates in a number of branches and processes of farm work. While the growing of grain crops, sugar beet and cotton is highly mechanized, the mechanization of such important branches as animal husbandry and the growing of potatoes, vegetables; flax and other crops lags behind. Tractors and other machines are unsatisfactorily utilized in many of the MTSs.

One important reason for the serious lag of a number of branches of agriculture is the unsatisfactory guidance of collective farms, MTSs and state farms by party, soviet and agricultural bodies, especially in the selection, placing and training of agricultural personnel and in the conduct of Party political work in the rural districts.

Mention, lastly, should be made, of reasons, which depend on the collective farms themselves, on their chairmen, management boards and members. In many of the artels labour discipline is still low and not all the members contribute their full share to the work of the collective farm. Not everywhere is the work of the collective farmers efficiently organized. There are still too many instances of an unconscientious and negligent attitude towards socially-owned property.

The further development of socialist agriculture is aimed at promoting the prosperity of the people. We know that since the victory of socialism popular consumption has been steadily rising. In the past 28

years production of articles of popular consumption has increased roughly twelve-fold, and there has been a considerable increase, in particular, in the supply of foodstuffs to the population. However, the prosperity of the Soviet people, their purchasing power, their standards have risen even faster, and the production of food is far from satisfying the rising requirements of the working people. It is therefore of particular importance to improve the food supply of the population.

...

In order fully to satisfy the people's requirements in milk and dairy products, ...

In order fully to satisfy the people's requirements in meat and meat products, ...

The production of sugar, vegetables, melon crops, fruit, berries and other produce must be considerably enlarged.

This level of food production we must achieve with the greatest possible speed. How soon we achieve it will largely depend on us, on our leadership, on the organizational work of the Party bodies. If we apply all our ability, resources and efforts to this task, if we do not continue our leadership to general directives, but set to work to strengthen every collective farm, every state farm and every MTS, we shall achieve this level of consumption within a very short time, and in the case of a number of products within two or three years.

(p. 9-14)

It is important to give the collective farms and collective farmers a greater material incentive to increase crop yields and to develop their socially-conducted animal husbandry. To this end, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidium of the Central Committee

of the Party have considered it necessary to raise the present procurement and purchasing prices for animal products, potatoes and vegetables. Procurement prices for obligatory deliveries of produce to the state are being increased in more than 5.5 times in the case of cattle and poultry, 2 times in the case of milk and butter, 2.5 times in the case of potatoes, and an average of from 25 to 40 per cent in the case of vegetables. As to purchasing prices, they are being raised an average of 30 per cent for meat, and 50 per cent for milk. It is important, however, to note that the retail prices of animal products, potatoes and vegetables are not rising, but on the contrary falling from year to year. The policy of reducing retail prices of articles of consumption will be unswervingly adhered to in the future.

It has also been deemed advisable under present conditions to reduce the quotas of animal products required by the state from collective farmers under the obligatory delivery system, and also the quotas of potatoes and vegetables deliverable by collective farms. As regards obligatory deliveries of animal products from the husbandries of workers and other employees, the quotas will be reduced considerably.

With the lowering of the obligatory delivery quotas, the collective farms and collective farmers will have larger surpluses of produce available for sale at the higher purchasing prices, and also at the prices of the collective-farm market. This makes it necessary to revise the system of purchasing by government and co-operative organizations. The present purchasing procedure must be superseded by advance contracting, which will enable the Government to plan beforehand how much produce will be received over and above the obligatory deliveries,

while the collective farms and collective farmers will have a guaranteed sale for their produce and be able to obtain money advances and to acquire to an equivalent value the manufactured goods they need.

The Soviet Government will spend on urgent measures for the further advancement of agriculture an additional sum of over 15,000 million rubles in 1953, and over 35,000 million in 1954. A considerable proportion of these expenditures will be assigned for additional capital investment in agriculture and for enhancing the material incentive of collective farms and collective farmers to develop animal husbandry and the growing of potatoes and vegetables, so as to secure a substantial expansion of these branches of agriculture within the next few years.

(p. 16-17)

A characteristic feature of the economy of socialist society is systematic reduction of prices, on the basis of more perfected methods of production, higher labour productivity and increased output. The principal means of putting an end to the lag in animal husbandry and in the production of potatoes and vegetables, and of securing a further powerful advance of all branches of agriculture, is to improve the efficiency of collective farming, to increase total output and the marketable surplus, and to lower expenditure per unit of product. Then, at the present procurement and purchasing prices, all branches of collective farming will be highly remunerative.

(p. 18)

Owing to inadequate development of their animal husbandries, some of the collective farms have fallen into arrears with their obligatory deliveries of animal products.

The decisions adopted by the Party and the Government provide for the writing off of arrears of deliveries of animal products incurred by collective farms in past years, so as to create additional potentialities for the rapid progress of this branch of agriculture. It is proposed to do the same with arrears of animal product deliveries incurred in past years by the personal husbandries of collective farmers, workers and other employees, so as to enable them the sooner to acquire their own cows.

(p. 24)

Another urgent problem, which we must solve, is to increase the production of potatoes and vegetables. The demand for potatoes and vegetables has grown so considerably that their present level of production is altogether inadequate...

...

One of the reasons for the lag in potato and vegetable growing is that the collective farms and collective farmers are not given sufficient material incentive to expand these crops...

...

These defects must be corrected and effective material incentives must be given to the collective farms to expand the production of potatoes and vegetables. Such incentives may be created by raising procurement prices for potatoes and vegetables, by lowering obligatory delivery quotas and purchasing more at higher prices, and by reducing grain delivery quotas for collective farms a relatively large proportion of whose output consists of potatoes and vegetables.

(p. 36-37-38)

But it must be said that we have already raised the

procurement prices all we possibly can. Further increase of procurement prices for potatoes and vegetables is out of the question. If we continue any further along this course, we shall be selling potatoes and vegetables at a loss. Then, instead of lowering retail prices of potatoes and vegetables, as the Party and the Government have been consistently doing, they would have to raise them, which would not be to the interest of the people. Naturally, the Party and the Government cannot and will not take this course.

The main thing, consequently, is to bend our efforts in raising yields, which are still very low...

(p. 38)

It must be said that the heads of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements have adopted a wrong attitude to this matter. They plan adoption of square-pocket potato planting in accordance with the number of planting machines available. And since we still have very few of these machines, the Ministry proposes that only half the area should be planted by the new method. We cannot agree with that. It should be remembered that square-pocket planting was initiated in the collective farms when we still had no special machines for it. Nevertheless, it was adopted by foremost collective farms and with great effect. Next year square-pocket planting of potatoes must be the rule. Industry is now sharply increasing output of potato-planting machines. But there will still not be enough of them. Potatoes will have to be planted with the help of cultivators, or ploughs, but they must be planted by the square-pocket method. If we do that, and thus mechanize cultivation, we may be certain that potato yield will substantially rise already next year.

One serious defect is that in many collective farms so powerful a stimulus as the additional pay system is practically not applied in the case of cereal crops. The yield indexes for which additional pay becomes effective are too high, and in many collective farms the farmers do not receive it. Revision of the additional pay system has become an urgent necessity.

(p. 51)

The chief task in agriculture is to increase crop yields. A number of important and urgent measures must be taken to this end.

(p. 56)

One of the chief reasons for this state of affairs is that the MTSs do not have a sufficient number of skilled mechanics. Their abundant and intricate machines need skilled hands to operate them. But they are operated by seasonal workers, assigned by the collective farms for the period of field work. An MTS director has actually no sway over his tractor drivers. They come to work if they want to, and if they do not, there is little the director can do about it. A man may be operating a tractor one day, and the next he may return to his collective farm or go to work in a factory. It is this that largely explains the low production discipline and high labour turnover in the MTSs. Every year, 30 to 35 per cent of the members of tractor brigades drop out, and as to the trailer implement operators, in many tractor brigades they change completely several times in the course of the year.

If we want to secure a radical improvement in the work of the MTSs, we must build up permanent staffs of

skilled mechanics capable of making the fullest and most productive use of the machines, and of raising the efficiency of all branches of collective farming. It must therefore be made a rule that tractor drivers, foremen of tractor brigades and their assistants, excavator operators and their assistants, and checkmen-refuelers are permanent members of the staffs of the MTSs and on their pay-rolls. In off-seasons they should be put to work, as a side trade, in the repair shops, or on mechanizing work in the livestock sections of the collective farms, or on other jobs in the MTSs. Operators of agricultural or excavating machine trailer tools, and assistant combine operators should be entered on the pay-rolls of the MTSs as seasonal workers.

It is also necessary to give the members of tractor brigades a greater material incentive to make the most efficient use of the machines and to obtain big crops. The practice of paying members of tractor brigades on the work-day unit and piece-rate systems, under which their earnings are determined by degree of fulfilment of work norms and by amount of product obtained, depending on the yield of the given crop, has proved its value and should be retained.

It is proposed to raise the money pay per work-day unit receivable by members of tractor brigades from the MTSs. In addition, they will receive, as they do now, a payment on work-day units on the same footing as the collective farmers; the system of paying them additionally for overfulfilment of yield targets will likewise remain in force. However, a different procedure is being adopted of issuing food grain for the guaranteed minimum payment in kind to tractor drivers and other members of tractor brigades. Hitherto they received the grain from the collective farm; now it will be issued by the MTSs. The

food grain to which members of tractor brigades are entitled for the guaranteed minimum payment on their work-day units, and also for harvesting with combines or, other machines, will be delivered by the collective farms to the government procurement depots at the same time as they deliver the payment in kind for the work of the MTSs. The MTSs will receive the food grain payable to the tractor brigades from the procurement agencies.

With rising yields, higher productivity of animal husbandry, greater production of potatoes and vegetables and, in consequence, bigger collective-farm incomes and bigger dividends on work-day units, the earnings of tractor drivers and other members of tractor brigades will increase considerably. That will undoubtedly conduce to permanency of personnel. And this, in its turn, will ensure more efficient use of machines.

The time is ripe for changing the system of training tractor drivers, combine operators and other skilled agricultural personnel. Until now their training has been altogether unsatisfactory. A lad is given a two or three months' course, is allowed a couple of looks at the machine, is then put at the steering wheel—and there you have a tractor driver. In the spring, he will manage somehow or other to get his tractor into the field, but if something should go wrong with it, he will sit around, not knowing what to do until a mechanic comes along. That is why we have low performance, frequent breakdowns and unsatisfactory work. The existing system of training personnel at short-term courses does not provide the necessary technical knowledge. It must be radically altered. Tractor mechanics with a broad range of skills must be trained for the MTSs, so that they may be able to operate tractors, combines and other machines and have a knowledge of fitting, repair and other work. To put the

training of personnel on a proper footing, the existing mechanist courses must be converted into mechanist schools with a longer period of training. The system of training practised in the trade schools and factory apprenticeship schools should be adopted. The training of farm mechanics must be reorganized quickly. It is an important matter and must not be postponed a single day.

In the past few years many skilled and experienced tractor drivers have left the machine and tractor stations and are working in industry in the towns. We should appeal to these former farm mechanics to go back to work in the MTSs. It is to be presumed that now, when the tractor drivers will be on the staffs of the MTSs and will receive higher guaranteed pay, many of the former tractor drivers will willingly return to work in the MTSs. Factory managers must be warned not to create obstacles to this.

...

In order to reinforce the MTSs with managerial, engineering and technical personnel, it is necessary to invite mechanical engineers now working in industry or other branches of the national economy and appoint them to the MTSs as directors, chief engineers, or repair shop superintendents. Machine technicians should be sent to work in the MTSs as mechanics.

The MTSs have a great deal of machinery, but still not enough to cope effectively with the tasks confronting us. The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Party have therefore projected a big programme of output of tractors and other machines. It is proposed in the period 1954 to May 1, 1957, to supply agriculture with 500,000 general-purpose tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), 250,000 row-crop

tractors, and large quantities of farm machines and motor vehicles. In the next few years the MTSs will receive many row-crop tractors of new designs, and also highly efficient machines for the growing and harvesting of industrial and fodder crops, potatoes and vegetables, and for the comprehensive mechanization of haymaking, harvesting of silo crops, and of laborious processes in livestock farming. That will help to extend the mechanization of agriculture considerably.

(p. 62-67)

Comrades, the task of overcoming the lag of individual branches of agriculture and of raising agriculture generally to a new and higher level imposes exacting demands on the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements and Ministry of State Farms, the local agricultural organs, and all agricultural specialists.

The staffs of the agricultural organs include tens of thousands of specialists who are devoted to our Party and who dedicate all their energies and knowledge to the advancement of agriculture. But can it be said that the agricultural organs as a whole are effectively coping with their duties? No, comrades, that cannot be said. The facts show that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements and Ministry of State Farms fall unpardonably short of the requirements of the times, and fail to appreciate the changes taking place in the collective farms, MTSs and state farms.

It should be observed that the very structure of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements and of its organs in the localities is such as to render them incapable of promptly settling the questions raised by the collective farms and MTSs. It is a very unwieldy structure, embracing as it does a multiplicity of divisions and

departments which duplicate one another and whose work is often ineffective. Small wonder that the Ministry does not display promptness and precision in the guidance of its local organs, and allows bureaucracy and red tape to interfere with the decision of urgent problems. The Ministry has but slight knowledge of what is being done in practice, has no direct contact with the collective farms and MTSs. Without knowing what is really happening in the localities, the Ministry endeavours to regulate from the centre all the activities of the local agricultural organs, the collective farms and the MTSs, and all too often issues instructions on matters concerning which the localities do not need instruction.

...

The shortcomings in the work of the Ministry are very glaringly reflected in the way it plans agriculture. The plans include many unnecessary items which shackle the initiative of the local organs, the MTSs and the collective farms. Suffice it to say that the plans issued to the collective farms for crop growing and animal husbandry alone comprise 200 to 250 items. Even such measures as not fattening mixed-pedigree pigs, planting of coulisse strips on fallow and many other things are planned from the centre.

The extremely large number of programmes assigned, each embracing a multiplicity of items, necessitates the compilation of an inordinate number of returns of all kinds. An enormous number of agricultural specialists and collective-farm personnel are diverted from their direct duties and put to compiling all sorts of summaries, surveys and reports. In the course of the year every collective farm submits to its district agricultural authority returns covering some ten thousand different statistical items. The volume of statistical data

the collective farms have to submit today is nearly eight times as great as it was before the war.

The fact that we criticize the Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements does not mean that we minimize its role. On the contrary, its role must be still further enhanced. The structure of the Ministry must be reorganized to conform with the new circumstances, and its staff must be substantially reduced.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements of the U.S.S.R. must concern itself primarily with the planning of agriculture and its individual branches, with the material and technical supply and financing of agriculture, with the procuring of agricultural products, with the selection, placing and training of personnel, with popularizing and securing the wide-spread adoption of progressive innovations and scientific advances, and with questions of collective-farm organization.

The importance of the Ministries of Agriculture and Procurements of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and of the territorial and regional agricultural and procurement boards will increase correspondingly. And that means that the local agricultural organs must be reinforced with competent personnel, their structure must be revised, their staffs must be reduced, and they must be brought into closer contact with practical farming.

...

The draft decision provides for the assignment of not less than 100,000 agricultural specialists to the MTSs already by the spring of 1954, so that every collective farm may have the services of an agronomist, and every big collective farm, of an agronomist and a zootechnician. Permanently serving one collective farm, the MTS agronomist must see to it that the terms of its contract with the MTS are carried out. It is his duty to ensure that

all the rules of scientific farming are observed. Under no circumstances must he connive at bad work, and he must always remember that if he condones the slightest violation of the rules of scientific farming, or shows indulgence to shoddy workers, he is injuring the interests of the collective farm and of the state. The agronomist must interest himself in everything that concerns quality of farm work, and must be an active champion of all progressive innovations in collective farming.

...

Now that the organizing function of the MTSs in collective farming is being enhanced, there will presumably no longer be any need for the district agricultural and procurement boards. It will be sufficient to have a few workers in the district executive committees to attend to planning and statistics, and the majority of the specialists should be put to work in the MTSs and collective farms.

(p. 72-78)

It is our duty to see to it that all the state farms are remunerative and productive of large marketable surpluses. For this, it is necessary to provide them with competent leading personnel. Backward state farms must be brought up to the mark, mismanagement must be eliminated, there must be the strictest economy of government funds and production costs must be substantially lowered. We must consider the question of abolishing the system of government subsidies, since it encourages a tendency among state-farm directors to rely on outside support, and does not spur them to strive persistently to improve the work of their farms.

We must see to it that all state farms become model farms.

At one time the Party sent 25,000 industrial workers to the rural districts, and they helped immensely to promote the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. In addition, in 1933, by way of assistance to the collective farms, 17,000 party officials were sent to work in the political departments. Many thousands of other industrial forces were assigned to MTSs, collective farms and state farms at various times. That was of very substantial assistance to the collective-farm peasantry. The majority of the people we sent applied themselves to the work with enthusiasm and fully justified the confidence of the Party. Though they did not at first possess the necessary agricultural knowledge, they were able, because of their high level of political training and their organizing experience, to learn their business quickly, and have proved themselves capable managers and have done much to strengthen the collective farms. One might give any number of examples of excellent work done by Communists who were assigned to rural districts by the Party. The party organisations must render such people every support, since they are performing an important and noble work for the people, are strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

...
Why should we not now, when we have our own Soviet intelligentsia, issue a call in the name of the Party; why should we not call up some of our finest forces in the towns, 50,000 Communists, say, and send them to reinforce the work in the countryside? I think that we can do so. It would be well here, at this Plenum, to exchange opinions on this as well as other questions.

THE CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS

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Each week the Current Digest of the Soviet Press presents a selection of the contents of the Soviet press, carefully translated in full into English, or objectively condensed by competent editors, and arranged by subject matter. The translations are presented as documentary materials without elaboration or comment. They state the opinions and views of the original authors, not of the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies appointed by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. These materials are published in order that they may be of direct assistance to persons engaged in the research and interpretation of public affairs.

VOL. V, NO. 39

The Decree on Developing Animal Husbandry

In U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Party Central Committee,—CONCERNING MEASURES FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND LOWERING NORMS OF OBLIGATORY DELIVERIES OF ANIMAL PRODUCTS TO THE STATE BY PRIVATE HOLDINGS OF COLLECTIVE FARMERS, WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES. (Pravda and Izvestia, Sept. 26, pp. 1-4. Complete text:) The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union note that the level of production achieved for meat, milk, wool, eggs, hides and other animal products is not satisfying the growing requirements of the population for these products or of light industry for raw materials. The interests of the entire national economy persistently demand further increases in the number of livestock and a considerable increase in yields of animal products.

However, there are major shortcomings in this important branch of agriculture which hinder successful solution of this task.

The number of livestock has increased extremely slowly in recent years, while the total number of cattle was allowed to drop 2,200,000 in 1952. The situation is especially unsatisfactory with regard to increasing the number of breeding stock. The number of cows has not

yet reached the pre-war level, and in 1952 even decreased by 550,000.

The low proportion of cows in the cattle herd on the collective and state farms is a serious obstacle to increasing total milk production and to increasing the communal herd without outside aid. Poultry raising is also being developed unsatisfactorily.

The collective farms suffer large losses every year from diseases and are failing to obtain a considerable number of young stock because of the barrenness of female stock; State plans for increasing the number of livestock and poultry are not met year after year.

Due to poor feeding and care of livestock, its yields of animal products continue to remain extremely low; milk yields, wool clips and a number of other qualitative indices of animal husbandry have recently dropped on the collective farms.

The unsatisfactory situation in the development of animal husbandry is due above all to a lag in the production and procurement of feeds. Grass planting is poorly developed on many collective farms. The cultivation of root feeds, melons and corn and sunflowers, which are very valuable and high-yield silage crops, is neglected and very few potatoes are planted for livestock feed. Measures to improve meadows and pastures are ineffectively carried out.

Matters are particularly bad with respect to mechanized raising and harvesting of cultivated feed crops, the stacking of hay and straw, and work to improve meadows, irrigate pastures and supply water to the livestock sections.

Low yields of feed crops and also inadequate mechanization of haying, and especially of stacking hay and gathering and stacking straw have resulted in failure

to fulfil plans for the procurement of coarse and succulent feeds year after year. Because of low yields and reduction of the areas planted to oats, barley, corn and other forage crops little grain is provided for feeding livestock and poultry on the collective farms.

A serious lag has developed in the mechanization of labor-consuming tasks on the livestock sections, with the result that many collective farms are not ensuring prompt completion of work in animal husbandry or proper care of livestock.

There are distortions of the principle of calculating obligatory deliveries of animal products on a per-hectare basis in procurement work, leading collective farms which do good work and attain high livestock productivity usually being given considerably higher quotas of obligatory deliveries of animal products to the state than collective farms which do poor work.

Insufficient action to provide livestock and poultry with adequate shelters is a major obstacle to the development of animal husbandry. Many collective farms are not fulfilling the plans established for them with regard to the construction of livestock shelters and silage (storage—Tr) facilities. The work of supplying the collective farms with building materials, especially, lumber, roofing and bricks, is poorly organized. The Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives is not working satisfactorily to fulfil the duties imposed on it in hauling and selling building materials (beams, cut lumber, nails, slate, etc.) to the collective farms in order to build livestock shelters, while the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber and Paper Industry sets aside poor-quality lumber for sale to the collective farms. The collective farms are not being fully supplied with bricks and tile from local and cooperative industry.

Particularly serious shortcomings in the development

of communal animal husbandry have occurred in recent years on the collective and state farms of the Kazakh and Kirgiz Republics and in Kalinin, Kaluga, Kostroma, Novgorod, Vologda, Smolensk, Kirov, Novosibirsk and Voronezh Provinces, where unsatisfactory supervision of the development of this major branch of agriculture by Soviet, Party and agricultural agencies has resulted in failure to fulfil state plans for increasing the number of livestock and increasing its productivity and in large losses of livestock through disease.

The present procurement prices for meat, butter, milk and eggs have not created the necessary personal interest of the collective farms and collective farmers in the development of communal animal husbandry.

All-these serious shortcomings in the development of animal husbandry are also the result of unsatisfactory guidance of development of this major branch of agriculture on the part of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements and its local agencies. The Machine and Tractor Stations are not giving the necessary help in increasing the production of feeds and in mechanizing labor-consuming work on the livestock sections, while livestock specialists from the local agricultural agencies and zoo-veterinary network are giving the collective farms insufficient help in improving the organization of work on the livestock sections. Efforts made to apply the achievements of science and the experience of advanced animal husbandry workers in collective and state farm work are completely unsatisfactory.

Due to the serious shortcomings which have developed animal husbandry has not yet become a highly productive and highly remunerative branch of agriculture on the majority of the collective farms.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Party Central Committee consider it incorrect that many local Soviet, Party and agricultural agencies are not providing the collective farmers with the necessary aid in seeing that privately-owned livestock has feed and pasturage: All this, as well as the shortcomings in taxation policy with regard to the private subsidiary economy of the collective farmers has led to a reduction in the number of productive livestock owned by the collective farmers in a number of provinces, territories and republics in recent years. Major shortcomings in the development of animal husbandry also exist on the state farms. Many state farms have failed to create a dependable feed base and are making incomplete use of considerable existing pasture areas, gathering hay on too small a scale, producing little succulent feed, especially silage, and growing and using potatoes as stock feed to an extremely

inadequate degree. Because of the low yields of forage crops, concentrated feeds brought in from other areas still make up a considerable proportion of the feed balance of the state farms. Because of poor labor organization many state farms are not meeting their quotas for increasing livestock productivity, are slow about increasing output of animal products and are allowing a high unit cost, on meat, milk, wool and other animal products.

In conformity with the Sept. 7, 1953, resolution of the plenary session of the Party Central Committee and in order to eliminate the inadmissible lag in the development of animal husbandry and to increase the production of meat, milk, butter, wool, eggs and other animal products, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Party Central Committee have decreed:

I. Concerning a Plan for the Development of Animal Husbandry.—1. That the number of livestock increased to the following by Oct. 1, 1954:

		(in millions of head)		
		of which:		
For all agriculture		On collective farms	On state farms	Belonging to collective farmers and other private owners
Cows	29.2	11.5	1.6	16.0
Total cattle	65.9	35.0	4.8	25.7
Sheep and goats	144.4	104.0	13.1	26.9
of which sheep	127.4	99.0	13.0	15.0
Sows	—	3.8	—	—
Total number of pigs	34.5	21.5	4.3	8.5

...

7. That the present procedure for establishing quotas for incubator and poultry-raising stations in hatching poultry and selling it to the collective farms be rescinded. That it be established that the republic Councils of Ministers and the province and territory executive committees are to approve quotas for the incubator and poultry-raising stations in hatching and selling poultry to the collective farms based on orders placed by them and also in selling young poultry to collective farmers, workers and employees.

8. In view of the fact that some collective and state farms are not providing feed for all livestock during the winter and are allowing some of the livestock to be affected by exhaustion and disease, with resultant damage to the collective and state farms and to the state,

that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Farms, the republic Councils of Ministers, the territory and province executive committees, the province and territory Party committees, the Party Central Committees of the Union republics, and the district executive committees and Party committees be required to take measures so that all collective and state farm livestock to be kept through the winter will be fully provided with feed and shelter.

...

9. That the local Soviet, Party and agricultural agencies and the directors of the collective farms be required to help the collective farmers in obtaining livestock and poultry and in providing such privately-owned livestock with feed by distributing it on the basis of workdays and by providing pasture lands for grazing the stock.

That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and procurements organize the sale of young poultry from incubator and poultry-raising stations to collective farmers, workers and employees.

That the local Soviet and agricultural agencies be required to provide the livestock of workers and employees with pasturage and hayfields on unused tracts of state land in state forests, on rail and highway rights of way and on the lands of cities and workers' and summer-cottage settlements.

That in cases where there is not enough of this idle land the collective farms be advised to allow agricultural specialists teachers, medical workers and other personnel who are not members of the collective farms but are involved in serving the collective farms to use collective farm pastures for their livestock in accord with agreements with the collective farm on payments to

justify expenditures by the collective farms to maintain pastures and water holes, such payments not to exceed 150 rubles per cow per season.

...

II. Concerning Procurements of Animal Products.

—1. That it be considered essential to introduce, beginning in 1954, permanent per-hectare norms of obligatory deliveries of animal products to the state in order to increase collective farm income from animal husbandry and to create the necessary conditions for a more rapid increase in the number of livestock and for increasing its meat and dairy yields.

...

That the per-hectare principle of obligatory deliveries of animal products to the state be strictly carried out, that the harmful practice of raising quotas for collective farms that lead in the development of animal husbandry not be tolerated, and that it be established that ordinarily a single per-hectare norm for deliveries of animal products should apply within a single district.

That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements be required to work out in one month's time in conjunction with the Union republic Councils of Ministers and submit for approval by the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers recommendations for permanent per-hectare norms for obligatory deliveries of animal products to the state by the collective farms according to republics, territories and provinces..

2. That obligatory deliveries to the state of sheep's milk cheese by the collective farms be rescinded in 1953 and that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry organize purchases of sheep's milk cheese at slate purchase prices, and also that the collective farms be authorized to deliver sheep's milk and cheese in

fulfilment of obligatory deliveries of milk In accordance with the presently prevailing substitution equivalents.

3. That all arrears incurred by the collective farms on obligatory deliveries of animal products prior to Jan. 1, 1953, be written off.

...

5. That it be established that regardless of the time of delivery meat, milk and dairy products supplied toward fulfilment of obligations for delivery of these products to the state during the third and fourth quarters and also all types of wool delivered in excess of 6070 of annual requirements be paid for on the basis of the new, higher prices provided for in the present decree.

...

7. That rates for payment in kind. In meat and milk for the work of the M.T.S. and specialized stations be approved as of 1953 for feed production.

Rates for payment in kind in -meat and milk for work done later than the periods stipulated in the contracts of the M.T.S. and specialized stations with the collective farms are reduced 10%.

That if be established that payments in kind in meat and milk for work to remove stumps, clear and drain meadows and pastures and also to **plough** up low-yield meadows and pastures will be made by the collective farms beginning with the second year after this work has been completed and will be made in equal amounts over a period of three years.

8. In order to meet the growing requirements of the state for animal products to provide the population with foodstuffs and light and food Industry with raw materials, that it be considered essential to replace the present system for procurements of animal products through above-plan deliveries and purchases at maximum

purchase prices with a single system of state purchases. State purchases of animal products from the collective farms will be made as a rule on the basis of contracts concluded between the procurement organizations and the collective farms.

...

9. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements, together with the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry and the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives approve in this connection a standardized contract for state purchases of meat, milk, eggs and wool from the collective farms.

10. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be charged with making state purchases of meat and milk, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements with purchases of wool and the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives with purchases of eggs.

That the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Finance and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry approve in this connection and within one month's time the size and staff of an apparatus for making state purchases of livestock and milk and a system for paying for labor, bearing in mind the replacement of non-staff milk collectors employed at the milk-receiving centers by staff collectors, the organization of an inspection apparatus for purchases and the heightening of the material self-interest of the procurement workers. That additional expenditures incurred in this connection are to be covered out of the amount the organizations of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry have been paying out to reimburse the consumers' cooperatives and out of profits from purchasing livestock and milk in accord with

Decrees No. 3070 and 3071 of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, dated July 7, 1952. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be authorized to enlist the consumers' cooperative organizations for-making state purchases of meat and milk on a contract basis.

That agencies of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements be charged with checking to see that contracts for state purchases of animal products between the procurement organizations, and collective farms are carried out.

11. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements submit to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers in one month's time a proposal on conditions for selling coarse and concentrated feeds to workers and employees who supply milk under the state purchase system.

12. That in order to improve the development of dairy farming on collective farms providing milk to supply the population of large cities and industrial centers, collective farms in districts in a 150-kilometer radius around Moscow, a 100-kilometer radius around Leningrad and a 50-kilometer radius around other cities and Industrial centers named in lists, approved by the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers be relieved of obligatory deliveries of hay to the state beginning in 1953.

...

That the directors of the incubator and poultry-raising stations be authorized to sell up to 20% of all poultry hatched to workers, employees and other users for cash at prevailing prices.

...

III. Concerning Reduction of Norms for Obligatory Deliveries of Animal Products to the State by the Private

Holdings of Collective Farmers, Workers and Employees.

—1. That the present annual norms for obligatory deliveries of animal products to the state by the private holdings of collective farmers, workers and employees be reduced and established in the following amounts:

...

2. That private peasants' holdings and holdings of private craftsmen who are not artel members be required to make deliveries of meat, milk, eggs and wool the state according to the prevailing norms.

3. That the procurement organizations be required to settle with the holdings of collective farmers and other citizens for meat, milk, eggs and wool supplied above the obligations for deliveries of these products enumerated under the new norms as for products sold to the state in the form of purchases.

4. That beginning with the second half of 1953 the holdings of collective farmers, workers, employees, private farmers and other citizens be exempted from obligatory deliveries of sheep and goatskins to the state.

That beginning with the second half of 1953 the holdings of residents in cities and workers' settlements be exempted from obligatory deliveries of milk to the state.

5. That beginning with 1953 the holdings of collective farmers, workers and employees and the holdings of other citizens be exempted from obligatory deliveries to the state of the hair of goats and camels they own and also that the holdings of collective farmers and other citizens in the districts of the Far North be exempted from obligatory deliveries of wool to the state.

6. That obligatory deliveries of sheep's milk cheese to the state by the holding's of collective farmers and other citizens be rescinded beginning 1953 and that the

U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be required to organize purchases of sheep's milk and cheese on the basis of state purchase prices.

(p. 13-18)

VOL. V, No. 42

Decree on Increasing Output of Consumers' Goods

In the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee.—CONCERNING INCREASE IN CONSUMERS' GOODS OUTPUT AND IMPROVEMENT IN ITS QUALITY. (Pravda and Izvestia, Oct. 28, pp. 1-3. Complete text:) The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee note that as a result of the Communist Party's policy of industrializing the country the Soviet Union now has a powerful, technically perfected heavy industry, which has ensured rapid, self-sufficient development of our country's national economy, independent of the capitalist countries.

The solution of the task of developing heavy industry, which is of primary importance, has radically changed the relationship between heavy and light industry in the total volume of industrial production.

The share of the means of production in the output of the entire U.S.S.R. industry will total approximately 70% in 1953. Thus, the relative proportion of heavy industry is more than two-thirds the total volume of industrial production. Now, on the basis of the success achieved in developing heavy Industry, there is everything necessary to organize a sharp increase in consumers' goods

production, and there is opportunity to increase significantly the capital investment in the development of those branches of industry producing consumers' goods.

In addition, it has become possible to make broader use of machine-building, metallurgical, chemical and other heavy industrial enterprises for consumers' goods production.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee, in connection with the main problem of ensuring further improvement in the material prosperity of workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia and all other Soviet people, consider it necessary in the next two to three years to speed up in every way possible the development of light industry in order to have a sufficient quantity of manufactured consumers' goods in the country and to increase markedly the supplying of these goods to the population.

In order to meet this task, it is necessary to develop the consumers' goods production on a scale that will fulfil as soon as possible the 1955 quota set by the five-year plan for the production of consumers' goods.

In the postwar years the country's light Industry has achieved and considerably surpassed the pre-war production level of consumers' goods. In 1953 there will be produced: 5,300,000,000 meters of wool cloth, or 34% more than in 1940; more than 200,000,000 meters of wool cloth, or approximately 70% more than in 1940; more than 400,000,000 meters of silk cloth, or somewhat more than five times that in 1940; and 2.2 times more knitwear for underclothing than in the pre-war period. The output of household articles and goods for cultural and service use has significantly increased in comparison with 1940.

On the whole, consumers' goods production in 1953

will be 72% greater than the pre-war 1940 level.

However, the present volume and quality of consumers' goods cannot satisfy the workers' growing demands.

Certain important industrial branches producing consumers' goods have developed unsatisfactorily. The manufacture of knitted outerwear in 1953 is only 13% greater than the pre-war level, while the level of linen cloth output is somewhat lower than in 1940. Completely unsatisfactory is the production level of pile fabrics, mixed and winter-weight fabrics for dresses blankets tulle curtaining, cotton hosiery, figured socks, silk knitwear for underclothing, kerchiefs, footwear, woollens, headgear, garments, crockery, furniture and other goods for cultural use such as radios, television sets, notebooks, bicycles and also goods for improving the peoples' surroundings and those facilitating the housewife's work—sewing machines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners and washing machines.

Consumer demand for fancy and welted footwear and leather soled shoes has not been met. High-quality glassware and china with good, artistic finishes are produced in small quantities. The assortment of watches is limited,

Many enterprises of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods and those of other industrial ministries, local industry and Union republic producers' cooperatives turn out articles of unsatisfactory quality and limited assortment. Especially poorly organized is the work of finishing goods and improving their appearance.

Goods in outmoded models and, monotonous styles and also articles with major defects are being manufactured. Poorly finished textiles in unattractive patterns and tasteless, unstable colors are still being

produced in considerable quantity.

Garments are often manufactured from unsuccessful or outmoded patterns, few loose-style coats and suits are being turned out, women's dresses are poorly finished, not enough women's and children's goods with embroidery and trimmings are being manufactured and poor-quality accessories are often used in the making of clothes.

Many types of furniture, radios and television sets are unsatisfactory. Particularly lax in improving the quality of merchandise are enterprises of local industry and producers' cooperatives.

Trade organizations do not strive hard enough to improve the quality and assortment of merchandise, make few demands on industry to increase the manufacture of items in great demand and reduce production of slow-moving articles.

In addition, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry does not meet light industry's growing demands. The output of the following items is still inadequate: indigo dyes, sulphide dyes for the cotton industry, mordants for wool and cotton, nitric dyes for hides, dyestuffs for trimmings, acridine emulsions, polyvinyl chloride resins and softening agents for them and other chemical materials, all of which are necessary for improving the quality and increasing the assortment of light industry output.

Machine-building enterprises have not ensured the needed increase in the output of machinery for light industry enterprises, thus retarding the growth of consumers' goods production.

The Ministry of Machine Building has not yet organized production of leather-footwear equipment, well-built knitting machines for making high-quality hosiery or special sewing machines and is also producing

insufficient trimming equipment for the textile branches of industry.

It is our pressing task in the course of two or three years to raise sharply the supply of manufactured goods to the population—textiles, clothing, footwear, tableware, furniture and other cultural service and household goods. Along with the growth of production in enterprises of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods, there must be an increase in the output of consumers' goods from local, cooperative and heavy industry as well.

A basic task for local industry and producers' cooperatives is a sharp increase in consumers' goods production and an improvement in the quality of articles, along with the immediate development of local industry and consumers' cooperatives in the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. It is necessary resolutely to improve the work of local industry enterprises and producers' cooperatives in providing everyday services to the population, to expand the network of tailoring establishments, combines and pavilions serving the peoples' daily needs, repair shops for furniture, bicycles, sewing machines, phonographs, radios, footwear and clothing, and dry cleaning enterprises, paying particular attention to the quality of the work and the length of time required to meet orders.

The heavy industry ministries of—above all, the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, the Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Power Plants and Electrical Industry, the Ministry of Transport Machinery and Heavy Machine Building, the Ministry of Defense Industry, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Paper and Lumber Industry, and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Building Materials Industry have the highly important

task of sharply increasing the output of consumers' goods for the people, including articles of culture and everyday use which ease the work and improve the daily life of the Soviet people.

Together with the quantitative growth in the output of consumers' goods, their qualitative improvement is of no less importance. The quality of consumers' goods still lags behind the Soviet consumer's growing demands.

Workers in industries producing consumers' goods and also trade workers must take into consideration that the rapid increase in the welfare of the Soviet people has stimulated still more rapid growth in the demands for high-quality products.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee place before all workers in industries producing consumers' goods the task of producing good, well-finished, high-quality articles. Constant concern for the quality and appearance of manufactured articles is the duty of every enterprise, of all economic, Party and trade union organization. The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee consider it necessary to increase considerably the investment of funds in the development of light industry, to raise the goals for manufacturing consumers' goods and to enlist machine-building and other heavy industry enterprises in the production of consumers' goods.

In order to increase the output of consumers' goods in the next few years and to improve their quality and expand their assortment, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee have decreed:

1. That the output quotas for the following very important items be established in the following amounts:

	1954	1955
Cotton textiles (million meters)	5549	6267
Wool “ “	242	271
Silk “ “	504	573
Linen “ “	295	406
Knitted underwear “ units)	326	382
Knitted outerwear “ “	79	88
Hosiery “ pairs)	673	777
Leather footwear “ “	267	318
Felt footwear (thousand “	29,046	33469
Clothing (million rubles)	44.014	51,805
Sewing machines (thousand units)	1335	2615
Bicycles “ “	2510	3445
Motorcycles “ “	190	225
Watches of all “ “	16,000	22,000
types “ “		
wrist watches “ “	5650	7150
Radios and TV sets “ “	3186	4527
TV sets “ “	325	760
Home refrigerators “ “	207	330
Metal bedsteads “ “	13,500	16,540
Furniture (million rubles)	5336	6958

...

On Expanding the Variety and Improving the Quality of Clothing and Fur Goods.—8. That it be noted that a number of garments are being manufactured from unsuccessful or outmoded patterns, that few loose-fitting coats and suits are being made, that women's dresses are poorly finished in regard to details and that women's and children's goods with embroidery and trimmings are not being manufactured in sufficient quantity. Certain

plants violate technological discipline, are careless in manufacturing clothing trimmings and often use low-quality accessories in making clothing.

10. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers Goods be required:

...

On Expanding the Variety and Improving the Quality of Knitwear.—12. That it be noted that knitwear industry enterprises still do not manufacture enough goods in popular demand—cotton, hosiery, patterned socks, and rayon underwear. Complex types of knitted outerwear have been put into production completely unsatisfactorily. Knitwear is often dyed in dull, monotonous shades, made from simplified patterns and finished with poor-quality trimming. That it be considered necessary to develop the mass production of knitwear conforming to public needs (children's, women's and men's knitwear) and to the various seasons (spring-summer and fall-winter knitwear) and to improve the quality of both knitted outerwear and innerwear and of hosiery.

13. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods be required:

...

On Expanding the Variety and Improving the Quality of Footwear.—14. That it be noted that the basic task confronting workers in the leather footwear industry is constantly to improve the quality of leather footwear and to expand its variety. Weltped footwear production must be doubled in the next two years, the output of patent-leather, suede and white kid footwear must be more than tripled and production must be constantly expanded of soft leather boots, durable leather-soled footwear for school children and lightweight summer footwear and footwear for the home. Particular attention must be paid

to expanding the color range of chrome leather goods, to increasing the output of light-colored sole leather to be used in the production of high-grade welted footwear and to obtaining more hard-wearing sole leather, particularly for children's shoes.

In order to meet the ever growing demand for leather footwear, production capacities are to be augmented in every way by building new enterprises and in particular by renovating and expanding those in operation, and also by mechanizing labor-consuming processes in leather production, by introducing conveyor-belt systems and by automatizing footwear production.

15. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods be required:

...

16. That the Ministry of the Chemical Industry be set the goal of producing 91,000,000 pairs of rubber footwear in 1954 and 95,800,000 pairs in 1955; the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods, 4,200,000 pairs in 1954 and 4,200,000 pairs in 1955; the Union republic Ministries of Local and Fuel Industry, 3,200,000 pairs in 1954 and 3,200,000 pairs in 1955; the Central Council of Producers' Cooperatives, 6,200,000 pairs in 1954 and 6,200,000 pairs in 1955.

17. That the Ministry of the Chemical Industry be required:

(a) to Improve sharply the quality of rubber footwear, particularly stamped overshoes; to increase the production and supply to trade organizations of rubber footwear in increased demand, including rubber boots, colored footwear, women's and girls' patent-leather boots and overshoes with snap fasteners and zippers; to eliminate the lag in the designing of new rubber footwear styles and fashions and beginning with 1954 to ensure

the output of rubber footwear corresponding to the styles and fashions of leather footwear.

(b) to manufacture and supply to the market in 1954: 5,000,000 pairs of patent-leather boots; 2,600,000 pairs of women's boots with zippers and snap fasteners; and 11,500,000 pairs of boots.

On increasing the output and Improving the Quality of Haberdashery.—18. That it be considered necessary:

to expand considerably the assortment of tulle curtaining throughout the textile and haberdashery industry, to extend the use of synthetic fibres and colored yarns in the manufacture of these goods and to make full use of equipment for producing more complex, interesting double-interlocking patterns;

...

19. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers Goods be required:

...

On increasing the Production and Improving the Quality of High-Grade China and Glassware.—21. That the variety of high grade china and glassware be increased in the glass industry within the next two to three years. The manufacture of cut-glass, the 1956 output of which is to be not less than ten times that in 1953, must occupy a special place in the work of the glass industry.

That the basic tasks of workers in the glass industry be considered the following:

...

On Increasing Output of Watches.—25. That the Ministry of Machine Building be required:

...

Concerning Output of Bicycles, Motorcycles, Phonographs and Cameras.—26. That the Ministry of

Machine Building be re required.

...

31. That the Ministry of the Defense Industry be required to organize production of the small, new, mass-produced New Age camera in 1954 and manufacture 150,000 of these cameras in 1954 and 200,000 in 1955.

Concerning an Increase In Output, Expansion in Assortment and Improvement In Quality of Cultural-Service and Household Goods.—32. That, in addition to ensuring a considerable increase in the output of household goods, the improvement of the quality of output, the fulfilment of measures to specialize production and thus reduce production costs, and also the expansion of the assortment of goods to ease household work, provide conveniences and improve the people's everyday life, is to be considered a most important task of these branches of heavy industry manufacturing. household goods and, primarily, of the Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Power Plants and the Electrical Industry, the Ministry of Transport Machinery and Heavy Machine Building, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, the Ministry of the Defense Industry, the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Building Materials Industry and also of local industry' and producers' cooperatives.

...

49. That enterprises of state and cooperative industry be forbidden to cease production of recently Introduced consumers' goods without approval from the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Trade.

50. That the ministries, departments and Union republic Councils of Ministers be required to study the draft plans for producing consumers' goods drawn up directly by the ministries, with the purpose of achieving a

considerable increase in the production of these goods and bringing the output of these items to amounts agreed upon with the trade organizations.

...
Concerning an Increase in the Output of Consumers' Goods Manufactured by Local Industry and Producers Cooperative Enterprises.—51. That it be noted that the production level of consumers' goods at local industry and producers' cooperative enterprises in the Union republics does not meet the public's growing needs for these products.

The output of furniture, radios, phonographs, bicycle's, metal bedsteads, metalware, chinaware and earthenware, refrigerators, baby carriages, washing machines, hardware and other consumers' goods is especially underdeveloped within the system of local industry and producers' cooperatives.

The existing production capacities for producing consumers' goods are not being fully utilized at local industry and producers' cooperative enterprises, which have done a completely unsatisfactory job in developing their own raw material bases.

The republic Councils of Ministers, and the province, territory and district executive committees are supervising the work of local industry and producers' cooperatives ineffectively, are showing little initiative in developing local industry and producers' cooperatives, are not giving enterprises needed help to increase consumers' goods output and are not considering the fact that goods manufactured by local industry and producers' cooperatives are an important source for satisfying the people's needs.

Many local Industry and producers' cooperative enterprises occupy dwellings and basements unsuitable

for production and the shops of a number of enterprises are scattered. Most enterprises are not highly mechanized, have equipment which is outdated and low in productive capacity and are not provided with qualified personnel, with the result that labor productivity is low and production cost high.

One of the greatest shortcomings in the work of local industry and producers' cooperatives is the regular failure to meet the state production plan for many items and the low quality of the products manufactured, with the result that trade organizations return many goods to the enterprises which produced them.

52. That a sharp rise in the output of consumers' goods and an increase in their quality be considered a most important task of the republic Councils of Ministers, the province, territory, city and district executive committees, the Union republic Ministries of Local and Fuel Industry, the Union republic Ministries of Local Industry, the Central Council of Producers' Cooperatives and the Union republic Councils of Producers' Cooperatives.

53. That, in order to ensure a major increase in the output of consumers' goods at local industry and producers' cooperative enterprises, the Union republic Councils of Ministers and the Central Union of Producers' Cooperatives be required:

(a) to work out and approve within a month measures for fulfilling the tasks set for local industry and industrial cooperative enterprises;

(b) to work out and approve within a month measures for mastering production of new types of articles from the best patterns and models;

(c) to introduce new machinery and advanced production methods extensively in local industry and

producers' cooperative enterprises, to organize assembly-line production methods with the use of conveyer belts and to use extensively the work experience of advanced enterprises of state and cooperative industry and of production innovators;

(d) to carry out specialization at local Industry and producers' cooperative enterprises in 1953-1955, ensuring sharp improvement in the utilization of production capacities, a reduction in production costs and an increase in the quality of output;

(e) to ensure more correct location of consumers' goods production in districts in order to reduce long-distance and overlapping hauls and to meet more fully the public need for these goods from local production;

(f) to end production at enterprises of local industry and producers' cooperatives of goods not in demand and to ensure an expansion in the variety and an improvement in the quality of products, making them not inferior to the goods produced by enterprises under U.S.S.R. and Union republic jurisdiction;

(g) to expand local and cooperative industry's raw material base and to increase the production of lumber, plywood, yarn, leather imitation leather, furniture, metal trims, dyes and other raw materials and products;

(h) to improve the work of local industry and producers' cooperative enterprises in everyday services to the public and to ensure an expansion in the network of tailoring, establishments, combines and pavilions, shops for footwear and clothing repair and for dry cleaning and also shops for the repair of furniture, bicycles; sewing machines, phonographs, radios and television sets, paying particular attention to the correct location of these enterprises, the quality of their work and the timely fulfilment of orders.

54. That the Union republic Councils of Ministers which do not have a province division and the autonomous republic Councils of Ministers and the province, territory, city and district executive committees be authorized:

(a) to earmark up to 60% of the accumulations of district and city industry, industry under province, territory and autonomous republic jurisdiction and industry under Ministries of Local and Fuel Industry and Ministries of Local Industry, not including the director's fund, for expanding industry under district, province and city jurisdiction over and above the established plans for capital construction;

(b) to use up to 25% of the accumulations earmarked for capital construction by local industry enterprises under district, city, province, territory and autonomous republic jurisdiction for housing and cultural-service construction and improvements over and above the established plans for capital construction;

(c) to redistribute among districts the accumulations of district (city) industry earmarked for building and expanding enterprises of local industry under district, city and province jurisdiction.

55. That the Union republic Councils of Ministers be given the right:

(a) to redistribute up to 60% of the accumulations earmarked for capital construction of enterprises of local industry under province, territory and autonomous republic jurisdiction and also of district and city industry in cities under republic jurisdiction and in province, territory and autonomous republic centers in order that these accumulations be used to build and expand district Industry enterprises in provinces, territories and autonomous republics which do not have the necessary

accumulations and also to build and expand local industry enterprises under province, territory and autonomous republic jurisdictions above the established plans for capital construction;

(b) to set up design and engineering bureaus and laboratories under province and territory organizations and enterprises of local industry and producers' cooperatives for checking up on the quality of raw materials, improving the organization of production, introducing new production methods and expanding the output assortment, not exceeding staff and wage limitations established for local industry and producers' cooperatives.

56. That the Industrial Bank be required to grant 500,000-ruble loans for a period of one to three years to enterprises under district, city, province, territory and autonomous republic jurisdiction for expanding and organizing the production of consumers' goods, food products, construction materials and fuel and to enterprises providing services for the public on application from province and territory executive committees and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers and loans of up to 2,000,000 rubles for a period of one to six years on application from Union republic Councils of Ministers; Payments are to begin in the second year after receipt of the loans.

57. That the Central Communal Bank be required to grant five-year loans on application from district and city executive committees of up to 500,000 rubles per enterprise for building and expanding enterprises and installations providing services to the public (power plants, water systems, barber shops, baths, laundries and shower facilities) and also for building and expanding enterprises producing local construction materials.

58. That the State Bank be required to grant loans to enterprises of local industry under district, city, province, territory and autonomous republic jurisdiction and to producers' cooperatives and to trade organizations' (including procurement organizations under consumers' cooperatives) for expanding and organizing the production of consumers goods, food products, construction materials and fuel, for expanding and organizing enterprises providing everyday services, public catering organizations and vegetable and fruit procurement and processing bases and for other measures directed toward increasing the output and improving the quality of consumers' goods and improving everyday services to the public, and also to grant 12-month loans to the above enterprises and organizations to permit building up inventories of production materials, unfinished products and ready-made products without tying up their own working capital.

That loans for the above-mentioned purposes be granted:

up to 100,000 rubles to enterprises under district, city, province, territory and autonomous republic jurisdiction on the application from the enterprises and up to 500,000 rubles per enterprise on application from province and territory executive committees and republic Councils of Ministers with one year for repayment;

up to 100,000 rubles to artels of producers' cooperatives and to trade organizations on application from artels and trade organizations and up to 500,000 rubles per enterprise (organization) on application from province, territory and republic councils of producers' cooperatives and unions of consumers' cooperatives and higher-echelon trade organizations, with up to one-year for repayment.

59. That the construction and expansion of enterprises carried out from the accumulations of district and city industry and of local industry under province, territory and autonomous republic jurisdiction be authorized from all deductions for depreciation by district and city industry which have been earmarked for capital construction and from loans granted in accord with the present decree, over and above the plan for capital construction, with allocations of up to 200,000 rubies upon the decision of district and city executive committees, of up to 500,000 rubles on decision of province and territory executive committees and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers and of up to 2,000,000 rubles per enterprise on decision of Union republic Councils of Ministers.

60. That it be noted that there is a large reserve of unused production capacities in local industry and producers' cooperatives and that Union republic Councils of Ministers be required to work out and approve measures for an additional increase in consumers' goods production at local industry and producers' cooperative enterprises and also measures for an increase in 1954-1955 in the production and supply to the market of consumers' goods by local Industry and producers' cooperative enterprises, extensively using local raw materials and the waste materials of state industry for this purpose.

On Capital Construction.—61. That a sharp change in the construction and expansion of the output of consumers' goods industry be carried out in the immediate future. That the construction be accelerated and the opening in 1954-1956 be ensured of large enterprises of the cotton industry in Kamyshin, Engels, Kherson, Barnaul, Stalinabad, Gori, Cheboksary, Yartsevo, Omsk, Kalinin, Serpukhov, Furmanov,

Kineshma, Vyshny Voiochek and Poltava; of the wool industry in Minsk, Bryansk, Krasnodar, Ivanovo, Sverdlovsk, Kansk, Chernigov and Pavlovsky Posad; of the silk industry in Krasnoyarsk, Bendery, Kiev (Darnitsa), Naro-Fominsk, Kalinin and Leninabad; of the linen industry in Smolensk, Orsha, Pskovana Panevezys; of the knitwear industry in Cheboksary and Chernikovsk; or the leather and footwear industry in Ulyanovsk, Ulan-Ude, Veliklye Lukl Dzhabui Voroshilovgrad, Tallinn, Novosibirsk, Stalino, Stalingrad Orel Voronezh, Kamyshlov and Baku.

That the operating enterprises of the textile, knitwear, leather and footwear industries be renovated and expanded in 1954-1956 and that they be supplied with highly productive equipment.

62. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods be required to put the following production capacities into operation in 1954-1955.

	1954	1955
Spindles (total in thousands)	480	1381
for the Cotton industry	422	1180
for the wool industry	43	181
Looms (total of sets) ,	15,507	38,000
for the cotton industry	13,000	32,130
for the wool industry	995	3204
for the silk industry	1175	2080
Footwear equipment Capacity for production footwear (million pairs)	20	35
Capacity for producing hosiery (millions of pairs)	22	36
Equipment for producing: hard leather (tons)	6410	8065
chrome leather (million square decimeters)	85	300

soft leather (million square decimeters)	105	145

63. In order to ensure that production capacities are put into operation as planned and also to create the necessary start on the construction of enterprises which will produce mass consumers' goods in future years, that the volume of capital investments in [enterprises of] the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods for 1954 be set at 5,850,000 rubles, as against an expected expenditure of 3,148,000 rubles in 1953.

64. That the Ministry of Construction be required to complete 922,700,000 rubles' worth of construction and installation work at construction projects of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers Goods in 1954.

65. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods' and Ministry of Construction be required to ensure unconditional fulfilment in 1953 of the 1953 plan for capital construction and for putting production capacities into operation and the plan for opening up housing, kindergartens, nurseries, medical institutions and other establishments providing everyday services.

66. That the U .S.S.R. Ministry of Consumers' Goods and Ministry of Construction be required to present within a month to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers measures, agreed upon with the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Finance, for strengthening construction organizations of the above-mentioned ministries, which carry out the construction of enterprises producing consumers' goods, having in mind the creation of conditions for construction projects on a level with those established for construction organizations in leading branches of the national economy.

67. That the Union republic Councils of Ministers and

province and territory executive committees be required to provide consumers' goods enterprises now under construction with local building materials, meeting requirements fully and on a priority basis.

68. That the Union republic Councils of Ministers be required to set goals within a month for increasing capacities to ensure consumers' goods output in local and cooperative industry in volumes established by the present decree.

69. In order to ensure fulfilment of the goals set by the present decree for the production of consumers' goods, that the Union republic Councils of Ministers be allocated a capita investment of 810,000,000 rubles for 1954 for Ministries at Local and Fuel Industry and Ministries of Local Industry, of which 314,000,000 rubles be allocated to the Russian Republic Council of Ministers, 170,000,000 rubles to the Ukraine Republic Council of Ministers, 120,000,000 rubles to the Belorussian Republic Council of Ministers, 20,000,000 rubles to the Uzbek Republic Council of Ministers, 20,000,000 rubles to the Kazakh Republic Council of Ministers, 9,000,000 rubles to the Georgian Republic Council of Ministers, 10,000,000 rubles to the Azerbaidzhan Republic Council of Ministers, 26,000,000 rubles to the Lithuanian Republic Council of Ministers, 30,000,000 rubles to the Latvian Republic Council of Ministers, 10,000,000 rubles to the Kirglz Republic Council of Ministers, 10,000,000 rubles to the Moldavian Republic Council of Ministers, 9,000,000 rubles to the Tadzhik republic Council of Ministers, 10,000,000 rubles to the Armenian Republic Council of Ministers, 10,000,000 rubles to the Turkmenian Republic Council of Ministers, 30,000,000 rubles to the Estonian Republic Council of Ministers and 12,000,000 rubles to the Karelo-

Finnish Republic Council of Ministers.

70. That the complete and uninterrupted supply of enterprises producing consumers' goods with raw and other materials, fuel, electric power and equipment be considered a cardinal task.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee consider an important task of Union republic ministries, departments and Councils of Ministers to be ensuring a sharp advance in consumers' goods output they charge Union republic Ministers, department heads and chairmen of Councils of Ministers with providing concrete measures in the draft economic plans for 1954 to ensure unconditional fulfilment of the present decree.

(p. 9-26)

VOL. V, NO. 42

Decree on Increasing Output of Food Products

In U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Communist Party Central Committee.—CONCERNING EXPANSION OF OUTPUT OF FOOD PRODUCTS AND IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR QUALITY. (Pravda and Izvestia, Oct. 30, pp. 1-3. Complete text:) The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee note that the output of food products, has increased considerably in recent years. The output of basic food products in the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry is at the following levels in 1953 in comparison with 1940: meat, 162%; fish (catch), 172%; sausage products 158%; animal fats, almost double; cheese, double; vegetable oils, 153%; margarine, almost triple; sugar, 168%; canned goods, 250%; confectionery products, 172%; macaroni products, 220%; groats, 124%; beer, 152%; and grape wines, 184%.

The output of food products will increase more than 41% in 1953 in comparison with 1950. State industry produced 9.7% more food products during the first half of 1953 than during the first half of 1952. However, the output of a number of major food products—meat, animal fats, dairy products, confectionery products and a number of other commodities—increased to an insignificant degree in the first half of 1953 in comparison

with the first hail of 1952, while the fish catch even dropped slightly; as a result, the growing needs of the population for these products are not being met.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Communist Party Central Committee consider that the volume and growth rate of food products output at the present time are not ensuring fulfilment of the task of effecting more rapid improvement in the Soviet people's material and cultural standards of living.

The successes scored in the development of heavy industry and of agriculture and the measures promulgated for its further advancement ensure the creation of a dependable raw materials base in order to make a sharp change in manufacture of food products in the direction of higher output.

An immediate task in the next two to three years is to increase radically supplies to the population of meat and meat products fish and fish products, oil, sugar, confectionery products, canned goods and other commodities.

Food products, have improved in quality in recent years and the commodity assortment has considerably expanded. Nevertheless, the output of a number of enterprises in the food branches of industry still does not meet the demands of the Soviet public in quality and, in particular, in taste.

More than one-third the beef turned out by the meat industry is from poorly fattened stock. One of the main reasons for this is that the stock turned over as procurements has not been well fattened. The organizations charged with fattening livestock have handled this work unsatisfactorily and made poor use of waste products from the food industry for this purpose. Many valuable types of fish are still crudely salted rather

than processed as high-quality frozen, slightly salted or smoked fish products. The small fish (sprats, anchovies, etc.) which are caught in large numbers are not utilized to a sufficient degree in manufacturing such higher-quality fish products as canned fish, fish pastes, frozen and smoked fish products.

Enterprises in the baking industry have on occasion produced bread with excess moisture content, quality norms have not been followed and sanitary demands have not been observed.

Most of the margarine produced is unsatisfactory in regard to flavor and aroma.

Republic and local industry enterprises do not have adequate production standards and are poorly equipped as a result, they turn out food products generally inferior to those produced by U.S.S.R. industry. Little is done to introduce the experience of leading enterprises of Union industry which turn out high quality food products at enterprises under republic and local jurisdiction.

A principal shortcoming in the work of the food branches of industry is the extremely negligible output of packaged food products in great demand in good packages which are outwardly attractive.

Meanwhile, the output of food products in packaged, ready or prepared form not only tends to preserve the quality of products but also makes it possible to avoid much work in preparing food in the home and also improves trade standards and services to customers.

The poor supplying of containers, special grades of paper, wax paper, cardboard, tinfoil and cellophane to food enterprises by enterprises of the lumber, paper, metallurgical and light industry is a major obstacle to increased output of attractively packaged food products. The quality of the paper and cardboard supplied does not

fully correspond to the requirements for machine packaging and wrapping of food products.

The U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber and Paper Industry is not devoting sufficient attention to expanding facilities for making wooden containers and, in particular, well-sealed, water-tight barrels for fish or to improving the quality of these containers; this has retarded the development of food production and created additional difficulties in storing and transporting foodstuffs.

The food products turned out by the food industry often deteriorate in transit because of inadequate special rail, highway and water transport facilities and refrigeration facilities in particular. The manufacture of modern equipment for the food products industry has been poorly developed.

Facilities for processing agricultural raw materials in the manufacture of food products are inadequate, especially for processing livestock in districts of the North Caucasus, Donets Basin and Urals, for processing milk in the Ukraine Republic and a number of central provinces of the Russian Republic, for processing sugar beets in the Moldavian Republic and the western provinces of the Ukraine Republic, and for processing cottonseed in districts of Central Asia and soybeans in the Far East, which leads to impractical long-distance hauls of cottonseed and soybeans.

The construction of food enterprises, mainly to produce, confectionery, macaroni and sausage products, beer and fruit drinks, in the Urals, Far East, Siberia and Central Asia has lagged behind the growth of industrial centers in these districts.

In addition to serious organizational shortcomings in the management of capital construction of food enterprises, incomplete supplying of construction jobs,

with building materials and inadequate mechanization of construction work have caused this work to lag. Few engineers and technicians who have been graduated from educational institutions for the construction trades are sent to food enterprise construction projects.

Some ministries and agencies, as well as the union republic Councils of Ministers, which have building organizations in districts where construction of small food enterprises (bakeries, creameries, brewery and soft-drink enterprises, etc.) is essential, are not assuming responsibility for completing the building of these enterprises, with the result that too many small, parallel construction organizations are formed, unwarranted expenses occur and construction deadlines are put off.

The producers' and consumers' cooperatives and local industry are doing extremely little to develop the production of food products in districts where the state food industry is inadequately developed, with the result that these commodities are hauled in from other districts when they could be manufactured locally at less expense and without involving long-distance hauls.

Despite the fact that there are great opportunities for turning out food products from local raw materials—wild fruits, berries and mushrooms as well as vegetables and other raw materials—the producers' and consumers' cooperatives and local industry are doing little to expand present enterprises for processing food products from local new materials and are not doing enough to organize new enterprises.

The province and territory executive committees and the republic Councils of Ministers are not paying sufficient attention to the development of food enterprises of local industry and the producers' and consumers' cooperatives.

A serious shortcoming in the work of the food branches of industry is the lack of a proper struggle to cut losses on raw materials and finished products and to reduce production costs, which is a basic source for further reducing retail prices on consumers' goods.

In order to bring about an abrupt turn in the matter of expanding the output of food products and improving their quality and assortment the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee have decreed:

I. Concerning Increase In the Output of Food Products and Improvement In their Quality.—1. That the output of food products be radically increased from 1954 to 1956, that their quality, assortment and packaging be improved and that the quota for output of food products set for 1955 by the five-year plan be met considerably ahead of schedule. That the following growth in production be set for major types of food products with this in mind:

For Meat and Meat Products.—2. That the output of meat, bologna and sausage, canned meat, hamburger cutlets and other meat products be considerably increased and that their output be brought to the following levels:

	1954	1955	1954*	1955*
Meat, including poultry (thousand tons)	2180	2550	174	200
poultry (thousand tons)	75	105	250	350
Bologna and sausage (thousand tons)	710	850	147	176
	90	135	210	310
Canned meats (million cans)	380	480	147	186
Hamburger cutlets (millions)	1300	1600	490	600
Semiprocessed meats (million portions)	110	165	380	570
Meat dumplings (thousand)	50	70	600	870

tons)				
Packaged meats (thousand tons)	30	70	2600	Several thousands

* expressed in percentages of 1950 output

That the output of meat by state industry be brought to approximately 3,000,000 tons in 1956, or 240% in comparison with 1950, that the output of bologna and sausage be brought to 1,000,000 tons or increased 220% in comparison with 1950 and that the production of poultry meat be correspondingly Increased 470%.

3. That increased output be ensured as follows in comparison with 1953:

packaged meats four times in 1954 and nine times in 1955;

bologna and sausage, including sardelki [a variety of sausage], 1.5 times in 1954 and more than two times in 1955;

canned meats 1.4 times in 1954 and 1.8 times in 1955, including delicatessen varieties 1.4 times in 1954 and two times in 1955;

semi-processed meats two times in 1954 and three times in 1955;

meat dumplings 1.5 times in 1954 and two times in 1955; hamburger cutlets 40% in 1954 and 80% in 1955.

4. That, through Increased fattening and improved organization of livestock raising, as well as through improved livestock, transport and driving, the trade organizations be ensured that at least 57% of the marketed beef be of superior, above-average and average fattening in 1954 and 65% in 1955, and at least 80% of the mutton be of superior, above-average and average fattening in 1954 and 85% in 1955.

5. That the production of paste, tongue, bologna and sausage, chicken, ham, and other canned delicatessen

meats be developed on a broad scale.

6. That 144 meat-processing enterprises be brought into operation from 1954 to 1956.

That the level of mechanization of processes in handling livestock, rendering fat and treating by-products be increased from 50% in 1953 to 55% in 1954, 65% in 1955 and 75% in 1956.

That the technical processes involved in manufacturing bologna and sausage, sardelki, canned meats, packaged meats, semi-processed meats, hamburger cutlets and dumplings be fully mechanized and that automatic equipment and conveyor lines be employed on a broad scale.

That exemplary salary order be obtained in meat combines, poultry combines and slaughterhouses and that the keeping of livestock and poultry prior to slaughtering be considerably improved and that losses be prevented keeping and transporting them.

7. That capacities for meat production be increased 1.5 times, poultry meat 2.7 times; bologna and sausage 1.7 times, canned meats 1.6 times; hamburger cutlets seven times, meat dumplings five times and rendered fats 1.7 times by the end of 1956 as compared with 1950 by building new enterprises and modernizing and installing new equipment in those now in operation in the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry.

For Fish and Fish Products.—8. That the fish catch be radically increased and brought to the following amounts: (million centners):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Fish	2715	31.9	156	183
herring	5.2	6.7	210	280
salmon and white fish	1.83	2.5	139	189

cod and flounder	6.38	7.6	200	240
sprats	2.15	2.51	280	330

That a quota for fish catch be set at approximately 36,000,000 centners in 1956 or 2.1 times more than in 1950, including 7,800,000 centners of herring, or 3.2 times more than in 1950.

9., That the output of marketed fish products by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be brought to 2,010,000 tons in 1955 and that the output of improved types of fish products be ensured by years as follows (thousand tons):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Fresh-frozen fish	470	650	168	230
Herring, salted	390	480	220	270
Smoked, dried and cured fish products	70	80	156	178
Canned fish (million cans)	520	600	2.6 times	3 times

That the production of black and red caviar be increased and its quality improved; that the output of caviar in small packages in the amount needed for the market be ensured. That special attention be directed toward increasing the production of canned delicatessen products, especially sprats and sardines.

That the processing of small fish-sprats, anchovies, etc. be considerably improved, having ensured a maximum increase in the output of canned goods, pastes, frozen and smoked fish products from fish of these types. With this in view, that small canneries, refrigeration plants and smoke shops be extensively built on the shores of the Azov, Black, Caspian and Baltic Seas.

10. That the Councils of Ministers of the Russian Ukraine Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Azerbaidzhan, Georgian, Kazakh and Uzbek Republics draw up and carry out measures for considerably increasing the fish catch and the output of frozen, smoked, and cured fish products and canned fish.

11. In order to increase the fish catch on the open seas and the prompt receipt and immediate, on-the-spot processing of fish, that the fishing, receiving-transporting, refrigerator and service fleet be considerably supplemented from 1954 to 1956, that the capacity of shipyards and the output of spare and replacement parts for marine motors be radically increased,

12. That the level of mechanization in fishing be brought to 80% in 1956 as compared to 67% in 1953 and that complex mechanization of fish processing, canning, cutting, salting and packing as well as of loading and unloading work at refrigeration plants be ensured and, in particular, that the level of mechanization in unloading fish from vessels be brought to 85% in 1956 as against 73% in 1953, the level of cutting fish to 60% as compared to 20% in 1953 and of vat and barrel salting of small fish to 70% as compared to 50% in 1953 through the installation of mechanized production lines.

13. That the use of production capacities of canneries, refrigeration plants, fish processing and barrelmaking enterprises as well as shipyards be improved. That by the end of 1956 the capacity of fish canning enterprises be increased 1.7 times as compared to 1953 and the capacity of shore refrigeration plants be doubled and the productivity of fish freezers at shore refrigeration plants be increased 2.7 times in comparison with 1953.

That in order to spread the construction of small

refrigerator plants on the shores of the Azov, Black, Caspian and Baltic Seas the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber and Paper Industry be required from 1954 to 1956 to manufacture and supply for the fishing industry 100 prefabricated buildings refrigeration plants with a capacity of 120 tons each, 25 buildings for such plants to be built in 1954.

14. In order to replenish stocks of valuable types of fish (sturgeon, salmon, pike-perch, carp, bream and others) and further to increase the catches of these varieties that extensive work be done from 1954 to 1956 on commercial fish breeding and that for this purpose 39 fisheries, hatcheries and spawning grounds be set up on the Volga, Kura, Don, Dniester, Dnieper, Kuban and Amur Rivers, as well as on the rivers of Kamchatka, the Baltic area and Siberia and on large bodies of water. That new state pond fish-breeding stations and trout farms be built and present ones expanded over an area of 15,000 hectares.

15. That the Union republic Councils of Ministers be required to promulgate measures for extensively developing fish breeding in ponds and reservoirs on collective and state farms.

For Animal Fats, Cheese, Condensed Milk and Other Dairy Products.—16. That the production of animal fats, cheese, canned milk and other dairy products by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be brought to the following amounts in 1954 and 1955 (in thousands of tons):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Animal fats	476	560	149	176
Cheese	97	135	200	280
Processed cheese	37	50	300	410

Condensed milk (million tones)	220	275	270	340
Dried milk	30	38	320	400
Whole milk	2300	2750	200	240

That the production of animal fats be brought to approximately 650,000 tons in 1956, or double in comparison with 1950, and that the production of cheese be brought to 160,006 tons, or 3.3 times in comparison with 1950.

That increased output be ensured for 1954 and 1955 in comparison with 1953 as follows:

creamery butter In packed form double in 1954 and 2.5 times in 1955;

milk: kefir and other dairy products in packed form 1.3 times in 1954 and double in 1955;

condensed milk in small containers 1.5 times in 1954 and double in 1955; that the output of condensed milk with cocoa and coffee be considerably increased and that the output of condensed sterilized milk be developed.

18. That capacities for producing butter be increased 1.5 times, cheese 2.5 times, including processed cheese seven times, condensed milk 3.4 times, dried milk three times and whole milk production 1.7 times by the end of 1956 in comparison with 1950 by building new enterprises and renovating and equipping enterprises now in operation under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry.

19. That mechanization of creameries and cheese factories be carried out on a broad scale, and that full mechanization of these factories in the main butter and cheese-producing districts be completed from 1954 to 1956.

20. That 720 creameries, cheese factories and

primary milk-canning plants, 100 city dairy plants, 16 milk canneries and 80 bases with refrigeration facilities for receiving and storing butter, cheese and other-dairy products be built and put into operation from 1954 to 1956.

21. In order to preserve the quality of milk and milk products and to get them to the cities rapidly in order to supply the public that it be acknowledged essential to increase considerably the use of special highway, rail and water facilities for transporting milk and milk products.

For Vegetable Oils and Soap:—22. That the output of vegetable oil and soap by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be brought to the following amounts in 1954 and 1955 (thousand tons):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Vegetable oil	1300	1500	167	192
Soap in terms of 40% soap	1000	1200	125	150

That the output of vegetable oil be brought to approximately, 1,650,000 tons in 1956 or that it be increased 2.1 times in comparison with 1950.

23. That the output of vegetable oil in packaged form be radically increased in comparison with 1953, or, specifically, five times in 1954 and ten times in 1955.

That the output of refined vegetable oil be increased, in particular by building 20 oil-refining shops each with a total capacity of 510 tons of oil every 24 hours. That the above-mentioned shops be built, mainly in the Ukraine Republic, in Rostov, Voronezh, Kuibyshev, Stalingrad and Novosibirsk Provinces and in Krasnodar; Stavropol and the Altai Territories. That the capacity of drums for storing oil at oil mills be increased by 40,000 tons in

1954 and 1955 in order to ensure an even supply of a variety of vegetable oils to the population. That the quality of vegetable oil be considerably improved, especially of that produced by enterprises under republic jurisdiction.

24. That capacities for processing oilseeds be increased 1.7 times and for producing household soap (in terms of 40% soap) 1.5 times by the end of 1956 in comparison with 1950 by building new enterprises and renovating and equipping enterprises now in operation under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry.

25. That it be acknowledged essential to build and put into operation from 1954 to 1956 24 oil and fat combines and plants, and to begin building ten oil and fat combines during the same years, primarily in the districts of Central Asia, the Far East and Siberia, in order to increase the production of vegetable oil and to curtail the hauling of oilseeds long distances.

That the quality of household soap, its color, odor and marketed form be considerably improved.

26. That the technical equipping of oil plants be completed on the basis of introducing the continuous-extraction method and of using continuous-action automatic presses, which will make it possible to improve the quality of production, considerably reduce the laboriousness of production processes and increase the amount of oil extracted from seeds. That extensive use be made of synthetic fatty acids in soapmaking in order to free for food purposes the high-quality vegetable oils now used in soapmaking. That equipment be introduced for continuous operations in conditioning oilseeds, refining and deodorizing fats and breaking down fats.

27. That mechanized warehouses be built at oil plants

in 1954 and 1955 to store raw materials totalling 300,000 tons and that driers be built at each oil plant for seeds being stored there In order to ensure better storage of oilseeds and to prevent them from spoiling.

28. That the production of soap powder for washing woollens and silks be considerably increased, which will make it possible to increase the life of these fabrics and to retain their color. With this in mind, that four factories with a total capacity of 50,000 tons of soap powder per year, including 10,000 tons for washing woollens and silks, be built at fats combines from 1954 to 1956.

For Margarine.—29. That the output of margarine be radically increased in 1954 and 1955, bringing its production to the following amounts (thousand tons):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Margarine	390	450	2.0 times	2.3 times
Table margarine	211	250	2.9 times	3.4 times
Cooking margarine	179	200	150	167

That the output of margarine be brought to 510,000 tons in 1956, or increased 2.7 times in comparison with 1950.

30. That the output of mayonnaise, which is in great demand among consumers as a good dressing for vegetable, meat and fish dishes, be considerably increased and that the output of mayonnaise be ensured in the amount needed for the market.

31. That the output of margarine in 100- and 200-gram packages be increased in comparison with 1953 as follows: 2*% in 1954 and 170 in 1955.

32. That the quality of margarine be improved and that the output of margarine of higher grades be brought to 86.5% in 1954, 87.5% in 1955 and 90% in 1956 as compared to 85% in 1953.

In order to retain the quality of margarine and to improve the sanitary conditions under which it is delivered to the trade network from enterprises that margarine be delivered to stores in cities only in special transport equipment.

33. In order to ensure the output of margarine comparable in taste to butter, to introduce in production continuous refining and deodorizing (enriching) of fats at high temperatures and high vacuums, to increase the variety of fats used in margarine formulas, and to treat for aroma and for increasing vitamin content, and also to increase the stability of margarine under storage.

34. That capacities for producing margarine be increased 1.5 times by the end of 1956 as compared to 1953 by building new enterprises and expanding, renovating and mechanizing enterprises now in operation.

35. That 12 margarine factories with a total capacity of 142,000 tons of margarine per year be built from 1954 to 1956 in the cities of Stalingrad, Tula, Ufa, Karaganda, Krasnoyarsk, Alma-Ata, Irkutsk, Omsk, Kemerovo, Kazan, Barnaul and Vologda.

For Sugar.—36. That the production and packing of granulated and lump sugar be increased to the following proportions (thousand tons):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Granulated	4300	4800	170	190
lump	1350	1550	193	220
packaged				
cartoons	150	275	430	780
packets (for restaurants)	3.5	5	113	1600

That the production of granulated sugar be brought to

approximately 5,300,000 tons in 1956, or 210% in comparison with 1950, and lump sugar to 1,800,000 tons, or 260% in comparison with 1950.

That in order to raise trade standards, sugar refineries located near large industrial centers are to organize packaging of 50,000 tons of granulated, cube and powdered sugar in 1954 and 100,000 tons in 1955.

37. That the production of granulated sugar be increased to approximately 140% and the production of lump sugar to approximately 220% by the end of 1956 in comparison with 1950 by building new enterprises and renovating and re-equipping existing ones.

38. In order to ensure timely processing of sugar beets and reduce long-distance hauls, that the following be constructed and put into operation from 1954 to 1956:

25 granulated-sugar refineries, mostly in the western provinces of the Ukraine and Moldavian republics where the capacities for processing sugar beets are inadequate;

nine lump-sugar refineries and workshops;

sugar warehouses with a total capacity of 1,100,000 tons, including 300,000 tons in 1954.

For Confectionery and Tea.—39. That the output of Confectionery be brought to 1,579,000 tons in 1954 and 1,825,000 in 1955 as compared to 994,000 tons in 1950 and 1,387,000 tons in 1953, including the following figures for the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry (thousand tons):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
caramels	526	591	124	140
soft candy	175	195	184	200
chocolate and chocolate products	12	20	230	380
toffee	44	60	420	580
fruit preserves, pastilles and Zephyrs	26	36	200	280

halva	43	48	290	330
cookies	346	420	240	290
tarts, pies and cakes	21	30	310	440

40. That quality and assortment of confectionery in popular demand be considerably improved and that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry from 1954 to 1955 increase the following output (in comparison with 1953):

(a) wrapped and packaged confectionery 120% in 1954 and 150% in 1955;

(b) improved varieties of confectionery packaged in boxes 150% in 1954 and 200% in 1955;

(c) confectionery packaged in tins and, boxes 170% in 1954 and 330% in 1955;

(d) caramels and candy with the following fillings: nut (Lobster Tails, Webfeet), fruit, fondant (Gold Key toffee); liqueur, honey, cream and refreshing fillings, as well as fruit drop caramel, (Theater and Illusion), candy (Clumsy Bear and Swan), pastilles, Zephyrs, chocolate shapes in small and large packages and attractively designed chocolates for children, with special attention to manufacturing standards for chocolates, caramels, cookies, honey cakes and fruit preserves.

41. That the Central Council of Producers Cooperatives be obligated to ensure that 70% of the total output of caramels and candy will be in wrappers and 50% of the output of cookies in boxes. That the output of honey cakes and cookies made from highest grade flour be brought to 80%, after increasing the output of Tula, Vyazma, vanilla and peppermint cakes and Eastern sweetmeats.

That the assortment of confectionery be expanded and their production ensured in strict conformity with the recipes and State Standards established for state

enterprises of the confectionery industry.

42. That mechanization of the basic technological processes for manufacturing caramels, toffee and cookies be completed in 1956.

That the output of machine-wrapped and packaged confectionery be brought to 70% of the total output of wrapped and packaged products In 1954 as compared to 60% in 1953 and to 85% in 1956.

43. That the production capacities of confectionery enterprises be increased 190% for sugar products and 210% for flour products by the end of 1956 in comparison to 1950 by building new confectionery factories, chiefly in the area of the Urals, Siberia, the Volga region, Central Asia and Kazakhstan and also by renovating and expanding the existing confectionery factories under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry.

44. That a considerable increase be achieved in the output of ice cream, which has come to be in nationwide demand, increasing its production by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Trade to 190,000 tons in 1954 and 240,000 tons in 1955 as compared with 160,000 tons in 1953, or a 250% increase In comparison with 1950.

That steps be taken to improve markedly the quality of ice cream and that the enterprises manufacturing ice cream be placed In exemplary sanitary condition. That ice cream be produced on a wide scale in the shapes and varieties conforming to popular demand.

That the capacity for producing ice cream be increased 160% by the end of 1956 by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Trade in comparison with 1953.

45. Taking into consideration the fact that the popular demand for green bohea tea and black brick tea is being

inadequately met, that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be required to take steps to increase considerably the output of these varieties of tea.

46. In order to improve quality, aroma, assortment and packaging of tea:

(a) to increase output of black bohea tea in 25-gram packages 130% in 1955 in comparison with 1953 and 200% in 1955;

(b) to increase the output of black bohea tea in cartons 280%;

(c) to increase output of black bohea tea in tins and glass jars 250% in 1954 and 500% in 1955 comparison with 1953.

(d) to package as much as 50% of the total output of black tea in boxes with inner linings of foil in 1954 and 100% in 1955.

47. That as much as 86% of the total output of bohea tea be packaged by machine in 1954, 90% in 1955 and 95% in 1956.

That other labor-consuming tasks in processing tea leaves be mechanized and made automatic.

48. That the capacity of tea industry enterprises be increased by the end of 1956 to 210% in comparison with 1950 for the primary processing of green tea and 190% for tea weighing and 180% for tea pressing in comparison with 1950.

For Bakery Goods, Macaroni Products and Yeast.—

49. In view of the fact that in the past few years the population has been making greater demands for improved bread products, particularly for those made from high-grade wheat flour (ready-for-sale good, rolls, fancy breads, rusks and baranki) and that the consumption of simpler varieties of bread has fallen off, that the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee, the U.S.S.R.

Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of the Food Products Industry be required to take these nationwide demands into consideration in planning bakery production.

50. That the output of breads made from specially ground rye-flour, particularly high-grade breads (parboiled, Borodino, Minsk and Riga), be increased as follows: breads from finely ground rye and wheat flour to 20% of total output in 1954 and 30% in 1955, or 5.9 times in 1955 as compared with 1950, and breads from high-grade wheat flour to 62% of total output in 1954 and 68% in 1955, or 2.9 times in 1955 as compared with 1950.

That an increase in the assortment of macaroni products be ensured, increasing output of spaghetti, thin and high-grade products and packaged macaroni products.

52. That a marked rise in yeast output be achieved in conformity, with market demands, increasing output in 1954 to 86,000 tons and in 1955 to 95,000 tons, or double that in 1950.

That the output of yeast in small packages be increased in 1955 to 4.2 times that in 1950.

53. That the output of macaroni products be increased 2.3 times and yeast output be increased 2.7 times by the end of 1956 in comparison with 1950 by building new enterprises and renovating and equipping existing ones under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry.

54. That in order to ensure output of rye breads of the parboiled varieties three plants for producing red-rye malt each with daily capacity of 30 tons of malt be constructed in the central districts, the Volga region and eastern Siberia.

55. That large-scale construction of bakery, enterprises and the reconstruction and equipping of

enterprises now in operation be carried out. That 372 baked goods plants and mechanized bakeries under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be constructed in cities and workers' settlements in the period from 1953 to 1956.

56. That in 1954 mechanization be completed of flour sifting, dough kneading, the processing of baranki dough and in 1956 unloading dough from tubs and measuring flour.

57. That in order to preserve the quality of breads and rolls in transport and to improve sanitation in supplying these products to the trade network it be recognized as also necessary to organize bread deliveries to the trade network by special baking industry transport in cities according to a list drawn up by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Trade and beginning in 1954 the delivery to city trade networks of cakes and cookies in special trucks.

58. That the republic Councils of Ministers, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, the Ministry of Transportation, the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber and Paper Industry and other ministries and departments supervising bakery enterprises be required to carry out measures for further developing the baking industry, introducing mechanization, improving sanitation, considerably raising the quality and expanding assortment of breads and rolls and increasing special transport facilities for delivering bread products to the trade network.

For Flour and Cereals.—59. That the production of selected flour and groats be increased as follows in 1954 as compared with 1950: highest-grade flour, 2.8 times; first grade flour, 2.1 times; other grades of flour, 1.6 times; millet, 1.5 times; buckwheat meal, 1.7 times; and

peas, 3.8 times.

60. That the capacities of enterprises of the milling industry be increased 1.4 times for flour processing and 1.2 times for processing cereals by the end of 1956 as compared with 1950 by building mills and modernizing and equipping enterprises of the Chief Flour Administration now in operation.

That in order to further increase the capacities of the flour milling industry construction be started in 1955 on 25 milling combines and 11 groat mills and shops.

61. That, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be required:

(a) to improve in accord with Decree No. 1247 of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, dated May 13, 1953, the quality of the flour produced and to ensure the output of 95% fine-ground rye flour, 96% fine-ground wheat flour and 85% second-grade wheat flour (with identical milling) and to produce finer-milled flour from these types;

(b) to organize the standard packing of selected flour and, cereals, producing 50,000 tons. of packaged flour in 1954 and 250,000 tons in 1955 and 10,000 tons of cereal in 1954 and 30,000 tons in 1955; and to build packaging shops at mills and large industrial centers, first of all in the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Sverdlovsk and Molotov, utilizing returnable containers, for shipping packaged flour.

62. In order to increase the capacities of enterprises for high-quality milling of state grain and better services to the collective and state farms which process grain at state milling enterprises for farms that the Union republic Councils of Ministers be required:

(a) considerably to improve the work of the above-mentioned milling enterprises and increase their production capacities for producing high-grade flour;

(b) to provide in plans for 1954 to 1956 for the construction of warehouses at mills which process grain from state resources on the basis of a 30-day reserve of grain and a 15-day reserve of finished products;

(c) to adopt measures ensuring improvement in the quality of the flour and cereals produced and to organize laboratories at roller mills in 1954;

(d) in districts where there are no roller mills to improve the work of the present network of centers for exchanging grain for flour and to organize additional centers if needed;

(e) to ensure the necessary repairs on equipment, buildings and water power installations of mills as well as the modernizing and improvement of mills through utilization of 10% deductions from turnover, paying special attention to maximum introduction of pneumatic conveyors and improved milling procedures.

For Canned Goods and Food Concentrates.—63. That the output of canned vegetables, tomatoes and fruit be brought to 1,780,000,000 cans in 1954 and 2,045,000,000 cans in 1955 at enterprises of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry as compared with 922,000,000 cans in 1950 and 1,363,000,000 cans in 1953, ensuring an increase in this output in the following breakdown (million cans):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Canned vegetables	410	480	250	300
Canned tomato products	510	560	171	190
Canned fruit	755	855	187	200
Canned meat and vegetables	65	70	200	220
Canned pork and beans	40	80	160	320

That the output of canned vegetables, tomatoes products and fruit be brought to approximately 2,500,000,000 cans in 1956, or an increase of 2.7 times in comparison with 1950, and that the amount of all types of canned goods (meat, fish, milk, vegetables, tomatoes and fruit) be brought to 4,150,000,000 cans, or an increase of 2.9 times in comparison with 1950.

64. That output be ensured of products of the food-concentrate industry in the following amounts (thousand tons):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Food concentrates	90	100	167	185
Berry paste (kisel)	30	35	120	140
Dry breakfast foods	10	15	330	500
Cooked cereal, oatmeal and baby cereal	42	50	200	240

65. Ascribing great importance to developing dried vegetables and potatoes as an important way to ensure that these commodities can be hauled to remote districts regardless of season, to curtail long-distance shipments of fresh vegetables and potatoes, to cut losses in hauling and storing them and to retain quality, that the output of dried vegetables and potatoes at enterprises of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Trade, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives and the Central Council of Producers' Cooperatives be brought from 46,000 tons in 1953 to 70,000 tons in 1954 and 100,000 tons in 1955, or an increase of 4.3 times in comparison with 1950.

66. That the output of fresh-frozen vegetables, green peas, fruit and berries be greatly increased.

67. In order to ensure rapid construction of shops for producing fresh frozen vegetables, fruit and berries and to make fuller use of refrigeration plants and canneries now in operation that construction be organized of such shops at refrigeration plants (including those belonging to the trade organizations) and canneries.

68. That the output of baby foods be considerably increased: strained apples with milk, strained apricots, strained peas, carrots, string beans, spinach and other vegetables 4.5 times in 1954 and nine times in 1955 as compared with 1953.

That mass production be organized in 1954 of dried food preparations for infants.

69. That the capacities of the chief Canning and Food Concentrates Industry Administration of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be increased to produce 2.3 times as much canned fruit and vegetables, 1.2 times as many food concentrates, 4.4 times as much dried breakfast food and two times as many dietetic products by the end of 1956 as in 1950. In order to ensure fulfilment of the task of increasing the output of food products in finished and prepared form, which will lighten the work and reduce the time required to prepare food in the home and improve trade and service to customers, that it be considered necessary in addition to expanding capacities at enterprises now in operation to begin building new enterprises in 1954 and 1955 for producing food concentrates, oat and corn flakes, canned meals, sauces, condiments and special baby foods.

70. That technological processes of producing tomato products, canned green peas, sweet corn, tomato and fruit juices and also of washing glass containers be completely mechanized from 1954 to 1956 at large canneries, That automatic filling and packaging machines

be widely introduced.

That completely mechanized sulphite treatment (preventive treatment) of partially preserved fruit be introduced in large canneries.

That the latest quick-freezing equipment, automatic machines for packing green peas in cartons and automatic equipment for wrapping cartons in cellophane be introduced for rapid freezing of fruit, berries and vegetables.

71. That the production of mixtures of dried vegetables (soup mixes) for retailing be organized in 1954 and also the production of compressed bricks of dried vegetables and potatoes in the appropriate containers.

72. In order to develop the interest of the collective farms in growing and delivering white flint strains of corn needed for producing corn flakes that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements be authorized to credit beginning in 1954 every ton of white flint corn as 1.5 tons of yellow or white non-flint corn or the corresponding amount of other grain crops at the established equivalents.

73. In order to ensure the storage of canned goods and of reserves of vegetables procured for processing during the autumn and winter period that from 1954 to 1956 warehouses be built at the canneries in order to store 200,000,000 cans of canned goods and vegetable storage facilities for 35,000 tons of vegetables.

74. That the production of vitamins be considerably increased and that their output be brought to 48,000,000,000 adult doses in 1955 as compared with 19,200,000,000 in 1959 and the 32,500,000,000 planned in 1953.

For Beer, Fruit Drinks and Bread Kvas.—75. That the

output of beer, fruit drinks, mineral waters and bread kvas be considerably increased from 1954 to 1956, especially in the districts of the Donets Basin, Urals and Kuznetsk Basin, where the popular demand for beverages is not being met satisfactorily, and that the output of these beverages be increased to the following, amounts (million decaliters):

	1954	1955	1954 % of 1950	1955 % of 1950
Beer	210	232	163	181
Bottled beer	73	109	340	500
Non-alcoholic beverages	410	135	153	187
those of the U.S.S.R Food Products Industry	75	90	158	189
fruit drinks	43	50	185	220
bread kvas	27	34	210	270
bottled	3.6	6	1600	several dozen
Mineral waters (million bottles)	220	260	200	240

76. That measures be taken to raise the level of production and to improve the quality of beer, kvas, fruit drinks and mineral waters by ensuring the use of more-highly perfected machinery for making beer, compulsory observation of the norms for adding ingredients and using of high-quality syrups and juices in producing fruit drinks, introduction of refrigeration on a wide scale and strict observance of technological instructions and sanitary requirements In making and bottling beer, fruit drinks, mineral waters, lemonade and kvas.

77. That the quality of bread kvas, which has long been popular, be improved. That, with this aim, only high-quality rye malt and bread products, steamed beforehand, be used in its preparation.

78. Considering the low quality in a number of instances of fruit drinks and kvas produced by enterprises under republic, province and district jurisdiction and by cooperative enterprises and also the necessity for considerably improving the production of these drinks in districts where the capacities of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry are inadequate or lacking, that the republic Councils of Ministers, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives and the Central Council of Producers' Cooperatives check technical and sanitary conditions in the enterprises subordinate to them which produce fruit drinks and kvas, that the existing shortcomings in this matter be eliminated, that measures be formulated and carried out to improve considerably the quality and increase the production of these drinks, using the present resources for organizing the production of fruit drinks and kvas in public-catering enterprises—canteens and restaurants, bearing in mind the need to meet fully the popular demand for these drinks.

79. That a basic improvement in conditions for the sale of beer fruit drinks and kvas be ensured by cooling them and by using carbonic acid in drawing these drinks from barrels into drinking vessels. That these necessary measures be introduced in 1954 in industrial centers and from 1955 to 1956 in all other cities.

80. That by the end of 1956, in comparison with 1950, the Ministry of the Food Industry's production capacities for beer be increased 2.2 times, mineral waters 3.7 times, nonalcoholic drinks 4.1 times, including fruit drinks 4.5 times, bread kvas 5.4 times and malt beverages 2.7 times.

81. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Industry be required to increase sharply the output of Borzhom,

Narzan and Yessentuki mineral waters.

For Wines, Champagnes, Cognas, Liqueurs and Vodkas.—82. That in 1954 and 1955 the output of wines and cognacs be increased as follows: wines to 30,370,000 decaliters in 1954, or 2.1 times that in 1950, and 34,480,000 decaliters in 1955, or 2.4 times that in 1950, including champagnes to 1,370,000 decaliters (18,000,000 bottles) in 1954, or 129% that in 1950, and (1,480,000 decaliters (20,000,000 bottles) in 1955, or 140% that in 1950; cognacs to 1,200,000 decaliters in 1954, or 2.9 times that in 1950 and to 1,500,000 decaliters in 1955, or 3.7 times that in 1950.

83. That in 1954 the production of bottled grape, fruit and berry wines be increased to 90% of the total output.

That measures be taken to improve the quality of wines and cognas.

84. That the capacity of wine industry, enterprises for producing wines by the end of 1956 in comparison with 1950 be increased 2.7 times for wines, 2.5 times for champagnes and 4.6 times for cognacs by constructing new plants and renovating and expanding present ones.

That in order to improve wines and reduce storage losses of ingredients and finished products the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry take steps to considerably increase the number of wine cellars by constructing new ones and enlarging, present ones and utilizing modern machinery and technical processes.

That wineries be constructed first of all in the following cities: Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Khabarovsk, Chelyabinsk, Omsk, Sverdlovsk, Molotov, Saratov, Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, Minsk, Kishinev and Kurgan-Tyube, and champagne enterprises in Sverdlovsk, Khabarovsk and on the Tsimiyanskaya State Farm in the Rostov province.

85. That in order to improve the quality of vodka and liqueur and vodka products; the production of 40%, vodka and vodka products be shifted to production based on only the purest doubly distilled spirits in the course of 1954 and 1956 and that this vodka be bottled in frosted glass containers, and the high-grade vodkas and liqueur and vodka products be bottled in clear glass bottles.

For the Use of Refrigeration in the Food Products Industry.—86. That in order to improve the quality of products and the refrigeration of meat, fish, butter and other food products and to provide for the proper storage of these commodities, refrigerator space and freezer capacity are to be considerably increased: That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry increase In 1954-1956 refrigeration space to 205,000 tons of storage at one time and increase this space by the end of 1956 to 709,000 tons as against 460,000 tons in 1953 constructing new refrigerators and reconstructing and expanding existing refrigerators. That, in order to accomplish this:

- to expand utilization of large standardized refrigerators and small standardized refrigerators, as well in the meat fish and butter industries, thus permitting construction or refrigerators in shorter periods of time and at less cost;

- to increase in 1954-956 the productivity of refrigerator plant freezers for meat, fish and other food products to 10,000 tons per day.

- to install quick-freezing equipment in industrial and cooperative refrigerator plants and in enterprises of the food products industry in order to permit the quick freezing of meat products, poultry, fish and fish fillets, pelmeny [ravioli], fruit, vegetables and other products.

87. That more effective and efficient equipment for cooling refrigerator chambers and for automatic control of refrigeration installations, automatic temperature-regulating devices and ozonation installations for ventilating storage chambers and thermometric devices be used in building new refrigerator plants and renovating present ones.

88. In order to improve the transportation of chilled and frozen food products from refrigerator plants and bases to the trade network that special stations be organized in the course of 1954 and 1955 at refrigerator plants situated in industrial centers in order to change cooling coils and chambers used in truck-drawn refrigerator trailers.

89. That the Ministry of Machine-Building and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be instructed to examine the task of producing from 1954 to 1956 modernized two-stage compressors, automatized freon units, dry-ice equipment, absorption units and refrigerator apparatus for rapid cooling of sausage, fats, milk, wine and non-alcoholic drinks and of producing instruments and apparatus for the automatic operation and regulation of refrigerator plants and spare parts for them. That their recommendations on this matter be presented to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers within one month.

For Cigarettes, Perfumes and Cosmetics.—90. That cigarette output be brought to 200,000,000,000 in 1954, or 160% in comparison with 1950, and to 215,000,000,000 in 1955, or 170% in comparison with 1950.

91. In order to achieve considerable improvement in labor conditions and raise the quality of production at tobacco industry enterprises.

(a) that tobacco factories complete in 1954 the introduction of the new method for moistening tobacco with conditioned air and pneumatically working and dusting the tobacco fiber and that mechanized mixing of tobacco leaves be achieved in 1954 to 1955;

(b) that all tobacco-fermenting plants shift the process of fermenting tobacco to an automatically controlled process from 1954 to 1955, after installing the automatic, thermostats and humidity regulators planned.

92. That the capacity for producing cigarettes be increased to 160% and for fermenting tobacco 140% by the end of 1956 in comparison with 1950 by building new enterprises and fermenting plants for the tobacco industry as well as renovating the existing ones and fitting them with additional technical equipment.

That warehouses with a total capacity of 240,000 square meters be constructed from 1954 to 1956 for storing raw tobacco and makhorka in the procurement network and at the tobacco, factories.

93. That the market demand for the necessary assortment of toilet soap be completely fulfilled in 1954, giving special attention to improving quality, aroma and design of this soap; that a notable increase be achieved in the production of high-grade toilet soap in wrappers and cartons.

94. That production be doubled in 1954 of high-grade perfume and toilet waters, which are gaining increasing popularity, and increased in 1955 to 250% in comparison with 1953.

95. That in order to ensure the output of high-and average-grade perfumes and toilet waters an increase be achieved in the production of bottles with artistically designed metal and plastic caps.

96. That the design of toilet soap and perfume and

cosmetics be improved, applying attractive new labels made of bronze and aluminium foil.

In order to provide the perfume and cosmetics industry with high-grade synthetic perfume ingredients, that construction be started on the second unit of the large Kaluga Synthetic Perfume Combine and that it be equipped with its own litho-graphic base.

That the New Dawn Perfume Factory in Moscow and the Aurora Borealis Perfume Factory in Leningrad be renovated, to specialize in particularly valuable perfumes, toilet waters and other perfume products.

II.—Concerning Material and Technical Provision and Capital Investments for the Food Products Industry.—97. That it be recognized as necessary considerably to increase the output of highly productive machinery and automatic equipment for securing the mechanization and automatization of food production processes be rapidly as possible.

That it be considered a principal aim of the Ministry of Machine Building in the sphere of machine building for food industry in 1954-1955 to manufacture the most modern and highly productive equipment for the processing of food products: fish boning and bottling and sealing automatic assembly lines, conveyor belts for handling [slaughtered] livestock, automatic equipment for making sausage products, automatic packaging and wrapping machines, lines for producing tin cans, units of equipment for the sugar industry, mass-production and automatic lines for making butter, bread, rolls and macaroni products and automatic machines for making tobacco goods.

98. That the Ministry of Machine Building be required to manufacture and supply to the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry technological equipment in 1954

to the sum of 530,000,000 rubles and in 1955 to the sum of 800,000,000 rubles and to increase by the beginning of 1956 the capacities of food industry machine-building plants by a sum of up to 1,100,000,009 rubles.

99. That it be recognized as intolerable that the industry which produces manufactured goods and the trade organizations are being completely unsatisfactorily provided with all types of containers, paper and cardboard for packing and wrapping food products.

In order to ensure the introduction of measures for improving the quality and assortment of food products, that the output of food commodities in packaged form and in good, well designed wrappers be sharply increased; that in order to increase sales of these commodities, it be considered necessary considerably to expand output of special types of paper and cardboard.

100. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber and Paper Industry be required to double by the end of 1957 its capacity to manufacture special types of paper and cardboard for the food products industry and for trade organizations in comparison with the 1953 capacity.

101. Taking into account that to ensure the preservation of the quality of food products, to raise the level of output and improve the external appearance of commodities such packing materials as foil and cellophane must play a large part to require:

(a) that the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry considerably increase the supply of aluminium foil to ministries and departments which produce food, products and to meet the needs of trade.

That the production of stamped, colored and glossy papers and of waxed paper and foil be expanded;

(b) that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry considerably increase the supply of cellophane

to ministries and departments which produce food products and also to meet the needs of trade.

That the quality of cellophane be sharply improved, that the manufacture of cellophane in different colors be ensured and stamped, waterproof and glossy cellophane be produced.

102. Taking into account that the food products' industry and the trade network are being poorly supplied with wooden containers, the quality of which is in many cases unsatisfactory and the cost high, that the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber and Paper Industry be required within one month to work out and present to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers proposals on increasing the production of wooden containers, on sharply improving its quality and lowering the cost, proceeding from the need to satisfying fully the demand of the food products industry and the needs of trade for wooden containers.

103. That it be considered essential to ensure complete and uninterrupted supplying of enterprises producing food products with raw materials, supplies, fuel, electric power and equipment. To require:

(a) that the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee provide in drafts of plans for the development of the U.S.S.R. national economy in 1954 and 1955:

for complete supplying of raw materials, funded supplies, fuel and electric, power for the established volume of food product production; for providing branches manufacturing food products with monetary funds, equipment and building materials in accord with plans for developing the production capacities of the food products industry;

(b) in allocating funds for raw materials and supplies for individual enterprises that all ministries, agencies and

republic Councils of Ministers see that enterprises producing food products are supplied with these materials first;

(c) that the supplier ministries ensure uninterrupted supplying and unconditional fulfilment of the plan for deliveries of raw materials, supplies and equipment to enterprises producing food products regardless of whether the plan for deliveries to other clients is fulfilled.

104. That the Ministry of Power Plants and Electrical Industry, the republic Councils of Ministers, and the territory and province executive committees provide in electric power, distribution plans for complete supplying of electric power to enterprises producing food products, determining limits of electric capacity for the enterprises and ensuring an uninterrupted power supply without permitting the power supply to be cut or diminished if this supply is used within the established limits, and that they give priority to connecting additional transformer capacities installed at enterprises producing food products:

105. In order to ensure fulfilment of the task of achieving a radical advance in the output of food products that it be considered necessary to promulgate measures for improving the training of cadres and providing enterprises, and organizations of the food products industry with specialists.

That the measures submitted by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture for ensuring cadres for enterprises, construction projects and organizations of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be confirmed.

106. In order to ensure increased production capacities that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry be assigned a volume of

8,500,000,000 rubles in capital investments in 1954 (including the millet and groats and combined food industry) as compared with the expected volume of 4,800,000,000 rubles in 1953.

That it be acknowledged necessary considerably to increase the volume of construction work on enterprises of the food products industry done by those organizations which existed in the areas where the construction work is planned.

107. In order to ensure a most rapid increase in the capacities of enterprises of the food products industry with minimum capital investments that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry, the republic Councils of Ministers, the province and city executive committees and the directors and chief engineers of these enterprises work out and confirm in two months' time measures for increasing capacities and increasing the production of food products by every enterprise through mechanization, elimination of bottlenecks, expansion and adaptation of suitable buildings, with extensive use of rationalization suggestions by workers, engineers and technicians.

108. That the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Products Industry, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, the Central Council of Producers' Cooperatives and the Union republic Councils of Ministers work out and promulgate measures at enterprises producing food products for further reducing the cost of production, eliminating losses of raw materials and finished products and reducing overhead expenses and operating costs.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Communist Party Central Committee hold that ensuring a sharp rise

in the output of food products is one of the major tasks of all Soviet, Party and trade union bodies and charges the Ministers, Secretaries of the Central Committee, of the Union republic Communist Parties, chairmen of territory and province executive committees and secretaries of territory and province executive committees with giving every assistance to enterprises of the food products industry in fulfilling the tasks set before industry of sharply increasing the public supply of food products and creating an abundance of food products in the country and with providing in the draft economic plans (for 1954, 1955 and 1956 concrete measures aimed at unconditional fulfilment of the present decree.

It is the duty of all personnel of enterprises and organizations of the food products industry to eliminate the present shortcomings in the work of the industry and apply all efforts to fulfilling and over fulfilling the tasks set in the present decree for considerably improving the output of food products, improving their quality and improving production standards, thereby ensuring an abundance of high-quality food products in our country in the near future.

(p. 16-23)

TOWARDS ABUNDANCE, Results of the Fulfilment of the 1953 State Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.

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During the past year the government took a number of decisions aimed at bringing about a sharp increase in the output of consumer goods, with a view to achieving a considerable rise in the material wellbeing of the people.

As a result of this, the branches of industry producing consumer goods, in the course of 1953 and particularly during the second half of the year, developed at a higher rate than in 1952, and at a higher rate than was originally provided for by the plan for 1953. Whereas in 1952 output of these industries increased by 10.5 per cent., in 1953 output increased by 12 per cent., and in the second half of 1953 the increase was 14 per cent. as compared with the second half of 1952.

...

The plan for the year has also been overfulfilled as regards the production of silk, woollen and linen fabrics, cotton yarn and cotton thread articles, knitted underwear, hosiery, upright and grand pianos, sausage products,

condensed milk, vegetable, oils, margarine, macaroni products, confectionery, tea, grape wines, beer, champagne, tobacco, cigarettes, matches, soap, and other foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods. Certain Ministries, however, did not take the necessary steps, to ensure the fulfilment of the plan for the output of certain industrial products. For instance, the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry failed to fulfil the output plan for a number of products, and in particular for a number of kinds of rolled ferrous metals in short supply; the Ministry of Power Stations and the Electrical Industry failed to fulfil the output plan for certain kinds of generators and electric motors; the Ministry of the Engineering Industry failed to fulfil the output plan for a number of types of agricultural machinery and textile equipment; the Ministry of the Transport and Heavy Engineering Industry did not fulfil the plan for locomotives and some kinds of power and rolling mill equipment; the Ministry of the Building Materials Industry of the U.S.S.R. did not fulfil the plan for bricks, roofing slate, and certain sanitation and technical goods. The Ministry of the Timber and Paper Industry of the U.S.S.R. did not fulfil the plan for the haulage of marketable timber. The Ministry of the Food Industry of the U.S.S.R. failed to ensure the fulfilment of the plan for the fish catch.

...

The growth of output in a number of industries was retarded because of the existence of a considerable number of enterprises functioning in an uneven way and not fulfilling the plan.

...

There was a considerable increase in the output of manufactured consumer goods in the heavy industries and the engineering industry, particularly during the

second half of 1953. ...

(p. 6-7-8-9)

In 1953, the Communist Party and the Soviet government adopted important decisions outlining measures for the further development of agriculture.

In line with these decisions, substantial assistance was rendered to agriculture already in 1953. Its technical equipment was greatly increased by the addition, in 1953 alone, of 157,000 tractors, 41,000 grain combines, and more than two million farm machines and implements.

At the call of the Communist Party upwards of 100,000 agronomists and livestock experts left other jobs to go and work permanently in the machine and tractor stations and assist the collective farms, as did large numbers of engineers and technicians formerly working in industry and other branches of the economy.

The crop area in 1953 showed an increase of 1,400,000 hectares (roughly 3½ million acres) over the previous year. Bigger cotton, sugar beet, sunflower, vegetable and melon crops were obtained, and the collective farms enlarged their flocks and herds.

Though weather conditions in 1953 were unfavourable in a number of areas, the cereal crop actually gathered was close to that of 1952. All this demonstrates the power of socialist, collective farming.

It is a basic aim of the Communist Party and the Soviet government and the object of socialist economic development to ensure the greater prosperity of the Soviet people, the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of society. To promote a further upward movement in the continuously rising material and cultural standards of the Soviet people, last year the Soviet government adopted a series

of decisions envisaging a steep rise in output of articles of mass consumption.

That the first months of implementation of these decisions have already borne fruit is indicated by the figures for 1953. In that year, and especially in the second half, the output of the industries producing consumer goods increased at a faster rate than in 1952, and faster than was provided for by the original plan for 1953.

Whereas in 1952 output of these items increased 10.5 per cent. in 1953 it increased 12 per cent, while volume of output in the second half of 1953, was 14 per cent greater than in the corresponding period of 1952.

This figure—14 per cent.—gives an idea of the scale on which production of consumer goods is being expanded.

Noteworthy, too, is the improvement in the *quality* of products. In the Soviet Union, in contradistinction to the capitalist countries, the purchasing capacity of the people is not falling but rapidly rising, and consequently there is an increasing growth in the demand for the more valuable foods and manufactures, including bicycles, motorcycles, motor cars, radio and television sets, clocks and watches, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, etc.

For the fuller satisfaction of this demand, Soviet industry in 1953 particularly increased its output of such items as pure-wool cloth (76 per cent), high-class footwear (44 per cent), television sets (125 per cent), vacuum cleaners (100 per cent.), refrigerators (59 per cent), and so on.

The economic figures for 1953 reflect a substantial rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. This is to be seen in the fact that on April 1 government retail prices were considerably reduced, for

the sixth time since the abolition of rationing. The reduction represented an annual saving to the population of over 50,000 million roubles. It is to be seen in the fact that the volume of government and co-operative retail sales in 1953 increased 21 per cent

It is to be seen in the broad scope of housing construction, in the building in the course of the year of upwards of 28 million square metres (about 33½ million square yards) of housing in towns and industrial communities, and of over 400,000 new homes in rural areas. It is to be seen in the rising balances in savings bank accounts an increase of over 12,000 million roubles in 1953, as against 4,500 million in 1952.

Measured in the same prices, the total income of workers and farmers was 13 per cent. greater in 1953 than in the previous year.

(p. 30-31)

**Resolutions and decisions of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The
Khrushchev Years, 1953-1964**

Editor: Grey Hodnett

University of Toronto Press

***Plenum of the Central Committee, 23 February - 2
March 1954***

2 March 1954

... The plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU sets before the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Sovkhozes, the party, soviet, and agricultural organs of Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals, the Volga Region, and the North Caucasus, as well as before the MTSS, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes of these regions, a task of major importance for the state—extension of the area sown to grain crops in 1954-55 by opening up not less than 13 million hectares of virgin and unused lands, obtaining from these lands in 1955 1100-1200 puds of grain of which 800-900 million puds will be marketed.

....

4 All the work involved in the cultivation of these grains is to be mechanized so that the ploughing and preliminary tilling of the soil, the sowing, and the harvesting of the crops on these new lands, as well as the threshing, will be on schedule and require minimum labour inputs.

In 1954 the regions where these new lands are being opened up are to be supplied with 120,000 15-horsepower tractors. 10,000 combines, and a suitable number of tractor ploughs. seeding machines, heavy-duty disc harrows, cultivators, and other agricultural machines for use in developing the unused and virgin lands, in ploughing up unproductive meadows and pastures, and in further increasing the area sown to wheat. For the technical maintenance of these tractors and other machines the area must also be supplied with the necessary number of automobiles, transportable repair installations. tank-trucks, oil and gas depots, and other instruments and equipment.

5 The plenum of the Central Committee calls to the attention of all party, soviet, and agricultural organs the fact that the successful development of the unused and virgin lands will depend, above all, upon the correct selection of qualified leaders, engineers, technicians, and agronomists, as well as of machine operators, for the tractor detachments and brigades in the MTSS and sovkhozes, and their dispatch to the new lands.

In view of the urgent need for labour in the MTSS and sovkhozes working to develop the new lands, they must be supplied with skilled cadres from-among workers presently employed in MTSS and sovkhozes and also by training tractor drivers and combine operators in trade schools and technical schools of agriculture mechanization, and by setting up courses in the MTSS

and sovkhozes themselves. The labour required by the recently organized sovkhozes in the new lands must be made available through organized recruitment.

The plenum of the Central Committee sets before the central committees of the union-republic parties, the CPSU krai and oblast committees, the republic councils of ministers, the oblast and krai executive committees, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Sovkhozes, before all party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, the following task—in 1954, on the basis of an extensive explanatory effort, they are to select persons for leading positions as specialists and qualified workers, sending them to the MTSS and sovkhozes involved in developing the new lands. The selection is to be made both from existing MTSSs and sovkhozes and from industry and other branches of the economy. The organized recruitment and dispatch of these persons to the new lands is to be viewed as the fulfilment of an important task set by the party and government, as a great patriotic cause.

In every enterprise, institution, and organization the dispatch of those specialists and qualified workers from among its members who have expressed a desire to go out to work in the new lands should be regarded as a debt of honour.

...

8 To create the necessary living conditions for workers in tractor brigades and detachments of MTSS and sovkhozes opening up new lands, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Sovkhozes, and the local party, soviet, and agricultural organs are directed in 1954 to organize field camps provided with wagons and sleeping tents, kitchens, and baths, and furthermore, to

organize mess facilities and water supply.

The USSR Ministry of Trade and the Central Union of Consumer Co-operatives are directed to provide for trade in food products and essential supplies in the tractor detachments and brigades, making extensive use of mobile vending counters.

The USSR Ministry of Culture and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions must provide cultural services for tractor detachments and brigades of the MTSS and sovkhozes in the new lands (cinema, radio, newspapers, magazines, etc.). The USSR Ministry of Health is to provide medical services for these workers.

9 To increase the material interest of kolkhozes, kolkhozniks, and MTS workers in fulfilling the plan for developing the new lands and obtaining large grain crops from them the following incentives are established:

a It is recommended that the kolkhozes, by a decision of the general meeting, allow workers in field and tractor brigades additional pay of up to 30 per cent of that part of the harvest collected from the whole sown area in the new lands which is over and above the planned yield for this area;

b It is recommended that the kolkhozes, subject to the discretion of the general meetings of members, issue to their members advances on labour days to the extent of about 25 per cent of the income derived from the sale to the state—either as compulsory deliveries or as state purchases—of the grain from the newly opened lands;

c The Central Union of Consumer Co-operatives is directed to make available for sale to the kolkhozes delivering grain for state purchase, industrial goods, trucks, automobile trailers, electric motors, construction materials, and other goods for productive and economic use, to the extent of 50 rubles of goods at retail prices for

each 100 rubles of grain delivered.

d As an exception, for each centner of grain actually delivered and sold to the state by the kolkhozes the MTS directors may allocate an additional 75 kopeks for distribution as bonuses to MTS tractor brigades and special units. These funds may be allocated as bonuses on the condition that the planned sowing norms have been met and the actual yields from the virgin and unused lands meet the plan targets.

In 1954 and 1955 workers, employees, specialists, and leading personnel of the newly organized sovkhozes on virgin and unused lands are to receive a 15 per cent salary increase.

10 The plenum considers that an increase in grain production demands, over and above the development of virgin and unused lands in Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals, the Volga Region, and the North Caucasus, a considerable extension of sown areas in other areas of the country, the non-black-soil belt in particular, through the ploughing up of unused lands, fields, and meadows of low productivity, the clearing of fields overgrown with brush and shrubbery, and the draining of swamps.

Such measures will rapidly make possible the addition of fertile lands to agriculture and an extension of the area sown to grain, vegetables, potatoes, and feed-grains in the heavily populated regions of the country possessing a highly developed industry, thus significantly improving the supply of fresh vegetables, potatoes, milk, and meat available to the populations of urban and industrial centres...

Pravda, 6 March 1954 KPSS v rezoliutsiakh VI, 430-63

(p. 30-33)

MEETING OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, February 8 and 9, 1955

Declaration	5
Speech by N. A. Bulganin	8
Report by Y. M. Molotov	18
Resolution	53

Soviet News “Soviet News” February 1955 No. 5

Heavy industry has always been, and remains, the foundation for the further advance of our national economy. Today the output of heavy industry is nearly three and a half times as great as in the pre-war year 1940.

Our highly developed heavy industry represents a historic achievement of the Communist Party and the Soviet people. It is well known that heavy industry has rendered splendid service in building socialism and consolidating our country's independence. Heavy industry is the foundation of the invincible defensive

capacity of our country and the might of our brave armed forces. Remember, Comrades, the hard years of the Great Patriotic War. If at that time our country had not possessed a powerful economic foundation—our heavy industry—we should not have achieved victory over an enemy who was armed to the teeth. Heavy industry has ensured the freedom and independence of our country.

Heavy industry ensures the development of all branches of our national economy—agriculture, and the light and the food industries—and is therefore the source of the continued rise in the wellbeing of the Soviet people.

In order to ensure the advance of agriculture, which provides raw materials for light industry, it must be supplied with tractors, combines and other farm machinery in sufficient quantities. Only heavy industry is able to give us all this.

In developing heavy industry we have always followed, and we shall continue to follow the directives of great Lenin and J. V. Stalin, the loyal continuer of his work. The line of giving the predominant place to the development of heavy industry, which our Party upheld in fierce battle against the class enemy and his agents, has been justified by the entire course of socialist construction in our country. It is in accord with the vital interests of the Soviet state and our people.

In the economic sphere, therefore, the government will continue firmly to apply the general line of the Communist Party, which provides for the development of heavy industry in every way (*prolonged applause*).

A very important task of the government is to carry out the measures drawn up by the Communist Party for the development of socialist agriculture and designed to ensure the satisfaction of the constantly rising

requirements of the population as regards foodstuffs and of industry as regards raw materials.

Of great importance in this connection is the decision of the recent plenary meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which set the task, within the next five to six years, of bringing the annual grain harvest up to not less than 10,000 million **poods*** and more than doubling the output of the main livestock products.

The plenary meeting of the Party's central committee has pointed out the ways and means for accomplishing this task—a task of the entire people. Among these means, together with the raising of yields and cutting of losses during the harvest, the development of virgin and long-unused land is the most accessible and rapid. Already in 1956 the sown area of these lands will amount to not less than 28-30 million **hectares†**. The expansion of the maize area from three and a half million to 28 million **hectares‡** is also a major reserve for the production of grain. An increase in the production of grain, and especially of such a high yielding crop as maize, will make it possible to achieve a radical solution of the problem of establishing fodder resources for livestock farming.

The accomplishment within five to six years of such magnificent tasks in agriculture is entirely feasible and within our country's power. But this demands the mobilisation of the efforts of the collective farm peasantry, the working class and the whole Soviet people in order to raise the efficiency of agriculture production to a new and higher level, on the basis of the latest

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†

‡

techniques and the advanced, highly productive methods of work which our foremost agriculturists have mastered to perfection.

...

Comrades Deputies, our immediate task in guiding the national economy is to fulfil the state plan for this year, the last year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

The state plan for the development of the national economy for 1955 envisages an increase of more than nine per cent. in the gross output of industry as compared with last year. The output of industry this year will be 80 per cent. higher than in 1950. This means that we shall complete the Fifth Five-Year Plan in industry ahead of schedule.

The output of heavy industry will increase to a still greater extent. It will go up by 84 per cent. during the five-year period. The carriage of goods by rail and motor transport and cargo carriage by inland water transport and the merchant navy will increase as compared with last year.

In agriculture important work must be carried out already this year in fulfilment of the decision of the January plenary meeting of the central committee of the Party. The plan provides for a substantial increase in the production of grain, industrial crops, potatoes, vegetables, meat, milk, eggs and wool. The increase of agricultural raw material resources envisaged in the 1955 plan will ensure further expansion of the output of consumer goods, which will increase by 71 per cent. compared with 1950.

This year will see a further rise in the material wellbeing and cultural level of the people. The national income will be 10 per cent. higher than last year. The wage bill for factory and office workers will go up, as will

the money incomes of the peasants in cash and in kind; housing construction will be expanded.

...

Comrades, we must not forget Lenin's teaching that productivity of labour is of decisive importance in building the new society. It should be borne in mind that we can increase supplies for the people only to the extent that the productivity of all social labour is increased.

Much has been done in our country for the technical equipping and lightening of labour, and for raising the skill of the working people. This work must be continued. The organisation of labour in industry has to be improved in order to ensure that the target for increasing labour productivity fixed for 1955 is reached and surpassed, bearing in mind that this target is the minimum.

The carrying out of the economic tasks confronting us depends to a large extent on the introduction of advanced techniques on a wide scale in all branches of the national economy. Our achievements in the sphere of technique are incontrovertible. With the putting into operation of the first power station operating on atomic energy—a station designed and built by the efforts of Soviet scientists and engineers—our country took an important step in the utilisation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. As has already been reported, work is being carried out in our country to set up substantially larger power stations, operating on atomic energy.

Yet however great our achievements are in the sphere of technical progress, there are still serious shortcomings in this respect in a number of branches of the national economy. Many scientific research and designing organisations are behind in working out highly efficient machines and methods of production corresponding to the present level of world engineering,

and enterprises are behind in mastering the production of new machines and methods and introducing them in the national economy on a wide scale. This situation has to be remedied. The work of the Ministries and scientific institutions, and of the engineers and technical workers must be improved in this connection, so that technical progress in our country is speeded up year by year. Ministers and heads of departments bear the same responsibility for carrying out this requirement as for carrying out an important state task.

An important prerequisite for successful economic development are the material reserves of the state. Reserves are our strength: they reinforce the country's defensive capacity. It would therefore be an unforgivable mistake to slacken the attention paid to this highly important matter or to yield to the temptation to carry out particular or current tasks at the expense of the state reserves. It is our major task to increase the state reserves of raw materials, semi-manufactures, fuel, manufactures and foodstuffs.

The Party has consistently pursued the policy of the all-round economic and cultural development of all the republics and districts making up the great Soviet Union. Recently several all-union Ministries have been made union-republican Ministries, and in this connection a considerable number of enterprises have been transferred from all-union to union-republican jurisdiction. By utilising the new and wider possibilities, government and economic bodies of the union republics should improve the way in which they direct economic and cultural developments.

Fulfilment of the State Budget for 1955, which has been approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., requires of all Ministries, enterprises, construction "jobs

and economic organisations the strictest economy, daily attention to lowering production costs and the ensuring of the fixed accumulations.

(p. 9-13)

And so, of great importance in assessing the contemporary international situation as a whole is the present-day correlation of the main world forces. In doing so we must neither overestimate nor underestimate what has taken place and the trend of developments themselves. Under no circumstances must we forget that in question is a great period of history, of which only slightly more than 37 years have passed to this day.

Can it be denied that, compared with the pre-war period, a serious weakening in the positions of capitalism, of the capitalist classes has occurred? No, this cannot be denied. It is also obvious that these changes have occurred in favour of socialism, in favour of the democratic and socialist forces (*applause*).

The Second World War led to a further deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system. This found its expression in that another, new, world camp has come into being alongside the world capitalist camp. A democratic camp has been formed which, headed by the U.S.S.R., is marching along the path of building socialism. Such are the facts, whether some people like them or not.

The economic outcome of these basic events has been the split in the single, all-embracing world market. As we know, this single world market no longer exists. There exist at present two parallel world markets, confronting one another.

In this way, each of the two political camps, that have shaped up after the Second World War, has its own

corresponding economic basis. All this gives an idea of the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism, which began at the time, and as a result of the Second World War. This new stage bears witness to the serious sharpening in the general crisis of capitalism.

It would seem that the facts of the historical changes that have taken place in the international situation cannot be discounted. Actually, however, it is not always so.

Capitalism has been forced to retreat before the pressure of the masses of the people which, in a whole number of states, have overthrown the landlords and capitalists and placed in power their own people, representatives of the working class and the peasantry, the urban and rural democracy. The ruling classes of the imperialist countries, however, do not want to reconcile themselves to the new situation. This applies, primarily, to the United States of America, where the state is bossed by the millionaires and the multimillionaires. It is obvious that the capitalist magnates of Britain and other imperialist countries are not unlike those of America.

It is not hard to define their wishes.

They would like to return to the rule of capital the countries that have cast off the fetters of capitalism. This is confirmed among other things by the foreign policy pursued at present by the imperialist countries and, specifically, such countries as the United States of America, Britain, etc.

It is not hard to see that the ruling circles of the United States, for instance, openly proclaim as the main objectives of their foreign policy nothing less than the so-called liberation of the countries where the workers and peasants have triumphed, where the working people themselves have come to power. They even expatiate to the effect that such—save the mark!—"liberation" would

mean nothing short of their return to the “capitalist” paradise or, in their usual parlance, a return to the “free world.” And such a “free world” they consider the capitalist system, where messieurs the exploiters feel themselves so free and where the ruling classes can exploit the working people freely and even “to satiety.”

They would like to “liberate” the people’s democracies from the state power set up by the revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants, replacing it by those to their liking—i.e., overthrow the new socialist and democratic order of things established there after the war, and again force on them the capitalist regime so clear to their hearts, the regime of the exploitation of the working people, the regime of the rule of the capitalists and landlords.

They would like to start with the countries where, they believe, their agents can become active more rapidly. As we know, one such attempt, for instance, was made in Berlin on June 17, 1953. It is universally known, however, that it was a resounding flop. It could have served as a lesson to the aggressive imperialist circles, but propaganda for such gambles continues,

The appetites of aggressive imperialist circles and their sinister reactionary dreams are not confined to the people’s democracies alone. They would like to restore our country to capitalism as well.

It is not often that they say it openly, but they do say it.

Listen, for instance, to what lengths Sir Winston Churchill, who is justly regarded as one of the most outstanding ideologists of imperialism, has gone. To this day he is repeating over and over again a thought which, as he himself puts it, has been an obsession with him “all his life,” to wit the thought of “strangling Bolshevism in its

cradle" (*animation in the hall*).

Here is one of his statements on the subject made on June 28, 1954, at the National Press Club in Washington: "I assure you that I have been all my life one of the really prominent people fighting this [*Communism—Ed.*], ... If I had been properly supported in 1919, it might have been possible to strangle communism in its cradle, but everyone pointed their hand and said, 'How shocking!'"

Even in 1954, so many years after the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, Sir Winston Churchill can think of nothing more sensible than to speak of strangling Communism "in its cradle" even though it would seem that he has been somewhat late in this (*laughter, applause*).

He is, indeed, the one for missing the bus (*laughter, applause*).

We are not averse now to making some fun of the inanity of such anti-Soviet reasoning. We cannot afford, however, to be naive: Communists, in common with all the Soviet people, must not count on the love or sympathy of the imperialists.

Churchill's speeches are shot through with longing for the past. Everything new is alien to him, and he is irreconcilably hostile to everything new that "appeared with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and turned into a great movement of the peoples for the true liberation of the working class and all the labouring people, for the liberation from bourgeois-landlord oppression (*applause*).

For about 38 years now, Sir Winston Churchill has been calling for the overthrow of the socialist system, wherever it has appeared, yelling about the necessity of "strangling" this new system "in its cradle." He is voicing the cherished wishes of all imperialists who want but one

thing: that is to say, complete world domination.

But how can this be done if the peoples themselves have already chosen another path and, making a clean break with capitalism, have taken to the path of socialism and people's democracy?

The answer to this question is the "positions of strength" policy, the foreign political line proclaimed by both American and British imperialism. In expressing the striving of the most aggressive capitalist circles, the rulers of those countries persist in refusing to accept the facts. They do not want to recognise the right of the peoples to settle their destiny for themselves, and, consequently, their right to renounce the old, to liquidate the capitalist regime and to establish their own, new socialist system.

The aggressive imperialist circles think differently. They do not want to recognise the legitimate striving of the peoples to rid themselves of the shackles of capitalism, but are out to restore the rule of capitalism throughout the world. This is the reason behind the foreign policy of, for instance, the United States of America, a policy aimed at re-establishing the rule of imperialism throughout the world, overthrowing socialism, overthrowing the rule of the working people in the people's democracies.

(p. 23-24-25)

**N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, REPORT OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET
UNION TO THE 20th PARTY CONGRESS,
February 14, 1956**

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

(p. 7)

A feature of the Soviet economy and of that of all the

socialist countries is their all-round development and general peaceful trend. The countries of socialism are giving unremitting attention above all to the development of heavy industry, which is the foundation for the continuous expansion of social production as a whole. At the same time they are giving great attention to the growth of agriculture and the light industries. Living standards are steadily rising; culture is flowering.

(p. 10-11)

It should be said that the idea that the general crisis of capitalism means complete stagnation, a halt in production and technical progress, has always been alien to Marxism-Leninism. Lenin pointed out that capitalism's general tendency to decay did not preclude technical progress or an upswing in production in one period or another. "It would be a mistake to believe," he wrote, "that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray, to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies." (*Works*, Vol. 22, p. 286.) Therefore we must study the capitalist economy attentively and not oversimplify Lenin's thesis on the decay of imperialism but study the best that capitalist science and technology have to offer, in order to use the achievements of world technological progress.

(p. 14)

The problem of markets is becoming all the more acute, because the capitalist world market is steadily shrinking as a result of the formation of the new and growing socialist world market. Besides, the

underdeveloped countries on casting off the colonial yoke, begin to develop their own industry, which inevitably leads to a further narrowing of markets for industrial products. All this means that the struggle for markets and spheres of influence, will become still sharper within the imperialist camp.

(page 19)

Guided by the behests of the great Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always worked steadfastly to ensure the priority development of heavy industry, which is the foundation for the growth of all branches of socialist economy, the raising of our country's defence potential, and the improvement of the well-being of the people.

This is the general line of our Party, a line tried and tested in the course of the entire history of the Soviet state and corresponding to the vital interests of the people. The Communist Party will follow this general line with all, firmness and consistency in the future as well.

(p. 48)

The engineering industry is a decisive factor in the acceleration of technical progress. Hence, the technical equipment of this key industry, and primarily the machine-tool and cutting-tool plants, must be substantially improved. Particular attention must be paid to increasing the manufacture of powerful presses.

(p. 54)

Technical progress manifests itself not only in the modernization of the existing but in the establishment of new branches of industry and the launching of new lines of output. One such new branch is the production of

synthetic raw materials and substitutes, which are of great importance in further increasing consumer goods output.

(p. 55)

While continuing to maintain a high rate of development of heavy industry in the future, we can and must expand the production of consumer goods.

The aim of capitalist production is, as we know, to extract steadily increasing profits. This is achieved by constantly intensifying exploitation of the workers and by the expansion of production. However, the tendency towards expansion of production comes into conflict with the narrow limits of popular consumption, due to the decline—inevitable under capitalism—of the working people's effective demand. Capitalist society features a deep-going contradiction between production and consumption.

Socialism has abolished this contradiction of capitalist production. The aim of socialist production is the maximum satisfaction of the steadily growing material and cultural requirements of the working people, of society as a whole. As heavy industry expands, the development of industries directly engaged in meeting the growing needs of the population acquires an ever greater scale. Now that we possess a powerful heavy industry developed in every respect, we are in a position to promote rapidly production of both the means of production and consumer goods. Suffice it to mention that in 1960 the output of consumer goods will be almost three times more than in 1950. The Party is doing and will continue to do its utmost to ensure that the requirements of the Soviet people are satisfied more fully and better; it considers this its prime duty to the people.

(p. 55-56)

Party and economic organizations must pay the greatest attention to the economic aspect of the operation of enterprises. Constant effort must be exerted to ensure the smooth operation of every plant, reduce the cost of production, always observe the strictest regime of economy, and do everything to strengthen cost accounting.

(p. 61-62)

The development of socialist economy, the growth of: labour productivity, and the reductions of retail, prices during recent years have substantially raised the real wages of factory, office and other workers, and the incomes of collective farmers, increasing the purchasing power of the population.

These conditions confronted the Party with an urgent national task—sharply to increase the output of farm produce. At its Plenary Meetings the Central Committee of the Party has brought to light serious shortcomings and mistakes in the guidance of agriculture, and drawn up an extensive programme for expanding the output of grain and animal products.

...

To provide greater material incentives for the collective farms and collective farmers to develop their socially-owned economy and increase output for the market, the procurement prices of grain, animal products, potatoes and other vegetables, flax and hemp were raised considerably. These measures and increased production for the market added 20,000 million rubles to the incomes of the collective farms in 1954 and 1955.

In the MTSs regular operating staffs, have been built

up, a factor of prime importance in their transformation into model, socialist, establishments. Many thousand engineers, technicians, Party functionaries, and government officials have gone from cities and industrial centres to work at MTSs, collective and state farms. More than 120,000 agricultural specialists have been sent to collective farms. More than 20,000 Communists, sent from town to country, have been recommended as collective-farm chairmen. The Central Committee of the Party and the Government have introduced a new planning system in agriculture which has given scope to the initiative of the collective farmers. Measures have been taken to improve the work of the state farms, to reinforce existing state farms, and to set up new ones.

(p. 63-64)

Comrades, the Party has pointed out more than once that without well-developed grain farming it is impossible to advance livestock breeding or to increase the output of industrial crops. But in this vitally important matter the heads of the Ministry of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and the Ministry of State Farms of the U.S.S.R. and of planning agencies were on an obviously wrong track. The allocation of areas under crops was in recent years sharply at variance with the need to expand grain production. In most districts the area under grain was reduced. Some mistakes were made in introducing the *travaopolye* crop rotation system. The *travaopolye* system of farming was applied mechanically; millions of hectares were sown with grasses in areas where they do not produce high yields.

The outcome of all this was that in 1953, when the requirements in grain had risen greatly in comparison with pre-revolutionary years, the area under grain was

almost the same as in 1913.

Having made a thorough study of the country's requirements in agricultural produce, the January 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. put forward the task of sharply increasing within a short space of time the grain production and of more than doubling the output of the main animal products.

The development of virgin and long-fallow lands in Kazakhstan, Siberia, and other areas, undertaken following a decision by the Party, is of particularly great importance for the continued advance of agriculture. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. set the task of bringing no less than 28-30 million hectares of new land under cultivation by 1956. The solution of this problem is of historic significance for our state. What will the virgin lands give the country? Estimates show that we can get on the average no less than 2,000 million poods of grain annually from the new lands. With a big quantity of marketable wheat from the virgin lands, the Government can confidently undertake a big expansion of the area under maize in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus in order that these areas may sharply raise meat and milk production and also the production of industrial crops.

Within a short time over 200,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units) and thousands of other machines and implements have been sent to the virgin land development areas.

The Party's measures to cultivate the virgin lands have been ardently approved and supported by the whole Soviet people. In response to the call of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., 300,000 Soviet patriots went to those areas to bring virgin and long-fallow lands under the plough. They have laboured with a valour worthy of builders of communism. (*Prolonged*

applause).

...

Had we undertaken to develop the virgin lands in the usual way, by the gradual re-settlement of people in the new areas, we should have required a tremendous number of people, vast resources, and much time. Then, of course, we should not have been able to solve the problem of ploughing up 30 million hectares of new lands within two years.

(p. 65-66)

Our main task in farming is to bring up the annual total grain crop to 11,000 million poods by the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan through raising yields and developing more new lands; to extend the areas and increase considerably the yields of industrial crops—cotton, sugar beet, flax, hemp, and sunflower seed; and also sharply to expand the production of potatoes and other vegetables. In the next two years we can and must accomplish the task of fully supplying the country with potatoes and other vegetables of high quality.

Orchards and areas under vines and berries should be increased. The planting of shelter belts should be developed and our youth urged to take an active part in this work. It is very important to extend the scale of irrigation development and at the same time to improve the use of irrigated and drained lands.

The Central Committee of the Party deems it necessary to increase the production of mineral fertilizers and chemical weed and pest killers. We must continue to raise the efficiency of farming, persistently introduce advanced agrotechnical methods, and proper crop rotations, cutting the time of agricultural jobs and on this basis assure higher yields of grain and industrial crops in all areas.

(p. 70)

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government have found it necessary to give collective farmers greater material incentives to develop livestock farming. ...

(p. 71)

...

The manager who utilizes every opportunity and provides his cattle with home-grown feed, both forage and succulent fodder, which is necessary for a rapid expansion in the supply of animal products, is doing a good job. Yet we still have leading personnel in collective and state farms who, instead of concentrating all their efforts on increasing the output of fodder, prefer to become dependent on others and want to get more fodder from the state. And there are also not a few who, taking advantage of the retail price cuts, buy up bread, grits, and other products in the shops and use them as cattle feed. That is not productive activity but speculation.

Here is one such fact. The chairman of a collective farm in the Moscow Region set up a fodder team of 12 collective farmers, gave them money, bags, and a lorry. This team worked to get fodder, not on the fields of the collective farm, but in Moscow shops. It bought up buck-wheat grits, millet, pearl-barley, flour, yeast, and other products as feed for poultry and livestock.

This is not an isolated instance. Such "businessmen" do great harm because they reduce our potentialities for expanding animal husbandry. They want to get to the front ranks without special effort, at the expense of others. This brings to mind Gogol's Patsyuk who found

that dumplings were flying by themselves into his mouth. This is the picture Gogol paints in his story "Christmas Eve": ... "Patsyuk opened his mouth, looked at the dumpling, and opened his mouth wider still. At that moment a dumpling popped out of the bowl, splashed into the cream, turned over on the other side, leapt upwards, and flew straight into his mouth. Patsyuk ate it up and opened his mouth again, and another dumpling went through the same performance. The only trouble Patsyuk took was to munch it up and swallow it." (*Animation*)

But to Patsyuk this happened only on Christmas Eve, while some of our present-day Patsyuks want the dumplings to jump into their mouth every day and, moreover, they are even respected by others.

It is also appropriate to point out that such "business" is plied on an ever greater scale by negligent members of suburban collective farms and some people living on the outskirts of cities who do not work anywhere. They buy bread and other products in the shops, feed them to cattle, and then sell the animal products on the markets at higher than shop prices. A more vigorous struggle should be waged against profiteering elements who, taking advantage of the fact that in some places there temporarily are not enough products to satisfy the population fully, make profit at the expense of honest people and at the expense of the state.

(p. 73-74)

Experience shows that operation on a cost-accounting basis is of prime importance in all branches of socialist production. But this tried and tested method of management is not applied in the MTSs. The present system of financing the MTSs through the state budget

results in a lack of responsibility and control. Many MTSs workers do not study thoroughly the economic indices of the station's operation and do not take due interest in the efficient use of machines. The MTSs are financed irrespective of the results of their work; the remuneration of MTS personnel is not made conditional on the efficient use of machines, the yield of crops, and livestock productivity in the collective farms.

It will be expedient gradually to transfer the MTSs' work to a cost-accountancy basis in the coming years. Naturally it is impossible to establish a uniform system with the same indices for all MTSs throughout the country. A flexible system of operation on a cost-accountancy basis should be introduced, a system which takes into account the specific features of the different zones and within the zones, the specific features of the different districts. This measure will stimulate the efforts of the MTS workers and increase their responsibility for the progress of agriculture.

(p. 76)

Special attention should be paid to the electrification of collective farms, MTSs, and state farms, which is a very important requisite for the mechanization of agriculture. We have not yet tackled this problem properly, on an adequate country-wide scale. Moreover, the approach to the electrification of collective and state farms has been wrong. The linking up of collective and state farms to power grids has not been permitted even in places where this was economically profitable and did not presented technical difficulties. All our workers should regard electrification of collective and state farms as an integral part of the great plan for the country's electrification.

When Lenin spoke about the necessity to cover the country with a network of power stations, he had in mind not only big state power grids but also the building of a ramified chain of rural power stations. How is this task to be accomplished? At present collective and state farms are themselves building small stations but they do not always have the means of coping properly with the technical problems of electrifying production. The building Of power stations by several collective farms, or on a district or even inter-district basis, should be developed. Standard power-station designs, which take into account the distinctive features of different zones should be drafted. Stations located near natural gas deposits could work on gas fuel, others on peat, still others on coal or lignite. Where there are water power resources hydro-electric stations should of course be built.

The question arises: who is to build these stations and with what funds? It would be correct to rule that republican organizations build these stations with collective-farm funds on a co-operative basis. State plans should envisage the supply of fuel and other materials to inter-collective farm, district, and inter-district stations.

We cannot now set a schedule for the completion of the electrification of agriculture. The State Planning Commission and the respective Ministries should make a thorough study of this matter, receive concrete proposals from the republics and regions and on their basis work out an all-embracing plan for the electrification of collective farms, MTSs, and state farms and submit it the Government.

(p. 77-78)

Comrades, it is urgently necessary to draw the attention of Party and governmental organizations to

problems of construction in the countryside. We all know that the heritage remaining in the village from centuries of economic and cultural backwardness and the aftermath of the destruction wrought by the late war are still making themselves felt strongly. Much remains to be done to improve substantially the housing and living conditions of the collective farmers, a considerable number of whom still live in homes lacking many conveniences. Neither can we tolerate such a heritage of the past as lack of roads in the vast expanses of many rural districts. It goes without saying that the needs of developing production must always be in the foreground. At the same time the expansion of production and the improvement in the socially-owned economy of the collective farms create favourable conditions for increasing the construction of homes and cultural institutions. We have today thousands of collective farms which have made big economic strides and get high incomes. Such collective farms are in a position not only to step up the construction, above all, of socially-owned collective-farm buildings, kindergartens, maternity homes, recreation clubs, baths, houses for aged collective farmers, and bakeries, but also to render substantial assistance to their members in building houses and improving their living conditions.

Homes should be built with the funds of the collective farmers themselves. Tens and hundreds of thousands of collective-farm families get incomes which now enable them to have convenient, attractive houses, but the collective farmer cannot always cope with the job of building his own home, and especially with the purchase of building materials. Consequently, it is necessary to help the collective farms organize the production of building materials on the spot.

Also, officials of district organizations should organize the production of building materials on a higher technical level. Then the materials will be better and cheaper, and, what is most important, there will be more of them. Our potentialities must be utilized and prefabricated houses should be built in accordance with standard projects.

How is the building of homes to be paid for? Here different variants are possible. First, collective farmers, wishing to build or to buy a house can allot a certain part of the money they receive on their work-day units for this purpose. A special fund can be formed from these allotments. It should be kept in the bank without the right to use it for any purposes other than house-building. This is one way. Another way is for collective farms, which have met their social needs by erecting the necessary farm buildings and cultural and service establishments, to earmark a certain sum from their income for housing construction. It goes without saying that this must be done with the consent of the collective farmers, with the approval of a general membership meeting. This money will be used by the collective farm to build houses for its members. The collective farmers will have to pay back to the collective farm the full cost of the house over approximately five or ten years, depending on actual circumstances. Lastly, there can also be a third form of house-building—with mixed funds. On the one hand, the collective farm allots money which is to be issued as building loans to members and, on the other, the collective farmer adds to this loan a definite sum from his own resources. It is understood that the houses may and should differ as regards cost, size, and layout.

How is construction to be organized? We should recommend the collective farms to set up skilled building teams and provide them with the necessary equipment

and tools in order to make the work of the collective-farm builders more productive. Wherever possible there ought to be district, collective-farm building organizations, to which the collective farms will assign a definite number of builders of different trades. This will make it possible to mechanize construction on a larger scale, to put up homes and other buildings more rapidly and with smaller outlays. Naturally, such construction organizations should be maintained with collective-farm funds. They will be cooperative collective-farm organizations and the collective farms their owners. The state, as represented by the Executive Committee of the District Soviet, should merely help the collective farms to guide these organizations.

Let me say a few words about the production of bricks and tiles. This problem should be solved by collective farmers themselves. Where it is expedient, where the collective farmers themselves can cope with this task, the production of bricks and tiles can be organized directly on the collective farms. In some cases it will be expedient to set up collective-farm and inter-collective-farm brick or tile works.

It is the duty of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Councils of Ministers of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and of the executive committees of the regional and district Soviets to help the collective farms organize building work, to plan village improvements properly, and to draw up standard designs for homes and other buildings. Assistance is especially needed in the production of plumbing, fixtures and hardware, and in the making of door and window frames. The building of houses for collective farmers is an urgent necessity because it is inseparably bound up with the further progress of our agriculture, with the raising of the

material and cultural standards of millions of collective farmers.

(p. 80-82)

A radical improvement in the work of agricultural bodies both in the centre and the localities is imperative for the successful development of our agriculture. Our governmental apparatus must be rooted in production and subordinate its work to the interests of production. Do the organizational structure and practical activities of the Ministries of Agriculture, State Farms, and Agricultural Stocks meet these requirements? No, they do not. Their structure is still cumbersome and bureaucratic. We do not need a central apparatus which substitutes for the local bodies.

Under present conditions, what should be the functions left with the agricultural ministries? Long-term planning, finance and supply, and state control over the fulfilment of government assignments. To study and popularize the best experience, to introduce the latest achievements of science in production is a major task for the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of State Farms. To discharge these functions the ministries need a small but highly skilled apparatus. The task is therefore to pare and simplify this apparatus as much as possible and to bring it into line with the changed situation.

And what is the situation as regards the procurement apparatus? For each collective farm we have several representatives in charge of the procurement of different products. Are they needed? No, they are not. In our socialist state everything is determined by plans, which the collective and state farms carry out in time without waiting to be reminded by procurement agents. Therefore, the functions of the Ministry of Agricultural

Stocks ought to be limited to building grain elevators, developing the flour-milling and cereals industry, receiving and storing grain and other produce. The day-to-day control of procurements should be entrusted to the MTSs and hundreds of thousands of procurement agents should be employed in production.

(p. 83-84)

Popular consumption has increased from year to year in step with the development of the socialist economy. The state and co-operative trade networks sold 90 per cent more goods to the population in 1955 than they did in 1950.

Here are some figures showing how the sale of goods to the population through the state and co-operative trade systems has increased (1950=100):

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Meat and meat products	100	120	124	171	206	220
Fish and fish products	100	112	128	137	162	185
Butter	100	107	110	150	160	158
Vegetable oils	100	135	170	182	222	222
Wearing apparel	100	107	115	151	182	198
Footwear	100	108	118	150	163	168
Furniture	100	142	154	201	272	307

Sales of sugar, silks and cottons, clocks and watches, sewing machines, and other commodities have also grown considerably.

There has been a sharp increase in the sale of radio and television sets, musical instruments, bicycles, and other articles that go to meet cultural requirements and household needs. The Soviet people are now better supplied with food and clothing and are satisfying their cultural requirements more fully.

In the past few years the Central Committee has adopted a number of measures to raise the people's living standards still higher. Nevertheless, production of many important foodstuffs and manufactured goods still lags behind the growing demand. Some towns and communities are still insufficiently supplied with such items as meat, milk, butter, and fruit; there are even cases where supplies of potatoes and other vegetables are irregular. There are also difficulties in supplying the population with certain high-grade manufactured goods. Inefficient work by our trade organizations is partly to blame for this, but the main reason is insufficient production. The task is to achieve a sharp rise in agriculture and more rapid expansion of the light and food industries, on the basis of the priority development of heavy industry.

...

We are faced with the important political and economic task of introducing proper order into the payment of labour. We must consistently apply the principle of giving workers a personal material incentive, bearing in mind that application of this principle is a prime condition for the uninterrupted growth of production. Lenin taught us that "every major branch of the national economy should be based on personal incentive." (*Works*, Vol. 33, p. 47.)

We must work persistently to improve and perfect the wage system in all branches of the economy, make wages directly dependent on the quality and quantity of the work done by each worker; and fully utilize the powerful lever of material incentive in order to raise labour productivity. Part of the salaries of engineers,

technicians and managerial personnel should also depend strictly on the basic work indices of the given shop, establishment, industry, collective farm, MTS or state farm; This will be in line with the socialist principle of payment according to the work performed. The correct solution of this problem will help to bring about a further rise in production and in the well-being of our people.

(p. 87-89)

The Central Committee of the Party and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers are taking steps to introduce order into the pension system, with a view to considerably increasing the lower categories of pensions and somewhat reducing the size of the unjustifiably, high ones. (*Applause.*) A bill providing for a unified pension system for the U.S.S.R. making a fundamental improvement in this matter will soon be submitted to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet for approval. (*Prolonged applause.*) Greater concern has to be shown for the welfare of aged citizens who are all alone or for some reason cannot live with their families; we must build homes where people who have worked conscientiously all their lives may have a really calm and secure old age. (*Applause.*) Good tracts of land in picturesque spots could be used for the construction of such homes. We should also provide for an expansion in the network of homes for invalids and, at the same time do everything to improve vocational opportunities for invalids who can do socially useful work without detriment to their health.

...

All these measures will require considerable funds, of course. Where will they come from? First of all we shall have to use part of the funds accumulating in the national economy as a result of increasing labour productivity,

strict economy, elimination of excesses; and further pruning of the administrative and managerial apparatus. It may also be expedient to use for this purpose some of the funds earlier allocated to cover government expenditure in connection with retail price cuts. During the next few years price cuts should therefore be smaller than before so that part of the funds earmarked for them may be diverted to carrying out these measures. (*Applause.*)

(p. 91-92)

The volume of urban housing construction under the Sixth Five-Year Plan is to be nearly double that of the Fifth-Five-Year Plan. Dwellings with a total floor space of about 205 million square metres are to be built with government funds allocated under the Plan. ...

(p. 92)

Individual, house building should be developed on a larger scale side by side with government construction; more extensive assistance should be given to factory, office and other workers in building their own homes with their personal savings; the manufacture and sale to the public of building materials and sets of parts for standard houses should be expanded.

Not enough attention is being paid to the daily needs of the population. To improve the life of the Soviet family we must manufacture more labour-saving household machines and articles—electric appliances, washing machines, sewing machines, improved kitchen utensils; besides, they must be made cheaper. We must open more public service establishments, laundries, tailoring establishments, and clothing and boot and shoe repair shops.

Public catering plays an important part in improving the everyday life of the people. A smoothly functioning system of public catering will free millions of women from many household chores, and enable them to take part in socially useful work and pay more attention to bringing up their children, which is particularly important for us. We must therefore greatly expand the network of public catering establishments.

While doing this we must pay serious attention to improving the service in dining rooms, snack bars and restaurants; we must cut overheads, improve the quality of cooking and reduce prices; dining rooms and restaurants should produce more semi-prepared foods of kinds for sale to the population; fuller use should be made of local resources and subsidiary economies developed. We must go over more energetically to the cafeteria, or self-service system; we must introduce more automatic servicing devices. In a word, we must put public catering on such a footing that the mass of the people will find it more advantageous to patronize dining rooms and snack bars than to buy food and cook meals at home.

Well-organized public catering in the schools is very important for the health of the rising generation and for raising the standard of studies. We must arrange hot lunches for school children and set up a network of snack bars and dining rooms in the schools. In the near future we must settle the question of introducing lunches free of charge or at a discount for the children of parents in the lower wage brackets. (*Applause*)

Further improvement of the public health services is an important task. Our achievements in this field are universally known, but here, too, there are serious shortcomings, particularly in the rural areas. In the next

few years we must set up many more medical establishments and improve their work.

There is not a single aspect of improving the people's well-being in which a great deal of urgent work does not lie before us. The exceptional importance of this work does not have to be demonstrated, for it is the people's vital interests that are in question. And concern for the welfare of the people always has held and will hold the centre of attention in the work of our party and the Soviet Government. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

(p. 94-95)

Soviet scientists have within a short spare of time splendidly solved the problem of obtaining atomic energy. They are enriching our country's power resources, working successfully to develop the national economy and consolidate the security of our homeland. Such outstanding products of scientific thought as electronic computing machines and other instruments and mechanisms have been created as a result of their efforts. They are successfully working on a number of other complex problems of science and technique. Allow me to express from the platform of this Congress the people's deep gratitude in our scientists for their fruitful work. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

...

One of the reasons for these shortcomings is that many scientific institutions have weak contacts with practical work, with production. Some scientific institutions are working on problems lacking big practical significance and are not generalizing the advanced experience of our development. The geographical distribution of scientific institutions and experimental stations does not take economic and natural conditions into account. Many research institutes and higher

educational establishments are situated far from their subjects. For one thing, Moscow is the seat of three oceanographic and marine research institutions—the Marine Hydro-Physical Institute, the Institute of Oceanology of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Oceanography of the Hydro-Meteorological Service, and two mining institutes one under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and the other under the Ministry of the Coal Industry. Isn't that a bit too much for the Moscow Sea and the Vorobyovi Hills? (*Laughter. Applause.*) We must rectify this situation and bring research institutes and colleges closer to their subjects.

(p. 131-132)

The rapid economic and cultural progress of the Union republics poses some problems of improving the guidance of the national economy and cultural development.

Before, when there were few local specialists, when the leading personnel in a number of republics had not attained a high level—and there were not so many industrial enterprises—practically all enterprises were managed through Union Ministries. Today the situation is different: along with the development of industry in all Union republics, people have developed, national personnel have been trained, and the general level of culture of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. has risen sharply. Under the new conditions the old methods of running the economy require considerable revision. While leaving to the Union Ministries the powers of general direction, the determination of assignments to be included in the plans, control over their execution, the supply of equipment, and the financing of capital

investment, the powers of the republican ministries should at the same be considerably broadened.

Of late, the Central Committee of the Party has adopted a series of measures in that direction. These measures include, in particular, the establishment of republican ministries for instance, of the iron and steel and coal industries in the Ukraine, the oil industry in Azerbaijan, and the non-ferrous metals industry in Kazakhstan, and the turning over to these ministries of all enterprises of the given industry within the republics concerned. As a result, the share of republican industry has increased. In the Ukraine today it makes up 67 per cent of the total industrial output, in Kazakhstan 62 per cent, and in Azerbaijan 80 per cent.

This experiment has undoubtedly proved its worth: the direction of enterprises has become more concrete, more efficient, and there is a noticeable increase in the initiative shown by the republican organizations and in their responsibility for the work of industry. Work should be continued in that direction and it will make for still greater local initiative, for the strengthening of the Union republics and the further consolidation of the friendship of the peoples of our country.

...

Can such a state of affairs be regarded as normal? Of course not, primarily because it violates the basis of fair relations—equal conditions for all. And what do equal conditions for all mean in this case? It is a common principle of distribution of budgetary funds. If this principle is established, the amounts allocated will depend on perfectly objective indices as, say, outlays per head of population or per person actually working in the national economy. It goes without, saying that here, too, there must be no levelling.

In discussing the need to extend the powers of the Union republics we must underline the need for the principle of centralized planning. It should always be remembered that a paramount condition for the successful development of our country and of each republic of the Soviet Union is the unity of effort of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., a certain centralization of our national economy coupled with broad initiative and independent action by the republics. The principle of planning gives the socialist system of economy a vast advantage. We are not renouncing this advantage and never will. What we have in mind is that while perfecting planned direction of the national economy, the economic requirements of the Union republics and the perspectives of their economic and cultural development should be carefully considered and every new factor arising in the life of the republics noted in good time and taken into account. No petty tutelage towards the Union republics should be permitted. They should, within the limits laid down by the Union's national-economic plans, decide for themselves the concrete problems of developing particular branches of their economy. That will make for a still greater consolidation of the sovereignty of each republic and for mutual trust between the republics, and will help each of them fully to develop initiative in the use of local resources.

(p. 124-127)

In recent years the Party and the Government have divided up a number of ministries to bring economic guidance closer to the point of production and make guidance more concrete, while reducing the total number of people working in the administrative and managerial apparatus.

The measures taken by the Party to improve socialist planning are of great importance to the state. One of these measures that should be especially mentioned is the reorganization of the planning bodies, the division of long-term and current planning, which makes it possible to work out national-economic plans more thoroughly and to organize better control over their fulfilment.

It should be said that our plans do not yet fully reflect the requirement of the law of balanced (proportionate) development of the socialist economy, with the result that there arise in the country's economy temporary, partial disproportions, which to a certain extent impede the development of a number of its branches. It is our task to prevent the emergence of such disproportions, and fully ensure the planned development of the national economy. Our planning and economic bodies should make a thorough study and for a number of five-year plan periods outline the prospects of expanding the leading branches of the national economy.

(p. 111)

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

(p. 119)

The Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., held regularly during the period under review, played an exceptionally important part in the life of the Party and the people as a whole. At these, the

Central Committee, with Leninist straightforwardness and fidelity to principle, laid bare before the Party and the people, the serious shortcomings in the development of agriculture and industry, and outlined ways and means of eliminating them and accomplishing the urgent tasks involved in ensuring the country's continued economic progress and raising the material and cultural standards of the working people.

(p. 120-121)

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

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

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

agitation and propaganda must be based.” (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 346)

We must be guided by these wise instructions of Lenin in all our activity. While combating indifference to the study and further development of Marxist theory, we cannot regard it as dogmatists, divorced from life. Revolutionary theory is not a collection of petrified dogmas and formulae, but a militant guide to action in transforming the world, in building communism. ...

(p. 135)

That things are not well in the economic science either is evident from the fact that our economists have not produced any serious works dealing with various questions of Soviet economy, or taken part in the discussion of the key issues of industrial and agricultural development at conferences sponsored by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. This indicates that our institutes of economics and their staffs have to a considerable extent isolated themselves from the practical work of communist construction.

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

...

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

inseparably linked with the practice of communist construction must be the central element of our propaganda.

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

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

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

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

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

Time and again our enemies have sought to test the strength and vitality of the Soviet socialist state, but all these attempts have failed and the organizers of war gambles broke their necks in the process. (*Stormy applause*) The Soviet state is advancing from strength to strength, it towers like a mighty beacon showing mankind the way to the new world. (*Prolonged applause.*)

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

**REPORT by N. A. BULGANIN, Chairman of the
Council of Ministers of the USSR to the
20th CONGRESS of the COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, On the
Directives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan for
the Development of the USSR 1956-1960,
THE DIRECTIVES of the Sixth-Five Year
Plan as approved by the 20th Congress of
the CPSU, February 1956**

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A WELL-KNOWN instruction left us by Lenin states that it is impossible to work without a long-term plan designed to ensure serious success. Our practice in drawing up and carrying out Five-Year Plans follows this

instruction by Lenin.

Life has shown that our plans are feasible. In each five-year period the Soviet Union has risen to a higher level of economic development, has become richer and stronger, and its international prestige has grown more and more. The superiority of the socialist planned economy enables us to set ourselves increasingly huge tasks in economic and.. cultural construction.

The Soviet Union is embarking on its Sixth Five-Year Plan, possessing a powerful and comprehensively developed system of socialist production, extensive material resources and, what is particularly valuable, a numerous body of skilled personnel both in town and countryside.

Now that it has a powerful heavy industry, our country possesses all the conditions for rapidly developing the production, not only of means of production, but also of consumer goods, for considerably increasing its social wealth, and thus advancing further towards the establishment of a communist society.

The principal aims of the U.S.S.R.'s Sixth Five-Year Plan are to ensure, by means of the priority development of heavy industry, continuous technical progress and higher labour productivity, a further powerful expansion of all branches of the national economy and a rapid advance in agricultural production and, on this basis, to achieve a substantial rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

The draft directives on the Sixth Five-Year Plan rest on a scientific basis and are in keeping with the requirements of the objective economic laws which govern the development of the socialist mode of production.

As hitherto, the leading role in the development of the

socialist economy will be played by industry—primarily by heavy industry, the production of means of production. Without a relatively faster growth of heavy industry, it is impossible to ensure extended reproduction in all branches of the national economy, continuous technical progress, steady development of the productive forces, or a continuous rise in labour productivity, to ensure our country's unbreakable defence capacity and to raise the living standards of the people. This we are taught by Marxist-Leninist political economy and by all the past experience of our socialist state. It was by firmly and unswervingly adhering to Lenin's general line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry that we achieved a momentous victory; we converted our once backward, agrarian country into a first-class industrial power with a large-scale, highly mechanised agriculture, built a socialist society, and are now confidently advancing, step by step, along the road to communism.

...

If the growing food requirements of the population and the raw material requirements of the light and food industries are to be fully satisfied, we must develop our agriculture far more rapidly than in the fifth five-year period. The production of cereals, industrial crops, vegetables, including potatoes, and livestock products must be substantially increased.

The continued powerful expansion of industry, agriculture, transport and trade—of the entire national economy—rapid technical progress, and higher labour productivity are the chief conditions necessary for achieving, in the new five-year period, the principal aim of socialist production: steadily to raise the material and cultural standards of the people.

...

As a result of the fulfilment of two Five-Year Plans the Soviet Union became an advanced industrial power and moved up to second place in the world in gross volume of industrial output. Thus conditions were created which enabled the party's 18th Congress in March 1939 to set the task of overtaking and surpassing the capitalist countries that were most developed from the economical point of view, that is to say, in industrial output per head of the population.

Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union and the war that was forced on us inflicted a colossal loss on our national economy and delayed the fulfilment of that fundamental economic task of the U.S.S.R. by 10 to 11 years.

Now that we have not only regained the pre-war economic level but advanced far beyond it, our people will be working for the principal economic aim of the U.S.S.R. in conditions different from those before the Second World War. The situation today is different; it is more in our favour. The Soviet Union's material and technical base is much broader. It is sufficient to say that last year industrial production in our country was more than three and a half times as great as in 1939. Building up its economic might from year to year, the Soviet Union has left the principal European capitalist countries far behind as regards absolute scale of production.

...

The economic relations between the sovereign countries of the socialist camp are based on mutual and friendly co-operation.. This co-operation extends to broad and varied fields. They include the most rational utilisation, in the common interests, of economic resources and production facilities; co-ordination of plans for the development of various branches of the economy;

industrial specialisation and co-operation; exchange of scientific and technical information and advanced production methods, and so on. This friendly co-operation and mutual assistance is the source of the growing economic might of the socialist world system, which is immune from crises, unemployment, and the other incurable maladies inherent in the capitalist system.
(p. 9-12)

In all, output of the means of production (Group A) in the five-year period is to increase by approximately 70 per cent. Compared with 1940, output of the means of production will increase by 560 per cent.

This powerful expansion of heavy industry, coupled with a rapid increase in agricultural output, will make it possible to accelerate the development of the industries producing articles of general consumption.

Production of consumer goods will increase by approximately 60 per cent. In 1960, production of consumer goods (Group B) will be three and a half times as great as in 1940.

...

Our party has always attached exceptional importance to the iron and steel industry, on which, in the final analysis, the development of all branches of the national economy depends.

Our aim in the sixth five-year period is substantially to exceed the level of production of iron and steel already attained. In 1960, our country will produce 53 million tons of pig iron, or 3.6 times as much as in 1940; 68,300,000 tons of steel, or 3.7 times as much as in 1940; 52,700,000 tons of rolled steel, or four times as much as in 1940.

...

Serious attention will be paid in the sixth five-year period to expanding the non-ferrous metal industry.

...

The production of non-ferrous and rare metals must be rapidly expanded in the new five-year period, as is provided for in the draft directives. The average annual increase in the output of non-ferrous metals must be much greater than in the previous five-year periods.

...

Fuel Industry.—Of our total fuel supply in 1955, 65 per cent consisted of coal, 22½ per cent of oil, and 2½ per cent of natural gas. As you see, oil, and especially gas, constitute a small proportion of our fuel supply. Yet these are the cheapest and most effective fuels. The cost of producing natural gas, for example, is only one-eighth that of producing coal. Furthermore, oil and gas are valuable raw materials from which many chemical products can be obtained.

We are therefore making it our policy to accelerate the expansion of the oil and gas industry to the maximum. It is planned to increase the production of coal in 1960 by 52 per cent compared with 1955, the production of oil by 91 per cent, and that of gas by nearly 300 per cent.

The Soviet Union now possesses a powerful and well-equipped coal industry.

...

It is planned to produce 593 million **tons**¹ of coal in 1960, or half as much again as in 1955. This is a very big task. Its accomplishment will enable us not only to satisfy the coal requirements of the national economy, but to enlarge the government stockpiles.

Hydro-power and natural gas development in the

¹ These are metric tons. One metric ton equals 2,204.6 lb.

Ukraine is of great economic importance, since it will enlarge the country's fuel and power resources and allow the replacement of large quantities of costly Donbas coal by cheaper kinds of fuel.

In the sixth five-year period many industrial plants and power stations will be built and large-scale railway construction undertaken in the eastern part of the country. This will greatly increase the demand for coking and non-coking coal.

There are rich deposits of such coals in the eastern part of the country, where it is possible to develop mines with a smaller capital expenditure and obtain coal at a lower cost than in the European part of the U.S.S.R. Besides, many deposits can be worked by the open-cast method. We aim at a big expansion of production in the Kuznetsk, Karaganda and other eastern coal fields.

The 1960 output of oil is to be 135 million tons, or nearly four and a half times as much as in 1940.

...

It is to our advantage to expand the oil industry in the Urals and the Volga area at a high speed. The cost of production in these areas is a third or a quarter of what it is in the old oil-producing regions.

However, our decision to develop oil production rapidly in the eastern areas of the country does not mean that we may relax our attention to the old sources of supply, Baku and Grozny, which provide the country with the better grades of oil.

It must be our serious concern in the sixth five-year period to develop the oil processing industry on a big scale and secure its expansion through the building of big refineries with capacities three to five times greater than those we have been building hitherto. This will greatly expedite and lower the cost of building refineries.

The big targets set for the production of oil will necessitate a large expansion of transportation of oil and oil products by pipeline. In the sixth five-year period it is planned to lay more than 14,500 kilometres¹ of arterial pipelines. The share of pipelines in the total transportation of oil will increase by more than] 50 per cent.

The gas industry will be advanced on a big scale in the sixth five-year period. Within five years gas production will increase to 40,000 million cubic metres.² The new Stavropol, Shebolinsk (near Kharkov), and Stepnovsk (near Saratov) gas deposits will be opened up for industrial use, and the Berezovsk deposit along the lower reaches of the Ob will be prepared for exploitation. A total of about 9,000 kilometres of arterial gas-lines must be laid.

Electrification.—The central committee of the party consistently adheres to Lenin's instructions concerning the electrification of the country.

...

It will be necessary in the sixth five-year period to ensure a rapid increase of power-producing capacity so as to satisfy fully the demand of the national economy and create reserve power capacity. Whereas total industrial output will increase by 65 per cent, production of electric power is to increase by 88 per cent, and power generating capacity by 120 per cent.

Our country has abundant hydro-power resources. Hydro-electric stations are profitable since they require no fuel and produce power at the lowest cost.

Great attention will be paid in the sixth five-year period to the building of hydro-electric stations, whose

¹ One kilometre equals 0.621 miles approx.

² One cubic metre equals 1.308 cubic yards approx.

capacity will increase by 170 per cent.

...

A noteworthy feature of the Sixth Five- Year Plan will be the broad construction and utilisation of atomic power stations. The draft directives propose the building of several atomic power stations with a total capacity of 2 million to 2½ million kilowatts, which is about one and a half times as great as the capacity of all the power stations whose construction was envisaged under the famous GOELRO plan.

Chemical industry.—Chemistry is playing an increasingly important part in various branches of industry and agriculture. The rapid development of the chemical industry has long been an essential prerequisite for technical progress.

The present state of our chemical industry cannot satisfy us, and it is therefore proposed to accelerate its development in the sixth five-year period.

One of the most important tasks in this industry is to increase the production of mineral fertilisers which help to increase crop yields. The production of mineral fertilisers is to be expanded to nearly 20 million tons in 1960, or increased by 550 per cent as compared with 1940 and by more than 100 per cent as compared with 1955.

We must organise the production of new and more effective chemicals for the control of plant diseases and pests, and also the large-scale production of chemical weed-killers, so as to bring about a sharp reduction in the expenditure of labour on weeding crops.

... Workers in the chemical industry must develop large-scale production of materials for the manufacture of consumer goods, such as artificial silk, footwear and haberdashery. During the sixth five-year period, production of synthetic materials for the manufacture of

artificial fibre is to be increased by almost 500 per cent.

...

The national economy still experiences an acute shortage of motor tyres. The 100 per cent increase in tyre production envisaged in the draft directives must be regarded as a minimum by the workers in the chemical industry. Development of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and also of the fuel and chemical industries requires an extensive raw material base. Our extraction industry has at its command vast surveyed reserves of minerals of various kinds. The Soviet Union leads the world in known resources of iron and manganese ore, copper, lead, bauxite, nickel, tungsten, potassium salts and phosphates.

Large-scale **geological surveying** has resulted in the discovery of further big deposits of coal, oil, ferrous, non-ferrous and rare metals, and other minerals, on the basis of which we are building big heavy industry plants.

Engineering.—At the July plenary meeting of the central committee last year, the engineering Ministries were severely, and rightly, criticised for lagging behind in the development and production of up-to-date equipment and instruments.

The development of the engineering industry, especially the manufacture of tools and machine tools, must keep ahead of other industries. Therefore, the sixth five-year period envisages an increase of 80 per cent in the output of the engineering and metal-working industries.

Big tasks confront the engineering industry in the new five-year period. The engineering plants must be rapidly re-equipped with the latest high efficiency machines. This applies primarily to lathes, forge and stamping machines, foundry equipment, and automatic and semi-automatic

lines.

Output of lathes will be almost doubled. Not less than half of the total output of machine tools will consist of the most advanced types of lathes. For instance, production of multi-position lathes, which machine parts with many cutting tools simultaneously, will increase by nearly 150 per cent, while the production of automatic and semi-automatic lines and of equipment for automatic shops and factories. will increase by about 400 per cent. The task during the five-year period is approximately to double the production of forge and stamping equipment, and to increase the output of heavy presses by at least 300 per cent. In place of the outmoded drop hammers we must introduce mechanical forge presses with a force of several thousand tons, which will permit the employment of advanced methods of making precision stampings and effect a substantial economy of labour and metal.

In the foundry shops, the arduous and low-productive manual labour of moulders, founders and cleansers must be replaced by machines. Accordingly. the output of up-to-date foundry equipment must be increased by 700 per cent, and a large number of specialised foundries and foundry shops must be built in various parts of the country.

A no less important task of the engineering industry is to develop the production of up-to-date equipment for other branches of the national economy.

Powerful up-to-date machines must be supplied to the ore and coal mining industries. In the last five-year period we produced drag-line excavators with a 14-cubic metre bucket. These machines can excavate 800 cubic metres of earth per hour. In the new five-year period, the machine-builders must supply the metallurgists, coal miners and builders with still more powerful machines

that will excavate over 1,200 cubic metres of earth per hour. These excavators will need to be serviced by 40 to 50-ton tip-lorries, which our motor industry must produce in the sixth five-year period. The machine-builders will have the difficult task of developing super capacity equipment for fuel-burning power stations. They must design and begin the production of economically operating unit systems combining 200,000 to 300,000 kw. turbines and boilers producing up to 900 tons of steam per hour at a pressure of 300 atmospheres and a temperature of 650° Centigrade.

In the last five-year period, our power engineers designed 105,000kw. turbines for the Kuibishev hydro-electric station. They must design even more powerful turbines in the sixth five-year period. The Bratsk hydro-electric station will require turbines with a capacity of more than 200,000 kw. capacity. Some idea of these machines may be given by the following comparison: just five of them will have a total capacity equal to that of all the power stations in pre-revolutionary Russia, and will generate three and a half times as much electricity as was generated in tsarist Russia.

The draft directives provide for a considerable increase in the output of steam, hydraulic and gas turbines, and of generators for these turbines, including generators for steam turbines of tremendous capacity—up to 300,000 kw.—fitted with hydrogen-cooling systems.

We cannot effectively cope with the highly important problem of automation if we do not have sufficient quantities of the most diverse and up-to-date instruments and radio engineering products. In the sixth five-year period, therefore, it is necessary to expand the instrument-making and radio engineering industries at a rapid rate.

In order to increase the production capacity of the instrument-making industry, thirty-two specialised plants will be built and research and laboratory facilities will be enlarged.

With a view to more efficient administration of this industry, the Ministry of the Machine and Instrument Making Industry has been divided into two Ministries: the Ministry of Instrument-Making and Automation and the Ministry of Machine-Building.

One of the most important and urgent tasks of the instrument-making industry is to satisfy the needs of science and production for sufficient quantities of rapid computation machines, which are a new means of automating mathematical computation and production processes.

The radio engineering industry must pay particular attention to developing high-quality semi-conductor instruments, which in many cases are effective substitutes for radio valves. Semi-conductor instruments are of much smaller size and weight than radio valves, and increase the reliability of radio apparatus, computation machines and other appliances.

Semi-conductor instruments deserve to be taken up seriously. But the Ministry of the Radio Engineering Industry is unpardonably slow in developing their production, while the Ministry of the Non-Ferrous Metallurgical Industry is putting out absolutely inadequate quantities of the chemically pure substances needed for this purpose.

The production of **building materials** was considerably expanded during the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Nevertheless, the demand of the national economy for these materials is still not being fully satisfied. There is a great shortage of cement, wall and roofing materials, and

even of window glass.

As everyone now knows, in order to build quickly, cheaply and efficiently, industrial methods must be applied on a broad scale and the use of pre-cast reinforced concrete structures greatly increased, and this requires a lot of cement.

We produced some 6 million tons of cement in 1940 and more than 22 million tons in 1955; in 1960, it is planned to raise the output to 55 million tons. For purposes of comparison, it should be said that in 1955 the United States produced about 52 million tons of cement.

In the sixth five-year period, the production of pre-cast reinforced concrete structures will be increased nearly six-fold, while the production of finishing materials slate, sanitary and plumbing fixtures and other building materials will be more than doubled.

The Timber Industry.—The Soviet Union has the largest timber reserves in the world. Lumbering in our country is conducted on a big scale. For example, some 300 million cubic metres were produced and transported last year.

...

The timber industry is closely associated with the **paper and wood-working industry.**

In the sixth five-year period new pulp mills and cardboard factories will be built, and a number of existing pulp and paper mills will be reconstructed, with a view to substantially increasing the output of pulp and paper. Output of typographical paper and newsprint is to increase by more than 50 per cent and of cardboard by 180 per cent.

Until now it has been our practice to build pulp and paper mills chiefly in forested areas, and the paper and

cardboard had to be transported in bulk over long distances, to all parts of the country. In the sixth five-year period we must start building pulp mills and cardboard factories in un-wooded areas as well, using big local supplies of rushes as raw material. In this way we can increase the output of paper and cardboard and do away with the need to transport these products over long distances.

The paper industry must extensively develop the production of cardboard for packing purposes, so that about half the wooden packing cases may be replaced by cardboard containers in the sixth five-year period. This will give us an annual saving of about 7 million cubic metres of wood.

In the sixth five-year period we must provide for the broad expansion of production in all branches of the light and food industries, without exception. This will be a big new advance towards ensuring an uninterrupted supply of manufactured goods and foodstuffs to our trading organisations. We have all the prerequisites for this.

Our rapidly developing heavy industry will supply both the existing light industry plants and those under construction with up-to-date machines equipment and appliances. On the other hand, the advance of all branches of agriculture will make it possible substantially to increase the supply of all kinds of agricultural raw materials to the textile, leather and footwear, meat and dairy, canning, and other light and food industries.

The workers of the food industry must greatly increase the output of meat and meat products, butter, cheese, milk and milk products, fish and fish products, sugar, confectionery, and tinned goods of all kinds. This will entail the building of many new factories both in urban areas and in the areas where agricultural raw

materials are procured.

Important tasks confront the workers in the industries producing manufactured consumer goods. They must ensure an increase of more than 50 per cent in the production of footwear and garments, and substantially expand the output of linens and especially of high-grade woollens, the demand for which is not entirely satisfied.

Production of artificial and synthetic fibres is to be expanded on a particularly big scale. In the sixth five-year period there is to be a threefold increase in the output of artificial fibre and a fivefold increase in synthetic fibre, at the very least.

There must be a big increase in the manufacture of such articles as clocks and watches, bicycles, motorcycles, sewing machines, washing machines, radio sets and other goods that go to meet cultural requirements and household needs.

Besides expanding production, the light industries must considerably improve the quality of their products and secure their timely production. People must be in a position to buy clothing, underwear and footwear according to the season.

All branches of the light and food industries must make much more efficient use of their productive capacities, persistently introduce new techniques, and sharply reduce wastage of raw materials.

These, Comrades, are the principal aims of the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the different branches of industry.

(p. 13-23)

...

This question of modernising equipment is of great importance to the state, and party and economic organisations must give it their serious attention.

A great deal will have to be done in the sixth five-year period in the field of technology, the introduction of new and more advanced, technical methods.

The importance of this task may be seen from the following examples. A number of our engineering works still make steel and iron castings in earth moulds, and their forgings with drop hammers-methods which are obsolete and of low productivity. They entail a big expenditure of labour and considerable subsequent machining, which results in a great deal of wastage. A number of plants, on the other hand, have already adopted new and progressive methods of producing castings and forgings which considerably increase labour productivity and save a great deal of metal. But the industry generally is adopting these new methods slowly.

Another example: today molten steel is poured into iron moulds and the resulting ingots are rolled in blooming mills, and then in section or sheet mills.

...

The additional equipment required for continuous steel-pouring will pay for itself in less than one year. Furthermore, this will make it possible to do away with arduous manual labour in the pouring departments, curtail personnel in the melting shops, and reduce expenditure of refractories.

The next and higher stage after mechanisation, in the process of technical development, is **automation**.

The essence of automation is that the production process is carried out with a minimum expenditure of physical labour; the worker is freed from heavy labour and his duties are chiefly regulation. Thanks to automation, one worker, or a few workers, can tend a large number of machines. Automation changes the nature of the worker's labour, and the more extensively it

is introduced the more will his labour approximate to that of the technician and the engineer.

Large-scale automation opens up prospects for an unprecedented increase in the labour productivity, and, under socialism, makes for a rise in the cultural and technical standards of the working people. In addition, it leads to better quality and lower cost of production; furthermore, it brings greater reliability and continuity in production.

The control of operations in atomic installations, and also in a number of branches of the chemical and other industries where the work cannot be regulated directly by the personnel, is possible only with the help of automation.

The results of automation may be seen from the example of the Dnieper hydro-electric station, whose nine hydro-turbines with a total capacity of 650,000 kilowatts, and a number of other machines, are serviced by shifts of only six operatives. At the Ordjonikidze cascade in Uzbekistan, two or three operatives control four hydro-electric stations from a single panel.

The economic effect of automation in engineering works is high. Our up-to-date automatic production lines make it possible to reduce the number of workers to between approximately one-fifth and one-tenth of what it was and to curtail working time in processing to the same extent. Automation must be widely employed in all industries. This task confronts the heavy, light and food industries alike.

Automatic computing machines which can themselves determine the most advantageous regimen of production processes and maintain it, and also establish and control quality assignments, must play a particularly important role in carrying out automation.

The development of automation is thus of great importance to our country, The Ministries and departments are not yet paying proper attention to it, however.

The draft directives set the task of introducing automation in industry on a large scale, of proceeding more rapidly from the automation of machines and operations to the automation of factory departments and technological processes, and the construction of fully automated plants, which will make for an incalculable rise in labour productivity.

The Ministries and the State Commission for New Techniques must take more decisive measures to introduce automation in all branches of the national economy.

In addition to replacing old equipment, perfecting technological processes and introducing mechanisation and automation, we' must improve the **quality** of new machines, equipment, materials, and other products and bring them into conformity with the latest scientific and technical standards, while obsolete types of machinery, equipment and materials must be withdrawn from production without delay and replaced by more up-to-date; models and materials.

It should be said that an anti-scientific theory to the effect that there is no moral depreciation of machinery under socialism is current among a section of our economists. The advocates of this harmful theory, who have even made their way into the pages of the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*; claim that the phenomenon of "moral depreciation" of machines is inherent only in the capital economy, and that in the socialist economy "technical development does not give rise to "moral depreciation", and the latter is not taken into account in

the depreciation of the basic funds" (*Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 2, p. 291).

It is not difficult to see that this "theory" serves as a justification for inertia and conservatism. It sets out to demonstrate that it is advantageous for the socialist society to employ outmoded equipment which does not measure up to the high technical level attained at the leading enterprises in our country. But who does not know that to lag in the introduction of new techniques means using social labour wastefully, means halting the rise of labour productivity?

Technical progress leads, to a saving of social labour, making it possible to produce more goods with a smaller expenditure of labour. But instead of working on the problem of the economic effect yielded by new techniques, which ensure the victory of socialism in its competition with capitalism, some of our would-be economists turn the use of outmoded machines into a law of the development of socialist economy. It will not be superfluous to remind these "economists" of Lenin's wise words: "... the economist must always look ahead, in the direction of technical progress, or else he will prove to be backward, for he who does not want to look ahead turns his back, on history; there is no middle path here, nor can there be" (*Works*, Russian edition, Vol. 5, p. 125).

...

At, the July plenary meeting of the central committee, we decided the question of broadening the powers of the directors of industrial enterprises. The Council of Ministers must take a similar decision with respect to the directors of scientific research institutions.

With a view to securing capable scientists for research work and relieving research institutions of people who produce nothing useful for years on end, we

must introduce the practice of periodical appointment, on a competitive basis, to scientific posts in all research institutes.

...

The carrying out of the broad programme of technical progress in industry outlined in the draft directives will largely depend on the event of **industrial specialisation and co-operation**.

Modern high-efficiency machinery can be utilised only when a uniform type of product is turned out in large quantities, by the method of mass production. This purpose is served by specialisation and co-operation.

...

The heads of certain Ministries and the directors of many plants are afraid of specialisation and wide-scale co-operation, because they involve a change in the established forms of production organisation.

There are also some people who would like to put off specialisation to the future, to have it applied to the new specialised enterprises that will be built, while the existing enterprises go on operating exactly as before.

We cannot allow such a situation to continue. ...

...

We find references to the progressive role of specialised production in the works of Lenin. He wrote: "To increase the productivity of human labour in, for instance, the manufacture of some part of a product, the manufacture of that part must be specialised, must become a special operation entailing mass production and, therefore, permitting (and calling for) the employment of machines etc." (*Works*, Russian edition, Vol. I, p. 84).

(p. 24-31)

In the sixth five-year period, gross agricultural output is to be increased by approximately 70 per cent, that is to say, the rate of increase will be much faster than in the fifth five-year period. The targets for the more important branches of agriculture are as follows.

The central committee of the party and the government recently took an important decision to promote a larger output of potatoes and other vegetables. By this decision, the procurement prices for potatoes have been nearly trebled, on an average, and the wholesale purchasing prices raised by 70 per cent. The procurement and wholesale purchasing prices of vegetables have been increased by 70 per cent on an average. Other measures are provided to make it profitable for the collective and state farms to expand the production of potatoes and other vegetables.

All state farms must put their land to the most rational use, sharply reduce the expenditure of materials and labour in production, and become highly profitable establishments.

In the sixth five-year period agriculture will be supplied with a large variety of more up-to-date machines in ever-increasing quantities.

It is planned to supply agriculture with approximately 1,650,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), including, 680,000 row-crop tractors; with 56,000 grain combines, 250,000 maize combines and silage combines, and many other machines.

The draft directives provide that during the five-year period agriculture shall be supplied with 180,000 tractor-drawn windrowers and 400,000 combine pick-ups, but evidently this number is not enough.

The government discussed the question the other day, and it instructed the State Planning Commission, the

State Commission for New Techniques, and the Ministries of Agriculture, State Farms, and the Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Industry to make a further painstaking study of the question and to ascertain more fully how many two-stage grain-harvesting machines are required.

This is a very important and forward-looking task. Everything necessary must be done to carry it out.

The large supplies of farm machines of various kinds which have been planned will be a great help to agriculture from our industry. As we know, it was in 1929 that we began supplying agriculture with tractors in relatively large quantities. Under the first, second, third and fourth Five-Year Plans we supplied 1,375,000 tractors. Now, in the sixth five-year period alone, the government plans to supply agriculture with 275,000 more tractors than in the first four Five-Year Plans taken together.

It was in 1931 that our industry began supplying agriculture with grain combines, and from that time up to the end of 1955, it delivered 505,000 units. Now, in the sixth five-year period alone, 55,000 more grain combines will be supplied than in all the previous twenty-five years.

But quantity is not the only thing. We shall introduce on our farms the most economically operating diesel tractors, tractors with pneumatic tyres, combines of the latest design, mounted implements operated directly by the tractor driver, and large quantities of up-to-date machines for the preparation of fodder, for mechanising labour-consuming processes in live-stock etc.

All this will raise agriculture to a new and higher technical level, and will make it possible to improve the efficiency of all branches of agriculture. When speaking of perfecting the technical equipment of agriculture, we

must include such an important question as the application of electricity for the mechanisation of many types of work, especially in livestock farming. It must be admitted that we have not done enough in rural electrification.

No small part of the blame for this lies with the Ministry of Agriculture, which has not raised these questions persistently. What is more, funds assigned for the development of rural electrification have often been used for other purposes.

Electrification of agriculture must be carried out both by linking collective and state farms to state power stations, and by the construction of local power plants with the participation of collective farms.

The draft directives provide that the number of collective farms with a permanent power supply is to be doubled, and the electrification of the state farms and machine and tractor stations completed. Industry will therefore have to expand the production of electric-driven farm machines that are economical and reliable in operation.

One of the most important tasks of agriculture in the sixth five-year period is to increase the yield per hectare of all crops. This will largely depend on the use of mineral fertilisers. The supply of these is to be at least doubled. The industrial production of peat and lime for these purposes should be organised on a big scale.

...

Recently the central committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers took a decision placing on the machine and tractor stations full responsibility for procurements on the collective farms.

The gradual transfer of the machine and tractor stations to a cost-accounting basis, which will increase

the sense of responsibility of their personnel for the work they carry out on the collective farms, as well as the stations' material interest in the results of collective-farm production, will be an important factor in further improving the work of the machine and tractor stations.

...

(p. 32-35)

One of the important things the railways have to do is to improve their permanent way. The draft directives provide for the laying of 65,000 kilometres of new rails on operating lines, including 58,000 kilometres of heavy rails and also for the extensive introduction of reinforced concrete sleepers. This means that heavier rails will be laid on nearly half the length of the principal railways, which will greatly increase their carrying capacity, reduce labour expenditure on maintenance and repair and sharply reduce operation costs.

It is planned to supply the railways with not less than 2,000 electric locomotives, 2,250 two-section diesel locomotives, 255,000 goods wagons, and 18,600 passenger coaches.

The draft directives provide for the further expansion of the railway network. It is proposed to lay and put into operation 6,500 kilometres of new lines, or approximately double the length laid in the fifth five-year period. The following important lines are to be put into operation:

...

In addition to the building of new railways, second tracks will be laid with an approximate length of 6,600 kilometres, or 40 per cent more than in the fifth five-year period.

Sea Transport.— The volume of sea-borne cargo is to be more than doubled in the five-year period.

Development of trade with the Chinese People's Republic, the people's democracies, the Republic of India, the Union of Burma and other countries will result in a larger volume of export and import goods being carried in Soviet ships. There will be a big increase in cargo carriage between our Black Sea, Far Eastern and other basins, and via the Northern Sea Route.

...

New and up-to-date ships will be supplied to our merchant navy in large numbers. In the five years it will receive cargo vessels to a total of 1,600,000 tons, or 80 per cent more than in the fifth five-year period. We shall build new and big motor-ships, tankers, timber-carriers and other vessels. We must therefore pay more attention to developing our shipbuilding industry. The draft directives provide for improving the technical facilities of seaports and increasing their handling capacity.

Inland Water Transport.—It is planned to increase the volume of cargo carried on the inland waterways by 80 per cent in the five years. ...

...

Road Transport is to develop further; during the five-year period freight traffic by road is to increase by approximately 100 per cent, and passenger carriage by more than 200 per cent.

In 1960 the motor industry is to turn out 650,000 lorries, cars and buses. The output of lorry and tractor trailers is to increase several times over. It is proposed to replace older models of motor vehicles, buses and engines by more efficient models.

It is planned to expand the construction and reconstruction of hard surface motor roads. We must build more cement concrete roads, which are more durable than asphalt concrete roads.

The targets for **air transport** are to increase freight carriage by 100 per cent and passenger carriage by approximately 280 per cent, and to provide the airlines with larger and faster up-to-date passenger planes.

Communications.—The draft directives provide for considerable expansion and reconstruction of communication facilities on the basis of the latest technical achievements.

During the five years we plan to build, for example, at least 10,000 kilometres of radio-relay communication lines, which permit as many as 1,200 telephone conversations in each direction simultaneously, and also long-distance television broadcasts.

The increase in the capacity of automatic telephone exchanges in the sixth five-year period is to be approximately double that of the previous five years. It is also planned to increase the number of post offices and expand telephone and radio-relay facilities in the rural areas.

...

(p. 36-38)

The following data on capital investment under our previous Five-Year Plans (in the prices of 1 July 1955) will enable you to judge the scale of capital construction under the present plan.

State capital investments for the First Five-Year Plan amounted to 58,000 million roubles; the figure for the Second was 132,500 million; for the three and a half years of the Third, 131,000 million; for the Fourth, 311,000 million; and for the Fifth Five-Year Plan, 594,000 million.

The present Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for capital investments totalling 990,000 million roubles.

It will be seen from these figures that the present volume of capital investment exceeds that of the fourth and fifth five-year programmes taken together.

Out of these 990,000 million roubles for capital investments in the entire national economy, more than 600,000 million will be directed to industry; this is 70 per cent more than in the fifty five-year period.

The bulk of these capital investments will be used for the construction of new capacities in power, chemicals, iron and steel and non-ferrous metals, oil and coal, building materials and timber. Investments in these industries will exceed 400,000 million roubles.

The light and food industries will get 75 per cent more investments than under the previous Five-Year Plan, and transport, and communications more than 70 per cent.

Investments in agriculture will be upwards of 120,000 rubles, or nearly double the Fifth Five-Year Plan figure. In addition, the collective farms will invest approximately 100,000 million roubles out of their own resources.

There are to be considerably larger capital allocations for the construction of housing and public utilities, schools, hospitals, children's institutions and cinemas. All in all, more than 200,000 million roubles are to be spent under this heading, as against 120,000 million in the fifth five-year period.

Large allocations are being made for new and more efficient equipment. Though capital investment generally is being increased, by 67 per cent, allocations for new machinery and equipment with increase by 80 per cent.

...

That larger building organisations are desirable is clear. Why, then, is amalgamation making such slow progress?

A serious handicap is the mistaken and purely

departmental attitude of many Ministries and departments, whose approach to the whole problem is that of the narrow-minded private business man. Nor, I should say, is the Committee for Construction showing the required degree of persistence in this question of combining building organisations into larger units.

We must strike out against these retrograde tendencies, and against the bureaucrats who are hampering such an important national undertaking.

(p. 38-40)

This will mean higher personal incomes for the population. There will be an increase of approximately 30 per cent in the real wages of factory, office and other workers over the five-year period. The incomes of collective farmers, in cash and in kind, will increase by not less than 40 per cent, primarily as a result of larger revenue from collective farms, paid out against work-day units.

...

Comrades, the rise in the incomes of workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals must be accompanied by expansion of trade and by an increase in the quantity of goods sold through state and co-operative trading establishments.

The objective is a 50 per cent increase in the total volume of retail trade over the five-year period. However, the task is not only to expand trade, but also to improve it qualitatively.

...

The present plan sets exceptionally big targets in housing development.

We know that state housing construction, before and after the war, has been on an impressive scale. But, as I

have already pointed out, the need is acute, and improvement of housing conditions is a matter of social concern for the party and the government.

In the present Sixth Five-Year Plan period, 205 million square metres¹ of new housing will be built out of government allocations alone. This is nearly double the figure for the previous five years.

The state will encourage and in every way assist the building of houses by individuals out of their own savings and with the aid of government loans. We should expand the building of houses in rural areas.

Collective farms should more actively help their members to build houses out of their own savings and, where necessary; grant them loans for this purpose. We intend substantially to expand the sale of building materials to collective farms and the population at large—such items as cement, timber, metal, glass, slate, wall elements and so on.

The big programme for housing construction calls for a steep rise in the manufacture of furniture and for an improvement in its quality.

The present supply of furniture is inadequate, and the industry is not coping with the rising demand in a satisfactory manner. It is therefore necessary to organise, and without further delay, mass production of low-cost but convenient and attractive furniture, taking due account of the consumers' tastes. The manufacture of multi-purpose furniture units should also be stepped up.

Apart from this, we must make it a rule that designs for new blocks of flats should make provision for good, convenient built-in furniture, and in this respect we must draw on what is good in foreign experience.

...

Much has to be done to provide more school buildings and equipment. In the sixth five-year period we plan to build, out of state funds, new school buildings in towns and rural areas with accommodation for approximately 4 million pupils, which is twice as much as under the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Collective farms should be enlisted to take a more active part in building and equipping village schools.

...

The draft directives call for extensive construction of medical centres. The number of hospitals and children's institutions to be built in the sixth five-year plan period will increase by nearly 200 and 140 per cent respectively, as compared with the previous five years. Kindergartens and nurseries will be able to take care of approximately 45 per cent more children, which should make things still easier for women workers and enable them to take a more active part in production and in cultural, political and other public activity.

(p. 43-46)

In this respect, the achievements of the Union Republics are indeed impressive. It is particularly gratifying that all of them have trained cadres' of skilled personnel who have mastered modern techniques.

The central committee of the party and the government have implemented a number of important organisational measures recently to increase the part played by the Union Republics in the administration of the economy. New Union-Republican Ministries have been established; many units of the coal, timber, oil, iron and steel, meat-packing, dairy products, light, textile, food and building materials industries, and many motor transport and communications facilities have been

transferred from U.S.S.R. to republican Ministries. In recent years, more than 11,000 industrial enterprises have been placed under republican control.

In carrying out of all these measures, the central committee of the party has been guided by the Leninist principle of combining centralised direction with a greater degree of independence and initiative for local organisations in matters concerning economic and cultural progress.

With the transfer of a large number of factories and mills from Union to republican jurisdiction, certain Union-Republican Ministries have been left with hardly any enterprises under their direct control. This being the case, it is evidently necessary to think not only about sharply reducing the central apparatus but of whether the continued existence of certain Union Republican Ministries is expedient in general.

It must be mentioned that the steps taken to obviate excessive centralisation in the administration of the economy are meeting with resistance from some top executives in Union and Union-Republican Ministries who want centralised control, as if they were in a position, being "on top", to judge the situation better than the people in the Union Republics.

The steps the party and the government are taking at the present time to enhance the role of the Union Republics in guiding economic and cultural construction are entirely in keeping with the Leninist principles of our party's national policy.

The idea of establishing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a voluntary association of free, equal and sovereign nations, belongs entirely to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great founder of our party and the Soviet State. He put forward this idea, and substantiated and

developed it. As a matter of fact, already as long ago as 1922, Lenin warned against the possibility of excessive centralism, against bureaucratic perversions which might hinder the broad, overall development of the Union Republics' initiative.

This injunction of Lenin's is extremely important to us now as well. We should continue unswervingly to follow this policy of enhancing the part played by the Union Republics in the administration of the economy, and more boldly transfer industrial establishments from centralised to republican control.

This makes the guidance of our economy and culture more concrete and operative and will contribute to the further strengthening of fraternal friendship between the republics. In addition, the measures taken by the party to eliminate excessive centralism and enhance the role of the Union Republics in economic administration signifies the establishment of a closer contact between the state apparatus and the masses and is a further important step in developing and consolidating our multi-national socialist state.

While organising apparatus in the republics for the guidance of enterprises, we must not, of course, blindly follow the pattern of the Union Ministries, as Comrade Razzakov, secretary of the party central committee of Kirghizia, has pointed out here.

Kirghizia is not the only republic where Union Republican Ministries have been set up in cases where the number of enterprises is small. For example, a Ministry of Light Industry with an apparatus of twenty-seven persons and directing only six enterprises has been established in the Tajik Republic. In the Turkmen Republic the Ministry of the Textile Industry controls ten enterprises. The Moldavian Republic has a Ministry of the

Timber Industry with an apparatus of thirty-two persons. It directs only eight enterprises, including four lumber camps, two of which are in the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukraine.

The Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics must carefully look into the matter, eliminate excesses and decide whether the existence of this or that Ministry in a particular republic is expedient. I fully support the proposal, formulated by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov in the report, for the establishment of an authoritative inter-republican body—an Economic Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet—to work out considered decisions on questions involving the economic interests of the Union Republics. The needs of each republic will thus be taken more fully into account.

In drawing up the draft directives, which envisage powerful economic expansion in all the Union Republics, the central committee of the party proceeded from the belief that the directives should define only their basic industrial and agricultural targets.

The central committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and their Councils of Ministers should, taking the directives as a basis formulate more detailed economic and cultural objectives for the current five-year period and work out their own five-year development programmes. The sixth five-year period must see the further economic and cultural flowering of our Union Republics.

Achievement of the targets set for them, and more rational distribution of productive forces, will raise the economy of each republic to still higher levels, further enhance the might of the Soviet State and cement the friendship and fraternal co-operation of its many nations.

(p. 48-50)

Comrades, the Sixth Five-Year Plan for economic development will be of immense importance, not only for our own country, but internationally as well. What V. I. Lenin, the great founder of our party and of the Soviet State, foretold has now come true: the Soviet Union is, primarily by its economic policy, exerting an increasing influence on world developments, on the history and destinies of the human race.

(p. 52)

**Directives of the 20th Congress of the
C.P.S.U. on the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the
Development of the U.S.S.R. (1956-60),
(Adopted unanimously on 25 February
1956)**

...
The successful development of heavy industry and the growth of agricultural production made it possible in the five-year period to increase the output of consumer goods by 76 per cent or more than double the pre-war level. The Five-Year Plan targets for the transport services were exceeded. Continuous technical improvement, improved organisation of production, and development of socialist emulation resulted in higher labour productivity in industry, agriculture and transport.

...

The level of social production now attained makes it possible for the Soviet State to expand at a rapid rate, not only the production of means of production—which has been, and remains the immutable foundation of the entire national economy—but also the production of consumer goods, and to multiply considerably the social wealth, and thus advance further towards the establishment of a communist society in our country.

The principal aims of the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R. are to assure—by means of the priority development of heavy industry, continuous technical progress and higher labour productivity—a further mighty expansion of all branches of the national economy and a steep rise in agricultural production and on this basis, to achieve a substantial advance in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

I. Growth of industrial production in the five-year period is to be approximately 65 per cent.

The primary aims of the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the sphere of industry are to assure the continued expansion of the ferrous and non-ferrous metals, oil, coal and chemical industries, rate of construction of power stations that will provide reserve power-producing capacity, and a rapid increase in the production of machinery, particularly of technically up-to-date machine tools, forging and stamping presses, automation equipment, and instruments. Production of the means of production (Group A) is to be increased in the five-year period by approximately 70 per cent.

Substantially develop the industries producing consumer goods. Production of consumer goods (Group

B) is to be increased in the live-year period by approximately 60 per cent.

2. The volume of production of major industrial goods in the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan-1960—is to be roughly as follows:

FERROUS METALS

		Percentage of 1955 Output
Iron	53 million tons	159
Steel	68,300,000 tons	151
Rolled Metal	52,700,000 tons	152

FUEL AND ELECTRIC POWER

Coal	593 million tons	152
Oil	135 million tons	191
Gas	40,000 million cubic metres	
Electric Power	320,000 million kilowatt-hours	188
Including Hydro-electric power	59,000 million kilowatt-hours	255

CHEMICAL AND MINERAL FERTILISERS

		Percentage of 1955 Output
Mineral Fertilisers.	19,600,000 tons	204
Caustic Soda	1 million tons	177
Soda Ash	2,420,000 tons	168

MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT

		Percentage of 1955 Output
Metallurgical Equipment	280,000 tons	163
Chemical Equipment	208,000 tons	184
Oil Equipment	120,000 tons	248
Steam and Gas Turbines	10,500,000 kilowatts	258
Hydro Turbines	2,600,000 kilowatts	173
Generators for Steam, Gas and Hydro Turbines	11 million kilowatts	243
Metal-Cutting Machine Tools	200,000 units	190
Forging and Stamping Presses	25,800 units	185

Instruments and Spare Parts	7,000 million roubles	352
Motor Vehicles	650,000 units	146
Tractors	322,000 units	197
Agricultural Machinery	9,500 million roubles	176
Grain Combine Harvesters	140,000 units	292
Windrowers	50,000 units	2,000
Electric Locomotives	550 units	284
Diesel-Electric Locomotives	1,630 units	1,100
Main-Line Goods Wagons	52,000 units	151
Main-Line Passenger Coaches	2,800 units	158

TIMBER AND BUILDING MATERIALS

Logs	264 million cubic metres	134
Sawn Timber	80 million cubic metres	138
Cement.	55 million tons	245
Slate	3,050 million standard sheets	205
Window Glass	155 million square metres	156

CONSUMER GOODS

Cotton Fabrics	7,270 million metres	123
Woollen Fabrics	363 million metres	145
Linen Fabrics	556 million metres	182
Silk Fabrics	1,074 million metres	204
Artificial fabrics	330,000 tons	299
Ready-made Clothes	78,000 million roubles	152
Knitted Garments	580 million pieces	135
Footwear	455 million pairs	152
Clocks and Watches	33,600,000 units	171
Radio and Television	10,200,000 units	255
Refrigerators (domestic)	635,000 units	419
Washing Machines (domestic)	528,000 units	608
Sewing Machines (domestic)	3,780,000 units	235
Motor-cycles	395,000 units	162
Bicycles	4,230,000 units	147
Paper	2,722,000 tons	146

Furniture	14,600 million roubles	211
Sugar	6,530,000 tons	191
Meat (processed)	3,950,000 tons	178
Fish	4,200,000 tons	157
Butter and Other Dairy Products (in terms of milk)	25 million tons	185
Vegetable oil	1,840,000 tons	165
Tinned Goods	5,580 million standard tins	178

(p. 55-58)

1. Ensure a steep rise in the output of crop-farming and animal husbandry. Increase the gross grain harvest in 1960 to 180 million tons (11,000 million poods). In the five-year period, increase the gross output of industrial crops, potatoes, vegetables and animal products as follows:

	1960 in percentages of 1955
Raw Cotton	156
Flax (fibre)	135
Sugar	154
Beet Potatoes	185
Other Vegetables	218
Meat	200
Milk	195
Eggs	254
Wool	182

(p. 75)

**BOOKLETS on the 20th CONGRESS OF THE
C.P.S.U., speeches of V.M. MOLOTOV, G.M.
MALENKOV, A. I. MIKOYAN, M.A. SUSLOV,**

D.T SHEPILOV

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**SPEECH BY A. I. MIKOYAN, Member of the
presidium of the central committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union and
First Vice-Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the U.S.S.R., 16 February**

...

The main task has been to eliminate the lag in agriculture, to remove the resultant disproportion between the development of industry and agriculture—a disproportion which was most dangerous for our country and which in the future could be a very big hindrance to

our progress. To accomplish this task a number of measures were taken, such as providing greater material incentives to the collective farmers and developing virgin and long-fallow land. Thirty-three million hectares¹ of new land have been cultivated in the past two years. Could we ever have dreamed of anything like that in the past?

...

Going back to the development of our agriculture, it should be said that here the situation is being remedied by the rational allocation of sown areas to the most important crops, comprehensive mechanisation of farming, reconstruction of the work of organising and guiding agriculture and changes in the planning of agriculture. Bureaucratic planning from the centre, which proved harmful to the work, has been abolished. The collective farms themselves now plan the sown areas and crop yields, and the number of livestock and their productivity, while the central bodies only fix the amounts of deliveries and the sales of agricultural produce to the state.

All these measures assure a rapid advance of agriculture and the elimination of the disproportion in our economy, and substantially strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Productivity of agriculture has already been raised and as a result the production of foodstuffs and consumer goods for the population has, noticeably expanded.

The task has been set of increasing the output of consumer goods by nearly 250 per cent by the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, as compared, with the pre-war year of 1940; the production of meat and fish is to grow by 220 per cent, tinned goods by 460 per cent, butter 290 per

¹ About 81½ acres. One hectare equals 2.47 acres.

cent (that is to say, nearly fourfold), sugar 200 per cent, silk fabrics fourteen times over, woollen fabrics 200 per cent, sewing machines twenty-two times over, clocks, and watches twelve times over etc.

Such a high rate of increase in the output of consumer goods now in short supply is to be explained by, the fact that the central committee of our party is concerned over irregularities in supply in a number of places and the queues for some goods. It is asked at times: Are some irregularities in supply and queues for goods in short supply inevitable? Are they the concomitants of socialist trade? No, of course not. They arise when there is no proper balance between the available mass of goods and the, effective demand of the population.

In socialist society demand should run ahead of the supply of goods. The ever-increasing demand drives forward the production of goods. The whole question lies in the degree to which demand runs ahead of supply. A serious gap between the available mass of goods and the monetary incomes of the population brings about a disproportion in circulation and adversely affects Soviet trade, giving rise to queues and irregularities in the sale of some goods, creating inconveniences for the population, making for poor service in trade and hampering an improvement in the quality of goods.

We now have every possibility of eliminating such disproportion. Proper planning enables us to prevent such cases of disproportion in circulation in the future and to eliminate in the very first years of the new Five-Year Plan the queues and irregularities in supply which exist in some places. This should create the necessary amenities for customers, enhance the efficiency of trade, make for better service and ensure an improvement in the quality of the entire mass of goods, bringing them up

to the level of the finest articles produced in our country and abroad, *and raise the whole of trade and public catering to a new, still higher level, conforming to the requirements of socialist society.*

Proper correlation between demand and supply will be reached through a sharp increase in the production of goods in short supply and the pursuance in the future of a policy of price reductions under which prices will be reduced only in proportion to the growth of the mass of goods and the increase in the effective demand of the population.

It must be frankly admitted that the organisation of the work in our shops and public catering establishments is inferior to that in the best among similar establishments abroad. This must be admitted in order to exert fresh efforts to bring up trade and public catering as quickly as possible to an adequate level. In so doing, it is necessary to extend the network of shops and dining rooms, of which we do not have enough, to re-equip them technically, to improve the organisation of the work, introducing self-service both in dining-rooms and in shops. We have to introduce in every way automatic machines, of which there are about 2 million in operation in America and only a few in our country. This will make it possible to provide amenities for customers to reduce the expenses of circulation and to raise the labour productivity of distributive workers.

In order to bring about a radical improvement in trade and public catering it is necessary to complete the decentralisation of management of trading establishments, to turn them over to local Soviets of Working People's Deputies, to draw the most active workers, office and other employees and housewives into exercising daily supervision and seeing to the

improvement of trade and public catering. They, better than anyone else, should notice all the shortcomings in trade, exercise supervision, and see to the elimination of the shortcomings. Trade unions should play a decisive part in this supervision, while local Soviets should rectify all the shortcomings revealed.

Our central committee has also worked in the following important directions: implacable struggle against bureaucratic centralisation and the establishment of Leninist democratic centralism in its full scope; the safeguarding and consolidation of the union of Soviet nations, the sovereign rights of the Union Republics, the transfer to their jurisdiction of affairs that come within their competence but were formerly concentrated in the centre, which was wrong; in particular, a considerable number of industrial establishments have been transferred from the jurisdiction of central bodies to that of local bodies; extension of the rights of local Soviets and industrial establishments; the drawing of the working masses into broad participation in compiling and examining economic plans, into more active participation in coping with tasks of production management; the pruning and simplification of the state apparatus, struggle against Communist vainglory and conceit, empty bragging, and boastful reports which have done us so much harm; promotion of criticism and self-criticism in its full scope, regardless of whom it may affect.

Among other important measures mention should be made of the division of Gosplan (State Planning Committee) into two commissions, for long-term and current planning, with the object of establishing a proper tie-up between the needs of the future and the needs of the present, with mutual control of these bodies designed to prevent disproportions in the economy.

Knowing how much Lenin was concerned over the planned nature of economic development, we may rest assured that this decision of the central committee on the reorganisation of Gosplan in the present conditions conforms to the requirements which-Lenin presented to Gosplan in his day.

In the capitalist world, proportions in the economy are established spontaneously, through competition, the anarchy of production and crises. As distinct from this, in the socialist economy proportions are established by the will of organised society, by scientific planning based on the requirements of the objective laws of economic development. Hence, the planned nature of development and the prevention of serious disproportions in the economy depend on the proper, scientifically substantiated organisation of planning.

Comrade Khrushchov's report is not only a report on what has been done. A big and detailed programme for the accelerated advance to communism is presented for the examination of the congress in the report of the central committee and the draft directives on the Sixth Five-Year Plan. This programme indicates the ways for the development of industry and the entire national economy, and shows what has to be done to ensure a further substantial rise in the population's standard of living in conformity with the growing possibilities of the socialist system.

By setting the task of overtaking and surpassing the capitalist countries for *per capita* production, we are setting the task of overtaking and surpassing the richest capitalist countries for *per capita* consumption, of achieving full abundance of all consumer goods in our country.

On the order of the day there is also a range of highly

important social measures, such as reduction of the working day, an increase in the wages of lower-paid categories of factory, office and other workers, helping them to educate their children and making easier the maintenance of aged parents through the establishment of state homes for the aged and the institution of appropriate pensions, free education, the development of a wide network of nurseries and kindergartens, the organisation of boarding schools for children, the provision of school meals and the development of a wide chain of public catering establishments. Lastly, this range also includes measures for expediting the solution of the housing problem and improving the public health services and education.

The increase in wages to lower-paid categories of factory, office and other workers will eliminate a certain disproportion in our economy, do away with the excessive gap between the wages of the lower-paid and higher-paid categories. During the period when we were industrialising a peasant country such a gap was natural, because it stimulated the rapid growth of cadres of highly skilled workers who were badly needed by the country.

Now that we have a highly qualified, cultured working class which is being replenished every year by young people who have received a seven-year or ten-year education, the difference, although it should be preserved, will be narrowed down, which follows from the new level of our development and signifies a step forward to communism.

All these are the rudiments of communism. They open up the path to the communist way of life. This is a source of joy and inspiration to all of us. Let this also be known to the arrogant Americans who today plume themselves on their wealth, on their "American way of life". Let them

enter into competition with us in this sphere and learn where more will be done for the good of the people, and whose way of life will prove to be better. Let them enter into such competition instead of engaging in the arms drive. We Soviet people, and the American people, too, find such competition more to our liking.

(p. 3-8)

None of us can fail to be interested in the question of the present position of capitalism. Is it possible for capitalism in its period of decay and general crisis to develop at all? Is technical progress and the growth of production in capitalist countries possible today and tomorrow?

The theory of absolute stagnation of capitalism is alien to Marxism-Leninism. It would be wrong to say that the general crisis of capitalism means the end of rising output and technical progress in the capitalist countries.

In analysing the economic situation of present-day capitalism it is doubtful whether we get any help from Stalin's thesis in the *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* or whether it is correct-in relation to the United States, Britain and France-that, with the break-up of the world market the "volume of production in these countries will shrink". This assertion does not explain the complex and contradictory phenomena of present-day capitalism and the fact of the growth of capitalist production in many countries since the war.

As has been stated in the report of the central committee; Lenin in 1916 in his work on imperialism, having brilliantly illuminated the laws of imperialism, pointed out that the decline of capitalism does not preclude a rapid growth of production, that in the epoch of imperialism individual branches of industry and

individual countries display, to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies.

All the facts show that these Leninist theses are in no way outdated.

Incidentally, one cannot but note that other theses of the *Economic Problems* as well, if strictly examined, demand from our economists profound study and critical re-examination from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

...

Note should be taken of the big success of the group of economists who issued the textbook on political economy and who afterwards supplemented and reprinted this textbook. But it would be wrong to keep silent about the fact that the part dealing with modern capitalist development-particularly the character and the periodicity of the cyclical crises-and also questions relating to the political economy of socialism, require further profound study and elaboration.

(p. 20-21)

**SPEECH BY M. A. SUSLOV, Member of the
Presidium of the Central Committee of the
C.P.S.U. at the 20th CONGRESS of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
February 16, 1956**

Soviet News, Booklet No. 9

SPEECH BY M. A. SUSLOV

Member of the presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

16 February

...

The tremendous work done by the party is bearing fruit. In the field of agriculture the first big step has been taken in the matter of increasing the production of grain and industrial crops and in developing livestock breeding, and the conditions have been created for rapidly increasing, within the next few years, the output of agricultural produce on a scale commensurate with the country's growing requirements. The fulfilment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in four years and four months in industry shows what tremendous potentialities are being revealed in this sphere of our national economy as well.

Basing ourselves on our accomplishments, we can now put forward new and gigantic tasks. We are in a position to develop at a rapid pace not only heavy industry, as the foundation of the entire national economy, but also the production of consumer goods, to increase public wealth considerably and on this basis substantially to improve the wellbeing of the people. These are the tasks set forth in the draft directives of the congress on the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The fulfilment of this plan will mean new and major successes in the socialist economy, a new and big step forward in creating an abundance of consumer goods, in building communism in our country.

Comrades, the Soviet people will welcome with great enthusiasm and redoubled efforts in production the measures outlined by the central committee of the party for a further improvement under the Sixth Five-Year Plan of working and living conditions of which Comrade

Khrushchov spoke here: the introduction in the course of the Sixth Five-Year Plan of a seven-hour day for all factory, office and other workers, and a six-hour day for the basic underground trades in the coal and ore-mining industries, and for young people, without any reduction of wages; the reduction of the working day on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays by two hours in the near future; wage increases for lower-paid categories of workers and other employees; readjustment of pensions; a rapid expansion of housing construction (doubling the figure under the Fifth Five-Year Plan), and improvement of canteens and other establishments serving the public. All these measures will raise the wellbeing of Soviet people to a higher level. The party has thought of everyone: working people, the youth, who are our hope for the future, veteran workers, women, children, of each individual, and this is as it should be in a socialist society.

The measures projected are arousing widespread comment abroad. All right-minded people are as pleased about them as we are. But there are also those who do not like them. The publication of the new Soviet Five-Year Plan has gone against the grain with certain elements. These elements no longer doubt that this Soviet Five-Year Plan, too, will be carried out. Everyone now admits that. They are afraid of something else. This was frankly put recently by Judge W. Douglas, of the United States Supreme Court. "If Russia", he wrote, "can get peace even for a decade, she can bring about a great increase in her standard of living. By that very act, she can create tremendous pressure on Asia and on Europe too.... A smiling, peaceful, prosperous Russia presents a most difficult international problem...."¹

Mr. Douglas is obviously made uneasy by the

¹ Retranslated from Russian.

prospect of peaceful economic competition between the two social systems, and we have no intention of reassuring him. It is enough only to point out that a peaceful, prosperous Russia by no means presents a "most difficult international problem" for ordinary working people throughout the world, for they rightly regard the successes of the working people of the Soviet Union as victories of the great cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan marks an important stage in the peaceful economic competition between the two systems. A specific feature of this stage is the fact that the Soviet Union now enjoys all the necessary prerequisites for accomplishing, within a historically brief space of time, the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R.-to catch up with and surpass the most highly developed capitalist countries in production per head of the population.

In order to carry out this task we must see to it that the entire national economy is raised to a new and higher technical level, and substantially increase the productivity of labour. This is now the main requirement in order to ensure for socialism the first place in the competition with capitalism. Hence the economic aspects of production assume greater importance than ever.

Economic management, the work of the Ministries and heads of enterprises, collective farms, machine and tractor stations, and state farms must be raised to a higher level.

(p. 9-10)

... Most of our propagandists are poorly versed in the economics of socialist production. Very often they are guided and trained by people who likewise do not know

production or have a very general idea about it. What is the way out? The way out is resolutely to draw our leading economic, party and government workers into the propaganda work, especially propaganda concerned with economic knowledge.

Greater demands must be made of propagandists. We should not go after numbers but select people who are really able to dovetail our propaganda with the practical tasks of economic and cultural development.

At the same time it is necessary to work constantly with the propagandists as well, bearing in mind that the best of them can "run dry", if party bodies do not give them guidance, do not direct their attention to urgent tasks and do not help them with advice and provide them with concrete data and facts. The system of training and advanced training for propagandists has to be reorganised so that it should be possible to equip them with the necessary knowledge in the spheres of industry and agriculture.

It is not only our propaganda, unfortunately, that is divorced from life and lags behind it; this is largely the case on the theoretical front as well. Let us take, for instance, the economic sciences. At the present stage the study of the deep-going processes of our society's economic development should be the chief, decisive trend in the study and development of Marxist thought. This does not imply that less attention should be given to the study of the past revolutionary experience of the party or to Marxist-Leninist philosophy. But Soviet society has entered a stage in its development when the main attention should be concentrated on the study and elaboration of economic science, since it is the knowledge of the objective laws of development of socialist economy that enables us, first and foremost, to

make use of these laws to accelerate the building of communism.

The publication of the textbook of political economy is a favourable development in this sphere. But a textbook alone is not enough and as regards serious scientific works containing a creative study of economic processes, there are, unfortunately, very few of them as yet.

Some economists have made serious mistakes in their works. The party had to correct a number of ill-starred economists who were spreading anti-Marxist views on the need to slow down the pace of development of heavy industry? The denial by economists of the category of moral depreciation of machinery under socialism did serious harm, for it provided theoretical justification for stagnation and conservatism in technology.

Economists do not make an adequate study of the operation of the law of value in socialist production. That our architects, carried away by extravagances, have not worked out what this will cost the people and that personnel of machine and tractor stations and collective farms still very often do not work out the cost of a ton of grain or meat is undoubtedly due in some measure to the fact that our economists have not elaborated the problem of how the law of value operates concretely in our economy.

The scientific study and elaboration of problems of economics in particular branches of the national economy is in a neglected state. The U.S.S.R. has more than forty research institutions whose task it is to study the economics of agricultural production. They have done very little however to summarise the wealth of experience accumulated by the collective and state farms.

Publication of a textbook on agricultural economics and also of a textbook on industrial economics has dragged out much too long.

...

It is this task that now confronts us, and, in particular, our economists and philosophers. The party expects them to create fundamental scientific works based on a summary of the vast experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies and a deep-going analysis of the processes taking place in present-day capitalism-works which could be of theoretical help to government, economic and party cadres. Of course, when Marxists speak of advancing revolutionary theory by summarising the new practical experience and the achievements of the whole of science, they always mean the further development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of its bedrock principles, in uncompromising struggle against all attempts to revise these principles.

(p. 14-16)

**SPEECH BY D.T. SHEPILOV, Secretary of the
Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. AT THE
20TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST
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SPEECH BY D.T. SHEPILOV

***Secretary of the Central Committee of the
C.P.S.U.***

16 February

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

It does not follow, however, that we should draw simplified conclusions about a steady down-grade in capitalist production. Marxist-Leninists have always decisively rejected the theory of the "stagnation of capitalism-the erroneous and unscientific view that the decay of capitalism in the imperialist era means the "bottling up" of productive forces, that a stop is put to technical progress.

The drive for maximum profits and the contraction of the market accentuate the competition between the capitalist countries, between their monopolies, to an unprecedented degree, and this competition inevitably stimulates the *renewal of fixed capital*. Substantial technical progress is taking place in a number of

industries: new highly efficient equipment and all manner of improvements are being introduced. Two trends, as Lenin emphasised, are characteristic of imperialism: one towards technological stagnation and decay, and the opposite trend towards technological growth as a result of competition and the drive of the monopolies for maximum profits.

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

(p. 6)

* * *

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

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

Capitalism built up a huge pyramid of colonial oppression. On its summit stood a few powers of the

white race, and then came various other countries, placed according to their dependence on the colonial “masters”, while the entire weight of this structure pressed down unbearably on pariah nations deprived of all human rights.

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

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

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

Great China has broken the imperialist and feudal chains and taken to the road of a new life. True, there are

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

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

The colonialists now assign a special place in their plans to Africa. In a book dealing with the African problem the American journalist, John Gunther, says the African continent "is vital to the western world not merely because it is important strategically and is packed with vital raw materials, but because it is our Last Frontier. Much of Asia has been lost; Africa remains."

The ideologists of colonialism like to talk about the imperialist powers' "mission of civilisation" in the colonial countries. They try to screen the policy of neo-colonialism with a false drapery of economic and cultural "aid" to backward and underdeveloped countries. No drapery, however, can hide the real state of affairs in the colonies and dependent countries. What, for example, have the colonialists brought to Africa? The overwhelming majority of the African population is illiterate. In Nigeria there is

one doctor for every 133,000 inhabitants, and in the Transvaal, one for every 150,000: A British magazine has estimated that the average wage of Africans in Nyasaland, after taxes, ranges from 20 to 40 per cent of the local subsistence minimum. In Northern Rhodesia an African miner is paid a fraction of the wages a European miner gets for the same work. The foreign colonialists are making fabulous profits there.

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

* * *

That is what the system of domination and subordination in the countries of the capitalist world really looks like. The efforts of the imperialist ideologists to

attach the label of "free world" to the world of capitalist exploitation and colonial oppression are therefore the height of hypocrisy and a mockery of the essence of concepts and human conscience.

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

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

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

The socialist system implies rapid development of productive forces, the abolition of exploitation and parasitic consumption, the absence of economic crises

and of wasteful expenditure of the social wealth. It also implies a system under which the aim of social production is man and his requirements, the welfare of the people. That is the first and most fundamental reason for the great attractive force of the ideas of socialism for hundreds of millions of people in East and West.

(p. 8-9)

...

In these conditions only formalists and those who would make Marxism dogma can assume that such deep-going transformations as the transition from one social system to another can be effected after a single pattern-in one and the same manner in, say, Denmark and Brazil, Sweden and Malaya. This is a distortion of the *essence* of Marxism, of its creative spirit. History has fully confirmed the foresight of the great Lenin when he said that "the revolution is developing in different countries in different forms and a different tempos (and it cannot be otherwise)" (*Works* (Russian edition), Vol.28, p.56). Everything depends on the concrete conditions in each country.

The masses of the people and the Communist and Workers' Parties have produced much that is new and unique in the course of the profound social changes that have taken place in each of the European people's democracies. Still more is the course of the socialist revolution in China unique. After the revolutionary establishment of the people's power, the Chinese Communist Party, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, concluded that in the conditions of China, "not only individual private property can be replaced by socialist, collective property, but also capitalist property by socialist property by means of peaceful methods, that is, methods

of persuasion and education,” as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out. Having isolated and made harmless that vicious enemy of the people, the comprador bourgeoisie, the Chinese State is transforming, step by step, private ownership in its various forms into socialist ownership.

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

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

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

(p. 12-13)

It goes without saying that in the concrete conditions of a country where there is a strong reactionary bureaucratic apparatus of bourgeois dictatorship and a strong military caste, and where the exploiting classes offer desperate resistance to the working people's struggle to remake society along new, socialist lines, the dictatorship of the proletariat will have to break this resistance by violent means. The sharpest forms of class struggle may prove inevitable in such conditions, forced, as they may be, on the working class by the exploiting

classes.

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

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

One of the characteristic features of our time is the combination of the socialist revolution in certain countries with the mass struggle “of all the oppressed and dissatisfied”. The great Lenin rejected as “pedantically ludicrous” the view that capitalism will be succeeded by socialism when “one host takes up a certain position and

declares 'we are for socialism', and this will be the social revolution!" (*Works* (Russian edition, Vol.22, p.340). Actually, in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, *many* socialist and non-socialist currents and streams which are washing away and undermining the dilapidated edifice of capitalism from different sides are converging into a mighty flood of the people's liberation struggle.

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

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

Never before has the great watchword of *unity* carried such an active and comprehensive purport. We

stand for working class unity and extend the hand of friendship and proletarian solidarity to all workers' organisations and parties, to all who are prepared to help the working class fulfil its historic mission with honour.

* * *

Comrades, the report of the central committee and the draft directive on the Sixth Five-Year Plan put forward new great tasks in economic and cultural development. In 1960 the output of pig iron will be 3.6 times as great as in the pre-war year of 1940, the output of steel 3.7 times, and of oil 4.3 times. Numerous new giant enterprises will spring up all over the country. Suffice it to mention such a great construction undertaking included in the new Five-Year Plan as the Bratsk hydro-electric station, with a capacity of 3,200,000kw. This is five times the capacity of such a large power plant as the Dnieper station. Agriculture is to produce in 1960 no less than 11,000 million poods¹ of grain. What titanic socialist economic might is explicit in these figures!

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

Of course, comrades, we still have many big and

¹ 62 poods 1 ton approx.

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

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

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

Marxist-Leninist heritage, we are not keepers of ideological archives. Ideological work which is not connected with the pressing tasks or *economic and cultural development* resolves into either talmudistic and dogmatic repetition of well-known truths and principles or empty phrase-mongering and hosannas. To pull one's weight worthily in the sphere of ideology means to work for Dew achievements in economic and cultural development, to stimulate the growth of socialist consciousness in Soviet people and on this basis facilitate increased production of coal, steel, oil, electric power, machines, grain, butter, meat, potatoes and other vegetables, so as to meet fully the material and cultural needs of our people.

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

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

Take agriculture. In many regions the grain yields in

some years range from 8 to 10 centners per hectare¹ and now and then are even less. Yet last year Kirovograd Region harvested an average of 21 centners of grain per hectare, while 388 field teams in the region raised 25-30 centners per hectare; Dniepropetrovsk Region obtained an average grain harvest of 20.7 centners per hectare. A still higher yield was registered last year by the collective farm in Berezovsky District, Odessa Region, where Comrade Posmitny is chairman. This farm obtained from its total area of 1,800 hectares² an average of 35 centners, or 210 poods per hectare.

If we disregard records and set ourselves an aim fully within the reach of every district in our country-to obtain from each hectare not 210 poods, as Comrade Posmitny's collective farm does, but 100 poods of grain *everywhere*-we could raise on our present cultivated areas more than 12,000 *million poods of grain* annually.

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

¹ 1 Centner per hectare=0.797cwt. per acre. 1 centner=1.97cwt. approx.

² 1 hectare=2.47 acres

capitalist countries we could release the majority of the more than 1 million workers who now operate the tractor-drawn implements.

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

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

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

“What is needed is more and still more concreteness in the study of local experience, detail, trifles, practical work, management of affairs; deeper acquaintance”, with real life in the uyezds,¹ volosts,² and villages alike; we must go into every real, however small, improvement achieved in the face of abysmal poverty and ruin and

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

“With Communist greetings, Lenin.”

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

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

(p. 14-17)

**SPEECH BY G. M. MALENKOV, Member of the
presidium of the central committee of the
C.P.S. U. and Minister of Power Stations of
the U.S.S.R. at the 20TH CONGRESS of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
February 17, 1956**

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SPEECH BY G. M. MALENKOV

***Member of the presidium of the central
committee of the C.P.S. U. and Minister of
Power Stations of the U.S.S.R.
17 February***

...

The general results of the country's development since the 19th Congress of the party show that the rate of growth of the Soviet Union's economy remains at a level unknown to the capitalist countries. The advance of its national economy continues and is based on the implementation of a programme for peaceful construction.

Guided by the injunctions of our leader and teacher V.I. Lenin, the Communist Party is unswervingly pursuing the policy of turning the Soviet Union into an advanced, increasingly powerful industrial country. The achievements scored by the U.S.S.R. are truly immense. We are indebted for these achievements to the constant concern of our party and its central committee for the

utmost progress of heavy industry, which is the bedrock foundation of development in all branches of the national economy and a further rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The line of priority development of heavy industry has been and remains the general line of our party.

What is characteristic of the past years is the implementation of a programme of concrete measures to eliminate the failings in a number of major branches of the national economy, the policy of ensuring technical progress in all spheres of socialist construction, and of carrying out important measures to advance agriculture. The party is waging a purposeful battle along all lines for the swift and comprehensive development of socialist agriculture and livestock farming. The disclosure of big mistakes and a substantial improvement in the guidance of agriculture, both at the centre and in the localities, the consistent and correct application of the principle of material incentive to collective farms and their members, the resolute removal of shortcomings in this respect—all this is already producing constructive results and will no doubt make it possible to overcome the lag in agriculture in a short time and to ensure its rapid advance.

...

Electrification-Major Prerequisite for Higher Labour Productivity

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

In the report and in the draft directives on the Sixth Five-Year Plan submitted to the congress, the central

committee of the party, in full conformity with the injunctions of the great Lenin, again and again stresses that the task of raising labour productivity confronts us now in all its decisive significance. The manifold increase in production, necessary for surpassing economically the most developed capitalist countries, can only to a small degree be attained by increasing the number of workers. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan higher labour productivity is to account for 85 per cent of the expansion in industrial output.

Together with the continuous expansion of production, the systematic and rapid increase in labour productivity is in the Soviet Union the main means for the maximum satisfaction of the rising requirements of the people, and at the same time the chief method for achieving a faster rate of increase in production per head of population as compared with the United States of America.

Struggle for higher labour productivity makes up the chief content of our peaceful economic competition with the capitalist system, in the course of which the advantages of the new social system will be revealed triumphantly.

Peaceful co-existence of the socialist camp with the capitalist camp means economic competition of the two world social systems, the results of which will ultimately decide the historic destinies of all mankind. Our firm conviction that in this great, historic competition socialism will triumph is based on a scientific understanding of the advantages of a social system founded on social ownership of the means of production, a system to which exploitation, racial and class inequality are alien and which can assure the highest level in satisfying the requirements of the masses of the working people.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the ability of the

socialist system of economy to ensure a higher level of labour productivity, as compared with capitalism, is the economic foundation of the victory of socialism in this competition. The full significance of the Leninist proposition that “capitalism can be finally defeated, and will be finally defeated, by the fact that socialism gives rise to a new, much higher labour productivity” (*Works*, Russian Edition, Vol. 29, p.394), is now revealed in all its entirety more than ever before.

The course of historical development has fully confirmed the correctness of this remarkable Marxist proposition, which Lenin so daringly put forward at a time when our country was gripped by the gravest economic chaos and when labour productivity had dropped to its lowest point.

A little more than a third of a century has passed since our people, having accomplished the Great October Socialist Revolution, for the first time in the history of human society undertook the building of socialism. We must not forget the conditions during the past brief historical period in which the Soviet people carried on their creative constructive endeavours in building socialist society. The country was exhausted by the first imperialist war. The sanguinary struggle imposed on the young Soviet Republic by the interventionists, as represented by fourteen capitalist powers which rendered armed support to the old system during the Civil War, undermined our country's economy still more. Fresh in the memory of all of us is the hardest period in the history of our motherland, the Second World War, when the brigand attack of fascist Germany inflicted immense damage on our industry, agriculture and transport, on our entire national economy.

And so, notwithstanding such obviously unfavourable

conditions, our new social system has demonstrated its ability to ensure faster rates of increase in labour productivity as compared with the industrially most advanced capitalist countries. Today labour productivity in the U.S.S.R. is eight times higher than in 1913. During the same period labour productivity in the United States has increased by 120 per cent, in Britain by 40 per cent, and in France by 75 per cent.

It may be said that in 1913 the level of labour productivity in Russia was low and that therefore the high rates of increase achieved in the U.S.S.R. are not surprising. True enough, in 1913 labour productivity in the United States was nine times as high as in Russia, in Britain 4.9 times, in Germany 4.7 times and in France more than three times as high as in Russia. But the rate of increase of labour productivity in the U.S.S.R. has been such that now we have outstripped Britain and France in this respect, but as yet lag behind the United States.

The rapid rise in labour productivity recorded in our country follows from the advantages of the socialist mode of production, the great creative efforts of our party to secure the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy and the electrification of the country.

The tremendous importance Lenin attached to the country's electrification is generally known. His famous formula, "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country", most vividly expresses the views of our leader and teacher on the decisive part played by power development in building communism.

Lenin teaches us that electrification is the foundation for building up the material and technical basis of communism. In the theses of his report to the Third

Congress of the Communist International, "Lenin wrote: "The only material foundation of socialism is large-scale mechanised industry, which is capable of reconstructing agriculture as well. But we must not limit ourselves to this general proposition. It is necessary to concretise it. Large-scale industry, which conforms to the most up-to-date technical level and is capable of reorganising-agriculture, presupposes electrification of the entire country" (*Works*, Russian edition, Vol. 32, p. 434).

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

"We know that communist society cannot be built unless industry and agriculture are revived, and, moreover, revived not in the old way. They must be revived on an up-to-date basis resting on the latest achievements of science. You know that this basis is electricity, that only when the entire country, all branches of industry and agriculture are electrified, and when you accomplish this task, only then will you be able to build for yourselves the communist society which the old generation will not be able to build" (*Works*, Russian edition, Vol. 31, p. 264).

I will remind you of one more document which shows what exceptional effort Lenin demanded of all party, government and economic organisations in coping with the practical tasks pertaining to the country's programme for electrification. I am referring to the well-known recommendations of the Council of Labour and Defence to local government institutions. In these

recommendations, in the section entitled “Electrification”, Lenin asks the local bodies:

“Does your local, regional or district library have the ‘Plan for the Electrification of the Russian Federation’, the report to the Eighth Congress of Soviets? How many copies? If none, it means that the local delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets are either dishonest people, who should be driven out of the party and removed from all important posts, or are loafers who need a term in prison to teach them how to discharge their duty (1,500-2,000 copies were distributed for local libraries at the Eighth Congress of Soviets).

“What measures have been taken in pursuance of the decisions of the Eighth Congress of Soviets on the extensive propaganda of the electrification plan? How many articles have local newspapers published on this subject? How many reports? The number of people who heard them?

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

“How many educational establishments have introduced the electrification plan, as a subject in the curriculum, in accordance with the decision of the Eighth Congress of Soviets?

“Has anything practical been done to carry out the plan, and what exactly? Or outside the plan of electrification work? “Is there a local plan and a sequence of electrification work?” (V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russian edition, Vol. 32, pp. 373-374).

This is how energetically Lenin raised the question of

giving daily attention and constant concern to the country's electrification in 1921, during the period of economic breakdown.

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

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

If we take the experience of the capitalist countries we can cite the following examples. While labour productivity in the manufacturing industry in the United States rose by 31 per cent from 1939 to 1953, the power supply per worker increased by 60 per cent. American economic literature contains data showing that to ensure a 35 per cent growth in labour productivity in U.S. industry by 1962 as compared with 1950, the power supply per worker would have to be increased by 84 per cent. The British, whom the Americans are now squeezing out from the export markets and from Britain herself, explain their lag first and foremost by the inadequate level of the power supply per worker and consider that this is the chief reason for the substantially lower productivity of

industrial labour in Britain than in the United States.

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

The report of the central committee points out that we have not yet succeeded in building up power capacities at a faster rate than the development of the entire national economy. The directives of the 19th Congress on the Fifth Five- Year Plan provided for a 70 per cent increase in total industrial output and for an 80 per cent increase in the production of electric power. Actually, however, the growth in total industrial output and electricity production proved to be the same, and amounted to 85 per cent; that is, electric power production during the Fifth Five-Year Plan did not increase at a faster rate.

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

The party has set the task of ensuring the further expansion of power capacities in such a way that the power industry in its development should run ahead of the other industries. In other words, we have to plan the development of the national economy so that the necessary reserves should be built up in the power systems from year to year. Account must be taken of the fact that in the next few years consumption of electricity by industry will rise steeply, especially in view of the rapid development of establishments consuming large quantities of electricity-iron and steel mills, aluminium plants, works producing special alloys, and other power-consuming plants. We should also bear in mind that the consumption of electricity in the transport services and

agriculture, the public utilities and for household needs should rise steeply in the near future.

The Soviet Union Has All the Prerequisites for Overtaking and Surpassing the United States in Power Production in an Historically Short Period.

The prospects outlined in the report and the Sixth Five- Year Plan Draft Directives submitted by the central committee for the consideration of the 20th Party Congress mark a big step forward in the electrification of our country. During the five-year period, power production is to increase by 150,000 million kwh. The 1960 industrial output will show an increase of 65 per cent, the output of the industries in Group A an increase of 70 per cent, and the output of the engineering and metalworking industries an increase of 80 per cent, whereas power production is to rise by 88 per cent. This rate of growth of the power industry will enable us to broaden electrification in all branches of the national economy and ensure a 65 per cent increase in the power supply per industrial worker, while the target for labour productivity is a rise of approximately 50 per cent.

In drafting our electrification programmes we cannot fail to take into account the fact that the U.S.S.R., as you know, now lags behind the United States in the level of power production.

The question naturally arises: What conditions and grounds do we possess for affirming that the U.S.S.R. is capable of overcoming this lag in a comparatively short time, of ensuring full satisfaction of the electric power requirements of the national economy and the population, of overtaking, and then surpassing, the United States in power production?

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

It took the United States twenty-seven years (from 1913 to 1940) to increase output from 22,000 million to 170,000 million kwh. The Soviet Union needed twenty years (from 1935 to 1955), a period including the war years, to achieve a similar increase. Taking into account the fact that during this time we spent six years in regaining the pre-war output because of the severe damage inflicted on our power industry by the fascist invaders, it should be considered that it took the Soviet Union about fourteen years to step up output from 22,000 million to 170,000 million kwh., that is, about half as long as it took the United States.

By the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union was generating about 53 per cent as much electricity as Italy; 38 per cent as much as France; 33 per cent as much as Britain; 18 per cent as much as Germany, and 4.8 per cent as much as the United States. In 1928 even such a small country as Switzerland turned out more electric energy than the U.S.S.R.

The First and Second Five-Year Plans, when our country reconstructed and built up its power industry anew, introduced fundamental changes in the situation. The targets set by the GOELRO plan were reached in 1930. Ten years later the U.S.S.R. was competing with Germany for first place in Europe and second place in

the world.' Today the U.S.S.R. firmly holds second place in the world, with a power output approximately equal to the combined production of Great Britain and Western Germany, the two most highly industrialised capitalist countries in Europe.

When our country started building up its power industry it did not have an electrical manufacturing industry. We imported all the basic equipment for our power stations: turbines, boilers, transformers, apparatus. Furthermore, we did not always have the possibility of making use of the best 'engineering achievements of other countries. Today we have our own highly developed industry manufacturing turbines, boilers and electrical engineering equipment. Our factories can today design and build all types of the most up-to-date plant. Soviet workers and engineers have designed and built, in Soviet factories, the equipment for the first steam power station with 150,000 kw. turbines, giant turbines, generators and transformers for the great hydro-electric stations on the Volga, and the equipment for the 400,000-volt Kuibishev-Moscow transmission line, the longest and most powerful in the world. In addition to satisfying our home needs, the production capacity of the Soviet power machinery works allows us to give much assistance to the Chinese People's Republic and many people's democracies, and to export equipment to other countries.

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

The ascertained reserves of such sources of power as solid fuel, oil, natural gas and water power comprise, in terms of conditional fuel, 1,590,000 million tons in the U.S.S.R., 1,550,000 million tons in the United States,

730,000 million tons in Europe (not counting the U.S.S.R.), 175,000 million tons in Britain, and 245,000 million tons in Western Germany. It should be taken into account that the natural riches of the U.S.S.R. have been studied to a much smaller extent than those of the United States and Europe, and that therefore our power resources have been far from fully ascertained, while their greater part is being utilised to a much smaller degree than in the United States or Europe.

As for the water power resources of the Soviet Union that are capable of being harnessed, they are calculated at 1,700,000 million kwh., while their most effective part, whose use is possible chiefly in large hydro-electric stations, is estimated at 1,200,000 million kwh. That is what is called, in international terminology, the economic water power potential. This potential has been estimated at 514,000 million kwh. in Europe (not counting the U.S.S.R.), 491,000 million kwh. in the United States, and 325,000 million kwh. in Canada. The U.S.S.R.'s economic water power potential is thus nearly equal to that of Europe, the United States and Canada combined.

The following circumstance of no small importance, or, to be more exact, of great importance, should also be borne in mind. Hydro-electric stations abroad, particularly in the United States and Canada, have been built chiefly with a view to utilising the most effective part of the water power resources at favourable construction sites having rock foundations. In the U.S.S.R., owing to historical conditions, use has been made in the first place of water power resources situated in the plains, which entails the construction of hydro-power plants on soft foundations. Soviet specialists have worked out the technical fundamentals of hydro-construction on non-rock foundations. The power projects on rivers flowing through

plains required relatively larger capital investments, and were relatively less efficient, than the American hydro-electric stations.

The United States has now utilised its most effective water power resources to a considerable degree. According to the Edison Institute all the economical water power sites, particularly in the eastern part of the country, have already been put to use.

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

Special mention should be made in this connection of the fact that Comrade Khrushchov gave due attention in the report to the problem of the geographical distribution of our country's industries.

Indeed, correct geographical distribution of the industries is of major importance for more rapid and successful accomplishment of our principal economic aim. As you know, the policy of intensified industrial development and opening up of the eastern regions of the country is the party's basic line in the sphere of geographical distribution of productive forces. Substantial achievements have been made in this respect. It should be noted, however, that during the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan the share of regions with such rich raw material and power resources as Siberia and the Far East in the country's total industrial output grew to an insignificant degree. Their share in power production has practically not changed at all during the past few years.

In order radically to improve the distribution of industries and of the power supply, increase labour

productivity, and shorten the time required to outstrip the United States economically, we must harness Siberia's vast natural riches to the national economy on a large scale.

The point is that in Eastern Siberia, and primarily in the regions of the Angara and Yenisei rivers, the Soviet Union has unique resources of water power, fuel and raw materials. More than 40 per cent of the country's total power resources are concentrated there. The water power potential of the East Siberian rivers—the Yenisei, Angara, Lena, Vitim, and others—is greater than that of the United States, Canada and Japan, which possess the richest water power reserves among the capitalist countries. The Angara and Yenisei rivers are particularly suitable for power projects. The scheme approved by the government for harnessing the Angara provides for the construction of hydro-electric stations with an aggregate capacity of more than 10 million kw. and an output of about 70,000 million kwh. The first plant in the Angara chain, the 660,000-kw. Irkutsk hydro-electric station, is to go into operation this year. Its dam will raise the level of Lake Baikal and form a huge reservoir efficiently regulating the supply of water to all the lower-lying hydro-electric stations. Construction of the Bratsk hydro-electric station, the biggest in the world, is under way.

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

Taken together, the hydro-electric stations we plan to build on the Angara and the Yenisei will generate considerably more electricity than all the power stations in the U.S.S.R. produced in 1955, an amount equal to the extraction of roughly 120 million tons of fuel per annum. This power will be obtained with capital investments of

about 35 to 40 kopeks per kwh. of average annual output and a production cost of about 1 kopek per kwh., that is, with an expenditure of from one-half to one-third of that in the hydro-electric stations in the other regions of the U.S.S.R.

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

Besides being rich in power resources, Siberia, and particularly its eastern part, has immense raw material reserves which could ensure the development of major branches of the heavy industry on a tremendous scale. It possesses large resources of iron ore and raw materials for the production of aluminium magnesium, nickel, calcium carbide, synthetic rubber, chlorine, and so forth. It may be said, however, that these natural riches have hardly been tapped. The nephelines, bauxites, magnesites, and iron ores are so far not being used at all.

A most important element in the economic development of the Siberian regions is the establishment of a huge Siberian power grid encompassing the main electric stations and industrial centres in the Angara-Yenisei area and Kuznetsk basin. By the time the Bratsk and Krasnoyarsk hydro-electric stations, with a total capacity of 6,400,000 kw., go into operation, we will have built 400,000-volt transmission lines connecting the

Bratsk station with the Irkutsk-Cheremkhovo grid, and then the Bratsk station with the Krasnoyarsk station (through the Taishet-Kansk districts), and the Krasnoyarsk station with the Kuznetsk basin. Subsequently high-tension transmission lines will link up the Bratsk hydro-electric station with the big Ust-Ilim and Boguchansk hydro-electric stations on the Angara, with a capacity of approximately 3 million kw. each, and with the Yenisei hydro-electric station on the River Yenisei, which will have a capacity of about 5 million kw. Siberia's giant power grid, comprising huge hydro-electric and steam stations with a total capacity of more than 50 million kw., will be an unprecedented highly efficient source of power, a mighty factor promoting industrial development and a significant increase in labour productivity in the national economy. Fifteen to twenty years from now the amount of power generated by that grid can be" brought up to between 250,000 million and 300,000 million kwh. Furthermore, in addition to supplying big centres of the aluminium, magnesium, titanium, ferro-alloy, and other power-consuming industries, the Siberian grid will be able to deliver between 30,000 million and 40,000 million kwh. to the Urals, which will radically improve the power supply there.

The Soviet Union has now begun to develop its power industry, like all the other branches of the socialist economy, on a new and higher technical level.

The question is primarily one of going over to the construction of large power stations with big-capacity units operating on steam at high pressures and temperatures. A number of steam stations with capacities ranging from 500,000 to 600,000 kw. were erected during the past five-year period. But now we must go further, and build steam stations with greater capacities, from

900,000 to 1,200,000 kw. Construction of such plants in fuel-producing districts has already begun. Turbine units with capacities of 150,000, 200,000, or 300,000 kw. each and high-productivity boilers will be installed in them. Compared with stations of average capacity, the main advantage in building large power stations, apart from the fact that construction is considerably cheaper, is that this substantially increases the rate of power capacity expansion. The rapid growth of power production in the United States in recent years has been brought about chiefly by the construction of steam plants of large capacity in which big turbine units of 150,000-260,000 kw. each were installed. Our electrical manufacturing industry must show more speed in organising the serial production of powerful turbine units and boilers, as outlined in the programme, so that a turbine of any capacity could be linked up with one boiler. This will ensure a large economy in fuel and in capital investments.

A highly important element of technical policy in ensuring a rapid expansion of our country's power industry is the development of power networks and the linking up of power grids. The economic advantage of inter-grid transmission lines is tremendous. It will suffice to say, for example, that since the peak loads in the Ural and Central grids do not coincide, and that in linking them up the required reserves can be reduced, the total installed capacity of a future combined grid could be cut by approximately 500,000 kw. The establishment of a unified power grid for the European part of the U.S.S.R. will ensure maximum flexibility and saving in supplying the national economy with power and, in this sense, will mark the transition of the power industry to a higher technical stage.

Broad vistas open up in connection with the mastery by our scientists and engineers of that new and extraordinarily rich source of power-nuclear energy. This source, in the peaceful uses of which the U.S.S.R. has proved to be ahead of the other countries, including the United States, offers big additional possibilities for expanding power capacities. The commissioning of the world's first atomic power station and the experience gained in its operation, combined with new research by Soviet scientists and engineers, have enabled us to undertake the designing and construction of a number of large atomic power stations. Another of our advantages in this field is that the conditions of the socialist economy are most favourable for the large-scale introduction of nuclear energy into the country's general power supply, which has been placed at the service of peaceful development.

In the past period the Soviet Union has thus demonstrated its ability to achieve a comparable level of power production, and development of the power industry as a whole, in a considerably shorter time than the United States. During the present five-year period we shall make a big new step forward in electrification by nearly doubling power production. The U.S.S.R. now has its own powerful and steadily expanding electrical manufacturing industry. It possesses practically inexhaustible power resources, which are successfully being tapped on an ever increasing scale. We have a large army of highly qualified workers, specialists and scientists who are capable of ensuring continuous technical improvement of production. All this allows us to increase power production to a level which will fully meet the needs of all the branches of the national economy and the population.

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

(p. 3-14)

**SPEECH BY V. M. MOLOTOV, Member of the
Presidium of the Central Committee of the
C.P.S.U. and Foreign Minister of the
U.S.S.R. at the 20th CONGRESS of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
February 18, 1956**

Soviet News Booklet No.6

SPEECH BY V. M. MOLOTOV

***Member of the Presidium of the Central
Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Foreign
Minister of the U.S.S.R. at the 20th
CONGRESS of the Communist Party of the
Soviet Union***

18 February

...

The Soviet people have successfully fulfilled the Fifth Five-Year Plan, considerably exceeding its important targets for economic advancement. Today new sweeping tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan have been put on the order of the day, and all of us are confident that they will be well accomplished.

The alliance of the workers and peasants created by

our Leninist party is the well-spring of the strength and vitality of our great state. In our times the mighty and unbreakable alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry is the basis of the remarkable moral and political unity of our socialist society, the basis of the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Since the 19th Congress our party has done much to fortify still more the alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry. The attention of the party was rightly focused on the advance of agriculture. This was imperative, in so far as agriculture obviously lagged behind the general development of the national economy, the rapid expansion of industry.

To ensure the early satisfaction of the increasing requirements of the population in foodstuffs and of the food and the light industries in agricultural raw material, the party and the Soviet government have applied a number of new important measures. Among them, first of all, are: greater material incentives to collective farms and their members, machine and tractor stations and state farms to increase agricultural production, with a corresponding adjustment of prices on these products; extensive work to increase the mechanisation of agriculture and expand the production of mineral fertilisers; measures for the organisational consolidation of collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms, and especially the sending of new highly qualified personnel for leading work in the collective farms, and also agronomists, mechanics etc.; the organisational consolidation of party organisations in the countryside. Of special importance was the successful implementation of the bold plan for cultivating virgin and long-fallow lands, which has increased the sown area by

33 million hectares,¹ chiefly under grain. The question of a decisive expansion in the planting of maize, which is of exceptionally great importance for the rapid development of livestock farming, was raised in a new way. These and many other measures have opened up new prospects for the progress of our agriculture and they are meeting with the full support of the collective-farm peasantry.

It should be noted that the party and the Soviet government are paying particular attention to raising the living standards of the collective-farm peasantry. In conformity with the tasks of building communism, the state plans envisage that living standards in the countryside should come closer and closer to those in the town. During the Fifth Five- Year Plan real incomes of the collective farmers increased by 50 per cent and real wages of factory, office and other workers by 39 per cent. The Sixth Five- Year Plan calls for a further rise in the incomes of the collective farmers of not less than 40 per cent on the average, and of real wages of factory, office and other workers of approximately 30 per cent on the average. This political line of the party conforms to the interests of the further consolidation of the alliance of the workers and peasants and will strengthen our state still more.

Our party has always worked for the utmost expansion and progress of industry and transport. In so doing the party has invariably laid emphasis on the priority development of heavy industry, since upon it depends the advancement of agriculture and other branches of the national economy, the strengthening of the defences of our socialist motherland and the further improvement of the people's wellbeing.

During the past period the party has concentrated its

¹ About 81½ million acres

efforts on the technical advance of industry. It has been established that we have many unutilised potentialities for raising labour productivity and increasing industrial output. For this it is necessary first of all that our industry produce the required quantities of really up-to-date and greatly improved equipment, that old plant be replaced in time by new. All this is also connected with the utmost improvement in the organisation of production. Many shortcomings in this respect have been brought to light at the plenary meeting of the central committee and at a number of conferences with the participation of industrial executives in which scientific and technical personnel have taken an ever-greater part; the ways have been outlined there for securing new, greater successes in industry. The work done under the guidance of the central committee should give a big impetus to the advance of industry and construction.

It is also necessary to secure the smooth operation of industrial establishments, without which it is impossible to eliminate many losses and to reinforce accordingly the application of the principles of planning in industry.

We know from Comrade Khrushchov's report that our industrial establishments and offices will be transferred to a seven-hour day during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. This and the further considerable rise in real wages of factory, office and other workers, and a number of other measures reflect the special concern which our party has always shown for improving the life of the working people.

The party is openly and boldly laying bare big shortcomings in all spheres of the economy and culture. It is working to improve the state apparatus in every way and to prune it at the same time, and also to ensure the strictest observance of the law. In all these activities the

party relies on the support and energetic participation of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

(p. 3-5)

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 20th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, (February 1956)

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1956**

In connection with the deep-going historical changes in the international arena new prospects are opening up for the transition of countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet union bases itself on the Leninist thesis that “all nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life.” (*Works*, Vol. 23, p. 58)

The historical experience of the development of all countries taking the road of socialism has fully confirmed this Leninist thesis. At present, together with the Soviet form of reconstructing society along socialist lines, there is the form of People’s Democracy; it has been thoroughly tried and tested during the past ten years and has fully proved its worth. In the People’s Democracies there are also not a few shades and differences corresponding to the conditions in each country. The People’s Republic of China, the economy of which prior

to the victory of the revolution was extremely backward and bore a semi-feudal, semi-colonial character, is contributing many peculiarities to the forms of socialist construction. Having won the decisive commanding positions, the people's democratic state is taking the line of peaceful transformation of private industry and trade and is gradually turning them into a component of the socialist economy.

(p. 11)

II

The Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. notes with deep satisfaction the further consolidation of the Soviet Union's *internal position*. As a result of the Central Committee's consistent implementation of the Party's general line, the period under review has seen a considerable advance in all branches of social production, a rise in material and cultural standards, a still greater strengthening of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, and enhancement of the Soviet Union's might.

Pre-schedule fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in industry was a signal victory for the Party and the people. Industrial output in 1955 was 185 per cent of 1950, instead of 170 per cent as envisaged in the five-year plan; output of means of production was 191 per cent, instead of 180 per cent, and output of consumer goods 176 per cent, instead of 165 per cent.

The Congress considers it necessary to continue with unabated perseverance the effort to solve, through peaceful economic competition and in the, shortest historical span, the basic economic task of the Soviet Union, namely, by using the advantages offered by the

socialist system of economy, to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries in per capita output.

The Communist Party believes it absolutely essential to continue the priority development of the heavy industries, chiefly ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, coal and oil, power, engineering, chemicals and building materials. At the same time, the Congress believes that the level of social production now attained makes it possible to advance at a rapid rate not only production of means of production, but of consumer goods as well.

Uninterrupted technical progress is the decisive condition for the further growth of industrial output. There must be a consistent and systematic effort to introduce into industry and the transport system the latest achievements of science, technology and practical experience, to modernize existing equipment, improve and perfect the organization of work and production, extend specialization and cooperation of industry, and through these measures achieve a rapid rise in labour productivity, which is the decisive condition for higher output. and a further rise in living standards.

The further development of the country's productive forces imperatively requires the drawing on new sources of raw materials, fuel, power and, primarily, mobilization of the huge natural resources in the eastern parts of the U.S.S.R. The biggest coal and power-producing, base in the country, a third big iron and steel base, producing from 15 to 20 million tons of pig iron a year, and new engineering centres, should be built up the eastern regions within the next 10-15 years.

The Congress obligates all Party organizations:

To ensure fulfilment of state plan assignments by all industries and enterprises not only in gross output, but in all items and all quality indexes;

To make better use of available production capacities so that, every plant, operates rhythmically, without spurts and periodic production drives, but produces evenly throughout the whole month. This requires substantial improvement of planning and supply;

To raise the quality of output, systematically reduce production costs, exercise strict economy and introduce cost accounting methods;

To more widely apply synthetic materials and substitutes, so that by the close of the five-year period foodstuffs now, used for technical purposes may be replaced by synthetic materials.

State capital investments in the economy have increased from year to year. If they are to be used to maximum effect, building operations must be industrialized, more big territorial building organizations established, designing methods improved, building time cut to a minimum, and prefabricated ferro-concrete elements and factory-made parts widely employed.

In the period under review, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. carried out important political and organizational measures in agriculture. The C.C. took effective steps to eliminate the lag in several branches and secure a steep rise in agricultural output.

The following among these measures are of particular importance:

Introduction of new planning procedures in agriculture, giving ample scope to collective-farmer initiative;

Greater material incentives to collective farms and their members for increasing output;

The strengthening of collective farms with managerial and technical personnel by dispatching thousands of Communists and non-Party workers from the towns and

industrial centres to rural areas;

Further improvement of the technical equipment of agriculture. A permanent staff of machine operators has been established at machine and tractor stations, and their executive and technical personnel reinforced.

Increased state appropriations for agriculture.

In drawing up the agricultural development programme the Central Committee correctly decided to concentrate primarily on raising grain production as the foundation of agriculture generally and of such an important branch as livestock farming. The Central Committee's decisions on development of virgin lands and a sharp increase in maize cultivation are of immense importance.

The Congress instructs the Central Committee to continue to work with unabating energy for higher agricultural output and to marshal the forces of the Party and the entire Soviet people in the effort to create an abundance of food for the population and raw materials for light industry. Further mechanization of agriculture is necessary, and within a short period we should shift from the mechanization of separate jobs to the comprehensive mechanization of all processes, fundamentally improve popularization and practical application of the achievements of Soviet and foreign science and technology, also the experience of front-rank collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms, so as drastically to reduce material and labour expenditure per unit of output and increase yields in crop and livestock farming.

The Congress is of the opinion that at the present time, when the economic potential of many collective farms has increased considerably, parallel with maximum expansion of farm output which must always come first,

serious attention should be devoted to building homes, clubs, child institutions and other amenities.

Better guidance of agriculture is a decisive condition for its continued and rapid, development. An end must be put to standardized, arm-chair, bureaucratic methods of leadership, to lack of individual responsibility and negligence. Party, governmental and agricultural bodies must give concrete guidance to every district, collective farm, state farm, machine and tractor station, effectively supporting the initiative of the masses, and increasing the material interest of all workers, including managerial personnel in expanding output.

The Congress urges Party, *trade-union*, economic and Y.C.L. organizations to extend the nation-wide socialist emulation movement, give it more effective leadership and raise still higher the creative initiative of the workers and collective farmers, directing it to attainment of the targets set by the Party and the Government.

Increased industrial and agricultural production has made possible a steady rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. Under the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the national income increased 68 per cent, real wage and salaries 39 per cent and the real incomes of the collective farmers, 50 per cent. The Congress fully approves of the measures formulated by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers for a further rise in real wages, salaries and collective-farmer incomes, for raising the wages of lower-paid categories, introducing proper order in the matter of wage scales, and increasing the material interest of each worker in the result of his work.

The decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to introduce a seven-hour working day during

the present five-year period for all workers, and a six-hour day for leading underground trades in coal and ore mining and for an juvenile workers is immense political and economic significance. This decision also envisages introduction, where production conditions make this expedient, of a five-day week (8-hour day and two days off). Working hours on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays will be reduced by two within the near future. A shorter working day will not imply any reduction of wages or salaries. The Congress unanimously approves these measures as fully corresponding to the interests of the working people of the U.S.S.R., and expresses its firm conviction that they will be welcomed with ardent approval by the entire Soviet people and with fresh labour enthusiasm in the effort to fulfil the sixth five-year economic development plan.

Of great importance is the adjustment of the pension system envisaged by the Central Committee, the aim being substantially to increase smaller pensions and reduce unjustifiably high pensions: the provision of better welfare facilities for the aged; and the provision of suitable jobs for disabled persons capable of working without detriment to their health.

The volume of housing construction in the sixth five year period will be nearly double that of the preceding five years, which makes it especially important to ensure proper utilization of state allocations. The Congress approves of the measures taken by the C.C., C.P.S.U. and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers to put this matter on a sound basis, eliminate scatteredness of forces and means and all manner of architectural extravagancies, and introduce industrial building techniques. The Congress obligates all Party and economic organizations to ensure absolute fulfilment of housing construction

plans, and also to render every assistance to workers and other employees in building homes out of their personal savings.

The Congress considers that much more attention should be paid to general amenities for the population. The public catering system should be enlarged, the quality of the meals improved and the prices lowered. There should also be more public laundries, tailor shops, etc., and a sharp increase in output of labour-saving household machines and appliances.

Substantial progress has been made in all fields of cultural development. Seven-year schooling has been made universal, compulsory ten-year schooling introduced in the large towns, and the conditions are being created for its universal introduction. A considerably larger number of specialists are being trained by the higher educational institutions. Soviet scientists, with the constant and effective support of the Party and the Government, are fruitfully working to develop the national economy and strengthen the country's security, and have achieved outstanding results in a number of fields, notably nuclear physics, mathematics, mechanics and several other technical sciences.

At the same time, the Congress notes that there are serious defects in cultural development. The biggest shortcoming in the general school system is a certain discrepancy between school curricula and practical activity. School graduates are not sufficiently prepared for practical work. The introduction of polytechnical training in a short space of time requires not only addition to the curricula of new subjects acquainting the student with the rudiments of industrial and agricultural production, but also that the student be accustomed to practical work in

factories, collective and state farms, experimental plots and school workshops. The organization should be begun of boarding schools situated in healthy surroundings. The network of pre-school institutions should be considerably enlarged. Not only the public education authorities and state enterprises, but collective farms as well should share in this work. The principal tasks in higher education are all-round improvement of the quality of training on the basis of closer association with practical production; more rational geographical distribution of higher educational institutions; closer contact with industry; making study programmes conform with the present level of *technology*. Engineers and agronomists should, upon graduation, possess sufficient knowledge in applied economics and organization of production.

The Congress considers it necessary for our scientific institutions to be more closely associated with actual production, with the concrete needs of the economy. They should concentrate on solution of key research and engineering problems and steadily enhance the role played by science in solving the practical problems involved in the building of communism.

One of the most important results of the Party's work during the period under review is the further strengthening of the Soviet social and political system, the further cementing of the alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, and of the friendship and fraternal co-operation of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The Congress fully endorses the measures taken by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to extend the powers of republican bodies in economic and cultural affairs. The Ministries of the various Union Republics

should be allowed still broader powers in the day-to-day management of industry, while the U.S.S.R. Ministries retain general direction, determine plan assignments, supervise their fulfilment, direct the supply of equipment and the financing of capital development. This will encourage wider constructive local initiative, will strengthen the Union Republics and promote still closer friendship between the Soviet nations.

In its national policy, the Party has always proceeded from the Leninist principle that socialism, far from removing national distinctions and specific features, ensures the all-round development and efflorescence of the economies and cultures of all nations and nationalities. In future, too, the Party must attentively heed these specific features in all its practical activities.

The majestic tasks of building communism require further development of the creative activity and initiative of the people, wider participation of the masses in the administration of the state and in every aspect of its organizational and economic activity. This calls for maximum development of Soviet democracy, persistent efforts to improve the work of all governmental organizations, central and local, and bring them into closer contact with the people. The Congress approves the work done by the, C.C., C.P.S.U. in recent years in reducing the size and lowering the cost of the administrative and managerial apparatus and improving the functioning of all its branches, and considers it necessary to continue this work and wage a relentless struggle against all manifestations of bureaucracy and disregard for the needs of the people.

The Congress fully approves the measures of the C.C., C.P.S.U. to strengthen Soviet law and ensure strict observance of the rights guaranteed Soviet citizens

under the Constitution. The Congress obligates all Party and governmental bodies to keep vigilant watch that laws are observed, and resolutely and sternly to curb any and every manifestation of lawlessness, arbitrariness and violation of socialist law.

The Communist Party and Soviet state must continue to train Communists and all working people in a spirit of high political vigilance, must tirelessly strengthen our glorious Armed Forces, the staunch sentinels of the peaceful labours of the Soviet people and of the security of their socialist homeland.

(p. 14-21)

Develop to the maximum the *radio-engineering* and *instrument-building industries*, especially the production of instruments for the control and regulation of technological processes. During the five-year period, increase the output of instruments and automatic apparatus approximately 3.5 times, including a 4-fold growth in the output of instruments for the control and automatic regulation of technological processes, of 4.5 times in computing and analytical-calculating machines, of 3.6 times in electric measuring instruments, of 3 times in the output of optico-mechanical instruments. Increase the types and output of radio-measuring instruments not less than 3-fold. Expand the production of electro-vacuum instruments 2.6-fold.

Expand the scientific research and laboratory facilities for instrument making, radio engineering, and electronics, and sharply increase the amount of research and experimental equipment. Expand designing and development of automatic, quick-acting computing machines for the solving of complex mathematical problems, and mathematical machines for automatic

control of production processes. Raise the degree of precision and quality of the instruments produced. Design new automatic apparatus based on the latest achievements in physics, electronics, and radio engineering. Expand considerably scientific research work on semi-conductor instruments, and broaden their field of application.

(p. 47)

Automation of machines and operations must be extended to the automation of factory departments and technological processes, and the construction of fully automatic plants. Provide for the extension of remote control of machines and equipment and for the operation of power systems oil fields, etc., by telecontrol.

(p. 53)

Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964

**Editor: Grey Hodnett
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22 January 1957

It is a most important task of the central committees of union-republic communist parties and of krai, oblast, city, and raion party committees to eliminate shortcomings in the work of the local soviets in the shortest possible time, and to assure an increased role for the soviets and their executive organs in implementing the policy of the party and government in economic and cultural construction. It is necessary to direct the activities of the soviets on a daily basis toward the solution of urgent problems of economic and cultural life, to expand their ties with the people in every way, and to help the soviets to actually become genuine organizers of the masses in the struggle to further strengthen our socialist state.

In carrying out the decisions of the December [1956] Plenum of the Central Committee, the local soviets and their executive committees must strengthen their influence on, and responsibility for, the work of industry and agriculture, and strive toward fulfilment of production

plans and targets by every plant, factory, construction site, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and MTS. It is necessary that soviet organs constantly concern themselves with the construction and repair of housing, schools, hospitals, children's establishments and municipal enterprises and organizations and with their normal functioning in providing services to the public, with modernization and improvement of the work of urban transportation and communications. The soviets must show greater initiative in seeking out and utilizing local building materials and in expanding private housing construction; they must exercise effective supervision to ensure the correct expenditure of money and materials and not permit them to become overly dispersed or 'frozen,' and resolutely put a stop' to all manner of excesses that increase the cost of construction.

Equally responsible tasks confront the soviets in improving state and co-operative trade and in supplying the population with articles of prime necessity. The soviets of workers' deputies must put the work of every store and of public catering enterprises into proper order; they must assure decent service to the consumer, resolutely combat all manner of abuses and take concrete steps to utilize local resources in order to develop the production of food products and consumer goods in every way, while giving all manner of encouragement to initiative and new departures in this manner on the part of soviet, economic, and co-operative organizations.

In the interests of further improvement in the end of work of local soviets and of increasing their responsibility for an upswing in the economy and culture, it is necessary for the central committees, the presidiums of the supreme soviets and the councils of ministers of the

union republics to take practical steps in the near future, based on the decisions of the December Plenum of the Central Committee, to increase the powers of the soviets, and to do so above all in matters of planning krai, oblast, city and raion economies; the production and distribution of the output of enterprises of local and cooperative industry; the organization of housing, cultural and highway construction; the extensive development of fuel and building materials production; and in solving financial and budgetary questions...

Spravochnik partiinogorabotbika KPSS v rezolliutsiiakh VII. 237-48 (1957), 448-57

(page 74-75)

Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964

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Plenum of the Central Committee 13-14 February 1957

14 February 1957

... The development of a socialist economy poses the need for constantly improving the organizational forms and methods of planning and managing industry and construction. A further improvement in the organization of the management of the economy is of immense importance for the unbroken growth of production, for increasing the well-being of the people, and for a fuller utilization of reserves in the economy.

Already in the early years of Soviet government, V. I. Lenin, in mapping out the programme of economic construction, specified that a most important principle of socialist management is the principle of democratic centralism and that socialist construction can be conducted successfully only on the basis of a unified

state plan.

The history of the development of the economy of the USSR has confirmed the great vital force of leninist principles of the management of socialist construction, which opened up unlimited possibilities for the active participation of the masses of people in the management of production. The forms of organizational management of economic construction have developed and been improved apace with the growth of the economy and of the country's productive forces. During the transition from solution of the tasks of the restoration period to the implementation of a broad programme of socialist industrialization of the country, when the need arose to create—in a brief period of time—completely new branches of industry, there also arose the need for new organizational forms for the management of economic construction. At that stage people's commissariats and main administrations—and subsequently ministries and departments—specialized according to the major branches of the national economy, were set up. These forms of economic management made it possible to concentrate the efforts of the party and state on creating the decisive branches of heavy industry and on preparing highly qualified engineering and technical cadres, economists, and organizers of production capable of mastering the new technology and of organizing industrial production on a modern scientific and technical level and on a wide scale.

In the post-war years our country's economy made a major step forward and entered into a new and higher stage of development. Over the course of the development of the socialist economy there is an increasingly apparent tendency toward the creation of ever newer branches of industry and construction, toward

a further and constantly more profound specialization. This is connected with the growth of new technology, with the tasks of technical progress, with the new achievements of science, which call forth major qualitative changes in the organization of modern industrial production. As industry develops; one is confronted with a question of increasing urgency: should one continue to proceed in the sphere of organizational forms for the management of industry along the line of a further splintering of technical, economic, and administrative management by creating at the center a constant succession of new specialized branch ministries and departments, or should one, rather, seek more flexible forms for managing the economy, forms that are better suited to the features peculiar to the given stage of development?

In recent years the party has carried out a number of important measures to improve the management of the economy. In noting the fundamental short-comings in the practice of state planning, the December 1956 Plenum of the Central Committee pointed out the need to improve the work of the central planning organs and to expand the powers of the union republics and local soviet and party bodies in economic construction.

A major short-coming in the practice of managing industry and construction is the negative influence of the ministries' departmentalism in their approach to the solution of highly important questions in the development of the economy. Departmentalism in the management of industry and construction leads to a weakening and destruction of the normal territorial ties between enterprises of various branches of industry located in a single economic region. and frequently rules out the possibility of solving economic questions locally, in an

operative fashion, of utilizing existing material, labour and financial resources in an expedient fashion, and of taking operative measures to do away with short-comings that have come to light during the fulfilment of state plans.

Departmental boundaries hamper extensive specialization and cooperation of production and retard the complex development of the economies of economic regions, republics, krais, and oblasts. As a result, immense enterprise production capacities go unutilized and considerable irrational hauling at freight occurs. The division of construction management among various ministries leads to the creation in a single area of a large number of small construction organizations, to a scattering of construction funds, to freezing of state construction assets and to increased construction costs.

Ministries and departments, in conducting from the centre the management of enterprises located throughout the country, inevitably spawn a large number of organizations with parallel functions—various sales and supply offices, installations, trusts, etc.

Under the existing management structure, large numbers of talented production organizers and engineering and technical personnel—people who have an expert knowledge of practical work—are diverted from direct participation in production into the central apparatus of the ministries and departments. A significant portion of them settle for ever in the offices of ministries and departments. A big short-coming in the present management structure of industry and construction is the fact that it restricts the opportunities of local party, soviet, and trade union organs in directing economic construction, and hampers their initiative in mobilizing the forces of the enterprises and economic organizations for a fuller and more correct utilization of local reserves and

capabilities.

Under present-day conditions, when our industry and construction have undergone immense development, and state enterprises, which number over 200,000, and more than 100,000 construction sites, are located in various republics and regions across the entire expanse of the country under these conditions it is a practical impossibility to direct the large number of enterprises or construction sites from a single ministry or department in a concrete and operative fashion. With this scale of production, the existing structure for the management of industry and construction does not correspond to the increased demands; it limits possibilities for utilizing the reserves inherent in the socialist economic system.

The interests of further development of the economy confront us with the need to improve the organizational forms of management at all levels of industry and construction, including its very basis, the management of production. In so doing, the organizational structure for the management of industry and construction must be based on the combining of centralized state guidance with an increased role for the local economic, party and trade union organs in the management of the economy. The centre of gravity for the operative management of industry and construction must be transferred to the local level. Keeping in mind the need to eliminate serious short-comings of departmentalism in the management of the economy, it is expedient to organize the management of industry and construction according to basic economic regions, which will bring management closer to production, make it more concrete and operative, and make it possible to enlist the broad masses of the working people in the management of economic construction.

The introduction of a new management structure for industry and construction will make it possible to do a significantly better job of organizing cooperation, to utilize more fully the production capacities of enterprises and the funds allocated for capital construction, and to eliminate more quickly irrational hauling of freight. It will also provide an opportunity to eliminate unnecessary links in management and to bring order into many economic questions that are in a state of confusion today, in particular, the exceptionally important question of the material and technical supply of enterprises and construction sites.

The reorganization of management will exercise a positive influence on the development of science and on unifying the efforts of scientists and specialists from various spheres of learning to serve more efficiently the needs of industry and construction, and will improve the geographic distribution of scientific institutes and higher and secondary educational institutions.

Implementation of the reorganization of the management of industry and construction will assure a further strengthening of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and of the planning principle in the management of the country's economy. V. I. Lenin often stressed that in implementing centralized guidance of socialist construction by the Soviet state and Communist Party, it is necessary to enlist extensively the local bodies in the solution of economic questions...

Under the new structure for economic management better conditions will be created for enlisting broad circles of workers, engineering and technical intelligentsia, and other strata of society actively in the work of managing enterprises, the various branches of industry and the entire economy. Reorganization of the management of

industry and construction will open still broader possibilities for the truly creative participation of our party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations in the management of the economy.

The management of industry according to the territorial principle, on the basis of distinct economic regions. will make it possible to improve the utilization of local resources for the development of industrial production, fundamentally to set right the question of production specialization and co-operation, more extensively to utilize local initiative both to increase the volume of industrial production and also to improve the qualitative indices of industrial enterprises' work.

Taking into account the fact that the level of development of productive forces of the country, union republics, and economic regions has grown considerably, and that party, soviet, economic, engineering and technical, and trade union cadres have grown up in the localities, the plenum resolves:

That it finds it necessary to take measures to further improve the management of industry and construction in order to bring them to a condition that measures up to the tasks and demands of the economy at the present stage of communist construction, the intent being to bring management closer to the economic regions, to expand the powers of the union and autonomous republics, to increase the role of the local party and soviet organizations—as well as trade union and other public organizations—in economic construction, and more extensively to enlist the masses in the management of production.

In view of the fact that the existing forms of management of industry and construction by means of specialized ministries leads to the creation of

departmental barriers that impede the full utilization of the immense reserves and possibilities of our economy and that do not provide concrete and operative management of enterprises and construction sites, it is desirable to replace these forms by working out other forms for the management of economic construction, forms that will more fully combine concrete and operative management by economic regions with strict observance of the centralized planning principle on a national scale.

2 To assign to the Central Committee Presidium and the Council of Ministers the job of working out concrete proposals for reorganizing the management of industry and construction in the sense indicated and, in view of the great state importance of the question, to submit it for consideration by the Supreme Soviet..

In working out practical measures, provision must be made for the need to increase the role of Gosplan in the planning and management of the country's economy, and to reorganize the work of the State Economic Commission; to raise the level of the engineering and technical management of industry and construction and to conduct a proper technical policy on a nation-wide scale; to increase the role of the financial organs in financing and in the mobilization of funds to assure a further upswing in the economy; to assure supervision over the observance of national interests and state discipline; to improve the work of the agencies of state control at the centre and locally, and also to further strengthen the entire system of state statistics.

While continuing to strengthen in every way the planning principle in the development of the country's economy, it is necessary fundamentally to reorganize the work of Gosplan so that it will base itself, in its work, on the bodies being set up in the economic regions and will

submit promptly all highly important long-range questions to the government and the Central Committee for their consideration.

While being guided by the general party line of preferential development for heavy industry as the basis for a further upswing in the economy, for strengthening the country's might, increasing its defence capability, and for a continuous growth in the people's material well-being, Gosplan must direct its efforts toward a correct and rational location of our industry, a balanced development of all its branches, and toward specialization and co-operation, proceeding from the concrete conditions of the development of industry in the various regions, the existing historical and cultural experience, and the existing specialization of the regions and prospects for their development.

It is necessary to reorganize the work of the State Economic Commission to simplify its structure and make it less cumbersome; the State Economic Commission must not duplicate the work of Gosplan and other bodies and must not interfere in the functions of administrative management; its responsibility, apart from current planning, is to co-ordinate the work of the directing organs of the economic regions in the fulfilment of the annual plans.

With the aim of assuring constant technical progress in the development of the national economy, the creation of a special body attached to the government of the USSR must be envisaged; it will be the task of this body to follow the trends and level of technological development both within the country and abroad, to make a profound study of everything new and progressive in technology, to work out recommendations for the further improvement of technology and submit them for

consideration by the government, and to carry out a number of other measures.

The reorganization of the management of industry and the economy will necessitate a thorough reorganization of the work content and methods of exercising state control. It is essential that the basic work of control be centred on the economic regions so that short-comings in the work of the state and economic apparatus will be brought to light and eliminated locally; the organs of state control, both at the centre and locally, must base themselves in all their work on the broad masses of the working people.

The plenum considers that a reorganization of the management of industry and construction will lead to a further strengthening of the leninist principle of democratic centralism in economic construction, will give still greater scope to the development of the country's productive forces, will make it possible to utilize more fully the immense reserves for a new powerful upswing in the socialist economy of our homeland, to develop fully the creative initiative and activity of the broadest masses of the toilers, and to assure a steady growth of the well-being of the Soviet people.

Pravda, 16 February 1957 KPSS v rezoliutsiakh VII, 249-56

(p. 82-88)

Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964

Editor: Grey Hodnett, University of Toronto Press

Plenum of the Central Committee 22-29 June 1957

...

They were against broadening the economic, cultural, and legislative rights of the union republics and also against strengthening the role of the local soviets in resolving these tasks. In this way the anti-party group opposed the party's firm course toward a more rapid economic and cultural development of the union republics, aimed at the further consolidation of leninist friendship among all the peoples of our country. The anti-party, group not only failed to understand, but even opposed, the party's measures in the struggle with bureaucratism, aimed at reducing the size of the overinflated state apparatus. In all of these matters they opposed the party's implementation of the leninist principle of democratic centralism.

This group stubbornly opposed, and attempted to wreck, a measure, as important as the reorganization of industrial administration and the setting up of sovnarkhozes in the economic regions, which had been

supported by the whole party and by the people. They did not want to understand that at the present stage, when socialist industry has developed on such a massive scale and is continuing to grow rapidly—with preference given to the development of heavy industry—it was necessary to discover new and more advanced forms of industrial administration which would disclose large reserves and lead to an even mightier advance of Soviet industry. This group went to the extreme of continuing the struggle against the reorganization of the industrial administration even after these measures had been adopted and were under discussion on a national scale, with subsequent adoption of this legislation at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

With respect to agriculture the participants in this group revealed a failure to understand the new and urgent tasks. They did not recognize the necessity for strengthening the material interest of the kolkhoz peasantry in expanding agricultural production. They objected to abolition of the old bureaucratic planning procedure in the kolkhozes and to introduction of a new procedure which unleashes the initiative of the kolkhozniks in conducting their own economic affairs, which has already led to positive results. They were so cut off from life that they could not perceive the existence of the genuine possibility of abolishing compulsory deliveries of agricultural products from the private plots of kolkhozniks at the end of this year. This measure, of vital significance for millions of toilers of the Soviet land, became possible through the great advance in socialized animal husbandry in the kolkhozes and through development of the sovkhozes. Instead of supporting this urgent measure, the members of the anti-party group came out against it.

They carried on a totally unjustified struggle against the party's appeal to catch up in the near future with the USA in per-capita production of milk, butter, and meat—which was actively supported by the kolkhozes, oblasts, and republics.

The members of the anti-party group thereby manifested their haughty disdain for the urgent and vital interests of the broad popular masses and their disbelief in the enormous potential of the socialist economy, in the popular movement which has arisen for an accelerated advance in the production of milk and meat.

It is no accident that Comrade Molotov, a member of the anti-party group, was sluggish and conservative and not only failed to comprehend the need for opening up the virgin lands but even opposed developing the 35 million hectares of virgin land which has taken on such gigantic significance in our country's economy.

Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich, and Molotov stubbornly opposed the measures of the Central Committee and our whole party to liquidate the consequences of the cult of personality, to rectify the violations of revolutionary legality which had been committed, and to create conditions which would prevent them from recurring in the future.

At a time when the workers, kolkhozniks, our glorious youth, engineers, technicians, and scientists, writers, and the whole intelligentsia were unanimously supporting the party's measures based on the decisions of the XX Congress of the CPSU, when the entire Soviet people had set to work for the active implementation of these measures, when our country was experiencing a mighty surge of popular activity and an influx of new creative power—the members of the anti-party group remained deaf to this creative movement of the masses.

Pravda, 4 July 1957

KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh VII, 267-73

(p. 94-95)

Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964

**Editor: Grey Hodnett,
University of Toronto Press**

Plenum of the Central Committee 25-26 February 1958

26 February 1958

... The improved technical equipment of agricultural production and the rise in the numbers of skilled persons in the kolkhozes, MTSS, and sovkhozes have created the genuine preconditions for a still greater advance of agriculture in the near future.

The party has dispatched several thousand Communists to leading posts in kolkhozes—party and soviet personnel, engineers from industrial enterprises, agronomists, livestock and other specialists. At the beginning of 1957 more than 90 per cent of the kolkhoz chairmen were party members, and more than a third of them possessed secondary and higher specialized education; there has also been an increase in the number of remarkably talented organizers of kolkhoz production who have been promoted because of their

practical qualifications. The primary party organizations in the kolkhozes have grown and become stronger. Now the kolkhozes possess capable organizers and qualified specialist who make skilful use of local reserves and opportunities to increase agricultural production.

Production in the kolkhozes has now advanced to a new and higher stage. This new stage in the development of the kolkhoz system is characterized by the increasing economic strength of the kolkhozes which were enlarged during recent years; they have become diversified and technically well-equipped farms with large numbers of skilled cadres; their incomes have considerably increased, and the well-being of the kolkhozniks has risen. The greater material incentives of the kolkhozniks, the introduction of new planning procedure, their newly granted right to change the model rules of the agricultural artel to conform with local conditions—have all unleashed the creative initiative of the kolkhozniks, have caused them to work harder, have strengthened their concern to make better use of the land and equipment, and of all the reserves of kolkhoz production. Kolkhoz members have accumulated great experience in conducting a major socialized enterprise using new technology and the achievements of science.

The MTSS played a gigantic historical role in the establishment and strengthening of the kolkhoz system, in the technical equipment of agriculture and in consolidating the union between the working class and the peasantry. During the first stage of the development of kolkhozes the party concluded that the most suitable form of state assistance to the kolkhozes for that time was reinforcing their socialized economic operations by setting up the MTSSs.

The MTSSs were the major political and organizational

force around which the peasants united to form kolkhozes and became convinced of the advantages of large-scale mechanized agriculture; the MTSs were the instrument of technical progress in agriculture and of its re-equipping on the basis of new technology, of the training of cadres of skilled machine operators, of the cultural elevation of agriculture and animal husbandry. The MTSs were also of gigantic significance as an important source of grain and other food products, as well as of raw material for industry. In recent years the MTSs served as a major organizational force in the struggle to liquidate the backwardness of certain branches of agricultural production, to implement the party's decisions on agricultural matters.

Now that the majority of the kolkhozes have become organizationally and economically strong, and the kolkhoz economy has made significant progress, the existing form in which kolkhozes have been supplied with production and technical services by the MTSs no longer corresponds to the requirements for the development of agricultural productivity. What is more, in many cases this form has started to hamper the continued advance of leading kolkhozes, hindering the initiative of the kolkhoz cadres and of all kolkhozniks in the better exploitation of kolkhoz production reserves. Increasingly apparent are the negative consequences of a situation in which two socialist enterprises—the kolkhoz and the MTS—are working the same land; this occasionally leads to poor definition of responsibility for the organization of production and detracts from responsibility for increasing crop yields, gives rise to large and unnecessary expenses for maintaining parallel administrations. The MTSs thus accumulate large amounts of unnecessary equipment, and machines are used unproductively.

The plenum of the Central Committee considers that the continuing advance of the country's socialist agriculture and the development of the kolkhoz system make it advisable to change the existing system of supplying kolkhozes with production and technical services and gradually to reorganize the MTSs which, although playing an important and positive role in the past have now largely exhausted their basic functions. Now that most kolkhozes are in a position to acquire tractors, combines, and other agricultural machinery, and to make correct and more productive use of them, it is advisable to sell these machines to the kolkhozes directly. This will make possible a considerable improvement in the use of modern technical equipment, will accelerate technical progress in agriculture, will increase labour productivity, will increase total production as well as marketed output per hundred hectares of farmland, and reduce its unit cost.

Following different timetables, according to the particular characteristics of the raions and kolkhozes, the MTSs are to be reorganized into technical repair stations (RTSs) which will see to the repair of tractors and other machines, provide the kolkhozes with technical services, sell to the kolkhozes and sovkhoses new technical equipment, spare parts, fuel, fertilizer, chemical pesticides and herbicides, and other materials. In those raions where not all kolkhozes are yet able to acquire tractors and other machinery and, in particular, are not capable of making correct use of this equipment, the existing system for supplying production and technical services to the kolkhozes through the MTSs is to be temporarily maintained.

The sale of tractors and other agricultural machinery to the kolkhozes and the reorganization of the MTSs will

strengthen the direct economic ties between industry and agriculture, will further strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, will elevate the kolkhoz economy, and will promote the better employment of the land, belonging to the whole people, which has been granted to the kolkhozes in perpetuity. On this basis the indivisible funds [capital assets of the kolkhoz] will increase, as will the ties among kolkhozes, and thus kolkhoz property will develop and strengthen and ultimately rise to the level of publicly owned property.

The measures contemplated for the continued development of the kolkhoz system and the reorganization of the MTSs are an intrinsic part of the party's efforts to improve the administration and guidance of the economy. Through implementation of these measures agricultural leadership will rise to a new and higher stage. Like the recent reorganization of the administration of industry and construction, that of the MTS is designed to ensure that maximum benefit will be derived from the advantages of the socialist economic system and productivity reserves, that the creative initiative and activity of the masses will continue to develop, and that the onward movement of Soviet society along the road to communism will accelerate.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee considers the measures contemplated for further developing the kolkhoz system and reorganizing the MTSs to be of vital significance for a socialist agriculture and for our whole country. After the collectivization of agriculture, accomplished on the basis of Lenin's genius-like co-operative plan, the implementation of these measures will be a new and exceptionally important and sizable step in developing a socialist agriculture.

Therefore the plenum of the Central Committee of the

CPSU resolves: The proposals of the Central Committee for the further development of the kolkhoz system and the reorganization of the MTSs, designed to implement the decisions of the XX Party Congress on agricultural matters, are recognized as correct and timely.

2 In view of the exceptional importance, for the state, of the continued development of the kolkhoz system and the reorganization of the MTSs, this question is to be placed before the next regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The first Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade N .S. Khrushchev, is to report on this question at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Before this matter is examined at the session of the Supreme Soviet, it is advisable that there be a general public discussion of the measures involved—at membership meetings of kolkhozes, in MTSs, sovkhozes, industrial and construction enterprises, in scientific organizations and similar institutions, in military units and institutions, on the pages of newspapers and magazines.

These theses contained in the report of Comrade N.S. Khrushchev, 'On the Further Development of the Kolkhoz System and the Reorganization of the MTSs, are approved and ordered to be published for general popular discussion.

3 The central committees of the union-republic parties, the krai, oblast, city, and raion party committees, and the primary party organizations are to explain on a broad scale the significance of the contemplated measures, organizing general popular discussion of the theses everywhere. Party and soviet-organs must study closely and disseminate all concrete proposals by the toilers in order to find the most advanced and suitable organizational forms for reorganizing the material and

technical servicing of kolkhozes to ensure the further development of the kolkhoz system and to create an abundance of agricultural products in the country.

During the course of the general public discussion the party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations must direct the creative energy and activity of all the toilers to fulfilling and overfulfilling state plans, must mobilize the efforts of male and female kolkhozniks, as well as MTS and sovkhoz workers, for success in the spring sowing in each kolkhoz and sovkhoz, for fulfilment of the obligation to increase agricultural production.

4 The party and soviet organs of union republics and autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts, are directed to determine—on the basis of a thorough study of the economic situation in each raion and kolkhoz—which kolkhozes are economically capable of purchasing tractors and other machinery this year and of using them thriftily, which kolkhozes will need more time to acquire such equipment, and for which kolkhozes it is advisable temporarily to retain the existing system whereby production and technical services are provided through the MTSs.

5 It is advisable to convoke, early in 1959, a Third All-Union Congress of Kolkhozoniks to examine urgent problems of kolkhoz development and to make the necessary alterations in the model rules of the agricultural artel ... [This congress was in fact convened in November 1969.]

Pravda, 28 February 1958 KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh VII, 316-22

(p. 110-115)

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**N. S. KHURSHCHOV, CONTROL FIGURES
FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF
THE U.S.S.R. FOR 1959-1965, Report and
Concluding Speech Delivered at the 21st
Extraordinary Congress of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union January 27 and
February 5, 1959**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1960**

In carrying out the policy of industrializing the country and collectivizing agriculture, our people have, under the leadership of the Party and its Central Committee, headed for many long years by Stalin, effected far-reaching changes. Surmounting all difficulties and breaking the resistance of the class enemies and their agents—the Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists, bourgeois nationalists and others—our Party and the entire Soviet people have gained historic victories and built a new, socialist society. Backward in the past, our country has become a great industrial and collective-farm socialist power. Today the Soviet Union is first in Europe and second in the world for volume of industrial output.

(p. 9)

Bourgeois economists and politicians have often prophesied that the Soviet Union would be compelled to slow down its economic development as soon as it had rehabilitated its economy after the war. But their prophecies have burst like soap bubbles. The Soviet economy continues to develop rapidly.

(p. 10)

The reorganization of management in industry and building was a major factor in accelerating economic progress. The considerable advantages of the new form of industrial management became apparent soon after the establishment of the economic councils. Management of production became more specific. Industrial output began to grow at a faster rate. Better use began to be made of production potentialities and the country's natural resources. Workers, technicians and engineers began to show greater initiative and became more active, and socialist emulation acquired greater scope. There are now favourable conditions for further specialization and co-operation. Within the period in question, the number of undertakings failing to fulfil the plan has decreased by more than a third.

(p. 11)

You will recall that there had been grave shortcomings and errors in the management of agriculture in the past. Many collective farms remained economically weak for years, the output of agricultural produce was handicapped, and its level did not meet the country's increasing demand for food and agricultural raw materials. At that time the situation in agriculture was grave and was fraught with dangerous consequences

which might have held up the Soviet Union's progress towards communism. At the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee held in September 1953, at subsequent plenary meetings and at the 20th Congress, our Party sharply criticized the errors committed in the management of agriculture, swept out of the way all that hampered the development of the collective and state farms and outlined a programme for a steep rise in agricultural production.

Much effort was required of the Party, the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, to overcome the lag in agriculture and advance it further. The Party engaged in extensive organizational and political work among the masses. Many cardinal economic problems in the development of socialist agriculture were solved and the principle of affording those engaged in farming a material incentive to raise agricultural output was re-established. The collective and state farms were reinforced with specialists, farm mechanics and executives. Hundreds of thousands of tractors and combines, and millions of various other machines and implements, were sent to the countryside. In the past five years state investments in agriculture have been close on 100,000 million rubles.

At the call of the Central Committee, the Soviet people developed tens of millions of hectares of new land. This was a heroic feat. The December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee noted that in the past five years virgin land development had given the country additional thousands of millions of poods of grain and had not only recovered all the money originally invested in it, but also yielded a net income of more than 18,000 million rubles, according to the Central Statistical Board and the Ministry of Finance.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is a multi-national state of working people, a voluntary union of socialist nations, is growing stronger year after year. The result of the consistent implementation of a Leninist national policy and of fraternal mutual aid is that the once economically and culturally backward non-Russian republics now have powerful modern industries, large-scale mechanized agriculture, a large network of educational scientific and cultural establishments and numerous well-trained personnel. In recent years the rights of the Union Republics have been considerably extended, which marks a further development of Soviet democracy, and enables each republic to expand its economy and culture faster still.

(p. 17)

What are our main tasks in the coming seven years?

In the economic field, all-round development of the productive forces and, through the priority development of heavy industry, the achievement of a level of production in all branches of the economy such as will enable us to take a decisive step towards the establishment of a material and technical basis for communism and to ensure the Soviet Union's triumph in the peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries. An increase in the country's economic potential, further technical progress in all economic spheres and the continuous growth of the productivity of social labour must bring about a substantial improvement in the living standard of the people.

(p. 19-20)

It is planned that in 1965 total industrial output should be roughly 80 per cent greater than in 1958. In group "A" (output of means of production) there is to be an increase of 85-88 per cent and in group "B" (output of consumer goods), 62-65 per cent. This is a very big increase. The growth in the volume of industrial output in the next seven years. will equal the increase in output achieved in the past 20 years.

(p. 26)

The high rates of economic development will bring about changes in the structure of metallurgy. The development of power engineering and of the chemical, oil and gas industries will require an increase in the output of steel pipes. For this reason, while there will be a total increase of 53-63 per cent in the output of roiled stock in the next seven years, the output of pipes will be more than doubled and the production of sheet steel will be substantially increased.

(p. 27)

In the forthcoming seven years special importance will be attached to the *chemical industry*. You will recall that the May 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee mapped out an extensive programme for the accelerated development of this key branch of heavy industry. Promotion of the chemical industry makes it possible to use a country's natural resources most effectively; it is a necessary condition for further technical progress in every branch of the national economy. Plastics and other synthetic materials will be widely used in the mechanical engineering, building and other industries.

The chemical industry will produce inexpensive, high-

grade raw materials for the manufacture of consumer goods and, with considerably less labour, it will produce entirely new materials with properties superior to those of natural materials.

The total output of chemical products is to be almost trebled in the next seven years; the output of artificial fibres will grow nearly fourfold and of plastics and resins, more than sevenfold.

Special mention must be made of the output of mineral fertilizers. In 1965 it will rise to 35 million tons as against 12 million tons in 1958. This is imperative for the accomplishment of the prime task of raising the yield of all crops.

The chemical industry will develop on an absolutely new basis, using the cheapest raw material (natural gas and the gas from oil refineries), modern technologies and high-efficiency equipment. This will enable us greatly to reduce the expenses involved in building chemical factories and to lower cost prices.

In the fuel industry, we have firmly adopted the line of giving priority to the development of oil and gas extraction and refining. In 1965 the production of oil will rise to 230-240 million tons, or more than double, and the output of gas will increase roughly fivefold and reach 150,000 million cubic metres annually. The share of oil and gas in the total output of fuel will grow from 31 to 51 per cent, while that of coal will accordingly shrink from 60 to 43 per cent.

This trend in the fuel industry will yield a great economic gain. ...

...

The replacement of coal by natural gas and oil will save the country more than 125,000 million rubles in seven years, or as much as is appropriated for the

construction of all the power stations and power and thermal grids.

(p. 28-30)

In what way do we intend to develop the power industry so as to carry out the electrification programme in a short period and with the smallest outlay?

When building an electric-power station, the type of energy to be used should be chosen on the strength of technical and economic calculations that take into account the specific production and transport conditions in the area, the cost and schedule of construction, the saving of investments per unit of capacity and the saving in running the station.

To win time and to use investments more effectively, the seven-year plan calls for the priority construction of thermal power stations using natural gas, crude oil and inexpensive coals. If we were to maintain the present ratio between investments in thermal and hydropower stations, we should either have to cut the power capacities planned to be commissioned or to increase investments for our power programme by more than 20,000 million rubles.

(p. 30-31)

Speaking of the prospects of developing the key industries and electrifying the national economy, we must dwell on *mechanical engineering*, which, as in previous years, will continue to expand rapidly.

The seven-year plan provides for the accelerated development of all modern branches of mechanical engineering, primarily heavy machine-building, instrument-making and the production of automatic and electronic devices. Special attention is being paid to the

designing and production of new machines with due regard to the achievements and discoveries of science and engineering, particularly radio-electronics, semi-conductors, ultrasonics, and radio-active isotopes.

(p. 31-32)

The high level to be attained by heavy industry and the realization of measures to promote agriculture will ensure a substantial increase in the *output of food and manufactured goods*.

In the course of the next seven years, the over-all output of light industry will grow by roughly 50 per cent and of the food industry by 70 per cent. The production of cotton fabrics will rise by 33 to 38 per cent, woollen fabrics 60 per cent, silk fabrics 76 per cent, leather footwear 45 per cent, meat 110 per cent, butler 58 per cent, dairy produce 120 per cent, sugar 76 to 90 per cent and fish 60 per cent.

In addition to increasing output, the light and food industries are now being set the cardinal task of considerably extending the assortment and improving the quality of their products. Consumer goods must be of good quality, handsomely finished, attractively packed and packaged. More than 1,600 light and food industry factories will be built to carry out assignments for more and better manufactured goods and foodstuffs. Besides, a large number of the existing factories will be reconstructed.

A considerable part of the agricultural raw materials is to be processed at non-state factories. For this purpose collective and state farms and consumers' co-operatives will have to use their own funds to build bakeries, and factories producing sausages and semi-processed meat products, butter, cheese, cottage cheese, canned

vegetables and fruit, starch and other foods. In view of the growing output of marketable goods and of the increasing incomes of collective farms, the practice of several collective farms pooling their resources to build bigger and better-equipped inter-collective-farm canneries, bakeries, sausage and other factories should be extended.

(p. 32-33)

The planned increase in the output of sugar will enable us not only to improve the diet of the population, but also to increase the budget surplus and to compensate for the reduction in revenue from the sale of liquor. Last year the population bought 113 million litres less liquor than in 1957 and it will undoubtedly buy still less as the standard of culture is raised and educational work improved. (*Applause.*) The elimination of a survival of the past such as hard drinking will make for better health, greater solidity of the family and a higher level of public morals. This will benefit both the state and the people, who will consume more sweets and less bitters. (*Animation. Applause.*)

Along with a large-scale development of light industry, the seven-year plan envisages that engineering plants and wood-working factories, and shops producing consumer goods in other industries, will double their output of household goods and labour-saving domestic machines and appliances.

The rapid growth of the national economy will require a big increase in freight carriage. In 1965, the volume of *railway* freight traffic will be 39 to 43 per cent higher than in 1958. There is to be a fundamental technical reconstruction of the basic transport facilities, particularly the railways, where steam-engines are to be replaced by

economical electric and diesel locomotives.

All the main lines, totalling nearly 100,000 kilometres in length, will go over to electric and diesel traction by the end of the seven-year period. The traffic capacity of these lines will be nearly doubled. In seven years, the use of electric and diesel locomotives will save roughly 400 million tons of coal and cut operational costs by 45,000 million rubles.

The plan provides for the continued development of the other modes of transport as well; sea, river, air, motor and pipe-borne freight traffic will be increased. The construction of motor roads will be extended. All motor roads of national importance will be built with a durable cement or concrete surface. Collective and state farms and industrial, transport, building and other undertakings and economic bodies must be widely drawn into the construction of local roads.

It is planned to provide the national economy and the urban and rural population with a maximum of communication facilities. The laying of radio-relay lines and cables will be pushed ahead at a rapid rate. The network of radio and TV transmitters will be considerably enlarged.

Comrades, the seven-year plan assignments can be effectively carried out only through the extensive use of the latest machinery, *comprehensive mechanization and automation* of production operations and *specialization and co-operation* in all branches of the national economy.

The seven-year plan calls for the elimination of labour-consuming manual work by completing the comprehensive mechanization of production operations in industry, agriculture, building, transport, loading and unloading work, and in the communal services. We must increase the output of appropriate machinery in the

immediate future.

Comprehensive mechanization is to be accompanied by greater automation, which should radically lighten and improve working conditions and greatly increase labour productivity. In socialist society, automation is very important not only economically, but also socially. It thoroughly transforms the nature of labour, raises the cultural and technical level of workers and makes it possible to eliminate the distinction between mental and physical labour; man's role is reduced to controlling automatic machines and instruments, adjusting them, and working out the programmes and conditions for technological processes.

We have made some progress in this held. For example, we now have completely automated hydropower stations and shops at engineering and metallurgical plants, and have automated certain chemical processes. However, it must be said that automation is not yet widespread. To be able to carry out this task, we must organize highly-specialized mass production of modern automation devices in the next few years in order to achieve subsequently comprehensive automation in all branches of the economy. The comprehensive automation of shops and whole undertakings should be started right now in some industries, such as the chemical, oil-refining and food industries, at power stations, at blast-furnaces, open-hearth shops and rolling-mills, and in some branches of mechanical engineering.

(p. 34-36)

As stated in the decision of the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, the main objective in agriculture during the next seven years will be to reach a

level of production which will enable us *to satisfy to the full the full food requirements of the population and the raw material requirements of industry, and to meet all of the state's other requirements in agricultural produce.*

In 1959-1965 over-all agricultural output will rise by 70 per cent. The average annual increase in output will amount to 8 per cent. It may be noted that in the United States the annual rate of growth in agricultural output has averaged less than 2 per cent in the past seven years.

(p. 37)

Our country has advanced to first place in the world in total output of milk and butter. Within the next few years we shall not only overtake, but also considerably surpass the United States in per capita output of these products. But we shall have to do much work to use all potentialities and possibilities so as to increase meat production by 150 to 200 per cent, to top the seven-year plan assignment considerably and implement the call of the country's leading collective and state farms to overtake the United States in per capita output of livestock products.

...

One of the most important tasks in agriculture is to raise labour productivity and reduce the production costs of farm produce. We must ensure a considerable growth in total output even as we reduce the expenditure of labour and funds.

Now that the collective farms have grown stronger technically better equipped and have more experienced personnel, all the conditions are on hand for sharply raising labour productivity and cutting cost prices in the course of the next seven years.

(p. 28-39)

We must do away with the lag in the mechanization of labour-consuming work in livestock-breeding, considerably expand transport facilities and produce tractor lorries, fast tractors and various trailers and tip-carts. The time has come to solve the problem of producing mixed feeds by building state and inter-collective-farm mixed-feed factories. We must produce more land-reclamation machinery, equipment for mechanizing loading and unloading work and machinery for the extraction of peat, lime and other local fertilizers.

(p. 40)

Comrades, investments in new building and the reconstruction of undertakings are the basis for high rates of extended socialist reproduction. In the next seven years, state investments will be close on 2,000,000 million rubles. If we add to this building financed out of non-centralized funds the investments of the collective farms and the housing construction which the population carries out at its own expense, the total investments will approximate 3,000,000 million rubles. *This means that in seven years roughly as much will be invested as in all preceding Soviet years. (Stormy applause.)*

Capital building in industry will proceed at a high rate. With investments in the national economy as a whole rising by 80 per cent, investments in industry will roughly double as compared with the preceding seven years.

Investments in the various industries, including the building industry, and in transport are indicated in the following table (in 000 million rubles in comparable prices):

	1952-58	1959-65	In percentages of 1952-58
Iron and steel industry	40.8	100	245
Chemical industry	19.9	100-105	502-528
Oil and gas industries	72.2	170-173	235-240
Coal industry	61.2	75-78	122-127
Power stations, power transmission and heating systems	75.1	125-129	166-172
Mechanical engineering	65.5	118	180
Timber, paper and wood-working industry	25.3	58-60	229-237
Light and food industries	40	80-85	202-212
Building and building materials industries	61.5	110-112	179-182
Transport and Communications	107.4	209-214	195-199
Rail transport	59.3	110-115	185-194

Investments in agriculture by the state and by the collective farms will be close on 500,000 million rubles, i.e., nearly double the investments in the preceding seven years.

(p. 42-43)

The tasks of the country's economic development in the coming seven years call for better planning. Our planning must provide for the further specialization and comprehensive economic development of republics and large economic areas.

The establishment of economic administration areas has made for more rational economic ties both within and between the areas concerned and has produced a substantial economic effect in the country. But there is also an incorrect, parochial conception of comprehensive economy as one that is self-sufficing. We must vigorously combat such anti-state tendencies.

The Soviet Union is a multi-national socialist state, founded on the friendship of peoples enjoying equal rights, united by a common will and urge to march steadfastly forward along the path of communist construction. *The Leninist national policy, which provides ample opportunities for the all-round economic and cultural progress of all peoples, finds vivid expression in our plans. (Applause.)* It is reaffirmed in the control figures for Economic development for 1959-1965, which envisage 'tremendous economic progress in all the Soviet republics. Each republic will develop primarily those branches for which it has the most favourable natural and economic conditions.

The theses on the control figures gave the main indices for economic development in all the Union Republics. They have been fully supported and approved by the working people of these republics.

The seven-year plan provides, on the one hand, for the most effective use of the resources of each republic and, on the other hand, ensures the proper combination of the interests of each particular republic and of the Soviet Union as a whole. The plan calls for strengthening inter-republican economic ties and extending the socialist division of labour. The commonwealth of socialist nations is a source of the growing strength and power of the multi-national socialist state. Our Party, educating the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, has

always waged an uncompromising struggle both against great-power chauvinism and against local nationalism.

The task is to lay still greater emphasis on the education of the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. The Communist Party sees its sacred duty in tirelessly strengthening the friendship of the peoples, the corner-stone of the Soviet Union's might and invincible strength. (*Prolonged applause.*)

(p. 49-50)

The question, therefore, is one of organizing a truly nation-wide drive against all kinds of mismanagement, extravagance, and negligence with regard to public property. We must make the managers bear more responsibility for improving all efficiency indices at industrial establishments and construction projects, particularly for reducing production costs and improving the quality of output. We must continue to promote operation without state subsidies in industry, building, transport and agriculture. When drawing up the seven-year plan, it was borne in mind that it had to be a plan that could be carried out without overstrain. Why was this done? Because if we have a plan requiring great strain there is always the possibility that some of its targets may not be reached and that sufficient raw materials, equipment and other supplies may not be available to some branches of economy; this may entail down-time at factories, plant may not be fully employed and workers may stand idle with all the attendant consequences. This, in the language of the economists, is disproportion.

The seven-year plan is being so drawn up as to prevent this. ...

(p. 51-52)

Under these conditions, taxes from the population will no longer be necessary from the standpoint either of their class significance, as was the case in the past where they served to limit the incomes of the capitalist elements, or of budget revenue, all the more since even now taxes paid by the population make up an insignificant 7.8 per cent of the revenue.

All this will enable us to discontinue taxation of the population in the next few years. It goes without saying that so important a measure will require thorough study and adequate preparation if we are to carry it out properly, with due regard to the interests of the population and the state.

(p. 55)

The social problem of employment, which is insoluble under capitalism, the continuous unemployment in the cities and the mass ruin of the peasantry in the countryside are not known in socialist society. In seven years the number of workers and other employees engaged in the national economy will increase by nearly 12 million, and will be 66,500,000.

You will recall that among other measures for promoting the living standard of the people, the seven-year plan envisages a rise in wages. The question arises: should we raise the living standard solely through direct increases in wages and further price reductions?

It goes without saying that the Party and the Government will consistently adhere to the charted course of increasing wages and reducing prices. But this is only one of the ways. The material and cultural standards of the Soviet people depend not only on the money they receive personally in the form of wages or

which they gain from price reductions. It would be wrong to think that if today you earn, say, 30 rubles a day, you live under socialism, and if tomorrow you earn five times as much, you will have entered communism.

Under socialism the effort made by society towards raising the living standard of the people extends to satisfying a broad range of man's diverse requirements. There is a really communist way of promoting the prosperity of the people, of creating better living conditions for all society, and for each member of it. It includes good housing and public catering, better public services, more kindergartens and nurseries, an improved system of education, more recreation and holiday facilities, better medical services, more cultural establishments, etc.

...

Man is a social being and his life outside a collective. isolated from a society to which he is bound by the most diverse relations, is inconceivable. This social aspect of man's life is revealed more and more fully in the course of communist construction. That is why the satisfaction of his individual requirements must proceed hand in hand with the increasing supply of material and cultural benefits in society. It must proceed not only through increasing wages, but also through social funds, whose role and significance, will grow more and more.

(p. 55-57)

Starting from 1964 workers engaged in underground work or harmful occupations will gradually go over to a thirty-hour week and the rest of the workers, to a thirty-five-hour week. This means that with one full day of a week the working day will be five or six hours, depending on the nature of the job. Since most industrial, office and

professional workers prefer to have two full days off each week, we plan to introduce a five-day working week with a six- or seven-hour day.

A shorter working day and week will be introduced in our country without reduction in wages; in fact, wages will rise substantially. *The U.S.S.R. will have the shortest working day and week in the world, with a simultaneous rise in the living standard. (Stormy applause.)*

(p. 60)

Comrades, the exceptional importance of public catering should be emphasized. It is necessary to extend still wider the network of factory-kitchens, of factory, college and school canteens, to have in dwelling houses canteens catering to the families of working people. The task is to reduce food prices at public catering establishments.

We must provide more shops for the making and repair of clothing and footwear, as well as for the repair of housing, furniture and household articles and appliances, and to improve public services.

Our opponents abroad allege that the Soviet seven-year plan lays emphasis on the development of heavy industry and will involve "sacrifices" on the part of the population. Our plan does, indeed, provide for large investments in heavy industry. But how could it have been otherwise? To have an adequate supply of consumer goods, we need the means of production, we need to produce metal, develop machines, install automatic machine lines that will work to satisfy man's requirements. In the past the wooden plough had to be provided with a metal ploughshare even to grow such a simple product as potatoes. But we are marching towards communist society and we want machines that will do all

the main jobs, with man merely controlling them. Formerly a peasant had to skimp and save when he wanted to buy a horse. He knew full well that if he had a horse he could carry on and that without a horse he would starve. Now times have changed. Industrial progress and growing means of production are the powerful horse of today. Provided we have this horse, we shall have everything else. (*Applause.*)

At the time of the early five-year plans, when the Soviet Union, the world's only socialist country, was encircled by capitalist countries and had to fight for its life, the Soviet people strained every effort and consciously made sacrifices to break the grip of age-long backwardness and develop a powerful socialist economy. But even at that time the Party and the state did all they could to improve the people's living standard. Today we are at a different level of development; we have greater opportunities and forces, and we set the task of appreciably raising the living standard in all earnest. That is why there is no reason to speak of "sacrifices," unless one wishes to distort the truth.

Let the "critics" of our plan name a single capitalist government that intends to expand the people's consumption on so large a scale as our country. Let them name a bourgeois state contemplating a reduction of the working day, with the same and even higher wages. In the capitalist countries, the working class, the working people, have to wage a bitter struggle against the exploiters to achieve this. There are not and cannot be states or governments in the capitalist world that give so much attention to the needs of the working people. (*Applause.*)

(p. 61-62)

What will our scientists work on in the next seven years? They will work first of all on bringing thermonuclear reactions under control in order to obtain a practically unlimited source of energy; on problems of the extensive use of atomic energy in the power industry and transport; on expanding the use of synthetic materials, fission products and radio-isotopes; on problems of the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production operations and on the development of new technical means for it by making wide use of achievements in physics, radio-electronics and computer technology. Great tasks, as pointed out in the theses, also confront scientists working in the fields of chemistry, metallurgy, geology, various branches of agriculture, medicine and other spheres.

(p. 70-71)

Socialism has conclusively proved its complete superiority over capitalism in rates of industrial growth. Now we are entering a new stage in our economic competition with capitalism. *Today, our task is to tip the scales in world production in favour of the socialist system against the capitalist system, to surpass the most advanced capitalist countries in productivity of social labour and per capita output, and to attain the world's highest living standard.*

(p. 74)

How soon can we close this gap, draw level, and then surpass the U.S.A. in these indices?

Rates of production growth are decisive. And the advantage in rates rests with the socialist economic system. Our mean annual industrial rates of growth since the Revolution have been three to five times higher than

those of the developed capitalist countries.

We do not doubt for a moment that we shall not only achieve, but also exceed the average annual growth of industrial output of 8.6 per cent designated in the seven-year plan. The capitalist countries are not likely to stand still, either. In the next few years U.S. industrial production will presumably grow some two per cent annually. That has been the rate of development in American industry in recent years.

(p. 75)

There is one more important thing to be borne in mind. In spite of its fairly low rates of economic growth, the U.S.A. was for a long time ahead of the U.S.S.R. in annual absolute volume of industrial growth. But that time is now past. In the last eight years the Soviet absolute volume of growth for a number of key items (steel, pig-iron, iron-ore, oil, coal, cement, woollen fabrics) has on the whole exceeded America's.

Thus, a qualitatively new stage in the competition has opened in this respect as well. Today our country is ahead of the U.S.A. both in rates and in annual absolute growth of production. We go forward four times as fast, and we add more to our output each year. Consequently, it is now much easier to overtake the Americans. (*Applause.*)

Soviet and U.S. rates of industrial growth being what they are, the Soviet Union will, by fulfilling the plan, surpass the United States for absolute output in some key items and draw near to America's present level of output in others. By that time the output of key agricultural products, both in absolute figures and in output per head of population, will exceed the present U.S. level. The population both in the U.S.S.R. and in the

U.S.A. will grow, and it is to be expected that in our country it will grow more. The population in the U.S.S.R. will probably be about 15 to 20 per cent greater than in the U.S.A. Hence, if we reckon per head of population, it will probably take us another five years or so after fulfilling the seven-year plan to catch up and surpass the United States in industrial production. *Consequently, by that time—or possibly earlier—the Soviet Union will rank first in the world both for absolute volume of production and per capita output. That will be a historic victory for socialism in the peaceful competition with capitalism in the international arena. (Stormy applause.)*

Bourgeois economists contend that at a certain point the industrial development rates in the U.S.S.R. are bound to “dampen.” What they are trying to do is to apply the capitalist economic yardstick to socialism. In fact, capitalism raises insuperable barriers to the development of the productive forces and its rates of industrial growth begin to decline. Socialism, on the other hand, creates every condition for a continuous growth of the productive forces.

In post-war years there has been much talk in the United States and other capitalist countries about “prosperity” and the advent of a “crisis-free” epoch in capitalist development. But what is the real state of the post-war capitalist economy? In some twelve years the United States has had three critical production slumps—in 1948-1949, 1953-1954 and above all 1957-1958.

How this affects the economy is illustrated by the latest crisis. U.S. industrial output in 1957 was, in the main, the same as the year before, but in 1958 it dropped 6.5 per cent below the 1957 figure. In other words, the crisis has flung U.S. industry back to its 1953 level.

The continuous alternation of critical slumps and

feverish uptrends speaks of the instability of the capitalist economy. Neither the arms race, nor any other measure, can ever rid the economy of the United States and the other capitalist countries of over-production crises. Whatever the capitalist states do, they will never be able to eliminate the cause of crises. Capitalism will never succeed in breaking the death grip of its own contradictions. They keep growing in size and scope, threatening new economic upheavals. There is a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism due to the radical shift in the relation of forces between the world socialist system and the world capitalist system, the disintegration of the colonial system and the exacerbation of social antagonisms in the capitalist countries.

The victory of socialism over capitalism depends in large measure on increased production. But to judge of the superiority of one system over another, we must primarily consider what increased output brings to society, to man. Of what benefit, indeed, is it, say, to an unemployed man in America if his country produces much meat and butter, and many TV sets and cars, per head of population?

After all, the lion's share of all the wealth produced in the capitalist countries goes to the exploiters and their hangers-on, whereas under socialism greater production per head means an actual improvement in living conditions for the working man. Figuratively speaking, when we expand production, each "head" in the country really benefits from it, whereas in the capitalist countries it is the richer "head," the "head" with capital, that derives all the benefits from greater production. A "head" with no capital will live from hand to mouth even when production rises. This is what they call "equal opportunities" under the capitalist system—one gets richer and the other

starves. It is a pattern that is quite compatible with the laws of capitalism. It is considered normal and natural.

This kind of contradiction, which leads to production rising while consumption by the bulk of the population does not increase, is inconceivable under socialism. In socialist society, the expansion of production is planned with the express purpose of increasing material wealth and meeting the requirements of all members of society ever more fully.

It should be stressed that although the level of production in a capitalist and a socialist country—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., for example—may be the same, the social effects of this will be poles apart. This is where the superiority of socialism is manifested, for under socialism production is subordinated not to profit-making, but to the maximum satisfaction of the requirements of all members of society.

(p. 76-78)

Comrades, an economic competition between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., between the entire world socialist system and the world capitalist system, is in progress on the international scene.

The nature of modern capitalism is exemplified not only by the highly-developed countries, but also by countries whose productive level is immeasurably lower. The level of production in the capitalist system as a whole lags far behind that of the United States. Besides, there is a big, continuously widening gap between the various capitalist countries in rates of economic growth.

At the same time, all the countries of the world socialist system are making rapid economic and cultural progress. *High rates of growth are a general law of socialism, now confirmed by the experience of all the*

socialist countries. In 1958 industrial output in the socialist countries was five times as great as in 1937. Between 1950 and 1958, 'the Chinese People's Republic raised its industrial output roughly tenfold. Compared with the pre-war figures, industrial production in 1958 increased more than 450 per cent in Poland, 230 per cent in Czechoslovakia, more than 150 per cent in the German Democratic Republic, nearly 300 per cent in Rumania, over 300 per cent in Hungary, about 800 per cent in Bulgaria and 1,700 per cent in Albania. The Korean People's Democratic Republic increased industrial output 3.5-fold over 1949.

Industry has become dominant in most of the People's Democracies as a result of socialist industrialization. Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria are now industrial-agrarian countries with a developed heavy industry, and the Chinese People's Republic is turning from an agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian country.

A most arduous problem of socialist development—the shift of the peasantry to co-operation—is being solved

successfully. Agriculture has been put on co-operative lines in the Chinese People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. In Czechoslovakia and Albania, the socialist reorganization of agriculture is nearing completion. Nearly half the arable land in the German Democratic Republic is already in the hands of co-operatives and state farms. Cooperation in agriculture is also expanding in the other socialist countries.

Some People's Democracies have already entered the final stage of the building of socialism. The time is coming when, like the Soviet Union, they will be building

a communist society. This is of immense international importance.

Practice has shown that in building a new life only those Communist Parties can achieve success which are guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, by the general objective laws of socialist construction, and which apply revolutionary theory creatively and take account of the distinctive national and historical features of their countries. The fraternal parties of the socialist countries enrich the theory and practice of socialist construction and contribute to the further development of Marxism-Leninism.

The experience of all the socialist countries in Europe and Asia has now proved that genuine progress is possible solely along socialist lines.

The world socialist system as a whole has already caught up the world capitalist system in industrial output per head of population. The socialist countries, which account for about one-third of the world population, supply more than one-third of the world industrial output, nearly half the world grain output and 43 per cent of the cotton. Economists estimate that *as a result of the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the seven-year plan of economic development by the Soviet Union, and due to the high rates of economic development in the People's Democracies, the world socialist system will account for more than half the world industrial output. (Stormy applause.)* The superiority of the world socialist system over the world capitalist system in material production, which is the decisive sphere of human endeavour, will thereby be ensured. *(Applause.)*

Think this over, comrades. Although the socialist countries occupy a mere one-quarter of the world area and most of them were economically backward in the

past, the time is not distant when they will account for more than half the world's industrial output. Is this not vivid proof that the countries which have taken the road of socialism have inexhaustible opportunities?

Socialist revolution was first victorious in our country. For many years the bourgeoisie in all countries, and Social-Democratic leaders, too—from Kautsky to Sukhanov—noisily claimed that the Soviet state must inevitably collapse and capitalism be restored precisely because of our economic backwardness. But what have those prophecies come to? Countries which in the past were industrially underdeveloped have under socialism overtaken developed capitalist countries, and are marching' confidently on. History tells us that whenever the working class takes state power and a socialist system is established, the people are enabled to develop their country's economy at a far more rapid pace than they could under capitalism.

Reality shows that the people in the socialist countries are finding ever new resources to accelerate their industrial development and raise their living standard. We advance shoulder to shoulder, rendering each other fraternal assistance and support. In this way, we shall gradually bring up the economic development of all the socialist countries to a common level.

It is not the Soviet Union alone which is faced with the problem of making the most of the time factor in its economic competition with capitalism. It may be recalled, for example, that the Communist Party of China in 1957 set the task of surpassing Britain in volume of output in the key industries within the next fifteen years. The great popular movement for the "big leap," which has begun in that country, shows that the Chinese people will achieve that goal much sooner. The Czechoslovak Republic

intends by 1965 to raise industrial output by 90 to 95 per cent over 1957 and the Polish People's Republic, by 80 per cent over 1958. The Bulgarian people intend to fulfil their five-year plan in three to four years.

The socialist countries have all they need to win first place in world production.

The world socialist system has the advantage of superior rates of economic growth. The annual industrial production increase for the entire socialist camp in the past five years (1954-1958) averaged 11 per cent, whereas in the capitalist world it was below 3 per cent.

In the world socialist system, all countries join and co-ordinate their production efforts, while the relations between capitalist countries are dominated by irreconcilable antagonisms. The co-ordination of national economic plans is the form in which the production efforts of the socialist countries are being pooled at this stage. International division of labour-particularly its higher forms, specialization and co-operation-has to play a big part in the economic development of the socialist camp. It offers new, additional opportunities of increasing production in the socialist camp as a whole and in each particular socialist country. Acting on its own, no country could develop as rapidly as it is developing within the system of socialist countries.

It is typical of the economic development of the socialist countries that as they advance their interrelations become stronger and the world socialist system is further consolidated. A diametrically opposite tendency prevails in the capitalist world, where the growth of production in a particular country aggravates antagonisms between the capitalist countries, and leads to greater rivalry and to clashes between them. The growth and development of each socialist country

reinforce the entire world socialist system. In this lies our strength, and an earnest of the future victories of socialism in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

The Soviet Union regards it as a most important task to continue doing its share for greater unity among the countries of the world socialist system and for the promotion of co-operation and of economic and cultural ties between them in keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism and the fraternal friendship of free peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

(p. 79-83)

The question of *how to develop and bring closer together the collective-farm and public forms of socialist property* is of great theoretical and practical importance in communist construction."

It is perfectly clear that in the future the collective-farm-co-operative and state forms of property will merge into an integral communist property. Why, then, it might be asked, are we not pressing for their merger but consider that in the present stage we must vigorously develop collective-farm-co-operative property side by side with state property?

Property forms cannot be changed at will. They develop in accordance with economic laws and depend on the nature and level of the productive forces. The collective-farm system fully accords with the present level and development requirements of the productive forces in agriculture. It enables us to make the most effective use of modern farm machinery, which is impossible under parcelled small peasant farming. Now that the collective farms are being directly supplied with powerful modern machinery, they are increasing output at a more rapid pace.

Several branches of agriculture lagged in the recent past, not because the collective-farm system was hampering expansion of the productive forces, but because poor use was being made of the potentialities and advantages which collective farming offers. What we have achieved in agriculture in the past five years is conclusive proof that the collective-farm-co-operative form of production relations, far from having spent itself, serves to expand the productive forces in agriculture, and may continue to do so for along time to come.

As the productive forces go on developing, the socialization of collective-farm production will increase and collective-farm-co-operative property will come closer together with public property, the line dividing the two gradually disappearing. This is shown by the following characteristic processes:

First, uninterrupted increase of collective-farm non-distributable assets, which are the economic basis for continued expansion of collective-farm production and gradual approximation of collective-farm and public property.

Second, enlargement of collective-farm production to involve more fully all the branches of agriculture. As collective production grows, the farms will be in a position to satisfy the requirements of their members more and more fully not only in bread, but also in meat, milk, butter, potatoes and other vegetables, and fruit, all of which will come, not from the household plots, whose productivity is low, but from economically profitable collective-farm production.

Third, expansion of inter-farm production ties and diverse forms of co-operation, which will inevitably go on increasing in scale. Joint construction of power stations, irrigation canals, factories processing farm produce and

plants putting out building materials, and road building will all require a more and more systematic combination of the efforts of many collective farms.

Fourth, agricultural electrification, mechanization and automation will lead to the pooling, to a kind of merger, of collective-farm production facilities with state, or public, facilities, Agricultural labour will gradually become a variety of industrial labour.

The merger of the collective-farm-co-operative and public forms of property is historically inevitable. It will be brought about, not by the curtailment of collective-farm property, but by raising its level of socialization with the aid and support of the socialist state.

The merger of collective-farm-co-operative property with state property into an integral public property is not a mere economic organization measure, but is the solution of the cardinal problem of bridging the essential distinction between town and country.

In the coming seven years we intend to achieve a decisive increase in agricultural output and thereby radically promote culture and improve living conditions in the countryside. The Party's subsequent aim will be to convert the collective-farm villages into modern urban-type communities supplied with every up-to-date communal, cultural and other public-service facility.

(p. 123-125)

Now that the building of socialism is no longer confined to one country because a world socialist system has come into being, we are faced with *new theoretical problems in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism*.

Not so long ago the question was being posed and discussed in the communist movement of whether

socialism could be built in a single country, of whether its victory would be complete and final.

When the Soviet Republic was only just beginning to build socialism, and when for many the country's further path was hidden in the mist of the future, Lenin gave it a clear and heartening perspective. He said we have "... all that is necessary for building a complete socialist society." (Col. Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 428) Always guided by Lenin's directions and inspired by the Communist Party, the Soviet people, who were constantly threatened by a capitalist military onslaught, persevered in building a socialist society, advancing along uncharted paths and brought about the complete triumph of socialism in our country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But that was not yet final victory. For Marxists understand the final victory of socialism to mean its triumph on an international scale. Having built socialism, our country remained for a long time the world's only socialist state, living in a hostile capitalist encirclement. It could not consider itself fully guaranteed against armed intervention, against the danger of a forcible restoration of capitalism by international reaction, for the capitalist states then surrounding the land of socialism were much stronger economically and militarily.

The world situation has changed radically since then. The Soviet Union is no longer in a capitalist encirclement. There are two world social systems: capitalism, which is living out its day, and socialism, a vigorous and growing system that has the support of the working people of all lands. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union, like any other socialist country, is not guaranteed against the possibility of imperialist aggression. But the relation of real forces, in the world

today is such that we shall be able to repel any attack by any enemy. (*Stormy applause.*)

There is no power in the world that can re-establish capitalism in our country or crush the socialist camp. The danger of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union is ruled out. And this means that the triumph of socialism is not only complete, but, also final. (*Stormy applause.*)

It can therefore be said that the question of the building of socialism in one country and of its complete and final victory has been decided by the course of the historical development of society.

(p. 129-130)

**RESOLUTION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST
CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U. ON THE
REPORT OF COMRADE N. S.
KHRUSHCHOV "CONTROL FIGURES FOR
THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE
U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965", CONTROL
FIGURES FOR THE ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. for 1959-
1965**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE, Moscow 1959

The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was convened at an exceedingly important historic moment when, as a result of deep-going transformations in all spheres of social life and on the basis of the triumph of socialism, the Soviet Union entered upon a new period of its development, the period of extensive building of communist society. The great goal of building communism, for which many generations of people have striven, is now being reached in practice by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

(p. 5)

The Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U. wholly and completely approves the activity of the Central Committee and the important measures it has taken in domestic and foreign policy. The Party's major decisions on reorganizing the management of industry and construction, on accelerating the development of the chemical industry, on reorganizing the machine, and tractor stations and further developing the collective-farm system on increasing the output of agricultural produce, on establishing a closer link between school and life and further developing the system of public education are of enormous importance for promoting the economy, advancing culture and raising the welfare of the people; for the building of communism.

The might of the Soviet state and its international prestige have risen still further as a result of the Leninist line of the Central Committee and the Soviet Government and of the selfless labour of the Soviet people.

(p. 7)

Side by side with measures aimed at further extending agricultural output, it is necessary to start the construction of farm-produce processing enterprises by the collective and state farms and the consumers' co-operatives, to extend housing construction and the building of cultural and public facilities in the countryside and to organize community services and amenities in the villages.

With the incomes of the collective farms growing, the practice of several collective farms pooling resources to build power stations, roads, building materials enterprises, big and well-equipped inter-collective farm canning factories, bakeries and other enterprises, should

become more widespread.

(p. 16-17)

In determining the tasks of communist construction for the contemporary stage, the Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U. proceeds from the fact that the Soviet Union has entered a new period of historical development. The victory of socialism in our country is complete and final. The time is past when the Soviet Union was the only socialist state in a hostile capitalist encirclement. Now there are two world. social systems: capitalism, which is nearing its end and socialism, brimming with growing vitality and enjoying the sympathy of the working people of ail countries. Nothing in the world could restore capitalism in our country, overcome the socialist camp.

(p. 26)

As a result of the measures taken in recent years to advance agriculture and the growth of the socialized assets of the collective farms, the collective-farm system is gaining new strength; and its advantages and ample possibilities are unfolding ever more fully. All this shows that the kolkhoz-cooperative form of relations of production subserves the development of the productive forces of agriculture, and will do so for a long time to come.

In the process of communist construction the socialized nature of collective-farm production will be extended, the kolkhoz-cooperative property and public property will draw closer together and the distinctions between them will wear off. The non-distributable assets of the collective farms will expand and strengthen, and inter-kolkhoz production contacts will become broader. The merger of the kolhoz-cooperative and public forms of

property will occur in the future not through the gradual effacement of kolkhoz-cooperative property, but by way of raising its level of socialization to the level of public property with the assistance and support of the socialist state.

(p. 25)

With the development of socialist society and the growth of the social awareness of the masses, the labour enthusiasm of Soviet people is rising ceaselessly, and so is their concern for the well-being of society. The urge for personal enrichment is losing ground and moral incentives to work for the good of society are steadily taking precedence.

(p. 26)

The first socialist state in the world was built under exceptionally difficult conditions. International imperialism repeatedly attempted to halt the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. by force of arms. Little more than half of the 41 years that Soviet power has been in existence have been years of peaceful labour by the Soviet people. Some 20 years were taken up by war and the subsequent periods of economic reconstruction. The fact that the Soviet people, overcoming all the difficulties and obstacles, created a strong and prosperous socialist economy demonstrates the great vitality of the Soviet system.

(p. 48)

While the basic aim of present-day capitalism, the main stimulus and mainspring for its development, is the extraction of maximum profit by means of the ruthless exploitation of the working people, which leads to the

enrichment of a small section of society and to the ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population, the supreme aim of socialism and its great driving force is the steady satisfaction of the growing requirements of society as a whole and the improvement of the living standards of the people on the basis of the continuous development and improvement of industrial and agricultural production using all the achievements of modern science and technology.

In a socialist society there is no room for the contradiction inherent in capitalism between the social character of production and the private mode of appropriation. Nor is there any place for business competition, anarchy in production, unemployment, economic crises and similar phenomena. Economic laws of another kind have taken shape and now operate in socialist society: the planned and proportional development of the national economy and the steady and rapid increase of production, knowing neither recessions, nor crises. This makes it possible to plan the national economy, to determine the course of its development, to secure a steady increase in output, the rational deployment of the productive forces and large-scale specialization and coordination based on the principles of socialism.

Socialism has given birth not only to new economic laws, but also to new social relations. Instead of the exploitation of man by man inherent in bourgeois society, under socialism, on the basis of socialist social ownership, mutual assistance and co-operation in joint labour between free and equal members of society having a profound interest in the development of the national economy and culture, and recognizing that this wholly depends upon their work, have been established.

Rivalry, private enterprise and the brutal exploitation of man by man have been replaced by new, genuinely humane relationships between men in a socialist society—relations of comradely emulation and co-operation, of mutual assistance in work, relations giving scope for constructive initiative, activity, talents and abilities of the broad mass of the people.

(p. 49-50)

The high rate of development of heavy industry and the increase in agricultural production have created a solid foundation for progress in all branches of the light and food industries. The output of consumers' goods in 1958 showed an almost 14-fold increase over that in 1913, the output of domestic wares increasing more than 45-fold. Despite the fact that during the Great Patriotic War some of the light and food industries were thrown back to the output level of many years ago, the consumers' goods output today is 170 per cent above that of 1940.

(p. 51-52)

A supremely important factor hastening the development of the national economy has been the reorganization of the management of industry and construction. In the brief period that the economic councils have been functioning, the tremendous superiority of the new form of managing industry has become clearly evident. There has been a rise in the rate of growth of industrial output, a considerable improvement in the use of industry's untapped reserves, an increase in the initiative and activity of the working class and the technical personnel, and a still further extension of socialist emulation to fulfil state plans. The increase in industrial output during the first year of the

work of the economic councils exceeded the increase in output attained in the previous year by 17,000 million rubles. There has been a considerable technological and economic improvement in the work of enterprises. In 1957 and 1958 the planned increase in labour productivity and reduction in production costs of industrial output were exceeded. In 1958 the aggregate saving, over and above the amount planned, secured by cutting production costs, exceeded 10,000 million rubles.

The reorganization of the management in industry and construction has resulted in the management of production being raised to a new and higher level, in extensive possibilities being created for the further development of specialization and co-operation both within the specific economic areas and republics, and in the national economy as a whole.

(p. 52-53)

The successes achieved in agricultural development are the result of the comprehensive organizational work done by the Party and the Government in consolidating the collective-farm system and developing the state farms, in effecting important measures of an organizational, political and economic character and primarily in providing the collective-farm peasants and all rural working people with greater material incentive to increase their social production. The collective farms have been enabled to plan their development in a new way, making the fullest use of their untapped reserves.

The Party and the Government are constantly concerned about supplying agriculture with up-to-date machinery that raises its productivity. In 1954-1958 agriculture was supplied with 664,000 tractors (or over a million tractors in terms of 15 h.p. units), 361 harvester

combines, 571,000 motor lorries and much other equipment.

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture has led to a radical change in the peasants' working conditions. The labour of those engaged in agriculture is increasingly becoming a variety of industrial labour. Working on the collective and state farms are numerous experienced organizers and agricultural specialists. College and special secondary school graduates engaged in agriculture number almost half a million.

The collective farms have developed into big and economically strong enterprises. On January 1, 1958, the non-distributable assets of the collective farms reached a total of 102,000 million rubles, as against 70,000 million rubles in 1953. In 1958 the collective farms and their members received in cash over 100,000 million rubles more than in 1952 for produce sold to the state and the co-operatives. All this has rendered possible a considerable increase in the payments in cash and kind to collective farmers for workday units earned, and thereby a rise in their standard of living.

In recent years the state farms have grown in strength and number. In the last five years, the area of state-farm land under crops has increased from 15,200,000 to 52,400,0000 hectares.

The following measures have been of supreme importance in promoting socialist agriculture: reorganization of the machine and tractor stations, the changes introduced into the methods of servicing the collective farms, with farm machinery, establishment of a new system of procurements and fixing of new procurement prices for agricultural produce.

The measures taken by the Party and the Government to consolidate and develop the collective

and state farms create all the conditions for the still further successful development of socialist agriculture, for a considerable increase in agricultural and animal output and for lower production costs.

(p54-56)

In the period from 1959 to 1965, the national economy of the U.S.S.R. will undergo radical qualitative changes in the structure of production. The Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U. considers the most important targets of the seven-year plan to be the following:

- high rates and proper proportions in the development of the national economy;

- a considerable increase in the output of ferrous and non-ferrous metals in order to meet the growing requirements of the national economy more fully;

- accelerated development of the chemical industry especially of the output of artificial and synthetic fibres, plastics and other synthetic materials. The chemical industry will become one of the leading sources of raw materials for the manufacture of consumers' goods.

- changes in the structure of the fuel resources through priority development of the extraction and production of the most economical kinds of fuel—oil and gas;

- a rapid development of electrification in all branches of the national economy, chiefly through the construction of big thermal power stations;

- a further expansion of mechanical engineering, particularly heavy machine building, and of the manufacture of electrical machinery and apparatus, instruments and means of automation; as an important, requisite for a continued rise in the productivity of labour;

- a technical reconstruction of railway transport on the basis of electrification and wide use of diesel traction;

a further rise in all branches of agriculture ensuring the satisfaction of the country's continuously increasing demand for foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials;

a rapid promotion of housing construction in order successfully to eliminate the housing shortage, a task set by the Party and the Government.

(p. 65-66)

Transition to over-all mechanization and automatic control of production with the utilization of electronic technique is the most characteristic feature of present-day technical progress and must be the principal trend in the designing of new machines.

(p. 77)

The increased production of consumers' goods will be ensured both by a growing supply of natural raw materials and by the manufacture of artificial and synthetic raw materials.

(p. 82)

In view of the fact that considerable quantities of agricultural raw materials are processed outside state food industry enterprises it is essential that collective and state farms and consumers' co-operatives should build more enterprises to bake bread, make sausage and other prepared meat products, butter, cheese, curds, canned, vegetables and fruit, starch and other food items. As the incomes of the collective farms are increasing and they are turning out more marketable produce, in addition to building enterprises to process farm produce in some collective farms, there should be a wider pooling of the resources of several farms to build inter-farm canneries, bakeries, and other establishments processing meat,

milk, fruit and vegetables. This will allow the building of bigger plants using modern machinery and technology.

10. The Production of Household Goods. The output of articles essential in the home and of machines and appliances to lighten the labour of the housewife is to be doubled and by 1965 to reach the figure of 88,000 million rubles. There will be a considerable increase in the production of furniture, household sewing machines; refrigerators, washing machines, dishwashing machines, wireless receivers, radiograms, TV receivers, clock and watches, bicycles, motor cycles and motor scooters, cameras and electric household appliances.

The mass production of household goods is to be organized on the basis of the development of the synthetic materials industries.

Local and co-operative industrial enterprises have an important part to play in further increasing the output of consumers' goods and improving services for the people. These enterprises must make wider use of local raw material resources, improve techniques and technology and in this way greatly improve the assortment and quality of their products.

(p. 84-85)

Work on the automation of production processes is being carried on in all branches of industry, transport and communications. Our industry has some achievements in the development of automation to record, mainly in the fields of power supply, ferrous metallurgy and machine building. Individual systems of automatic regulation and remote control have been introduced into the chemical, oil-refining, coal-mining, light and food industries and a number of other branches.

There is a lot of work to be done in the sphere of

mechanization and automation in the machine-building industry where as much as half the work-time is taken up by manual labour. In many branches of industry and agriculture transport and loading and unloading operations must be mechanized. The main task for the next few years is to complete the over-all mechanization of production processes.

It is essential to go over from the automation of individual units and installations to over-all automation, to the organization of fully automated shops, technological processes and factories.

The achievements of computing-machine technique open up great prospects in the sphere of the automation of production processes. The application of modern computing machines to the regulation of production processes makes possible the automatic selection and utilization of the most advantageous technological regimen.

In addition to fulfilling a general programme of work on automation in all branches of industry it is proposed to set up more than fifty model establishments at which the latest over-all automation schemes will be in operation.

12. Provision is to be made for extensive measures for specialization and co-operation in industry:

the further all-round development of economic regions on the basis of the most effective utilization of natural resources with due consideration paid to the necessity for ??????????

(p. 86)

The projected programme for the further development of agriculture will be accompanied by an improvement in socialist production relations, bringing closer together the two forms of socialist property—collective—farm and

public property. This will be manifested in a further growth of the collective-farm system, in a growth of the production resources, in an increase in the non-distributable assets of the collective farms and their proper utilization, in the extension of inter-farm production ties through the joint organization of industrial, building and other economic enterprises, the joint building of power stations, roads, irrigation and drainage systems, enterprises for the processing and storing of farm produce, schools, especially boarding-schools, homes for the aged, hospitals and clubs. As collective-farm production develops with the collective farms having become big economic units equipped with modern machinery and staffed by qualified personnel, the material and domestic needs of the farmers will be to an ever greater extent provided for by the collective farm so that the personal small holdings of the collective farmers will gradually lose their significance.

(p. 90)

2. *Farming.* A further rapid growth of farm output is to be achieved in the next seven years. Now that the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Party, have done the tremendous job of bringing the virgin and disused lands under the plough, of supplying agriculture with the latest machinery and providing qualified workers, now that seed cultivation has been properly organized and the output of mineral fertilizers is being increased, we are confronted with a most important economic task in its fullest aspect—that of raising the per hectare yield of all farm crops.

(p. 91-92)

In the 1959-1965 period the electrification of farming will be conducted on a wide scale. Provision is made for

the completion of collective-farm electrification in the main, by the end of the seven-year period; electrification of state farms and maintenance and repair stations will be completed much earlier. The volume of the work planned for the electrification of the collective farms in the next seven years will be 150 per cent greater than that carried out between 1952 and 1958. The consumption of electric power by agricultural enterprises will be about quadrupled in the seven-year period. For the fulfilment of this programme the resources of the collective farms must be employed in the construction of inter-farm and inter-district power stations. The supply of power to collective and state farms from the state power grid and power stations is also envisaged. Collective and state farms will make greater use of electric power in farm work.

(p. 97)

The railways are to make extensive use of the latest means of automation and telemechanics. It is planned through 1959-1965 to equip 18,000 to 20,000 kilometres of railway with automatic blocking and a centralized dispatching service. Not less than 70,000 kilometres of new rails, chiefly of the heavy type, will be laid to replace old rails in the existing railway network, in order to ensure the effective utilization of the new powerful locomotives.

(p. 100)

1. The forthcoming seven years will be a period of unprecedented construction in all parts of the country, particularly in the eastern regions. *State investments shall be increased through 1959-1965 to 1,940,000-1,970,000 million rubles, which amounts to an 80 per cent increase over the preceding seven years and nearly*

equals the total investments made in the national economy through all the years of Soviet power.

The Communist Party attaches prime importance to the most effective channels of investment which will best contribute at minimum cost and in the shortest possible time to a steady expansion of productive plant and industrial output, attended by a steep rise in the productivity of labour and a drop in production costs.

(p. 102)

In *agriculture* state investments shall amount to nearly 150,000 million rubles.

High incomes resulting from the greater output of marketable farm and animal produce will enable the collective farms to make considerable investments in capital construction out of their own funds. According to preliminary estimates, the collective farms will be able to invest 250,000 million rubles in the construction of farm, cultural and community buildings and facilities, and 95,000 million rubles in agricultural machinery.

(p. 105)

The production of local building materials is to be further promoted within the framework of local industry and inter-farm building enterprises.

(p. 108)

Economy of funds and material resources, lower construction costs and profitable operation of all building organizations and enterprises gain in importance as the volume of capital construction increases. With the scale of construction what it is now, a reduction of just one per cent in the estimated cost of building and assembly jobs will yield an annual saving of over 1,000 million rubles.

The cost of building and assembly jobs must be reduced in the seven years by not less than six per cent. The average cost of one square metre of housing space is to be reduced by not less than 14 per cent.

(p. 109)

3. The *real incomes of factory and office workers* in the next seven years, per working person, will increase on the average by 40 percent as, a result of the increase in wages, pensions and grants as well as further price reductions in public catering.

The real incomes of collective farmers, too, on the basis of the growth of agricultural production and higher labour productivity will increase for the same period by not less than 40 per cent, mostly due to the expansion of the common output of the collective farmers.

(p. 133)

Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964

**Editor: Grey Hodnett
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26 June 1959

The historic targets for the expanded building of a communist society in our country, set by the XXI Congress of the CPSU, can be met successfully if socialist democracy and the creative initiative and spontaneity of the broad popular masses continue to be developed and if social organizations and all toilers are involved even more actively in the administration of state affairs and in the leadership of economic and cultural construction.

The new targets demand an enhancing of the role and responsibility of the party organizations in implementing state plans, in the further expansion of party democracy, and in reinforcing the activity of the party masses. In the contribution of party organizations to the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan for development of

the economy of the USSR an exceptionally important task is the comprehensive strengthening of the supervision and organization of the execution of party and governmental directives. In this connection particular significance attaches to the extension of social control—as a tested method of improving the operation of all state and economic administrative organs. V.I. Lenin pointed out that one-man management by the individual leader must necessarily be combined with a multiply of forms and techniques assuring control from below.

The Central Committee notes that the primary party organizations of production and trade enterprises make inadequate use of the right afforded them by the party Rules to supervise the administrative activity of these enterprises, and the existing organizational forms of supervision do not sufficiently meet the demands and targets advanced by the XXI Congress of the CPSU. Such supervision often consists of little more than listening to general reports by economic leaders on the results of the fulfilment of production plans, with many important factors in the functioning of enterprises remaining outside the field of vision of the party organizations. Trade union and Komsomol organizations are still only slightly involved in social control of enterprises.

The Central Committee of the CPSU resolves:

- 1 In order to eliminate existing short-comings and make fuller use of the right set forth in the CPSU Rules to supervise the administrative activities of enterprises, the primary party organizations of production and commercial enterprises must form commissions, made up of members and candidate members of the CPSU, whose function is to implement the right of party organizations to supervise administrative activities.

Depending upon the character of the enterprise and its conditions of operation the party organizations may set up commissions for supervising the following areas: the promptness and quality of fulfilment of plans and targets for delivery of products to other economic-administrative regions, for export, or to the defence industry; quality of production; introduction of new equipment and technology; mechanization and automation of production, and others. In commercial enterprises commissions are to be set up to supervise the uninterrupted delivery of goods, observance of the rules of Soviet trade, the reduction of trade and production expenses, etc.

The regulation on Commissions in Primary Party Organizations of Production and Trade Enterprises to Implement the Right of Party Organizations to Supervise Administrative Activity is hereby approved.

2 The central committees of the union republic parties, the krai, oblast, city, and raion party committees are hereby directed to extend all necessary assistance to primary party organizations in their establishment of supervision over the functioning of enterprises, and to generalize and disseminate the experience acquired in the operation of these commissions. The directors of sovnarkhozes, enterprises, and other soviet and economic organizations are directed to examine without delay any proposals by primary party organizations and their commissions and their commissions and to take all necessary steps to improve the functioning of enterprises.

Spravochnik partiinogo rabotnika KPSS v rezoliutsiakh VII, 11-17 (1961). 555-61

(p. 138-143)

Report by Nikita Khrushchov to the USSR Supreme Soviet, May 5, 1960

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT TO 'SOVIET WEEKLY'

Unlike the spontaneous development of the economy of capitalism, the economy of socialism ensures a steady growth in the productive forces of society.

Our people are accomplishing a great task—that of catching up with and surpassing economically the most highly developed capitalist countries. The practicability of this task cannot be denied now, even by people who are well known for their hatred of socialism.

We are certainly well aware that We shall catch up with and outstrip the economically most highly developed capitalist country, the United States of America, all the faster the more active we are in dedicating our knowledge, strength and talents to the early fulfilment of the seven-year plan, the more persistent we are in overcoming our short-comings, the more vigour we show in cleaning our Soviet house of everything stagnant and outmoded.

The fast pace of the planned development of social production provides a sound foundation for a steady rise

in the living standards of the people.

Unlike the capitalist countries where growth in material production leads mainly to the enrichment of the ruling classes, in the Soviet Union the living conditions of the whole people are improving steadily, along with the development of the productive forces.

...

The proposals submitted for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet provide for the abolition of taxes on the population. This will be done, however, so that in the first place there will be an increase in the earnings of factory and office workers in the low-income brackets. In this way, the gap between the earnings of factory and office workers in the low and high income groups will be narrowed.

It is essential that everybody should understand this well; some people might show a certain lack of understanding of this question. Some comrades are inclined to make us follow a policy of price reductions as the only way of raising the living standards of the people. We do not forget about price reductions, but it should be understood that if we were to adopt only that way—the way of lowering prices—and did not strive to narrow the gap between the lower and the higher wage rates, by bringing the former up to the level of the latter, then that would impose unequal conditions on the working people.

It is well known that price reductions give a greater gain to those categories of the working people who are paid at the higher rates. We talk of narrowing the gap in the remuneration of workers in socialist society, but at the same time we most resolutely oppose the cutting out of differences in the earnings of workers, we most resolutely oppose equalitarian tendencies. That was explained extremely well by V. I. Lenin. We must comply

unflinchingly with Lenin's behest regarding material incentives for workers in a socialist society. Since the Second World War, however, too great a gap has developed between the remuneration of the work of various categories of workers, and this gap must be narrowed.

I believe that this policy of the central committee of the party and the Soviet government is a correct one and has the approval both of the party and of all the working people. But, I repeat, we must constantly explain the measures which are being taken in this direction, so that they are better understood by all.

We must follow a policy of narrowing the gap in between earnings, of narrowing the gap in remuneration by bringing factory and office workers in the low income brackets up to the medium level and those in the medium level up to the higher income brackets.

...

Compulsory deliveries* of farm produce by collective farms and collective farmers have been completely abolished and the purchase prices of farm produce sold to the state have been greatly increased. The collective farms have bought a tremendous quantity of up-to-date equipment and the system of agricultural planning has been revised and improved. All this has helped to increase agricultural production, and, considerably raised the incomes of the collective farms and the collective farmers. The cash incomes of the collective farms will be 3½ times the 1953 level in 1960, and will reach 154-158 thousand million roubles. Cash received by the collective farmers on the basis of their workdays will increase more than three times over.

As I have already mentioned, in 1953 the agricultural

*

tax was reduced by 60 per cent, and at present it amounts to 4,000 million roubles.

Agricultural tax is paid on the use of garden plots, ...

No tax is levied on the collective farmers' income from their work on collective farms.

...

Great progress in strengthening the money circulation has been made in the postwar period and, above all, in recent years, with retail trade growing fast and with an improved supply of funds for commodities, with the population's real incomes considerably increased and the purchasing power of the rouble raised—all of this achieved through the expansion of industrial and agricultural production and the growth of the national income.

As I have said, the volume of industrial production and the national income have nearly doubled in the past six years. Retail trade during the same period has increased by 70 per cent, while commodity stocks have almost doubled. The commodity cover of the Soviet rouble was thereby strengthened still more.

...

In these conditions it has become necessary to raise the value of our monetary unit, to increase the gold cover of the rouble and to revise the price scale. We must bear in mind that the existing price scale—established in the years when the volume of production and trade and the incomes of the population were much smaller than they are today—as a result no longer corresponds to the achieved level of the Soviet economy.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has considered this question and has decided from 1961 to raise tenfold the value of our monetary unit and in view of this to put new currency into circulation. The expression

“rouble” is known to have originated 700 years ago from the word “rubit “ (cut), because in ancient times pieces of silver were cut to be made into coins. The point in question, therefore, is to cut ten times more valuable metal into our Soviet rouble.

I wish to lay special emphasis on the fact that this measure will inflict no loss on the population or the state. The raising of the value of our monetary units will mean, the reduction to a tenth of the present level of all wholesale purchasing and retail prices, and also of payments for all services provided to the population, rent and communal amenities, fares of all types of transport, communication rates, prices of theatre and cinema tickets and so on.

...

The re-scaling of prices will further strengthen the Soviet rouble.

It must be specially stressed that these measures will also be of great significance for the further introduction of a regime of economy, and for the unfolding of a nation-wide campaign against all manifestations of thriftlessness and waste. Now you can see a kopeck lying somewhere on the road, and some man would pass by and wouldn't bend to pick it up. When the new money is in use, a kopeck won't be left lying on the ground. It will certainly be picked up—it will mean a box of matches. The importance of the rouble and kopeck in the economic activity of undertakings will grow even more, and that will promote the rational use of materials, manpower and financial resources...

...

COMRADES Deputies, in view of the planned abolition of taxes and the increase in the incomes of the working people, the purchasing power of the population

will grow considerably. This will call for a great increase in commodity resources. Over the past few years large-scale measures have been carried out in our country to increase output of consumer goods.

As you know, the seven-year plan provides for a great development of the light and food industries. In the target figures we provided for a higher rate of increase of capital investment in the light and food industries than in the national economy as a whole.

The allocations for creating new industrial capacities in those branches amount approximately to 80-85 thousand million roubles, i.e. over twice those of the seven years before. It is planned to increase the output of consumer goods 62-65 per cent above the 1958 level.

The rate of increase in the output of consumer goods is exceeding the average annual targets set in the seven-year plan. In 1959, more than 21,000 million roubles-worth of manufactured goods and food products were produced over and above plan, for sale to the population.

...
Our growing output of consumer goods provides the conditions for a rapid increase in trade.* In 1959 retail sales amounted to 709.600 million roubles—a gain of 47,600 million over 1958. This year's increase in sale of consumer goods will amount to nearly 56,000 million roubles.

We now have adequate commodity resources to cover the effective demand of our population.

...
We are confronted with the task of fully meeting the growing demand of the population. We expect to solve this task in a much shorter time than was planned earlier, fully to saturate our domestic market with both foodstuffs

*

and manufactured goods—a great variety of fabrics, clothes, footwear and other commodities.

The successful development of our economy creates the conditions for still further stepping up the pace of development of our production of consumer goods. At the 21st Congress of the Communist Party it was pointed out that overfulfilment of the seven-year plan targets would enable the state to make additional accumulations running into tens and hundreds of thousands of millions of roubles, and to allocate bigger funds for raising the living standards of the people and to expand the building of industrial enterprises manufacturing consumer goods.

...

It is worth noting that in 1959 more new capacities went into operation in the sugar industry than during the previous five years, while the new capacities in the meat-packing industry were almost four times as big as those which went into operation in 1958.

The additional accumulations will enable us to invest about 25,000-30,000 million roubles over and above the target figures in the development of the textile and footwear industries, and in the expansion of raw material supplies for those branches during the seven-year plan period.

This faster pace in the expansion of the production of consumer goods will help to bring closer our attainment of the world's highest standards in consuming.

It must be emphasised that average consumption per head has not the same meaning for countries with different social systems. In a socialist state it expresses not only the wealth of the whole society but also the actual consumption by each member of that society. This does not apply to a capitalist state. There the average consumption per head includes both the extravagant and

wasteful consumption of the class of exploiters, and the inadequate and sometimes beggarly consumption of the working people.

During the seven-year plan period, we shall accomplish the task of fully satisfying the requirements of the population in food, and of ensuring plenty of clothing and footwear for the population. By the end of the seven-year plan period, the Soviet Union will have outstripped the most highly developed capitalist countries of Western Europe in consumption per head of many major consumer goods. We have set ourselves the task, after the fulfilment of the seven-year plan, of catching up with the United States within five years and then of surpassing it in consumption per head of consumer goods, including fabrics and foot-wear.

This is a task of tremendous political and state importance. We shall have to do a big job, to take measures to reduce the time required for building textile and shoe factories, enterprises for the manufacture of chemical fibres, synthetic leather and top quality dyes. We must expand more rapidly the building of machinery for the light textiles and chemicals industries, and supply these branches of industry with highly efficient machinery in good time.

The central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. have instructed the State Planning Committee to draft specific measures for the further expansion of the production and greater output of fabrics, shoes and other goods, so as to surpass at an earlier date the level of consumption of those goods in the United States of America.

The carrying out of this programme of rapid expansion of the production of consumer goods will be a

decisive step towards abundance in our country.

...

(p. 4-10)

**THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM, DOCUMENTS
OF THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET
UNION, October 17-31, 1961**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow**

**N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, 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**

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.

(p. 19)

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.

(p. 21)

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 capitalist 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!

(p. 25)

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

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

inevitably exposes himself as a proponent of war preparations and an enemy of peaceful coexistence.

(p. 56)

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

	Produced in 1955	Expected output for 1961	1961 output as % % 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

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 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:

	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)	1,168	1,730	148
Granulated beet sugar (000,000)	3.2	6.5	200
Fish (catch-000,000 tons)	2.7	3.7	
Clothing and underwear (000,000,000 rubles)	6.0	9.2	136
Leather footwear (000,000 pairs)	271	413	152
Textiles (000,000 sq. m.)	5,543	5,661	163
Woollen textiles (000,000 sq. m.)	321	452	120
Radio and TV receivers (000)	4,044	6,345	141
Domestic refrigerators (000)	151	731	157
Furniture (000,000 rubles)	491	1,280	480
			261

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 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.

(p. 60-62)

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.

(p. 60)

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.*)

(p. 72)

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 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.

...

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.

(p.73-74)

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.

(p. 75-77)

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.

...

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 within 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.

(p. 78-79)

Comrades, in the period under review the Party has devote? 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 immediately 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.

The development of virgin and disused lands is prominent among the measures implemented by the Party...

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.)*

(p. 80-82)

	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.

(p. 87)

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.*

(p. 101)

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.

(p. 102-103)

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. ...

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.

...

We are doing a lot of building. ...

(p. 104-105)

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

...

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.*)

(p. 106-109)

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 labour, 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 levelling. 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 egalitarian 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 the unrestricted growth of personal property is an idea that is alien to us, 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, *class relations in our country have now 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.

(p. 113-118)

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

...

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.

(p. 120-121)

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.

...

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.)*

(p. 124-126)

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, hosanna-singers 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.

(p. 136)

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 rowdiness, 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.)*

...

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 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.

(p. 154-155)

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 organisation 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.

(p. 157-159)

**N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, ON THE PROGRAMME
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
SOVIET UNION, REPORT TO THE 22nd
CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U., October 18,
1961**

(p. 167)

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 precision instruments, of automatic production lines, electronic computers and spaceships. 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 significance 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

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

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 pawn:, 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.

(p. 173-178)

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.

(p. 180)

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.

(p. 188)

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.

...

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 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 theses 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.

...

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 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.*)

...

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	552
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

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 perspective 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.

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.

(p. 209-210)

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.

...

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.

...

...

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 contra-posed 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.

...

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.

(p. 228-232)

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.

(p. 244-245)

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.

(p. 247)

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.

(p. 257-258)

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.

(p. 269)

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.

(p. 288)

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.

(p. 293)

**F. R. KOZLOV, AMENDMENTS TO THE RULES
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
SOVIET UNION, REPORT TO THE 22nd
CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U., October 28,
1961**

(p. 363)

The facts indicate that the organisers of the anti-Party group are still trying to uphold their harmful views. Molotov shows particular zeal in this respect. He has gone so far as to describe the new Programme of the C.P.S.U. as anti-revolutionary in spirit. He, Molotov, does not care at all that in the course of its nation-wide discussion the Programme won the unqualified approval of the Party and the people and of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, and that all fair-minded people on earth describe it as the Communist Manifesto of our epoch. That statement of Molotov's is in effect a challenge to our Party as a whole, and to the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., which has unanimously approved the new

Programme. I share the opinion of the delegates who spoke here and who said that Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov must be called to strict account by the Party and the people for all their anti-Party, criminal deeds.

(p. 387)

**RESOLUTION OF THE 22nd CONGRESS OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET
UNION ON THE REPORT OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U.,
(Adopted Unanimously on October 31,
1961)**

(p. 407)

II

The Congress notes with satisfaction that during the period under review great successes have been achieved in the development of all branches of the national economy as a result of the steady fulfilment of the *internal policy* formulated by the Twentieth Congress. Industry and agriculture have advanced rapidly to high levels, the economic might and defence potential of the country have been still further strengthened, the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people have been more

fully satisfied. The work of creating the material and technical basis of communism has been put on a firm foundation.

The accelerated rate of communist construction is a most important feature of the period after the Twentieth Congress.

During the last six years, industrial output has increased by almost 80 per cent. The Seven-Year Plan is being successfully fulfilled. The average annual increase of industrial output amounts to 10 per cent instead of the 8.3 per cent laid down for the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan. New important potentialities of the socialist economy have been revealed and brought into operation, making possible an industrial output of approximately 19,000 million rubles in excess of the targets for the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan. Much work has been carried out on the technological re-equipment of all branches of material production. Thousands of the latest types of machines, lathes, apparatus, instruments and means of automation have been developed.

The Congress notes that thanks to the unremitting care of the Party and Government, and to the selfless labour of the Soviet people, the re-equipment of the Soviet Armed Forces with rocket and nuclear weapons has been completely accomplished. The powerful military equipment in the hands of our people reliably safeguards socialist gains and promotes the cause of peace throughout the world.

Since the Twentieth Congress important *qualitative changes* have taken place in industry, building and transport. There has been a radical improvement in the fuel balance; power engineering has been given a new technical basis; the rates of development of the chemical

industry and of the technical reconstruction of all forms of transport have been considerably accelerated. Measures have been taken by the Party and Government to develop the light and food industries, and to increase the output of consumer goods, which is already having a favourable effect and will in the future still further contribute to raising the living standard of the Soviet people.

As a result of providing building sites with new equipment and making wide use of prefabricated concrete building elements, capital construction has expanded to unprecedented proportions. During 1956-61, 156,000 million rubles were invested in the national economy, an amount exceeding the volume of capital investment during all the years of Soviet power previous to the Twentieth Party Congress. About six thousand new state enterprises have been brought into operation, including the largest hydro-power stations in the world, metallurgical, chemical and engineering factories and, textile mills; wide use is being made of such an economical and effective way of increasing industrial capacity as the reconstruction and enlargement of existing enterprises.

The course outlined by the Party for accelerating the development of the productive forces of the *Eastern areas of the country* is being consistently put into effect. Big power stations are being built on the basis of abundant hydro-power resources and cheap coal, very rich deposits of iron ores and natural gas are being exploited, a third metallurgical base is being successfully created, the non-ferrous metallurgical, chemical, engineering and building industries are developing, new towns and industrial centres are springing up.

The Congress fully approves the *reconstruction of*

management in industry and building carried out by the Central Committee and the Soviet Government. This revolutionary, vitally necessary measure broke down the departmental barriers which had become a brake on the further development of the productive forces of the country, increased the part played by the Union republics and local Party, government and economic bodies in economic and cultural development, and stimulated the creative initiative of the masses. Following the reconstruction of management in industry and building, all branches of the national economy are working better and more efficiently, utilising more fully the existing productive potentials.

The task of overtaking and surpassing the most highly developed capitalist countries in per capita output is being successfully accomplished. The Soviet Union has already outstripped the most developed capitalist country—the U.S.A.—not only in rates of growth of production but in the absolute annual increase of production. At the present time the extraction of iron ore and coal is greater in the U.S.S.R. than in the U.S.A., as is the output of coke, pre-fabricated concrete building elements, electric and fuel locomotives, sawn timber, woollen fabrics, butter, sugar, fish and a number of other manufactured goods and food-stuffs.

The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will bring the Soviet national economy to a stage at which only a little time will be needed for it to surpass the U.S.A. in per capita production as well. This will be a historic victory of socialism over capitalism.

The Congress notes the great work carried out by the Central Committee to advance *agriculture*. Owing to the effects of the war, and also owing to past mistakes and shortcomings in management, the situation in agriculture

was a grave one. The low level of output of agricultural products could have retarded the development of the Soviet economy and seriously affected the well-being of the people.

The Central Committee laid bare the causes of the lag of agriculture and drew up and put into effect urgent measures for the further development of agricultural production. With the active participation of the whole people, the Party strengthened the material and technical basis of the collective and state farms, reorganised the machine and tractor stations, increased the role of the state farms in communist construction, introduced a new system of planning agricultural production, restored the Leninist principle of the material incentive of the collective and state farm workers in increasing the output of agricultural produce, strengthened the collective and state farms with leading personnel and specialists, reorganised the work of the agricultural bodies, and increased the part played by science in agriculture.

The cultivation of virgin and fallow lands, which now provide over 40 per cent of the country's grain deliveries, has played an outstanding part in increasing the production of grain and developing agriculture as a whole. *The cultivation of virgin lands is a great labour feat on the part of the Soviet people and will live through the ages!*

The measures adopted by the Party for the progress of agriculture have already yielded tangible results, and in the future these results will be still more considerable. In the five years gross agricultural output increased by 43 per cent compared with the preceding five-year period. Whereas previously the state bought only about 2,000 million poods of grain annually, in recent years it has been buying 3,000 million poods or more. There has

been a considerable increase in state purchases of other agricultural produce. Radical changes have been achieved in the development of livestock breeding, which for many long years was in a neglected state. In the past five years the number of cattle in collective and state farms has increased by 68 per cent, and of pigs by 150 per cent; there has been a considerable increase in the state purchases of livestock produce.

Noting the great importance of the decisions of the January Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (1961), which condemned complacency and self-satisfaction, the diminished attention to agriculture in a number of regions and republics, as a result of which the rate of increase in the production of grain, meat and milk in 1959-60 fell, failing to reach the targets set by the Seven-Year Plan, the Congress fully approves the concrete measures devised by the Central Committee for a further increase in the output of agricultural produce. As the preliminary figures for the current year show, these measures yielded positive results. The collective and state farms have increased their grain output. This year the state will buy considerably more grain than last year. There has also been an increase in the production of cotton, sugar beet, sunflower and other crops. The number of cattle has increased, as well as the production and purchases of livestock products. Nevertheless, the rate of increase in the production of meat and milk is still far below the required level.

The collective and state farms should now, on the basis of their accumulated experience, take another big step forward and successfully fulfil the targets of the Seven-Year Plan. In solving the urgent problems of agriculture, particular importance attaches to the work of collective and state farms in revising the crop pattern and

replacing low-yielding crops by more productive ones, primarily maize and legumes. It is essential to continue making the most persistent use of the potentialities available in agriculture in order successfully to solve one of the most important tasks of communist construction—the creation of an abundance of agricultural produce for the people.

The Party organisations and working people of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan have drawn up plans for securing a steep increase in grain production.

— The Russian Federation has set itself the task of bringing the production of grain up to 12,000 million poods and state purchases up to 4,000-5,000 million poods.

— The Ukrainian S.S.R. has undertaken to bring production up to 3,800 million poods and state purchases up to 1,500 million poods.

— The Kazakh S.S.R. has undertaken to bring production up to 3,500 million poods and state purchases up to more than 2,000 million poods.

The Congress approved the initiative of the Party and government organisations and of all workers in agriculture of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan and wishes them success in attaining their planned levels:

The material well-being of the working people is steadily improving. On the basis of the growth of the national income of the U.S.S.R., the real incomes of workers and other employees (calculated per worker) have increased by 27 per cent in the five years, and the incomes of collective farmers by 33 per cent. The retail turnover of state-operated and co-operative trade has increased more than 50 per cent. All workers and other

employees now have a seven- or six-hour working day. The adjustment of wage rates is being completed, wages have been increased, especially for the low-paid brackets of workers and other employees, and excessively high payment for the work of certain categories has been eliminated. Improved provision has been made for pensioners; the average old-age pension has been more than doubled. In 1960 the payment of taxes by the population began to be abolished. Public funds are playing an ever increasing role in the improvement of the well-being of the people. From these funds the population in 1960 received 24,500 million rubles in benefits and privileges, compared with 4,200 million in 1940, and by the end of the Seven-Year Plan the amount will increase to 40,000 million rubles. The programme of state housing construction for the years 1956-60 has been successfully carried out; more residential buildings were built in these five years than in the preceding 15 years, about 50 million people being allotted new homes.

The period between the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses is characterised by the outstanding achievements of *Soviet science and culture*. A new brilliant era in the development of the scientific knowledge of mankind was opened up by the victories of the Soviet Union in the conquest of space, the unexampled flights of Yuri Gagarin and Herman Titov, the first cosmonauts in history. Soviet scientists achieved considerable successes in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, in cybernetics and the development of high-speed computers, in polymer chemistry, in the advancement of automation and telemechanics, radio engineering and electronics, in the sphere of the social sciences and other branches of science and technology.

The Congress regards as correct the measures

adopted for *reorganising public education and strengthening the link between the school and life*, for organising boarding schools, day-care schools and groups, for developing the system of correspondence courses and evening schools, for preparing highly skilled specialists for all branches of economy and culture.

Recent years have seen the creation of a number of important works of *literature and art*, truthfully reflecting the realities of our life and depicting features of the character of the new man—the builder of communism.

On the basis of the development of the productive forces and of the increase of the material and spiritual wealth of Soviet society, a steady improvement of *socialist social relations* is taking place. The Congress approves the course towards strengthening and bringing closer together the national and kolkhoz-cooperative forms of socialist ownership, towards consistent realisation of the principle of material incentive, the development of socialist democracy, towards drawing closer together the cultures of the Soviet socialist nations and their all-round mutual enrichment, the consolidation of the moral and political unity of Our society, towards the active development of communist principles in the labour, everyday life and consciousness of Soviet people.

The great successes achieved by our people under the leadership of the Party are a source of rejoicing for Soviet people and inspire confidence that in the future our country will advance still more successfully and rapidly along the road to communism. The Party, faithful to Leninism, will never tolerate conceit and complacency; it sees not only the successes but also the shortcomings in the work of the Party, government and economic bodies, and concentrates its efforts on achieving tasks as yet unaccomplished. All efforts must be directed towards

securing a still more rapid growth of the economy, towards raising the well-being of the people and strengthening the might of the Soviet state. The more active the Support given to all that is new and progressive, the more widely it is introduced into production, the more sharply shortcomings are revealed and the more rapidly they are removed, the more successfully will the tasks confronting us be fulfilled. The cause of building communism is the cause of millions, the cause of the whole people.

The Congress instructs the Central Committee to continue to direct the efforts of the Party and the people towards an acceleration of the rate of communist construction, towards a still fuller utilisation of the vast untapped potentialities available in all the branches of the socialist national economy.

The attention of the Party and the people must be concentrated above all on effecting the following major tasks:

—to ensure the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the targets of the Seven-Year Plan, which will be of decisive significance for creating the material and technical basis of communism, for our victory in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The development of heavy industry must be continued at an accelerated pace, in the first place the power engineering, metallurgical, chemical, mechanical engineering, fuel and building industries. The Congress makes it binding on all Party organisations to mobilise the working people for the struggle to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan targets that have been amended in an upward direction. An all-round expansion of the output of consumer goods must be regarded as essential. Funds that will accumulate as a result of the overfulfilment of planned targets by industry are to be directed mainly into

agriculture and the light and food industries;

—*on the basis of further technical progress to work for the utmost increase of labour productivity in industry, building, agriculture and transport.* Raising labour productivity is a key question of the policy and practice of communist construction, an essential condition for the improvement of the well-being of the people and the creation of an abundance of material and cultural wealth for the working people;

—*persistently to improve organisational work in the management of the national economy,* to do things in such a way as to obtain the greatest increase of production with the least expenditure. For this purpose it is necessary to select the most progressive, economically advantageous directions in the development of branches of industry; to improve specialisation and co-operation; to carry out the comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production processes; to introduce more rapidly into industry the latest achievements of science and technology, progressive techniques and advanced experience; to make better use of the latent potentialities of economic areas, enterprises and building projects; to strengthen state discipline at all levels of the economic apparatus, to wage a relentless struggle against mismanagement, waste, inertia and conservatism. Lowering production costs and improving the quality of output, thrift and economy in everything, increased profitability and the growth of socialist accumulation, must be a law of the operation of every Soviet enterprise;

—*decisively to improve the planning and organisation of capital construction,* to secure a marked increase in the efficacy of capital investments, to put an end to the anti-state, parochial practice of scattering monetary funds and material, technical and labour resources. Special

attention must continue to be devoted to the development of the productive forces of the Eastern areas, and the development and all-round utilisation of their natural wealth;

—concretely and competently to guide *agriculture*, persistently to put into effect scientific achievements and advanced experience, to make better use of land, to introduce a more efficient crop pattern, to make wide use of maize, peas, fodder legumes and other high-yielding crops, to increase sharply the stocks of fertilisers and to improve their utilisation, to raise the quality of agricultural work and On this basis achieve a considerable increase in the per-hectare yields, and in the total harvests of grain and other agricultural crops, a systematic expansion of the number of cattle and of the output of livestock products. The Congress regards as an urgent task the extension of mechanisation and electrification of agriculture, full satisfaction of the requirements of the collective and state farms in up-to-date technical equipment, increased output of mineral and organic fertilisers as well as of weed-killers and other chemical means of controlling weeds, plant diseases and agricultural pests. It is necessary to ensure increased labour productivity and lower production costs on the basis of comprehensive mechanisation. To produce the maximum output with the minimum expenditure of labour is the most important principle of communist development in the countryside. In the next few years annual state purchases of grain must be raised to 4,200 million poods, of meat to 13 million tons, of milk to 50 million tons, and the output of sugar beet, cotton, flax, potatoes and other vegetables, fruit, tea and other agricultural produce must be increased considerably. *The development of agriculture is the concern of the whole*

Party, the whole Soviet people;

—on the basis of the further growth of industrial and agricultural output to ensure a steady rise in the *standard of living of the people*. The Congress considers it necessary to take further measures for a reduction of the working day and working week, as well as for abolishing taxes on the population; to complete the adjustment of the wage scale for all categories of workers; to carry out housing construction at a still higher rate, improving its quality and reducing its cost, to accelerate the construction of community service institutions, creches and kindergartens, to improve the provision of pensions and the organisation of retail trade, public catering and medical and community services for the population; continuously to improve public education at all levels;

—to carry out purposeful scientific research, to open wider the way to science for young talent. The most important task the Congress sets Soviet scientists is to achieve such a level of development of Soviet science as will enable it to win leading positions in all the basic fields of world science and technology;

—*to develop the literature and art of socialist realism*, to raise their ideological and artistic level, to strengthen their link with the practical work of Communist construction, with the life of the people;

—*to maintain at the requisite level and to strengthen* in every way the defence potential at our Motherland—*the bulwark of world peace*, to improve the armament of the Soviet Armed Forces, to raise the level of the military and ideological and political training of their personnel, to heighten the vigilance of our people, reliably to safeguard the creative labour and peaceful life of Soviet people—the builders of communism;

—*to develop and advance socialist social relations:* to

strengthen national and kolkhoz-cooperative forms of socialist ownership; correctly to combine material and moral incentives to labour; to extend the participation of the masses of the people in the administration of all the affairs of the country; to strengthen the friendship of the peoples; to support in every way the endeavour of Soviet people to work and live in a communist way.

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the development of socialist social relations, the moulding of the man at communist society—such are the major tasks confronting the Party in the sphere of internal policy during the period of the full-scale construction of communism.

(p. 413-430)

**ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION,
RESOLUTION OF THE 22nd CONGRESS
OF THE C.P.S.U., (*Adopted Unanimously
on October 31, 1961*)**

(p. 460)

The Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, having heard Comrade N. S. Khrushchov's Report on the Programme of the C.P.S.U. and having examined the draft of the Programme submitted by the Central Committee, has resolved:

To adopt the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

(p. 462)

PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The new phenomena in imperialist development corroborate the accuracy of Lenin's conclusions on the principal objective laws of capitalism in its final stage and on its increasing decay. Yet this decay does not signify complete stagnation, a palsy of its productive forces, and does not rule out growth of capitalist economy at particular times and in particular countries.

(p. 472)

Abolition of the capitalist system in a large group of countries, the developing and strengthening of the world socialist system, the disintegration of the colonial system and the collapse of old empires, the commencing reorganisation of the colonial economic structure in the newly-free countries and the expanding economic connections between the latter and the socialist world—all these factors intensify *the crisis at the world capitalist economy*.

(p. 473-4)

The main economic task of the Party and the Soviet people is to create *the material and technical basis of communism* within two decades. This means complete electrification of the country and perfection on this basis of the techniques, technologies, and organisation of social production in all the fields of the national economy; comprehensive mechanisation of production operations and a growing degree of their automation; widespread use of chemistry in the national economy; vigorous development of new, economically effective branches of production, new types of power and new materials; all-

round and rational utilisation of natural, material and labour resources; organic fusion of science and production, and rapid scientific and technical progress; a high cultural and technical level for the working people; and substantial superiority over the more developed capitalist countries in productivity of labour, which constitutes the most important prerequisite for the victory of the communist system.

As a result, the U.S.S.R. will possess productive forces of unparalleled might; it will surpass the technical level of the most developed countries and occupy first place in the world in per capita production. This will serve as a basis for the gradual transformation of socialist social relations into communist relations and for a development of production that will make it possible to meet in abundance the requirements of society and all its members.

In contrast to capitalism, the planned socialist system of economy combines accelerated technical progress with the full employment of all able-bodied citizens. Automation and comprehensive mechanisation serve as a material basis for the gradual development of socialist labour into communist labour. Technical progress will require higher standards of production and a higher level of the vocational and general education of all working people. The new machinery will be used to improve radically the Soviet people's working conditions, and make them much easier, to reduce the length of the working day, to improve living conditions, eliminate hard physical work and, subsequently, all unskilled labour.

The material and technical basis will develop and improve continuously together with the evolution of society towards the complete triumph of communism. The level of development of science and technology, and

the degree of mechanisation and automation of production operations, will steadily rise.

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism will call for huge investments. The task is to utilise these investments most rationally and economically, with the maximum effect and gain of time.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY, BUILDING, TRANSPORT, AND THEIR ROLE IN CREATING THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES OF COMMUNISM

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the task of making Soviet industry technologically the best and strongest in the world call for the further development of heavy industry. On this basis, all the other branches of the national economy—agriculture, the consumer goods industries, the building industry, transport and communications, as well as the branches directly concerned with services for the population—trade, public catering, health, housing, and communal services—will be technically re-equipped.

A first-class heavy industry, the basis for the country's technical progress and economic might has been built up in the Soviet Union. The C.P.S.U. will continue to devote unflagging attention to the growth of heavy industry and its technical progress. The main task of heavy industry is to meet all the needs of the country's defence and to ensure the development of industries producing consumer goods, so as to satisfy better and in full the requirements of the people, the vital demands of Soviet man, and to effect the development of the country's productive forces. With these aims in view, the C.P.S.U. plans the following increases in *total industrial output*:

within the current 10 years, approximately 150 per

cent, thus exceeding the level of U.S. industrial output;

within 20 years, not less than 500 per cent, thus leaving the present overall volume of U.S. industrial output far behind.

To achieve this, it is necessary to raise *productivity of labour* in industry by more than 100 per cent within 10 years, and by 300-350 per cent within 20 years. In 20 years' time labour productivity in Soviet industry will exceed the present level of labour productivity in the U.S.A. by roughly 100 per cent, and considerably more in terms of per-hour output, due to the reduction of the working day in the U.S.S.R.

Such an intensive development of industry will call for major progressive changes in its structure. The role of new branches ensuring the greatest technical progress will grow very considerably. The less effective fuels, types of power, raw and semi-manufactured materials will be increasingly superseded by highly effective ones, and their comprehensive use will increase greatly. The share of synthetic materials, metals and alloys with new properties will increase considerably. New types of automatic and electronic machinery, instruments and apparatus will be rapidly introduced on a large scale.

Electrification, which is the pivot of the economic construction of communist society, plays a key role in the development of all economic branches and in the effecting of all modern technological progress. It is therefore important to ensure the priority development of *electric power* output. The plan for the electrification of the country provides for an almost threefold increase in the power capacity per industrial worker within the present decade; a considerable expansion of industries with a high rate of power consumption through the supply of cheap power; and extensive electrification of transport,

agriculture and the household in town and countryside. The electrification of the country will in the main be completed in the course of the second decade.

The annual output of electricity must be brought up to about 900,000-1,000,000 million kwh by the end of the first decade, and to 2,700,000-3,000,000 million kwh by the end of the second decade. For this it will be necessary in the course of 20 years to increase accordingly the installed capacities of electric power plants and to build hundreds of thousands of kilometres of high-tension transmission and distribution lines throughout the country. A single power grid for the whole U.S.S.R. will be built and will have sufficient capacity reserves to transmit electric power from the eastern regions to the European part of the country; it will link up with the power grids of other socialist countries.

As atomic energy becomes cheaper, the construction of atomic power stations will be expanded, especially in areas poor in other power sources, and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in the national economy, in medicine and science will increase.

The further rapid expansion of the output of *metals and fuels*, the basis of modern industry, remains one of the major economic tasks. Within 20 years metallurgy will develop sufficiently to produce about 250 million tons of steel a year. Steel output must cover fully the growing requirements of the national economy in accordance with the technological progress achieved in that period. The output of light, non-ferrous and rare metals will grow very appreciably; the output of aluminium and its use in electrification, engineering, building, and the household will considerably increase. A steady effort will be made to ensure priority development of oil and gas production as these items will be used increasingly as raw materials for

the chemical industry. Coal, gas, and oil extraction must meet the requirements of the national economy in full. The most progressive and economic methods of extracting mineral fuels are to be applied extensively.

One of the most important tasks is the all-round development of the *chemical industry*, and the full use in all economic fields of the achievements of modern chemistry. This provides greater opportunities to increase the national wealth and the output of new, better and cheaper capital and consumer goods. Metal, wood, and other materials will be increasingly replaced by economical, durable, light synthetic materials. The output of mineral fertilisers and chemical weed and pest killers will rise sharply.

Of primary importance for the technical re-equipment of the entire national economy is the development of *mechanical engineering*, with special stress laid on the accelerated production of automated production lines and machines, automatic, telemechanic and electronic devices and precision instruments. The designing of highly efficient machines consuming less raw materials and power and leading to higher productivity of labour will make rapid progress. The requirements of the national economy in all types of modern machines, machine tools and apparatus, as well as spare parts and instruments, will be met in full.

The development of mechanical engineering in the first decade will serve as the basis for *comprehensive mechanisation* in industry, agriculture, building, transport, and in the municipal economy. Comprehensive mechanisation will exclude manual loading and unloading jobs and strenuous labour in both the basic and auxiliary operations.

In the 20 years comprehensive *automation* will be

effected on a mass scale, with increasing emphasis on fully automated shops and factories, making for high technical and economic efficiency. Introduction of the very latest systems of automated control will be speeded up. Cybernetics, electronic computer and control systems will be widely applied in production processes in industry, building and transport, in scientific research, planning, designing, accounting, statistics, and management.

The vast scope of capital construction calls for the rapid development and technological modernisation of the building and building materials industry up to a level meeting the requirements of the national economy, for a maximum reduction of building schedules and costs, and an improvement of the quality of building through its continuous industrialisation; it is essential to go over completely at the earliest possible time to erecting wholly prefabricated buildings and structures of standard design made of large prefabricated elements.

The C.P.S.U. will concentrate its efforts on ensuring a rapid increase in the output of *consumer goods*. The growing resources of industry must be used more and more to fully meet all the requirements of Soviet people and to build and equip enterprises and establishments catering to the household and cultural needs of the population. Along with the accelerated development of all branches of the light and food industries, the share of consumer goods in the output of heavy industry will also increase. More electricity and gas will be supplied to the population.

The growth of the national economy will call for the accelerated development of *all transport facilities*. The most important tasks in the sphere of transport are: expansion of transport and road construction to meet in full the requirements of the national economy and the

population in all modes of transport; further modernisation of the railways and other transport systems; a considerable increase of the speed of rail, sea and river traffic; the co-ordinated development of all types of transport as components of a single transport network. The share of pipe transport will increase.

A single deep-water system will link the main inland waterways of the European part of the U.S.S.R.

A ramified network of modern roads will be built throughout the country. The automobile fleet will increase sufficiently to fully meet freight and passenger requirements; car hire centres will be organised on a large scale. Air transport will become a means of mass passenger traffic extending to all parts of the country.

Up-to-date *jet* engineering will develop rapidly, above all in air transport, as well as in space exploration.

All means of *communication* (post, radio and television, telephone and telegraph) will be developed still more. All regions of the country will have reliable communications and a link-up system of television stations.

Full-scale communist construction calls for a more rational *geographic distribution* of the industries in order to save social labour and ensure the comprehensive development of areas and the specialisation of their industries, do away with the overpopulation of big cities, facilitate the elimination of essential distinctions between town and countryside, and further even out the economic levels of different parts of the country.

To gain time, priority will be given to developing easily exploited natural resources that provide the greatest economic effect.

The industry in the areas to the *east of the Urals*, where there are immense natural riches, raw material

and power resources, will expand greatly.

The following must be achieved within the next 20 years: in Siberia and Kazakhstan—the creation of new power bases using deposits of cheap coal or the water-power resources of the Angara and Yenisei rivers; the organisation of big centres of power-consuming industries, the development of new rich ore, oil, and coal deposits; and the construction of a number of new large machine-building centres; in areas along the Volga, in the Urals, North Caucasus, and Central Asia—the rapid development of the power, oil, gas, and chemical industries and the development of ore deposits. Alongside the development of the existing old metallurgical centres in the Urals and the Ukraine the completion is envisaged of the country's third metallurgical base in Siberia, and the building of two new ones: in the central European part of the U.S.S.R., utilising the iron ore of the Kursk iron fields, and in Kazakhstan. Soviet people will be able to carry out daring plans to change the courses of some northern rivers and regulate their discharge for the purpose of utilising vast water resources for the irrigation and watering of arid areas.

The economy in the European part of the U.S.S.R. which contains the bulk of the population and where there are great opportunities for increased industrial output, will make further substantial progress.

The maximum acceleration of scientific and engineering progress is a major national task which calls for daily effort to reduce the time spent on designing new machinery and introducing it in industry. It is necessary to promote in every way the initiative of economic councils, enterprises, social organisations, scientists, engineers, designers, workers and collective farmers in creating and

applying new technical improvements. Of utmost importance is the material and moral stimulation of mass invention and rationalisation movements, of enterprises, shops, state and collective farms, teams, and innovators who master the production of new machinery and, utilise it skilfully.

The Party will do everything to *enhance the role of science* in the building of communist society; it will encourage research to discover new possibilities for the development of the productive forces, and the rapid and extensive application of the latest scientific and technical achievements; a decisive advancement in experimental work, including research directly at enterprises, and the efficient organisation of scientific and technical information and of the whole system of studying and disseminating progressive Soviet and foreign methods. Science will itself in full measure become a direct productive force.

The constant *improvement in the technology* of all industries and production branches is a requisite for their development. Technological progress will make man's labour easier, facilitate substantial intensification and acceleration of production and give it the highest degree of precision, will facilitate the standardisation of mass production items and maximum use of production lines. Machining will be supplemented and, when necessary, replaced by chemical methods, the technological use of electricity, electrochemistry, etc.; radio-electronics, semiconductors and ultrasound will occupy a more and more important place in production techniques. The construction of new, technically up-to-date enterprises will proceed side by side with the reconstruction of those now in existence and the replacement and modernisation of their equipment.

The development of the *specialisation and co-operation, and appropriate combination of related enterprises* is a most important condition for technical progress and the rational organisation of social labour. Articles of similar type should be manufactured mainly at large specialised plants, with provision for their most rational geographic distribution.

New techniques and the reduction of the working day call for *a higher level in the organisation of work*. Technical progress and better organisation must be fully utilised to increase labour productivity and reduce production costs at every enterprise. This implies a higher rate of increase in labour productivity as compared with the rate of growth of wages, better rate-fixing, prevention of loss of working time, and operation on a profitable basis in all sectors of production.

Most important will be systematic improvement of the qualifications of those working in industry and other branches of the economy in connection with technical progress. The planned training, instruction and rational employment of those released from various jobs and transferred to other jobs due to mechanisation and automation are essential.

Existing enterprises will be improved and developed into enterprises of communist society. Typical of this process will be new machinery, high standards of production organisation and efficiency through increased automation of production operations and the introduction of automation into control; an improvement of the cultural and technical standards of the workers, the increasing fusion of physical and mental labour and the growing proportion of engineers and technicians in every industrial enterprise; the expansion of research, and closer links between enterprises and research institutes;

promotion of the emulation movement, the application of the achievements of science and the best forms of labour organisation and best methods of raising labour productivity, the extensive participation of workers' collectives in the management of enterprises, and the spreading of communist forms of labour.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Along with a powerful industry, a flourishing, versatile and highly productive agriculture is an imperative condition for the building of communism. The Party organises a great development of productive forces in agriculture, which will make it possible to accomplish two basic, closely related tasks: (a) to build up an abundance of high-quality food products for the population and of raw materials for industry, and (b) to effect the gradual transition of social relations in the Soviet countryside to communist relations and eliminate, in the main, the distinctions between town and country.

The chief means of achieving progress in agriculture and satisfying the growing needs of the country in farm produce are comprehensive mechanisation and consistent *intensification*: high efficiency of crop farming and stock-breeding based on science and progressive experience in all kolkhozes and state farms, a steep rise in the yielding capacity of all crops and greater output per hectare with the minimum outlay of labour and funds. On this basis, it is necessary to achieve an unintermittent growth of agricultural production in keeping with the needs of society. Agriculture will approach the level of industry in technical equipment and the organisation of production; farm labour will turn into a variety of industrial

labour, and the dependence of agriculture upon the elements will decrease considerably, and ultimately drop to a minimum.

The development of virgin and disused land and establishment of new large-scale state farms, the reorganisation of the machine and tractor stations, the sale of implements of production to the collective farms, introduction of new planning procedures, and the enhancement of material incentives for agricultural workers—all constituted an important stage in the development of agriculture. The Party will continue to devote considerable attention to the development of agriculture in the virgin and disused land development areas.

The further advance of the countryside to communism will proceed through the development and improvement of the two forms of socialist farming—the *kolkhozes* and state farms.

The *kolkhoz system* is an integral part of Soviet socialist society. It is a way charted by V. I. Lenin for the gradual transition of the peasantry to communism; it has stood the test of history and conforms to the distinctive features of the peasantry.

Kolkhoz farming accords in full with the level and needs of the development of modern productive forces in the countryside, and makes possible effective use of new machinery and the achievements of science, and rational employment of manpower. The kolkhoz blends the personal interests of the peasants with common, nationwide interests, individual with collective interest in the results of production, and offers extensive opportunities for raising the incomes and the well-being of peasants on the basis of growing labour productivity. It is essential to make the most of the possibilities and advantages of the

kolkhoz system. By virtue of the social form of its economy—its organisational structure and its democratic groundwork—which will develop more and more, the kolkhoz ensures that production is run by the kolkhoz members themselves, that their creative initiative is enhanced and that the collective farmers are educated in the communist spirit. The kolkhoz is a school of communism for the peasantry.

Economic advancement of the kolkhoz system creates conditions for the gradual *rapprochement* and, in the long run; also for the merging of kolkhoz property and the property of the whole people into one communist property.

The *state farms*, which are the leading socialist agricultural enterprises, play an ever increasing role in the development of agriculture. The state farms must serve the kolkhozes as a model of progressive, scientifically managed, economically profitable social production, of high efficiency and labour productivity.

The C.P.S.U. proceeds from the fact that the further consolidation of the *unbreakable alliance of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry* is of crucial political and socio-economic importance for the building of communism in the U.S.S.R.

A. Building up an abundance of agricultural produce.

In order fully to satisfy the requirements of the entire population and of the national economy in agricultural produce, the task is to increase *the aggregate volume of agricultural production* in 10 years by about 150 per cent, and in 20 years by 250 per cent. Agricultural output must keep ahead of the growing demand. In the first decade the Soviet Union will outstrip the United States in output of the key agricultural products per head of population.

Accelerated growth of grain production is the chief link in the further development of all agriculture and a basis for the rapid growth of stock-breeding. The aggregate grain crops will more than double in twenty years, and their yielding capacity will double. The output of wheat, maize, cereal and leguminous crops will increase substantially.

Livestock breeding will develop at a rapid rate. The output of animal products will rise: meat about threefold in the first ten years and nearly fourfold in twenty years, and milk more than double in the first decade and nearly threefold in twenty years. The planned increase in the output of animal products will be achieved by increasing the cattle and poultry population, improving stock and productivity, and building up reliable fodder resources, chiefly maize, sugar-beet, fodder beans, and other crops.

Productivity of labour in agriculture will rise not less than 150 per cent in ten years, and five- to sixfold in twenty years. The rapid rise of the productivity of farm labour—at a higher rate than in industry—will serve to eliminate the lag of agriculture behind industry and will turn it into a highly developed branch of the economy of communist society.

The further mechanisation of agriculture, introduction of *comprehensive mechanisation* and use of automatic devices and highly efficient and economical machinery adapted to the conditions of each zone will be the basis for the growth of productivity of farm labour.

The Party considers rapid electrification of agriculture one of the most important task. All state farms and kolkhozes will be supplied electric power for production and domestic purposes, from the state power grid and from power stations to be built in the countryside.

The technical re-equipment of agriculture must

combine with the most progressive forms and methods of the organisation of labour and production and the maximum improvement of the cultural and technical education of farm workers. There will be increasingly more qualified workers with special agricultural training and proficient in the use of new machinery in the kolkhozes and state farms. Good care and maintenance of agricultural machinery and its highly efficient use are extremely important.

To ensure high, stable, steadily increasing harvests, to deliver agriculture from the baneful effects of the elements, especially droughts, to steeply raise land fertility, and to rapidly advance livestock breeding, it is necessary:

to effect a scientifically expedient distribution of agriculture by natural-economic zones and districts, and a more thorough and stable *specialisation* of agriculture with priority given to the type of farm product where the best conditions for it exist and the greatest saving in outlay is achieved;

to introduce on all collective and state farms a *scientifically motivated system of land cultivation and animal husbandry* consistent with local conditions and with the specialisation of each farm, ensuring the most effective use of the land and the most economically expedient combination of branches, the best structure of crop acreage with the substitution of high-yielding and valuable crops for crops of little value and those giving low yields; to ensure that every kolkhoz and state farm master the most advanced methods of crop farming with the application of efficient crop rotation and sow high-grade seed only; to build up reliable fodder resources in all districts and to introduce the foremost stock-breeding techniques in kolkhozes and state farms;

to effect a rational *introduction of chemicals* in all branches of agriculture, to meet all its needs in mineral fertilisers and chemical and biological means of combating weeds, blights, diseases and plant and animal pests, and to ensure the best use of local fertilisers in all collective and state farms;

to apply broadly biological achievements, and especially microbiology, which is assuming ever greater importance for the improvement of soil fertility;

to carry through a far-flung *irrigation programme*: to irrigate and water millions of hectares of new land in the arid areas and improve existing irrigated farming; to expand field-protective afforestation, building of water reservoirs, watering of pastures and melioration of over-moist land; and to combat systematically the water and wind erosion of soil. Considerable attention will be devoted to the conservation and rational use of forests, water reservoirs, and other natural resources, and to their re-stocking and development.

The Party will promote the development of *agricultural* science, focus the creative efforts of scientists on the key problems of agricultural progress, and work for the practical application and extensive introduction of the achievements of science and progressive production experience in crop farming and stock-breeding. Research institutions and experimental stations are to become important links in agricultural management, and scientists and specialists must become the direct organisers of farm production. Each region or group of regions of the same zonal type should have agricultural research centres, with their own large-scale farms and up-to-date material and technical resources, to work out recommendations for collective and state farms applicable to the given district.

Agricultural research and educational establishments and institutions must be chiefly located in rural areas and be directly associated with farm production, so that students may learn while working and work while learning.

B. Kolkhozes and state farms on the road to communism; remoulding social relations in the countryside.

The economic basis for the development of kolkhozes and state farms lies in the continuous growth and best use of their productive forces, improvement of the organisation of production and methods of management, steady rise of labour productivity and strict observance of the principle: higher payment for good work, for better results. On this basis the kolkhozes and state farms will become to an increasing degree enterprises of the communist type in production relations, character of labour, and the living and cultural standards of their personnel.

The policy of the Party in relation to the *kolkhozes* is based on blending country-wide interests with the material interest of the kolkhozes and their members in the results of their labour. The state will promote the growth of the productive forces of the kolkhoz system and the economic advancement of all kolkhozes; concurrently, the kolkhoz peasantry must contribute more widely to the building of communist society.

The state will ensure the full satisfaction of the needs of the kolkhozes in modern machinery, spare parts, chemicals, and other means of production, will train new hundreds of thousands of skilled farm workers, and will considerably increase capital investments in the countryside, in addition to the greater investments which the collective farms will themselves make. The amount of manufactured goods made available to the countryside

will increase greatly.

Strict observance of their contracted commitments to the state by the kolkhozes and their members is an inviolable principle of their participation in the development of the national economy.

The system of state purchasing must aim at increasing the amount and improving the quality of the agricultural products bought, on the basis of an all-round advancement of kolkhoz farming. It is essential to co-ordinate the planning of state purchases and the production plans of the kolkhozes, with utmost consideration for the interests of agricultural production, its proper distribution and specialisation.

The policy in the sphere of state purchasing prices of agricultural produce and state selling prices of means of production for the countryside must take account of the interests of extended reproduction in both industry and agriculture and of the need to accumulate funds in the kolkhozes. It is essential that the level of state purchasing prices encourage the kolkhozes to raise labour productivity and reduce production expenses, since greater farm output and lower production costs are the basis of greater incomes for the kolkhozes.

The proper ratio of *accumulation and consumption* in the distribution of incomes is a prerequisite of successful kolkhoz development. The kolkhozes cannot develop without continuously extending their commonly-owned assets for production, insurance, cultural and community needs. At the same time, it must be a standing rule for every kolkhoz to raise its members income from collective farming and to enhance their living standard as labour productivity rises.

Great importance attaches to improved methods of rate setting and labour remuneration at kolkhozes,

supplementary remuneration of labour, and other incentives to obtain better production results. Increasingly equal economic conditions must be provided to improve the incomes of kolkhozes existing under unequal natural-economic conditions in different zones, and also within the zones, in order to put into effect more consistently the principle of equal pay for equal work on a scale embracing the entire kolkhoz system. Farming on all collective farms must be based on the principle of profitability.

In its organisational work and economic policy, the Party will strive to overcome the lag of the economically weak kolkhozes and to turn all kolkhozes into economically strong, high-income farms in the course of the next few years. The Party sets the task of continuously improving and educating kolkhoz personnel, of ensuring the further extension of kolkhoz democracy and promoting the principle of collectivism in management

As the kolkhozes develop, their basic production facilities will expand, and modern technical means will become dominant.

The economic advancement of the kolkhozes will make it possible to perfect *kolkhoz internal relations*: to raise the degree to which production is socialised; to bring the rate setting, organisation and payment of labour closer to the level and the forms employed at state enterprises and effect a transition to a guaranteed monthly income; to develop community services more broadly (public catering, kindergartens and nurseries, and other services).

At a certain point the collective production at kolkhozes will achieve a level at which it will fully satisfy members' requirements. On this basis, supplementary

individual farming will gradually become economically unnecessary. When collective production at the kolkhozes is able to replace in full production on the supplementary individual plots of the kolkhoz members, when the collective farmers see for themselves that their supplementary individual farming is unprofitable, they will give it up of their own accord.

As the productive forces increase; inter-kolkhoz production ties will develop and the socialisation of production will transcend the limits of individual kolkhozes. The building, jointly by several kolkhozes, of enterprises and cultural and welfare institutions, state-kolkhoz power stations and enterprises for the primary processing, storage, and transportation of farm products, for various types of building, the manufacture of building materials and elements, etc. should be encouraged. As the commonly-owned assets increase, the kolkhozes will participate more and, more in establishing enterprises and cultural and welfare institutions for general public use, boarding-schools, clubs; hospitals and, holiday homes. All these developments, which must proceed on a voluntary basis. and when the necessary economic conditions are available, will gradually impart to kolkhoz-co-operative property the nature of public property.

The *state farms* have a long way to travel in their development—increase production and improve its quality continuously, to concentrate on attaining high rates of growth of labour productivity, to steadily reduce production costs and raise farm profitability. This calls for the economically expedient specialisation of state farms. Their role in supplying food to the urban population will grow. They must become mechanised and well-organised first-class factories of grain, cotton, meat, milk, wool, vegetables, fruit, and other products, and must

develop seed farming and pure-strain animal husbandry to the utmost.

The material and technical basis of the state farms will be extended and improve, and the living and cultural conditions at the state farms will approach those in towns. State-farm management should follow a more and more democratic pattern which will allot a greater role to the personnel, to general meetings and production conferences, in deciding production, cultural and other community issues.

As the kolkhozes and state farms develop, their production ties with each other and with local industrial enterprises will grow stronger. The practice of jointly organising various enterprises will expand. This will ensure a fuller and more balanced use of manpower and production resources throughout the year, raise the productivity of social labour and enhance the living and cultural standards of the population. Agrarian-industrial associations will gradually emerge wherever economically expedient, in which, given appropriate specialisation and co-operation of agricultural and industrial enterprises, agriculture will combine organically with the industrial processing of its produce.

As production in collective and state farms develops and social relations within them advance, agriculture rises to a higher level, affording the possibility of transition to communist farms of production and distribution. The kolkhozes will draw level in economic conditions with the nationally-owned agricultural enterprises. They will turn into highly developed mechanised farms. By virtue of high labour productivity all kolkhozes will become economically powerful. Kolkhoz members will be adequately provided and their requirements fully satisfied out of collective-farm

production. They will have the services of catering establishments, bakeries, laundries, kindergartens and nurseries, clubs, libraries, and sports grounds. The payment of labour will be the same as at nationally-owned enterprises; they, will enjoy all forms of social security pensions, holidays, etc;) out of kolkhoz and state funds.

Gradually, the kolkhoz villages will grow into amalgamated urban communities with modern housing facilities, public amenities and services, and cultural and medical institutions. The rural population will ultimately draw level with the urban population in cultural and living conditions.

Elimination of socio-economic and cultural distinctions between town and country and of differences in their living conditions will be one of the greatest gains of communist construction.

3: MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND PLANNING

The building of the material and technical basis of communism calls for a continuous improvement in economic management and planning. Chief emphasis at: all levels of planning and, economic management must be laid on the most rational and effective use of the material, labour and financial resources and natural wealth and on the elimination of excessive expenditure and of losses. The immutable law of economic development is to achieve in the interests of society the highest results at the lowest cost. In the improvement of economic management utmost stress is to be laid on making the apparatus of management simpler and cheaper to run.

Planning must at all levels concentrate on the rapid development and introduction of new techniques. It is essential that progressive, scientifically substantiated norms for the use of means of production be continuously improved and strictly observed in all sectors of the national economy.

The Party attaches prime importance to more *effective investments*, the choice of the most profitable and economical trends in capital constitution, achievement of the maximum growth of output per invested ruble, and reduction of the time lapse between investment and return. It is necessary continuously to improve the structure of capital investments and to expand that portion of them which is spent on equipment, machinery, and machine tools.

It should be an immutable condition of planning and economic organisation to concentrate investments in the decisive sectors of industry, to eliminate scattering of allocations and to accelerate the commissioning of projects in construction.

Continuous improvement of the *quality of output* is an imperative requirement of economic development. The quality of goods produced by Soviet enterprises must be considerably higher than that of the best capitalist enterprises. For this purpose, it is necessary to apply a wide range of measures, including public control, and to enhance the role of quality indexes in planning, in the assessment of the work of enterprises and in socialist emulation.

Communist construction presupposes the maximum development of *democratic principles of management* coupled with a strengthening and improvement of *centralised economic management by the state*. The economic independence and the rights of local organs

and enterprises will continue to expand within the framework of the single national economic plan. Plans and recommendations made at lower levels, beginning with enterprises, must play an increasing role in planning.

Centralised planning should chiefly concentrate on working out and ensuring the fulfilment of the key targets of the economic plans with the greatest consideration paid to recommendations made at lower levels; on co-ordinating and dovetailing plans drawn up locally; on spreading scientific and technical achievements and advanced production experience; on enforcing a single state policy in the spheres of technical progress, capital investment, distribution of industry, payment of labour, prices, and finance, and a unified system of accounting and statistics.

It is essential that the national economy develop on a strictly *proportionate* basis, that economic disproportions are prevented in good time, ensuring sufficient economic reserves as a condition for stable high rates of economic development, uninterrupted operations of enterprises and continuous improvement of the people's well-being.

The growing scale of the national economy, the rapid development of science and technology call for an improvement of the scientific level of planning, designing, accounting and statistics. A better scientific, technical and economic substantiation of the plans will ensure their greater stability, which also presupposes timely correction and amendment of plans in the course of their fulfilment. Planning must be continuous, the annual and long-term plans must be organically integrated, and the funds and material and technical resources must be provided for.

Firm and consistent discipline, day-to-day control, and determined elimination of elements of parochialism

and of a narrow departmental approach in economic affairs are necessary conditions for successful communist construction.

There must be a further expansion of the role and responsibility of *local bodies* in economic management. The transfer of a number of functions of economic management by the all-Union bodies to those of the republics, by republican bodies to those of the regions and by regional bodies to those of the districts should be continued. It is necessary to improve the work of the economic councils as the most viable form of management in industry and building conforming to the present level of the productive forces. The improvement of the work of economic councils within the economic administration areas will also be accompanied by greater co-ordination of the work of the economic bodies, in order better to organise the planned comprehensive economic development of such major economic areas as the Urals, the Volgaside area, West Siberia, East Siberia, the Far East, Transcaucasia, the Baltic area, Central Asia, etc.

Extension of the operative independence and initiative of enterprises on the basis of the state-plan targets is essential in order to mobilise untapped resources and make more effective use of capital investments, production facilities and finances. It is necessary to enhance the role of enterprises and stimulate their interest in introducing the latest machinery and using the production capacities to the utmost.

The selection, training and promotion of people who directly head enterprises and kolkhozes, who organise and manage production, are of decisive importance in economic management. The sphere of material production is the main sphere in the life of society; the most capable people must, therefore, be given leading

posts at enterprises.

The direct and most active participation of *trade unions* in elaborating and realising economic plans, in matters concerning the labour of factory and office workers in setting up organs of economic administration and of management of enterprises, must be extended more and more at the big centres and the localities. The role of the collectives of factory and office workers in matters concerning the work of enterprises must be enhanced.

In the process of communist construction economic management will make use of material and moral incentives for high production figures. Proper combination of material and moral labour incentives is a great creative factor in the struggle for communism. In the course of the advance to communism the importance of moral labour incentives, public recognition of achieved results and the sense of responsibility of each for the common cause will become continuously greater.

The entire system of planning and assessing the work of central and local organisations, enterprises and collective farms must stimulate their interest in higher plan targets and the maximum dissemination of progressive production experience. Initiative and successes in finding and using new ways of improving the quantitative and qualitative indexes of production should be specially encouraged.

There must be a continuous improvement in rate setting, the system of labour payments and bonuses, in the financial control over the quantity and quality of work, in the elimination of levelling, and the stimulation of collective forms of material incentives raising the interest of each employee in the high efficiency of the enterprise as a whole.

It is necessary in communist construction to make full use of commodity-money relations in keeping with their new content in the socialist period. In this, such instruments of economic development as cost accounting, money, price, production cost, profit, trade, credit, and finance play a big part. With the transition to the single communist form of people's property and the communist system of distribution, commodity-money relations will become economically outdated and will wither away.

The important role of the state budget in distributing the social product and national income will prevail throughout the period of full-scale communist construction. There will be a further strengthening of the monetary and credit system; a consolidation of Soviet currency, a steady rise of the purchasing power of the ruble and an increase in the importance of the ruble in the international arena.

It is necessary to promote profitable operation of enterprises, to work for economy and thrift, reduction of losses, lower production costs and higher profitability. The price system should be continuously improved in conformity with the tasks of communist construction, technical progress, growth of production and consumption, and the reduction of production expenditures. Prices must, to a growing extent, reflect the socially-necessary outlays of labour, ensure return of production and circulation expenditures and a certain profit for each normally operating enterprise. Systematic, economically justified price reductions based on growth of labour productivity and reduction of production costs are the main trend of the price policy in the period of communist construction.

Soviet society possesses immense national assets.

For this reason, the role of accounting and control over the maintenance and proper use of the national wealth increases. Thrift, the proper use of every ruble belonging to the people, competent expenditure of funds, the continuous improvement of planning and methods of management, improvement of organisation and conscious discipline, and development of the initiative of the people are powerful means of accelerating the advance of Soviet society to communism.

(p. 513-537)

Resolutions and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The Khrushchev Years 1953-1964

Editor: Grey Hodnett
University of Toronto Press

Plenum of the Central Committee 5-9 March 1962

9 March 1962

... The plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU considers that the existing structure of the administration of agriculture fails to meet the increasing demands; it limits the possibility of making use of the potential of socialist agriculture; and it is in need of radical reconstruction. We do not really have an organ which is truly concerned with the administration of agriculture,

which organizes production and procurements, is deeply involved in the needs of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, seeks to ensure the most effective use of land, equipment, and other instruments of production. The administration of agriculture must be radically restructured, brought in closer contact with production, made concrete and operational.

The Central Committee and the government have recently done a certain amount of work on restructuring agricultural organs. The Ministry of Agriculture has been reorganized and its attention concentrated on the development of agricultural science and education. on the general productive application of the achievements of science and advanced practice, 'Soiuzselkhoztekhnika' [All-Union Agency for Agricultural Machinery] has been taken out of the system of the Ministry of Agriculture. The procurement system has been reorganized.

However, the reorganization of agricultural organs has not reached the production sphere, has not touched directly upon the leadership of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Yet this is the main thing. In their practical guidance of agriculture the party organizations must get down to each kolkhoz and sovkhos, working actively to ensure the fullest possible exploitation of the potential of each.

Many party and soviet organs have not understood the new situation which arose in agricultural production after the reorganization of the MTSS and the sale of equipment to the kolkhozes. This revolutionary measure was put through in order to give greater scope to the development of productive forces in agriculture, to unify under a single management, that of the kolkhozes, both land and equipment, to unbind the initiative of the kolkhoz in the organization of production and heighten its responsibility for the better employment of land and

equipment.

The reorganization of the MTSs did not reduce but, on the contrary, enhanced the responsibility of party and soviet organs for the organization of kolkhoz production. Whereas at one stage the MTSs fulfilled the function of organizing kolkhoz production, under present conditions—with the considerable growth of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes—new and more advanced forms are needed for administering and supervising the organization of kolkhoz production. Yet the forms of leadership of kolkhoz production employed by party and soviet organs have remained in many respects unchanged, have remained just as they were before the reorganization of the MTSs.

The necessity for a serious restructuring of the leadership of agriculture is also dictated by the considerably expanded role of the sovkhozes, in recent years, in the production of grain and animal products. More than three thousand large-scale sovkhozes have been created in the country, especially in connection with virgin lands development.

Questions of the guidance of the productive activities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes are now at the forefront of attention. In the view of the plenum of the Central Committee it is necessary to create organs of agricultural administration which would be concerned with planning, with supervising the production and the procurements of agricultural products, which would have a real and active influence on the organization of production in each kolkhoz and sovkhoz and would be responsible for providing the country with agricultural products. It is necessary to liquidate the shameful phenomenon of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in identical conditions of soil and climate obtaining completely different results per unit

of labour input. This situation is to be explained primarily by the absence of proper leadership, by the absence of energetic and purposeful work in those kolkhozes and sovkhozes which lag behind the leading ones.

The plenum of the Central Committee resolves:...

2 The Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers are charged with reorganizing the administration of agriculture in the country by setting up in the oblasts, krais, and republics agricultural committees and also territorial kolkhoz-sovkhoz or sovkhoz-kolkhoz (depending upon whether kolkhozes or sovkhozes predominate) production administrations for the guidance of agricultural production. In the republics, krais, and oblasts the agricultural committees are to be headed, respectively, by the first secretary of the central committee or of the krai or oblast party committee. It is suggested that a Union Agricultural Committee [for the whole USSR] be set up in the centre.

Production administrations must be structured democratically since they will be concerned with both kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is suggested that inter-raion territorial kolkhoz-sovkhoz production administrations contain party organizers from the central committees of the union-republic parties or from the krai or oblast party committees.

The central committees of the union republic parties and the republic councils of ministers are to develop a regulation on Kolkhoz-Sovkhoz Production Administrations and on Agricultural Committees.

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(p. 283-285)

THE CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS

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Each week the Current Digest of the Soviet Press presents a selection of the contents of the Soviet press, carefully translated in full into English, or objectively condensed by competent editors, and arranged by subject matter. The translations are presented as documentary materials without elaboration or comment. They state the opinions and views of the original authors, not of the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies appointed by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. These materials are published in order that they may be of direct assistance to persons engaged in the research and interpretation of public affairs.

VOL. XIV. NO. 22

Meat Prices Raised to Cover Costs, Spur Output

..AL OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO ALL MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS, COLLECTIVE FARMERS AND STATE FARM WORKERS AND THE SOVIET INTELLIGENTSIA, TO ALL SOVIET PEOPLE. (Pravda, June 1, p. 1; Izvestia, pp. 1-2. Complete text:) Dear comrades! The Party Central Committee and the Soviet government have decided to address to the Soviet people this message, which deals with some serious problems in the development of our agricultural production and satisfaction of the public's growing requirements for **food-...** especially meat and butter. The Party and the government deem it necessary to make a frank statement on the difficulties that arise in supplying

the urban population with meat products and to outline measures for overcoming these difficulties in the near future.

The Soviet people know with what persistence our party has been striving to increase the output of agricultural products. ... we look back and carefully survey the path our agriculture has travelled since the September, 1953, plenary session of the Party Central Committee, we can say with good reason that the rural working people have accomplished much in bringing about ... advance in agricultural production. The gross output of agriculture rose 60% between 1953 and 1961. In this period grain production increased from 5,036,000,000 poods to ...,000,000 poods, which represents a great victory, The country's food-grain needs are now being met in full. The production of meat in this same period rose from 5,800,000 tons to 8,800,000 tons (slaughter weight), of milk from ...,500,000 tons to 62,500,000 tons and of eggs from 16,000,-...,000 to 29,000,000,000; the manufacture of sugar from sugar .. increased from 3,434,000 tons to 6,085,000 tons, etc. while paying tribute to the efforts of the working people on the collective and state farms, we can by no means be satisfied with the results achieved in agricultural production. Its ... is still insufficient to meet the public's greater demand ... certain foods, above all animal products.

What is the matter?

It easy for any open-minded person to see that the difficulties in question are difficulties of our tempestuous growth.

The Soviet economy is developing swiftly. The population of the country especially the urban population, is growing very rapidly. Between 1953 and 1961 it rose

by 29,000,000, of whom ...,000,000 are city dwellers. The money income of the working people has been rising year by year. In 1961 it was 42,000,-...,000 rubles, or 87%, higher than in 1953.

Socialism gives every Soviet family confidence in the future. The unemployment problem has long since been done away with our country and the state provides for people in old age and at the event of their disability. It assumes the enormous costs ... housing construction, free medical care and free tuition in schools and higher educational institutions.

Whereas under capitalist conditions every worker's family is ...ed to spend a great part of its income on rent, medical care and children's education and to lay aside savings for a rainy day, our Soviet family uses a great part of its income to improve its diet and dress. This naturally heightens the demand for such foods as meat, sausage products and butter. Look, comrades, at how much more of the highly valued foods people have been buying in our country in the past few years! For example, in 1953 the amount of meat and meat products sold through the state trade system was 1,757,000 tons, while In 1961 it was 4,033,000 tons; the corresponding figures for milk and dairy products are 1,980,000 tons and 9,393,000 tons, for butter 330,000 and 632,000 tons, for sugar 2,410,000 tons ... 4,550,000 tons, and for eggs, 2,045,000,000 and 5,860-...,000.

There can be no doubt that as time goes on the requirements of the Soviet people, including their requirements for food products, will rise even faster. The constant growth of the people's well-being is a law of socialist society and a matter of primary concern for the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

The recent March plenary session of the Party

Central Committee studied our capabilities from all angles and mapped concrete practical measures aimed at ensuring a high level of food products in the country.

What must be done to accomplish this? First of all, we must step up assistance to the collective and state farms in every possible way in the development of a powerful material and technical base, decisively improve the use of land and equipment, raise the level of organization of labor and make available to all collective and state farms the experience of leading farm production workers and the achievements of agricultural science.

In addition all collective farmers, state farm workers and agricultural specialists must be given an even greater material interest in developing the communal economy, in achieving a maximum increase in the output of farm products with minimum expenditures of labor and funds.

It should be pointed out, dear comrades, that more than once recently the Party Central Committee and the Soviet government have discussed the question of stepping up material and technical assistance to the collective and state farms with a view to creating better conditions for the organization of production, including animal husbandry.

In addition to the budgetary appropriations, the collective farms have been receiving substantial supplementary means as a result of reductions in the prices of machinery and other goods for production purposes.

The past year saw reductions in the prices of farm machinery, spare parts and fuel and cuts in income taxes. These mean an annual saving of 900,000,000

rubles for the collective farms. In February, 1962, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers adopted a resolution lowering the prices to collective farms of building materials, metal and hardware. This means an annual saving of 250,000,000 rubles for the collective farms. In addition, above-plan appropriations amounting to 210,000,000 rubles have been allocated to the state farms in the current year for capital construction in animal husbandry.

Thus as a result of price reductions for the aforementioned goods and of supplementary appropriations for the needs of animal husbandry, agriculture is receiving an additional 1,360,000,000 rubles in the new currency, or 13,360,000,000 rubles in the old currency. This is a most substantial contribution to its development.

Also of great importance for the development of agriculture are sound and economically valid purchase prices for farm products. They should fully cover the cost of production and at the same time ensure the accumulations essential for reproduction on an enlarged scale.

Recently the Party and government have also carried through a number of important measures for adjusting procurement prices on agricultural products. These prices have been raised. As a result, the economy of the collective and state farms has become stronger and the material incentive of collective farms and farmers has grown appreciably. The state has spent many billions of rubles for these purposes. But as experience in the expansion of farm production shows, these investments are still insufficient to overcome the serious lag in animal husbandry, the branch of farming that requires the most labor.

Every adult knows that before meat, milk and butter show up on the table a great deal of labor must be expended, particularly under our rigorous climatic conditions, with the autumn and winter seasons lasting seven or eight months in most parts of the country, which makes the keeping of livestock and production of feed more difficult. The building of livestock premises and the mechanization and electrification of livestock sections require huge outlays of funds and labor.

With the present level of mechanization in animal husbandry and of labor productivity on the collective and state farms, the cost of meat and milk production is very high, substantially exceeding the prices at which the state purchases these products.

As a result of this we still have many collective farms on which animal husbandry is handled not at a profit but at a loss, and on occasion even eats up the accumulations the collective farm obtains from other branches of its farming. Figures like the following must give us pause. The cost of producing one centner of beef (live weight) in 1960 came to 91.6 rubles and in 1961 to 88 rubles, while the purchase price was 59.1 rubles; the cost of a centner of pork in 1960 was 122.6 rubles and last year it was 118 rubles, while the purchase price was 82.3 rubles; in the case of poultry the cost was 140.5 rubles in 1960 and 133.5 rubles in 1961, while the purchase price was 82.2 rubles.

Even though, as you can see, the cost of meat and milk has dropped somewhat, the purchase prices still fail to cover the actual expenditures on the production of meat. Consequently the collective farm takes a loss on every kilogram of meat and milk it produces. This being the case, the collective farm obviously has no material incentive to increase its output of these products. What is

the solution? The purchase prices of meat and milk must be raised so that the production of these products becomes economically profitable for the collective farms, so that they yield the necessary accumulations and provide the farms with a material interest in rapidly increasing the output of livestock products. But this will take enormous funds. The question is, where are these funds to come from?

Should we, perhaps, resort to reducing the amount of income distributed on the collective farms according to work done? No, this step would result in lessening the collective farmers' material incentive and would undermine the economic foundations of collective farm production. It would therefore do harm instead of good. Rather than stimulating the development of animal husbandry, it would on the contrary impede it.

Perhaps, for the sake of the quickest possible rise in meat and milk production, we should transfer funds to this area at the expense of the strengthening of our defense capacity and the development of our industry? Of course, all Soviet people realize that we cannot take this road.

We do not live in a vacuum. As long as imperialism exists, the danger of new wars remains. It is no secret that international reaction led by the U.S.A. is at present furiously rattling the saber, pursuing a feverish arms race and hatching plans for a surprise nuclear-rocket attack on the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries; its politicians and generals talk about this openly. More than that, it has been openly stated by the President of the United States of America, Mr. J. Kennedy. He declared: "Under certain circumstances we might take the initiative in a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union."

Thus the international situation makes it imperative

‘that the Soviet Union and all the countries in the world socialist system be ready at all times to deal a crushing rebuff to any aggressor. And, as we know, our defense capacity cannot be strengthened without large expenditures. Unfortunately there is no other way. The imperialists are accustomed to respecting nothing but force, and if they have not so far started a war, this is only because they know our economic and military might, know that the Soviet land possesses everything it needs to dampen the bellicose ardor of any aggressors.

Perhaps some funds can be switched to agriculture by cutting back investments in the metallurgical, chemical, machine-building and other industries? This is another course we cannot take. It would result in undermining the economic base of the whole economy, including agriculture.

The state has been appropriating huge sums for housing construction and the expansion of the network of medical institutions and schools. In the past four years alone 50,000,000 Soviet citizens, or almost a quarter of the country’s population, have celebrated housewarmings. Perhaps some funds could be found by cutting back housing construction? The Soviet people appreciate that we cannot take this road either.

The need to raise purchase prices for the specific purpose of achieving a rapid increase in the output of livestock products is therefore obvious. It follows that the retail prices of meat, meat products and butter must also be raised.

Some people may ask: Would it not be possible to raise the purchase prices of meat and still maintain the current retail prices of meat and meat products? Even if we suppose that the state could find the additional funds for this by increasing the prices of, say, vodka, tobacco

and certain other items, it would still be impossible to keep retail prices at their former level once the purchase prices had been raised. With meat in short supply, this would provide the soil for speculation and would make it even more difficult to accomplish the task of ensuring the cities a steady supply of livestock products.

At present, with meat in short supply, the public is forced to overpay large sums to persons who, taking advantage of the meat production difficulties, are making a great deal of money by profiteering. Our raising of purchase prices will make possible a greater increase in labor productivity on the collective farms. This will result in greater production of livestock products, and as time goes on the trade network will meet the public's meat requirements in full and at lower prices. Hence the raising of meat prices, which we are resorting to temporarily, will have justified itself; it will have benefited the public.

Taking all this into consideration, the Party Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers have decided to raise the purchase prices of beef, pork, mutton, goats' meat and poultry an average of 35%. It has been decided that the retail prices of meat and meat products should simultaneously be raised an average of 30% and of butter an average of 25%.

The Party Central Committee and the Soviet government realize that raising prices is in itself an undesirable measure. The Party is aware that the rise in the prices of meat, meat products and butter will have its cost, that it will somewhat reduce the public's ability to buy these products, that it will tell on the family budget.

In taking the step of raising the purchase and retail prices of meat, meat products and butter, the Party Central Committee and the Soviet government have been concerned to keep the cost to the public of the rise

in retail prices as small as possible. With this end in view, the retail prices of sugar and of staple fabrics and articles made from these fabrics have been reduced. Millions of people in our country patronize the public catering facilities. In consideration of this fact, it has been thought advisable to raise prices on meat courses only slightly.

The rise in purchase and retail prices is a necessary step. It will enable the collective farms to make additional outlays on the mechanization of tasks in animal husbandry, on the construction of premises and on increasing the production of fodder, and consequently to increase the production of meat and milk. It will at the same time serve to reinforce the material interest of collective farms and farmers in the result of their work. This measure will promote a rapid increase in the output of livestock products, from which all the Soviet people will gain in the end.

Besides, it must be pointed out that the prices of meat and butter are at present too low relative to the prices of certain other foodstuffs. This has come about largely because, without sufficient economic reason, meat and butter prices were at one time lowered to a greater extent than the prices of such foods as, for instance, vegetable oil, sugar and potatoes. Meat prices in our country are at present well below the prices in a number of capitalist countries that are conspicuous for their highly developed agriculture.

This would be a very fine thing, of course, if the lower retail prices in our country stemmed from higher labor productivity in agriculture. We know, however, that the level of labor productivity in the agriculture of the U.S.S.R. is as yet, unfortunately, lower than that in several capitalist countries with well-developed agriculture.

Under these circumstances, lower retail prices for meat, meat products and butter would only upset production. Can it really be considered normal for the state to be selling livestock products at a considerable loss? For example, last year the state's outlays on the purchase, processing and sale of beef amounted to 138.6 rubles per centner (slaughter weight), while the average retail price per centner of beef of all grades was 110.8 rubles. The state's total outlays per centner of pork (slaughter weight) amounted to 167.2 rubles, while the average retail price for pork of all grades was 155.6 rubles a centner, Butter, too, costs the state more than its retail price.

If this is tallied up for the total volume of trade, it can ...ly be seen that the state takes a loss of many hundreds of ...tions of rubles on the sale of livestock products. We must therefore make the necessary adjustments in the purchase and retail prices for meat, thereby creating more favorable conditions for increased output of livestock products.

Dear comrades! The Party Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers wish to express their firm belief on the men and women workers and collective farmers, the Soviet Intelligentsia and all Soviet people will properly appreciate the economic and political necessity for such a measure of assistance to agriculture as the raising of the purchase prices ... accordingly, of the retail prices of livestock products and ... do their utmost to create a full abundance of agricultural products in the country as quickly as possible.

It is not to be supposed that the movement to communism succeeds without the necessity for overcoming difficulties.

Building a new life is not the same as gliding over a

parquet ... without a knot or splinter in it.

Accomplishing the great plans for the building of **commu...** does entail some difficulties. But today's difficulties are ... more easily overcome than those we had in the past.

We have reached great heights in our social development. ... it would be a mistake if, after scoring substantial achievements in economic development, we succumbed to complacency ...**idity** and conceit.

The Party and the government again and again call the attention of the Soviet people to the fact that the advancement of agriculture is a matter of vital concern for the entire Party and for all the people.

Our country already has a good many state and collective farms on which the cost of producing meat and milk is far **over** than the purchase prices. And there is no question **but ... all** the collective and state farms will in the nearest future make a big forward stride in the production of meat and milk, raise the productivity of labor and sharply reduce the cost of producing foodstuffs. And when food is plentiful and labor expenditures on its production are dropping steadily, purchase prices can be lowered and retail prices brought down **at the** same time.

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a new Party Program which set exceptionally important tasks in the area of the further development of agriculture. Now, after the March plenary session of the Party Central Committee, the collective and state farms are taking effective steps to achieve a sharp rise in the output of livestock products. To this end, plantings of corn, sugar beets, **Ins**, fodder beans and other crops are being considerably extended in the current year. What is essential now is to **make sure** of getting big crops of grain, corn, sugar beets, peas and

beans. The collective and state farms will then have ample fodder, and will rapidly boost the output of livestock products.

Dear comrades! Raising prices somewhat for meat and meat products, as well as for butter, is a temporary measure. The Party is confident that the Soviet people will successfully carry out the measures outlined by the March plenary session of the Party Central Committee in the field of agriculture. The level of mechanization will rise, labor productivity will increase and production costs will come down, which will make it possible in the not too distant future to lower the prices of farm products.

The Party Central Committee and the Soviet government are confident that the Soviet people will understand correctly the questions raised in this appeal and will make every effort to translate the great plans for communist construction into reality as quickly as possible.

PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE
U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

IN THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. (Pravda, June 1, p.1. Complete text:) With the object of heightening the material interest of the collective and state farms in sharply increasing the production and delivery to the state of livestock and poultry, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers has decreed:

that purchase prices for livestock and poultry sold to the state by collective farms shall be raised as of June 1, 1962, average of 35% for the country and shall be fixed as follows:

for cattle and pigs in the various Union republics (in rubles per centner, live weight):

	Cattle of	Pigs for	Pigs for
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	average fatness	bacon and lard	pork
Russian Republic	90	125	105
Ukraine Republic	88	120	100
Belorussian Republic	97	135	115
Uzbek Republic	89	135	115
Kazakh Republic	85	125	105
Georgian Republic	97	135	115
Azerbaidzhan Republic	97	135	115
Lithuanian Republic	97	135	115
Moldavian Republic	88	120	115
Latvian Republic	92	130	100
Kirgiz Republic	89	135	110
Tadzhik Republic	89	135	115
Turkmenian Republic	89	135	115
Armenian Republic	97	135	115
Estonian Republic	92	130	110

for chickens and pullets at 1 ruble 40 kopeks, geese at 1 ruble, ducks at 1 ruble 10 kopeks and turkeys at 1 ruble 60 kopeks a kilogram, live weight;

for suckling pigs with a live weight of up to six kilograms at 1 ruble 50 kopeks and for rabbits of Category I at 90 kopeks and of Category II at 78 kopeks a kilogram live weight.

Calves of Category I shall be paid for at the prices for cattle of average fatness and of Category II at prices for cattle of below-average fatness. Deer and yaks (sarlyks) shall be paid for at the purchase prices set for cattle of corresponding fatness. Piglets weighing from six to 20 kg. and non-standard pigs shall be paid for at a price 20% lower than the prices for pork pigs. Nonstandard cattle (lean) shall be paid for at a price 20% lower than the prices for cattle of below-average fatness.

The price increments for Romanov sheep set in Resolution No. 664 of April 9, 1955, and Resolution No. 1053 of Sept. 10, 1959, of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers shall be retained. Effective June 1, 1962, a 15% increment shall be added to the purchase and delivery

prices for sheep of other fine-wool and semifine-wool breeds, weighing from 16 kg. up, that meet the standard for fur and coat sheepskins.

Effective June 1, 1962, the purchase price in force for butter sold to the state by collective farms shall be raised by an average 10% and for cream 5%.

The delivery prices for cattle, pigs, rabbits and poultry delivered to the state by state farms and other state agricultural enterprises and organizations shall be set 10% below the purchase prices established by this resolution.

The Union-republic Councils of Ministers shall be required to draw up, on the basis of the purchase and delivery prices set by this resolution, and to submit to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers for approval within a week's time purchase (delivery) prices for livestock and poultry by zones and procurement seasons, as well as prices for cattle according to degree of fatness.

Livestock, poultry, butter and cream produced on the farms of collective farmers, workers and employees and sold to the state shall be paid for at the prices set by this decree for the corresponding output of the collective farms. For the purpose of reducing the losses incurred by the state in the sale to the public of meat, meat products and butter and of establishing a sounder correlation between the purchase and retail prices of livestock products, effective June 1, 1962, the retail prices of meat and meat products shall be raised an average of 30%, itemized as follows: beef, an average of 31%; mutton, 34%; pork, 19%; and sausage products, 31%; the price of butter shall be raised an average of 25%.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers believes that the

rise in the purchase and delivery prices for livestock products will be of great financial help to the collective and state farms. Turning this aid to good account, the Union- and autonomous-republic Councils of Ministers, territory and province executive committees, territorial collective farm-state farm (state farm-collective farm) production administrations and collective and state farms should this very year achieve a sharp increase in the production of meat and other livestock products, a rise in the productivity of labor and a reduction of production costs, so that livestock products are produced at a profit on every collective and state farm.

On the Reduction of State Retail Prices for Sugar, Fabrics of Staple Rayon Yarn and Articles Made From These Fabrics.—The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers resolves:

that effective June, 1962, the state retail prices of the following consumer goods shall be reduced:

—sugar, an average of 5%;

—fabrics of staple rayon yarn, an average of 20%.

The Union-republic Councils of Ministers are instructed to reduce retail prices effective June 1, 1962, of sewn articles, haberdashery and other items made from staple rayon fabrics proportionately to the reduction of the retail prices for these fabrics.

Khrushchev Tells Cubans of Farm Price Problem

MEETING OF SOVIET AND CUBAN YOUTH IN THE

KREMLIN.—Address by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev. (Pravda, June 3, pp. 1-2. Complete text:) Dear comrades! Our young Cuban friends! Let me greet you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet government. (Stormy, prolonged applause .)

...
 These are very big accomplishments, comrades. But despite them we are still experiencing difficulties, and no small difficulties. The point is that at the same time that production has increased, we have increased pensions, raised the wages of the lower-paid workers and employees and carried out other measures, the result of all this being that the money incomes of the population have grown substantially in recent years. And we have run into difficulties caused by the fact that our people now have more money than there are goods being turned out by our industry and agriculture. Material values are produced by the people themselves, and not by the government. The government merely guides and directs, but the people are the ones who produce everything.

A situation has developed where we, a socialist country, the Soviet Union, the Soviet government, the Central Committee of our party had to take the decision that was announced yesterday. This decision is naturally being well received by the collective farmers, who will now be able to sell their livestock at higher prices. Increases of this kind are always applauded; this doesn't call for a particularly high level of political consciousness.

The decision is meeting with a different reception from the city people, who will be paying more for their meat and meat products. The people understand the necessity for the decision raising prices, but I would not say that they find it pleasant.

But they realize that the Central Committee and the government find it still less pleasant. It would be far easier for me, as Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, to sign a decision that said: "We are giving everything out to one and all, and asking nothing from anyone." (Stir in the hall, applause.) We might have done that, and then I would go around saying: "See, all the people welcome this, and everybody's pleased, because we are giving something to all of them." It's another story when you have to sign a decision like this one, by which you give to one category while saying to another: "You must understand that these are temporary difficulties, but you'll have to live through them." A person does, of course, live through them, but sometimes he says: "Oh, it would be nice if we didn't have to live through them, these difficulties." (Stir in the hall, applause.) And I myself know that it is nicer not to live through difficulties.

Comrades, when I and other comrades were deciding this matter, we thought back on how Lenin would act when he encountered difficulties. I remember the end of the Civil War. We had smashed the White Guards and interventionists; victory was ours. Well, it was shortly afterwards that Lenin and the Central Committee of our party took the decision to introduce the so-called New Economic Policy, NEP. How was that policy to be construed? What did it signify? The New Economic Policy indulged capitalist elements in the country, but it did so in the interest of strengthening the positions of socialism in the country. Lenin said it had to be done, that NEP had to be adopted. He even resorted to granting concessions to foreign capitalists if they wanted to secure such concessions from us. We had fought, smashed the White Guards, smashed our internal enemies and the

foreign interventionists and had celebrated the victory. And this was the time when Lenin said that it might be necessary to grant concessions, to take the step of indulging capitalist elements. This came hard, comrades. There were Party members who could not understand the necessity for this policy, who pulled out their Party cards and said: "I am leaving the Party."

I was secretary of a district Party committee, and I remember that there was an ex-Red Army man with an Order of the Red Banner who gave up his Party card, rented a mill and started turning the millstones, started grinding grain. Why? He had decided to make some money. He thought that if there was such a thing as NEP, then the Communists were in retreat were opening the door to private capital, and he had to adjust, ' he said, in order to keep up with the times. (Stir in the hall.) But he went broke, and he himself was ashamed of having lacked faith. He had taken part in assaults, had fought the enemies of the revolution in open combat, but then when the overt enemy had been smashed and it was essential to show great courage and political consciousness, to follow Lenin during the NEP years just as he had gone into the attack at the front under Lenin's banner, this ex-Red Army man lost heart.

But the Party cast people like this aside and travelled its own path.

(p. 3-7)

**Resolutions and decisions of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union, Volume 4, The
Khrushchev Years 1953-1964**

Editor: Grey Hodnett

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... The XXII Congress of the CPSU advanced as one of the party's high-priority and major tasks the continued improvement of the leadership of the economy. Now it is also necessary to bring party leadership of industry, construction, and agriculture into line with the demands of the times. In conditions of the full-scale building of communism when the party's role is growing

immeasurably the organizational reconstruction of the leadership of the economy is of great political significance.

In our day the party is required not only to come up with the right slogan in time but also to give skilful daily concrete guidance to production, to the development of industry, agriculture, and all branches of the economy.

The rate of development of the country's economy depends primarily upon the efforts of millions of people, upon their ability to organize the implementation of the party's policies and the plans for economic construction.

However, the organizational forms of economic leadership which crystallized at an earlier stage, and which in their day played a positive role, now serve as a hindrance to a more planned and concrete approach in all branches of industry and agriculture, to the adoption of timely and effective measures for eliminating existing short-comings; they engender an unplanned and unsystematic, purely verbal, technique of economic leadership, prevent the party cadres from being properly assigned, and impede the better use of their knowledge and experience.

In order to eliminate these short-comings and improve the leadership of the economy, *the leading organs of the party must be structured from top to bottom according to the production principle*. [Article 20 of the party Rules adopted by the XXII Congress reads: 'The party is structured according to the *territorial-production principle*: primary organizations are created at the place of work of Communists and are united by territory into raion, city, etc. organizations. An organization serving a given territory is superior with respect to all party organizations serving parts of it.' (My italics—G.H.) This provision of the Rules was still in force in November

1962: and in the period after Khrushchev's fall the, bifurcation of the party according to the 'production principle' was specifically criticized as a violation of the Rules.]

Structuring the party organs according to the production principle will make possible a more concrete and planned leadership of industry, construction, and agriculture, concentrating attention primarily on production problems. Such a restructuring will vitalize all aspects of the party's activities and will bind organizational and ideological work even more tightly to the task of creating the material and technical basis of communism and of educating the new man.

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism demands an accelerated rate of technical progress. At present the leadership of most scientific research and design organizations is dispersed among the sovnarkhozes, ministries, and departments, which makes it difficult to conduct a unified technical policy in all branches of the economy and impedes the introduction of new technology.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU considers it essential to restructure the leadership of scientific research and design organizations, to liquidate parallelism, establish working relations among them, and implement measures aimed at centralizing the leadership of the country's technical policy.

The plenum of the Central Committee directs the attention of party, soviet and economic organs to the considerable short-comings in the organization of industry, housing, and cultural affairs. Some sovnarkozes, union-republic state planning organizations, and local party organizations frequently start on new construction without ensuring conformity with state

interests, without checking on the availability of designs, materials, labour, and equipment, and scatter their funds among a variety of projects. Design and construction are too costly, and modern standardized designs are being introduced extremely slowly. The efforts of construction-design organizations are not properly guided and coordinated. Many design offices work in isolation and have poor liaison with other design organizations and scientific research institutes: USSR Gosstroï does not take the initiative in organizing construction design.

To eliminate these short-comings the party organizations must introduce order into construction design and must improve the leadership of capital construction.

Five years' experience with the sovnarkhozes has shown that the large sovnarkhozes provide more skilful management of industrial branches, have greater capacities for manipulating material and technical resources, and are in a better position to ensure concentration, specialization, and co-operation in production. Now a new step must be taken to enlarge the sovnarkhozes and enable them to make even fuller use of the advantages and the potential of the socialist system.

The expanding scale of the economy and the rapid advance of science and technology demand an even greater elevation of the scientific level of planning. However, in many respects the functioning of Gosplan, Gosekonomsovet, and other planning organs is not up to the demands of the present stage of our country's economic development. Economic plans are not always based upon precise economic calculations and investigations, the rates of development of individual branches and economic regions are determined in

accordance with the existing proportions, and no provision is made for accelerated growth of the most promising branches of industry such as, for example, chemistry and electronics.

In accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Programme, economic planning must be improved, and the reconstruction of the planning organs which has already commenced must be brought to a conclusion.

The plenum of the Central Committee directs the attention of all party organizations, of state and economic organs, of trade unions, the Komsomol, and of other social organizations, to the need for continued development of democratic principles of participation by the toilers in the guidance of production, for a correct balance between one-man leadership and broad involvement of the masses in the administration of enterprises and construction.

The role and significance of party, state, and social control grow immeasurably in the period of the full-scale building of a communist society. The measures taken by the party in recent years to liquidate the consequences of the cult of personality have made possible a certain improvement in the operation of supervisory organs. However the truly leninist organizational structure of party and state supervision has not yet been entirely restored.

The major short-comings in the organization of supervision reflect seriously on the course occur economic and cultural development. The organs of state supervision are still inadequate in checking on the fulfilment of major party and governmental directives, in struggling against deception, embezzlement, bribe taking, bureaucratism, red-tape, and other negative phenomena alien to the spirit of the socialist system.

The plenum of the Central Committee considers that

implementation of new measures to improve party leadership of the economy, to perfect economic administration in industry and construction, to create a unified system of party and state supervision in the country, will play an important role in advancing the economy and in resolving the party's chief task—the continued advance of the public welfare and the satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the toilers of the Soviet Union.

On the basis of the party's general policy of reducing the administrative apparatus and improving its operation, the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that a radical restructuring of the operations of party, soviet, and economic organs will not lead to a rise in the numbers of administrators but, on the contrary, will reduce their number and also reduce the cost of their upkeep.

The Soviet people, to whom has fallen the honour of being the first to build a road to communism, have accumulated great experience in economic construction. In its restructuring of the economy the Communist Party proceeds from the leninist directives on the need for continuous improvement in the organizational forms of the new society and in the administration of the socialist economy.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

I

With respect to party leadership of the economy:

1 The measures for restructuring party leadership of the economy developed by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and set forth in the report by Comrade N.S. Khrushchev during the present Central

Committee plenum are approved.

2 It is recognized as essential that the leading organs of the party be reorganized from top to bottom on the production principle, thus ensuring more concrete management of industry and agriculture.

As a rule, two independent party organizations are to be formed within the existing krais and oblasts:

a krai or oblast party organization incorporating all Communists in industry, construction, transportation, educational institutions, and scientific research institutes, design organizations, and others serving industrial production and construction;

a krai or oblast party organization incorporating all Communists in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, experimental stations, agricultural educational institutions, and scientific research institutes, enterprises processing agricultural products, procurement organizations, and other organizations and institutions associated with agricultural production.

The krai or oblast party organization will thus include:

a krai or oblast party committee for the management of industrial production;

a krai or oblast party committee for the management of agricultural production.

3 In order to improve leadership of the economy, a central committee bureau for industrial leadership,—and one for agricultural leadership, are to be formed in the Central Committee of the CPSU and in the central committees of the union republic parties.

To resolve matters of republic significance and to coordinate the activities of these two bureaus, the central committees of the union-republic parties are to elect presidiums.

4 It is advisable that kolkhoz-sovkhoz production

administrations be formed by enlarging the existing rural raions; the party committees of rural raions are to be transformed into the party committees of these production administrations.

For party leadership of construction and enterprises on the territory of newly formed rural production administrations where no city party committees exist, zonal industrial production party committees are to be formed.

5 The newly formed party organs for the leadership of industrial and agricultural production are to be guided in all of their actions by the appropriate provisions of the CPSU Rules for krai and oblast party organizations; the party committees of kolkhoz-sovkhoz production administrations are to be guided by the provisions of the CPSU Rules on city and raion party organizations.

6 The election of new leading party organs is to take place in December 1962, and January 1963, at conferences of the party organizations of kolkhoz-sovkhoz production administrations and also at city, city-raion, oblast, and krai conferences of the party industrial and agricultural organizations.

II

With respect to the economic administration of industry, construction, and planning:

I To ensure conduct of a unified technical policy in the economy, the management of scientific research and design organizations is to be restructured. To this end:

a the leading scientific and design institutes and the design offices of factories with test and experimental facilities are to be placed under the state committees of the USSR Council of Ministers for industrial branches;

b the state committees are to have responsibility for

introducing new methods and technology into production, for the level of technical development of the given branch, and for specialization of industrial production;

c the state committees for industrial branches are to see to it that scientific research and design organizations specialize in particular types of machinery and equipment and ensure maximum interchangeability of parts and assemblies;

d in view of the magnitude of capital construction in the country and the need for a radical improvement in its management as well as for a more rapid introduction of standardized designs in production, USSR Gosstroï is to be reorganized into a union republic organ, and design and scientific research organizations concerned with construction are to be subordinated to it—with the exception of the design organizations of the Ministry of Power and Electrification and the Ministry of Transportation. Construction; Gosstroï is to have responsibility for technical policy in capital construction and is to develop title lists.

2 Construction organizations are to be removed from the competence of the sovnarkhozes. Autonomous construction organizations or unions are to be formed in the republics and economic raions, with the sovnarkhozes acting as their customers.

3 The State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Coordination of Scientific Research and the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences are directed to develop, in collaboration with the union republic councils of ministers, proposals for improving the functioning of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences of the union republics, with the purpose of concentrating scientific efforts on the situation of basic problems directly associated with the

development of production.

4 The measures set forth in the report by Comrade N.S. Khrushchev on the further enlargement of the sovnarkhozes, with due regard for the economic compatibility of the individual raions, are approved.

5 In connection with the enlargement of the sovnarkhozes and enterprises the USSR Council of Ministers is directed:

a to review the legal position of the sovnarkhozes and ensure that they are endowed with extensive rights, are guarded against petty interference, and are able to display considerable independence in resolving economic problems and in making use of reserves to increase industrial production;

b to develop, and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet for approval, a draft regulation of the socialist enterprise, having in mind extension of rights of directors of enterprises and leaders of construction organizations and ensuring more active involvement of the toilers in the administration of production.

6 In the interests of improving the future planning of the country's economic development and of giving leadership to the implementation of the yearly plans, a more precise delimitation of the functions of the various central planning organs is required.

To this end, the functions of USSR Gosplan relating to the yearly implementation of future plans are transferred to a new organ—the USSR Sovnarkhoz, and this body to be endowed with the necessary executive functions. The Gosekonomsovet is transformed into USSR Gosplan and is to take charge of future planning.

III

With respect to party-state supervision:

1 The system of supervision in the country is to be reorganized on the basis of Lenin's directive that party and state supervision should be combined that a system of unified and permanent supervision with the participation of the broad masses of toilers should be created.

2 A single organ of party and state supervision is to be established—the Committee of Party-State Control of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, and it is to have the necessary organs at the local level.

The major tasks of the organs of party-state in carrying out the CPSU Programme, are organizing systematic verification of the execution of party and governmental directives: further improving the leadership of communist construction, and ensuring observance of party and state discipline and of socialist legality.

3 The existing Committee for Party Control of the CPSU Central Committee is to be transformed into the Party Commission of the CPSU Central Committee and is to have the duty of examining appeals from decisions of the control committees of the union republic parties, and krai and oblast party committees, on expulsions from the CPSU and the imposition of party punishments.

4 It is no longer advisable to preserve the Commission for State Control of the USSR Council of Ministers, and its organs at the local level.

Pravda, 24 November 1962

KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh VIII, 386-95

(p. 292-298)

**Resolutions and decisions of the Communist
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The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have approved the regulation establishing the Committee of Party-State Control of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and establishing the necessary organs at the local level.

The regulation states that establishing verification and supervision of execution on a proper basis is a very

important leninist principle of the activity of the Communist Party and the Soviet government in building a new society as well as a mighty instrument for improving party and state leadership, strengthening the ties between the party and the people, and involving the masses in the administration of the affairs of society. As our country advances further toward communism, as the guidance of economic construction becomes more complex, and as productive forces undergo a gigantic development, the role of mass supervision will increase more and more.

In fulfilling the directive of the XXII Congress of the CPSU the November (1962) Plenum of the Central Committee resolved on a radical reorganization of the system of supervision in the country, basing it on the leninist idea that party and state control are to be unified and creating a system of unified, all-encompassing permanent control with participation by the broad masses of communists and by all the toilers. In the flexible union of the soviets and the party Lenin perceived the guarantee of success and the source of the extraordinary force of our policies.

The regulation states that the essential element in the functioning of the Committee of Party-State Control of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, and of its organs at the local level, is its assistance to the party and state and carrying out the CPSU Programme, in organizing the systematic verification of the de facto execution of party and governmental directives, in further improving the guidance of communist construction, in struggling for the comprehensive advance of the socialist economy, in ensuring observance of party and state discipline and of socialist legality.

The organs of party-state control must look profoundly into our whole socialist economy, must be well informed of the situation, and must give a correct and objective evaluation of progress in fulfilling party and governmental decrees.

In their activities the supervisory organs must be guided unwaveringly by V.I. Lenin's instruction: *'They must check on the agents and review the de facto execution of tasks—this, once again this, and only this is the crux of the whole matter today, the crux of our whole policy.'*

The decisive conditions of success of the organs of party-state control are: the broadest and most active involvement of both the communist and the non-communist masses, of women and of youth, in the work of control extensive publicity through meetings of toilers, through the press, the radio, television, the cinema; an attentive attitude to letters and complaints, signals and proposals by Soviet people.

The organs of party-state control must be the practical organizers of mass popular control, which is the most democratic kind and which is not found, and could not be found, in a single capitalist state.

Being organs of the party and the government, the committees of party-state control not only verify and punish but, what is of primary importance, prevent errors and the possibility of abuses of all kinds, help the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to train cadres and prevent them from short-comings and blunders in their work, head them toward the successful fulfilment of economic and political tasks.

The committees of party-state control and the whole gigantic army of their active members should structure their efforts so that bureaucrats and red-tape experts,

parasites, bribe takers, thieves, speculators, and deceivers feel the inevitability of their punishment and tremble before the great power of Soviet public opinion.

The organs of party-state control are obliged to give active support and encouragement, and to develop, all that is new, advanced, and progressive in every facet of our life, resolutely and persistently to strive for the elimination of whatever short-comings are disclosed, to take effective measures to ensure that verification leads to an improvement in the situation and to the unconditional fulfilment of party and governmental directives.

Assumption of these duties by the organs of party-state control does not deprive party, soviet, and economic organizations of their responsibility for verifying the execution of decisions. On the contrary, as the regulation proclaims, it is necessary to heighten the responsibility of party, soviet, economic, planning, and other organs, and of the whole party and state apparatus from top to bottom, for organizing the irreproachable execution of party and governmental directives.

The Committee of Party-State Control carries out all its activity under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers and is accountable to them.

Since the Committee of Party-State Control of the Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers is a union republic organ, it is made up of the leading persons of the Committee, representatives of trade unions, of the Komsomol. and of the press, of workers. kolkhozniks, and intellectuals—all persons in whom there is general confidence.

The republican, krai, and oblast committees of party-state control are organs of the party central committees

and of the union republic councils of ministers, of the krai and oblast party committees, and of the krai and oblast soviets of workers' deputies, and are approved at plenary meetings of the appropriate party committees. They will include leading persons on these committees, representatives of lower-level supervisory organs, of trade-union and Komsomol organizations and of the press. and comrades of authority from among workers, kolkhozniks, and intellectuals.

In the kraia and oblasts in which there are two independent krai and oblast party committees and two krai and oblast soviets of workers' deputies, two committees of party-state control will also be formed.

City and raion committees of party-state control and committees of party-state control in the kolkhoz-sovkhoz production administrations and in the industrial zones are organs of the republic, krai, and oblast committees of party-state control and are also approved at the meetings of the appropriate party committees. The committees will include representatives of trade union. Komsomol and other social organizations, of the press, and comrades of authority from among workers, kolkhozniks, and intellectuals.

In enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, institutions, and in the management offices of housing units groups are to be formed for collaborating with the committees of party-state control by delegating to these groups representatives of party, trade union, Komsomol, and other social organizations elected at meetings of these organizations and also at general meetings of kolkhozniks and of persons living in a particular building. These collaborating groups are to include the most active and prestigious comrades, both Communists and non-party workers, kolkhozniks,

specialists, employees, scholars, persons engaged in literature or art, housewives. The presidents of these collaborating groups and their deputies are to be elected at general meetings of the group members and approved by the party committee or the bureau of the primary party organization. The largest collaborating groups may elect their own bureaus.

In shops, departments, sectors, and brigades of enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes collaborating groups are formed, or individuals are appointed, from the delegates of party, trade union, Komsomol organizations, and kolkhoz meetings. Collaborating groups work under the guidance of the party organizations and the appropriate local organs of party-state control and act as organizational centres around which all activities of social control are grouped.

Collaborating groups are endowed with extensive rights with respect to the questioning of administrations, party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and party-state control committees about eliminating the short-comings which they have brought to light and bringing culprits to justice. Proposals by collaborating groups are to be examined by the directors of enterprises and construction sites, of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and institutions, by primary party organizations, and by trade Union and Komsomol organizations.

Collaborating groups will report periodically on their activities at party, trade union, and Komsomol meetings, and at meetings of the toilers.

The Committee of Party-State Control of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, and its organs at the local level, will verify—directly and, when necessary, jointly with departments of the CPSU Central Committee, the staff of the USSR Council of

Ministers, local party committees, party, and soviet organizations—the de facto. execution of party and government directives by ministries, state committees, departments and other organizations, enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and institutions; they will supervise the fulfilment of economic plans, bring to light internal reserves and unused opportunities, for expanding production in industry and agriculture, for improving, the quality of production, lowering its unit cost, and, raising labour productivity; they will struggle for the strictest economy, for the correct and most expedient expenditure of resources and material values.

The organs of party-state control must help the party improve the functioning of the state and the administrative apparatus and at the same time lower its cost; they must resolutely suppress violations of party and state discipline, manifestations of localism, of a departmental approach, of covering up, padding costs and estimates, lack of economy, and wastefulness; they must struggle mercilessly against bureaucratism and red tape, bribe taking, speculation, abuse of official positions, and against encroachments on socialist principle, 'he who does not work shall not eat'; they must come out against any other activities harmful to communist construction.

The Committee of Party-State Control of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, and its organs at the local level, have the right to instruct the leaders of ministries, state committees, departments, and other organizations, enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes and institutions to eliminate short-comings in the fulfilment of party and governmental decrees and violations of them; they have the right to listen to reports and demand explanations, as well as the necessary

documents and materials, from persons in leading positions who are inadequately carrying out party and governmental decrees and instructions, whose work is bureaucratic and tangled in red tape; they have the right to penalize those guilty of submitting incorrect or false information or conclusion. The leaders of soviet and economic organizations, of enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes. and institutions are obliged immediately to remedy any violations or short-comings disclosed by the collaborating groups and communicate the results to the organs of party-state control.

The Committee of Party-State Control of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers and corresponding organs at the local level have the right to recommend to the appropriate organs and organizations that they hear reports of leading persons at sessions and meetings of executive committees of soviets of workers' deputies, at meetings of ministerial boards, of state committees and departments, of party committees, at general meetings of workers, kolkhozniks, and employees devoted to ways of eliminating short-comings in carrying out party and governmental decrees; to countermand illegal orders and actions of organizations. institutions, and officials capable of damaging state interests; to set for persons guilty of unsatisfactory fulfilment of party and governmental decisions, a time within which corrective action must be taken; when necessary, to forward matters to comradely courts for their examination; to make suitable deductions from the salaries of officials guilty of material damage to the state or to co-operative or social organizations; to call offenders to account, impose disciplinary penalties, demote officials or fire them; to forward materials on abuses and other criminal activities to the organs of the

public procurator in order that guilty persons may be brought to trial.

The regulation emphasizes that the organs of party-state control are to make efficient use of their rights, neither overdoing things in imposing fines and penalties nor sparing persons whose actions have damaged the cause of communist construction.

In addition to their ordinary staffs the committees of party-state control at all levels are to establish auxiliary sections, permanent and temporary social commissions, non-staff inspectors and controllers who are recommended for work with the organs of party-state control by party, soviet, and social organizations. In their work of verifying, investigating, and reviewing, the organs of party-state control may enlist the aid of workers in party, soviet, and economic organs, in enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and institutions, members of revision committees, and the supervision-review personnel of ministries, state committees, and departments.

To ensure broad publicity for their work the organs of party-state control make active use of the press, the cinema, radio, and television; they publish systematically the results of their investigations and the measures adopted; in their work of control they enlist the aid of worker and rural correspondents, of journalists, writers, poets, and artists.

The regulation indicates that the organs of party-state control are to train their staff and non-staff workers, the members of collaborating groups and individual collaborators, in the spirit of true leninist qualities and traits of character, of a high sense of responsibility to the party and the state for the fulfilment of their duties.

Pravda, 18 January 1963

(p. 298-303)

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Plenum of the Central Committee 14 October 1964

***Communiqué [On the retirement of
Khrushchev], 14 October 1964***

A plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held on 14 October of this year. The plenum approved the request of Comrade Khrushchev. N.S., concerning his release from the responsibilities as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, member of the Presidium of the

CPSU and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR in connection with advancing old age and his declining health.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU elected as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Comrade Brezhnev, L.I.

Pravda, 16 October 1964

KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh VIII, 494

(p. 316-317)