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1957



FORTY YEARS



1917 ★ 1957

Theses of the Propaganda
Department of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union and the
Marxist-Leninist Institute on the
**FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE GREAT
OCTOBER REVOLUTION**

**SOVIET NEWS
BOOKLET No. 16**

4^d

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TWILIGHT OF CAPITALISM

The prospects for the development of the socialist and capitalist systems became fully clear towards the middle of the 20th century.

The capitalist system which, compared with previous systems, was once progressive—has long passed the stage when it flourished.

Modern capitalism is a dying, decaying capitalism; it is now in its twilight, its decline, and is irretrievably advancing towards its inevitable end.

In contrast to this, the young socialist system, full of vitality, is steadily developing and flourishing.

And the powerful step of this new, socialist world will become ever firmer and surer with every year and with every five-year period.

In their preparations for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intellectuals are, rallying even more closely around their Communist Party and Soviet government; they will meet this wonderful anniversary with new achievements in all fields of economic and cultural development, with new victories in Soviet society's magnificent advance towards communism.

FORTY YEARS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM

FORTY YEARS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM



**Theses on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Great October
Socialist Revolution
(1917 - 1957)**

**prepared by the
Propaganda Department of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
and the Central Committee's Institute of
Marxism-Leninism**

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Introduction

FORTY YEARS AGO, the world was shocked by the news that in Russia the workers and peasants, led by the Bolshevik Party headed by V. I. Lenin, had overthrown the rule of the capitalists and landlords and had taken political power into their own hands.

The thunder of the guns of the revolutionary cruiser *Aurora* on November 7 (October 25*), 1917, ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the downfall of imperialism and the establishment of a new, socialist society.

The real history of human society, brilliantly foreseen by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, had begun.

PEOPLE'S PROTEST

The Great October Socialist Revolution arose and triumphed as a mighty and wrathful protest of the working people against the imperialist war which had brought Russia to the brink of catastrophe; against the rule of the exploiting classes, the capitalists and landlords; against national oppression.

The revolutionary working class, the soldiers, the sailors, the working peasants of Russia, rose up against the oppression and tyranny of the capitalists and landlords.

The people entered into a decisive battle for the establishment of a new, just, social system, the Soviet socialist system.

Throughout the world the first decrees of October resounded: the Decree on Peace, a passionate call for the struggle against the imperialist war and for the brotherhood of the working people; the Decree on Land; and the Decision of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets on the formation of a workers' and peasants' government.

There have also been revolutions in the past: their flames have illumined all epoch-making turning points of history.

But the revolutions of the past were limited to passing the power from one exploiting class to another; only the forms of exploitation changed, but exploitation remained.

The ruling exploiting classes fiercely suppressed the attempts of the working people to liberate themselves from the yoke of oppression, and drenched town and village streets in the blood of workers and peasants.

The Paris Commune—which, for the first time in history, raised

* November 7, according to the present calendar, but October 25 by the old calendar then in force in Russia.—ED.

the banner of the rule of the working class, and lasted 72 days—was shot down; the first Russian revolution of 1905 was drowned in the blood of the workers and peasants.

END OF EXPLOITATION

The October Revolution, the largest in scale and most profound in its aims and purposes, has brought to reality the age-old aspirations of the working people, proclaimed the end of the exploitation of man by man, the end of any and every kind of social and national oppression; it has not only proclaimed but has carried into life the great ideas of socialism, peace, equality and friendship among the peoples.

True to the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, irreconcilable to each and every kind of revisionism, opportunism, dogmatism or sectarianism in the labour movement, the Communist Party prepared the working class and the peasantry of Russia for the decisive struggle for a new, socialist life.

It worked out the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle, fearlessly led this struggle, and ensured the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of socialist society in our country.

All the other parties—the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, the bourgeois nationalists—who screened their treachery and their subservience to imperialism by professions of democracy met with fiasco.

'CRUSADE' AGAINST REVOLUTION

All the forces of the decrepit old world—internal and external enemies, landlords, capitalists, tsarist generals and imperialist governments of foreign powers—took up arms against the young Soviet republic, which had just come into the world.

This was an unprecedentedly sweeping "crusade" of the imperialists against the socialist revolution.

Everything was used: the armed intervention by the "Fourteen States"; attempts to strangle the revolution by hunger and blockade; threats, and forecasts of its inevitable collapse; rank lies and black slander.

Allies and enemies of the First World War—the German, American, British, French, Japanese and other imperialists—all joined forces in a united endeavour to strangle the young socialist state of workers and peasants "in its cradle", while it had not yet grown strong, had not got firmly on to its feet.

In its heroic struggle against the forces of international imperialism, the young Soviet republic met with the keen sympathy and the political and moral support of the working class, the working peasantry and the progressive intellectuals of all countries.

All the efforts of world reaction to halt the law-governed course of history ended in collapse.

The fortieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution is irrefutable evidence that people who have cast off the yoke of the exploiters are unconquerable; it is a great triumph, also, for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

SOCIALIST POWER

Having carried out the socialist revolution, and upheld the gains of the revolution in an unprecedentedly sharp struggle, the heroic working class of Russia became the initiators of the new life, and the Soviet Union became the world's first socialist country, which blazed the path to socialism for other countries.

Even before October 1917, Lenin had foretold that the socialist revolution, the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and landlords, would open up the way to an unprecedentedly rapid development of the productive forces.

And that is, indeed, what happened.

In spite of the efforts of the imperialist powers to ruin our country by intervention and throw her far back, the Soviet Union, thanks to rapid industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture, had already by 1941 grown into a mighty socialist power, proving the indisputable superiority of the socialist system.

The unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., armed with mighty technical resources and their passionate Soviet patriotism, enabled the land of socialism to play a decisive part in routing fascism.

WORLD SYSTEM

As a result of the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, in Europe and Asia other socialist states also arose, became stronger, and are growing and developing side by side with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The great people of China, under the leadership of their Communist Party, tried and tested in class battles, are advancing along the road of building socialism.

Also confidently marching towards socialism are countries which have forever cast off the yoke of capitalism: Albania, Bulgaria,

Hungary, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Socialism has now grown into an invincible world system, and is successfully competing with the old, moribund, capitalist system.

Under the influence of the ideas of October, hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa have cast off the chains of colonialism.

The flames of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries are flaring up ever higher.

PEOPLE CAN GOVERN

The Great October Socialist Revolution has utterly demolished the reactionary myth that the masses of the people are incapable of governing the state.

The forty years of existence of the Soviet state have proved not only that the masses of the working people can destroy the old, rotten social system, but also that they can build up a new, socialist, system of state and society; that they can overcome in a brief period of history their country's technical and economic backwardness and create a highly developed economy; that they can establish and develop the highest form of democracy, socialist democracy; that they can establish hitherto unheard-of relations of friendship and brotherhood among different nations; that they can awaken millions of people to conscious historical creative endeavour.

It is precisely for this reason that the October Revolution is by its nature and aims a genuinely popular and the greatest of all revolutions ever known in the history of mankind.

“... We have a right to be and are proud of the fact”, V. I. Lenin wrote, “that it has been our good fortune to *begin* the erection of a Soviet state, and thereby to *usher in* a new era in world history, the era of the rule of a *new* class, a class which is oppressed in every capitalist country, but which everywhere is marching forward towards a new life, towards victory over the bourgeoisie, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and towards the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capital and from imperialist wars.”

The fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a radiant festival for all the peoples of the Soviet Union, for all the socialist countries, for the entire international working class, the working people of the whole world.

I

The Victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the U.S.S.R.

1 THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION was the inevitable result of the development of the world capitalist system, of the extreme sharpening of all its contradictions.

The unprecedented development of technology and the growth of large-scale production brought about an immense increase in the productivity of human labour and accumulation of material values, which should have greatly raised the living standards of the entire population.

Under the rule of capitalist ownership of the means of production, however, under domination by the capitalist trusts, syndicates and banks, technological progress brings only greater profits to the capitalists, enhances property inequality, increases want and the privations of ever wider sections of the population.

With the improvement of the production process, exploitation and the enslavement of the working people increase; unemployment, the cost of living, and ruin grow for the masses of the working people; the monopolies' oppression of the working class and all the working people intensifies.

Capitalism periodically brings down upon the masses the calamities, suffering and horrors of crises and wars, engendered by the sharpening of its contradictions.

All this increased the dissatisfaction and indignation of the masses of the people against the oppressive capitalist system, while the immense growth of large-scale production created the material basis for replacing capitalism by a new, superior social system—socialism.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Owing to the uneven economic and political development of the capitalist countries, the maturing of the conditions for proletarian revolutions in different countries proceeds unevenly in the epoch of imperialism.

From this law followed the historically important conclusion, drawn by V. I. Lenin in 1915, of the possibility of the victory of the socialist revolution first in a few or even in one single country, and the impossibility of its simultaneous victory in all countries.

In the early part of the 20th century, the pivotal point of all the contradictions of imperialism and its most vulnerable link was Russia.

The combination of all kinds of oppression—capitalist, landlord, national—with police despotism by the autocracy made the conditions of the masses of the people unbearable, and gave class contradictions in Russia a special sharpness.

By the beginning of the 20th century, Russia had become the centre of the international revolutionary movement.

Already the revolution of 1905-07 had put an end to the relatively "peaceful" development of capitalism in Europe and Asia, and had marked the beginning of the period of great revolutionary storms; it was a prologue to the victorious battles of the working class and all the working people in 1917.

FIRST WORLD WAR

The imperialist world war of 1914-18, in which the imperialists slaughtered about 10,000,000 people and maimed more than 20,000,000 and ruined and left homeless millions of families, had accelerated the mounting revolutionary explosion.

"The war has created such an immense crisis, has so strained the material and moral forces of the people, has dealt such blows at the entire modern social organisation", Lenin wrote, "that humanity finds itself faced with an alternative: either it perishes, or it entrusts its fate to the most revolutionary class for the swiftest and most radical transition to a superior mode of production."

The revolution in Russia was led by the heroic working class, which had a mighty ally, the many millions of the working peasantry.

In February 1917, the tsarist autocracy was swept away by the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

A dual power developed in the country: the power of the working class and the peasantry, in the form of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, and the power of the bourgeoisie and landlords represented by the Provisional Government.

Backed by the petty-bourgeois parties—the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries—the provisional bourgeois government

continued the imperialist war, following a policy aimed against the people. It did not want to, nor could it give the long-suffering people peace, bread, land.

Such a government could not satisfy the vital needs of the workers and peasants.

COMMUNISTS LED

2 The revolutionary masses of the workers and peasants were led, inspired and organised by the Communist Party, the Bolshevik Party, a Marxist Party of a new type.

Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and having assimilated the best experience of the international labour movement, steeled in battles with the enemies of the working class, strong in its unity, inseparably linked with the masses of the working people, the Bolshevik Party proved to be the leader capable of boldly guiding the peoples of Russia to socialism.

Lenin's famous *April Theses* were the programme of the party's struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

Endeavouring to avoid unnecessary difficulties and sacrifices, relying on the will and support of the masses of the people, the party advocated the peaceful development of the revolution.

This path took for granted that all power would go to the Soviets, that the party would win a majority in the Soviets, and would change their policy in the interests of the working class.

PEACE BROKEN

The peaceful development of the revolution was broken, however, as a result of the refusal of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries to break with the bourgeoisie and concentrate all power in the hands of the Soviets, and the frenzied fight of the capitalists and landlords for their privileges.

The shooting down of a peaceful demonstration of workers and soldiers by the Provisional Government in July 1917, in Petrograd* signified an end to the dual power, and the establishment of the sole power of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The Sixth Party Congress, in line with V. I. Lenin's proposals, adopted a policy of preparing for an armed uprising.

The Congress energetically rebuffed the anti-Leninist capitu-

* Now Leningrad.—Ed.

latory line of Preobrazhensky, who opposed the party's orientation on the proletarian revolution and held that the victory of socialism in Russia was impossible until the proletarian revolution had been victorious in the west.

Guided by the congress decisions, the party accomplished the titanic work of organising and uniting all the revolutionary forces of the people, who were fighting for peace, land, national equality and for socialism, and steered them into one common channel towards the victory of the socialist revolution.

EXPERIENCE TAUGHT

The workers, soldiers and peasants were increasingly learning the correctness of Bolshevik policy from their own experience.

That policy showed the only real way out of the war and the way to peace, it called for the handing over of power to the working people, the establishment of the equality of all the nations, the confiscation of the land owned by the landlords and the conversion of factories, plants, railways and banks into the property of the entire people.

That was a consistent revolutionary programme, expressing the basic interests of the workers and peasants, the working people of all nationalities.

In reply to the just demands of the working men and women, the government of the capitalists and landlords intensified their repression against the people.

Representatives of the bourgeoisie brazenly threatened to strangle the revolution with "the bony hand of hunger"; the capitalists began to close down factories and plants, to sack the workers, to sabotage the supply of food and fuel to the cities.

Factory owners were preparing a lockout on a countrywide scale and wholesale lay-offs of workers.

In the Moscow and Petrograd industrial areas alone more than 75,000 workers were without jobs.

Attempts made by peasants to seize landed estates were cruelly suppressed by punitive detachments.

The reign of bourgeois and landlord reaction after the July events and the Kornilov rebellion—an open attempt to establish a military dictatorship in the country and to drown the revolution in blood—laid bare the anti-popular substance of the bourgeois provincial government and the compromising policy of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks.

SELLING THEIR COUNTRY

To preserve their domination, the capitalists and the landlords were prepared to sell their country to the foreign imperialists; they sought to crush the revolution with the help of foreign troops.

Counter-revolutionaries and traitors, in collusion with German imperialism, were preparing to surrender Petrograd to the troops of Kaiser Germany, in order to crush the working class and strangle the revolution.

The masses of the working people turned decisively towards the Bolsheviks, as the only ones who expressed the interests of the people.

Having gained a majority in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets, the party became the leader of the main masses of the working class.

The army, too, in its majority went over to the side of the proletarian revolution; the Bolsheviks had a decisive preponderance of forces in army units stationed close to the two capitals.

A spontaneous peasant war against the landlords flared up in the countryside.

Overcoming the furious resistance of the counter-revolutionaries and also that of the capitulators and sceptics (Zinoviev, Kamenev), the Communist Party organised the revolutionary forces of the workers, soldiers and peasants for a victorious armed uprising.

Thanks to the determined support given to the Bolshevik programme by the masses of the people, and the complete isolation of the counter-revolutionary government, the armed uprising in Petrograd was the most bloodless in the history of revolutions.

POWER TO THE SOVIETS

On October 25 (November 7), 1917, the workers and soldiers of Petrograd overthrew the bourgeois provisional government.

The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, representing the vanguard of the working class and the most revolutionary section of the peasantry, proclaimed the transfer of all power to the Soviets, and formed a workers' and peasants' government, headed by V. I. Lenin.

The congress adopted the historic Decrees on Peace and on Land.

The Decree on Peace opened the path to a revolutionary way out of the war, and laid the immutable foundations for the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state.

The Decree on Land embodied the centuries-old dreams of the millions of the peasants for the abolition of landlord land-ownership.

The decisions of the congress to form a workers' and peasants' government laid the foundations of the new Soviet state.

The October Socialist Revolution which began in Petrograd had gained victory in the main throughout the country within a few weeks.

The triumphal march of Soviet power bore indisputable witness to the genuinely popular character of the revolution.

Hand in hand with the Russian workers and peasants, the working men and women of all the peoples and nations of tsarist Russia took an active part in the revolution.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution resulted in the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class in our country.

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

3 The dictatorship of the proletariat is a new revolutionary power which was established in Russia on the basis of the alliance of the working class and the working masses of the peasantry, with the proletariat playing the leading part.

The socialist revolution smashed the old anti-popular bourgeois and landlord state machine, and built up a new machinery of power expressing the vital interests of the working people.

The state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country was the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies—born of the revolutionary creative endeavours of the masses of the people.

BROADEST DEMOCRACY

As distinct from bourgeois democracy, which has always been and in all capitalist countries, in effect, actually remains democracy for the exploiting minority, Soviet power embodies the broadest, highest form of democracy, democracy for working men and women, for the overwhelming majority of the people.

Under the domination of capitalist corporations, trusts and syndicates, of coal, oil, steel, motor, chemical, railway and all other capitalist companies, there is no real democracy for the working people, nor can there be any.

The socialist revolution, abolishing the rule of capital and turning

the means of production into public property, created the economic requirements for working class democracy.

The revolution brought the masses of the people the most important freedom—freedom from exploitation, the cornerstone of all democratic rights and freedoms.

The basic advantage of the democracy born of the socialist revolution is that state power belongs not to the exploiters but to the working people.

“We have created”, Lenin wrote, “the Soviet type of state, initiating thereby a new era in world history, an era of the political rule of the proletariat which has come to take the place of the era of the rule of the bourgeoisie.”

Under Soviet democracy, the workers and peasants became the owners of all the land, its mineral wealth, all factories and plants, mines, railways, power stations and all other means of production.

No bourgeois democratic country can do anything like that, because there the means of production provide the bourgeoisie with a means of exploiting the masses of the people.

Working class democracy is revealed in the energetic activities of the state and public organisations of the working people.

It denies the sort of “democracy” which gives the reactionaries “freedom” to break up democratic organisations of the working people, to slander the socialist system and the people’s rule.

“Proletarian democracy”, V. I. Lenin wrote, “suppresses the exploiters, the bourgeoisie, and therefore does not play the hypocrite, *does not promise them* freedom and democracy, but it gives *real democracy* to the working people.”

NATIONAL QUESTION

The socialist revolution found its most vivid embodiment in its solution of the national problem.

The Great October Revolution smashed the chains of national oppression in Russia, abolished national inequality forever and established a genuine brotherhood of all nations; it raised the formerly oppressed peoples to the status of peoples really free and really equal.

It created statehood for peoples which formerly had none, and re-established the statehood of peoples which had lost it.

The October Socialist Revolution saved our country from being dismembered and enslaved by foreign imperialist pirates, making it a free and independent state.

Soviet power put an end to the country's economic dependence on foreign capital; nationalised all enterprises which had belonged to the foreign imperialists; annulled the fettering loans, and stopped the payment of profits to foreign capitalists, who had waxed fat at the expense of Russia's workers and peasants.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia exerted a tremendous inspiring influence on the masses of the working people in other countries.

A mighty wave of revolutionary and national liberation movements rose in all parts of the world.

But at that time the Communist Parties in the west were just coming into being, they were unable then to lead the majority of the working class, to build up a strong alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and assure the victory of the proletarian revolution in their countries.

The Russian Soviet Republic remained at that time the only country of socialism; it found itself encircled by hostile capitalist states.

CIVIL WAR

4 Having taken power into their own hands, the workers and peasants of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party, commenced peaceful constructive work.

But the exploiting classes, overthrown by the revolution, launched civil war against the workers' and peasants' government, trying to restore their former rule by force of arms.

In their struggle against the workers and peasants, they were helped by the petty-bourgeois parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who landed completely in the camp of the counter-revolution.

International imperialism was the organiser and inspirer of the armed struggle against the Soviet republic.

The tremendous revolutionary influence of the first workers' and peasants' republic in the world aroused the fear and fury of the imperialists in all countries.

In the victory of the socialist revolution they saw a threat to their parasitical existence, to their profits and capital, to all their privileges.

Trying to strangle the young Soviet republic, the imperialists, headed by the ruling circles of Britain, the United States and France, organised military campaigns against our country.

From all sides, from the north and the south, from the east and

the west, the hordes of interventionists and White Guards swarmed upon our territory. Soviet Russia was gripped in a fiery ring of battlefronts.

AGAINST INTERVENTION

In those trying days, the Communist Party and the Soviet government called on the people to rise for a just, revolutionary, patriotic war against the foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolution.

In response to this call of the Party, hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants volunteered for the Red Army.

Straining every muscle and sinew, the starving workers supplied the army with weapons and ammunition, and the peasants supplied it with food.

The Party and the Komsomol* sent almost half of their members to the front.

From their midst, the workers and peasants advanced gifted army leaders, heroes who won truly epic fame.

For more than three years the Soviet republic had to beat back the frenzied onslaught of the combined forces of the imperialist pirates and the internal counter-revolution.

During that time, the Soviet people endured grave privations and incredible hardships.

The bigger cities received very little food and for months only four ounces of a bread a day were issued to the workers.

There were not enough raw materials or fuel, and whatever supplies could be mustered the ruined transport system was unable to deliver. Most of our industrial establishments stood idle.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people and their Red Army displayed marvels of heroism, selfless enthusiasm, high adherence to ideas and unprecedented loyalty to the great ideals of socialism; they defended the existence of the world's first socialist state.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

All the attempts of the imperialists to liquidate the "Russian breach" and to smother the young Soviet republic were resisted with determination by the working class of other countries.

A movement of support for the Soviet people developed in the capitalist countries, and action committees under the slogan

* Young Communist League.—Ed.

"Hands off Russia" were set up there during the years of foreign intervention and civil war.

The demand to be sent home resounded ever more loudly among the troops of the interventionists, and cases of refusal to fight against Soviet Russia became more frequent.

French sailors in the Black Sea mutinied against intervention. International battalions fought on the side of Soviet troops; they consisted of Chinese, Hungarians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Finns and other foreign revolutionaries.

Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in January 1918 a workers' revolution started in Finland; in November 1918 the revolution began in Germany; in March 1919, a working class revolution took place in Hungary; in April 1919 a Soviet republic was proclaimed in Bavaria.

All these revolutionary actions gave important support to the young Russian Soviet Republic.

Workers of all countries considered the defence of the Russian revolution their own vital cause, their international duty in the struggle against capital.

This was a striking manifestation of the power and efficacy of working class internationalism.

The victory of the Soviet people over the interventionists and White Guards in the civil war was a major military and political defeat for world imperialism, a demonstration of the great vital force and invincibility of the young Soviet state.

The victorious struggle of the Soviet people against the interventionists and the White Guards clearly confirmed Lenin's prophetic words:

"Never will a people be vanquished, whose workers and peasants in their majority have learned, felt and seen that they are upholding their own Soviet power, the power of the working people, that they are upholding the cause, the triumph of which will ensure them and their children the possibility of enjoying all the blessings of culture, everything created by the labour of man."

II

The Building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the Main Result of the October Revolution

5 The great mission of building the world's first socialist society was given by history to the heroic working class and toiling peasantry of Russia, who had thrown off the yoke of imperialism and, as Lenin put it, won their country from the rich for the poor.

Having no models or precedents and fearing no hardships or adversities, the Soviet people courageously followed uncharted paths in creating a new life.

And they have paved the fundamental way into the bright future for all humanity, showing the whole world that the concrete historical experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. contains some features and similarities of the victorious socialist revolution common to all countries in the building of a new, socialist society.

The programme of building socialism was worked out scientifically by V. I. Lenin, leader of the party and the people.

Lenin's teaching of the possibility of the victory of socialism first in a few and even in one individual country formed the theoretical basis of this programme.

LENIN'S PLAN

Lenin's plan for the socialist reconstruction of Russia envisaged the abolition of her technical and economic backwardness; the establishment of a socialist economy, the most advanced material and technical basis for a new society; the transformation of the country into a mighty industrial power; and high living standards based on the development of all branches of the national economy.

The concept of socialist industrialisation formed the core of this plan, because only the development of heavy industry, especially machine-building, could make it possible to reorganise all branches of the national economy, agriculture included, to give the country economic power, to ensure its defensive capacity and to build socialism.

Lenin attached particular importance to the electrification of the country. He said:

"... If Russia becomes covered with a dense network of

electric power plants and powerful technical installations, our Communist economic construction will become a model for the coming socialist Europe and Asia.”

One of the most important parts of Lenin’s plan for the construction of socialism was the socialist transformation of the backward and parcelled agriculture by as “simple and easy a means as possible and accessible to the peasantry”, by means of the voluntary union of the peasants in producers’ co-operatives—e.g. collectivisation—with the gradual equipping of agricultural production with modern machinery.

Lenin’s plan included as an organic part the aims of a cultural revolution, of training numerous groups of highly skilled experts for all branches of the economy and culture.

Lenin pointed out that bringing the broadest sections of the working people closer to science, engineering, culture and government was imperative for the building of socialism.

LEGACY OF TSARDOM

6 It was incredibly difficult to build socialism in so economically backward a peasant country as Russia, against the fierce resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes and under conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement which aimed at overthrowing Soviet power and therefore practised sabotage and organised counter-revolutionary plots and kulak* rebellions.

When the “legacy” received by the Soviet system from tsarist Russia is mentioned nowadays, the low level of economic development attained by Russia in 1913—i.e. on the eve of the First World War—is often meant. But in reality the Soviet state did not even get that pitiful “legacy”.

It had been destroyed or looted by the imperialists of Germany, the United States of America, Britain, France, Japan and the other countries that had drawn Russia into the First World War and which, after the victory of the socialist revolution, had forced a civil war on the young Soviet republic and had thrown their interventionist armies on to her territory.

The interventionists tortured and tore the territory of the Soviet republic to pieces.

Under the banner of “the Salvation of Russia”, the interventionists and White-Guards plundered, stole and sold out her resources.

* Wealthier peasant farmers, employing the labour of other peasants.—ED.

They ruined our country. They dreamed of dismembering Russia and turning her parts into their colonies.

And though the imperialists suffered a military, moral and political defeat in their open predatory war against the world’s first socialist state of the working people, they managed to inflict such heavy damage on our country’s economy as to put her already backward economy back for decades.

In 1920 the large-scale industry of our country put out nearly one-seventh of the production of 1913; smelting of pig iron stood at only 2.7 per cent of the prewar level; production of cement at 2.4 per cent; of soap at 7.1 per cent; of cotton textiles at 4 per cent.

At that time, steel output dropped to 200,000 tons a year. At present, the Soviet Union produces that amount of steel in less than two days.

RELYING ON OURSELVES

By hindering the establishment of normal relations between the U.S.S.R. and other countries, and by organising an economic blockade of the Soviet Union and the sabotage and anti-popular activities of the counter-revolutionary elements, the imperialists planned to frustrate the construction of socialism and to deprive the Soviet republic of the possibility of immediately showing the working people throughout the world the great superiority of the socialist system over capitalism.

They hoped that the Soviet Union would be unable to restore her economy, destroyed by the war, and would certainly be incapable of rapidly developing it.

The Soviet people had only themselves to rely upon, only their own forces and resources to surmount the unprecedented difficulties of economic devastation and exhaustion, of poverty and famine, and to pave the way to socialism in a short time.

ADDITIONAL DIFFICULTIES

The building of socialism was rendered additionally difficult because at that time the working class did not as yet have the necessary numbers of specialists—while a considerable proportion of the old specialists were hostile to Soviet power.

Lastly, it was necessary to break the furious resistance of the hostile trends and groupings within the Party—Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and national deviationists—who were disguised agents

of those exploiting classes which had been defeated within the country.

All these anti-Party groups opposed the general line of the Party aimed at building socialism in the U.S.S.R.; they spread disbelief in the possibility of the victory of socialism in our country and, in essence, dragged the country back to capitalism.

The central committee of the Party, headed by Lenin and, after Lenin's death, by Stalin, destroyed all those anti-Party groups and cemented the Party into a great monolithic force which, confidently overcoming the adversities and hardships, led the country along the Leninist path of building socialism.

POPULAR SUPPORT

7 Lenin's general line for the Communist Party, to transform backward agrarian Russia into a mighty industrial power, a fortress of socialism, received the active and all-round support of the people, while the abolition of landlord and capitalist private ownership and the concentration of the basic branches of economy in the hands of the state made it possible to mobilise for the socialist reorganisation of the country those powerful reserves which are inaccessible to capitalist countries.

The Communist Party aroused and directed to a single aim the powerful creative energy of the working people.

The Soviet people made conscious sacrifices, seriously limited their material and cultural requirements, being aware of the fact that they had no other resources for quickly transforming their country into a land with a first-class socialist industry and large-scale mechanised socialist agriculture.

Industrialisation could suffer no delay. The situation of the time offered no respite.

Either the Soviet workers and peasants solved the problem of industrialisation in the shortest possible time or the Soviet state, which was in the position of a besieged fortress, would be crushed by the new intervention being prepared by the imperialist aggressors.

FIVE-YEAR PLANS

During the first five-year plan periods, the whole of our country from one end to the other was filled with the enthusiastic construction of giants of socialist industry and the mastering of new techniques.

Thousands of enterprises, whole branches of industry unknown in prerevolutionary Russia, were speedily created.

New cities and industrial centres came into being. New railways were laid for many thousands of kilometres; the lights of newly-built power plants were turned on; the mines and collieries, blast and open-hearth furnaces built by the Soviet people began turning out coal and ore, pig iron and steel.

The successful fulfilment of the first five-year plans transformed the Soviet Union from an agrarian into an industrial country: socialist industry was now able to produce all types of modern equipment, supply the country with first-class machinery and provide the Soviet Army with all types of up-to-date armaments.

The world's first experiment in the planned socialist transformation of the economy and culture of a vast country justified itself brilliantly.

The jeers of the bourgeoisie at the "Bolshevik economic myth" and its hopes that socialist industrialisation would fail were replaced by fear of the growing strength of the U.S.S.R.

SOCIALIST ADVANTAGES

The advantages of the Soviet socialist system of economy and its great vital force now revealed themselves with unusual brilliance and depth.

The Soviet Union exerted an ever increasing influence on the world by the rapid growth of her economy.

It was precisely at that moment that the capitalist world was in the throes of a very deep economic crisis, a crisis which had assumed a general character and had plunged the economies of the capitalist countries into a state of total instability and chaos.

The United States of America alone incurred losses of 300,000 million dollars' worth of production during the economic crisis of 1929-33.

The crisis resulted in a 44 per cent curtailment of production throughout the capitalist world: blast and open-hearth furnaces were idle, plants and factories closed down, wages slumped, and 25 million unemployed roamed the streets of capitalist towns and cities, searching for work and bread.

Sown areas were cut down and millions of farmers were bankrupt.

Mountains of foodstuffs were savagely destroyed, burned and drowned in the sea, while the working people starved to death.

Capitalism showed all its ulcers and vices, and was deeply shaken.

The successful construction of the socialist economy in the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and the destructive economic crisis in the capitalist countries, on the other, were an inevitable reminder of the historical fate of capitalism.

Moved by their hatred for the country of socialism and fearing the rapid industrial development of the Soviet Union as a result of the successful fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan, the international imperialists, and primarily the American and British monopolists, began actively supporting and arming German fascism, considering fascism to be—in the words of one reactionary British newspaper—a “reliable European defence against the communist danger”.

REORGANISING AGRICULTURE

8 The most difficult task after the conquest of political power by the working class was the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. This reorganisation took the lines of bringing individual peasant households into co-operatives, and organising big state farms.

This meant a radical revolution in age-old economic structure, in the way of life and in the consciousness of millions upon millions of peasants.

The Communist Party overcame all the difficulties involved in solving the problem of bringing the peasant households into co-operatives.

The party persuaded the masses of the peasants that the only way to a well-to-do and cultured life was that of collective farming, based on machinery.

The furious resistance of the kulaks to the collective farm movement, their attempts to organise anti-Soviet uprisings and to launch bloody terror against active collective farmers and party and government workers, compelled the Soviet state to destroy the kulaks as a class, to deprive them of the instruments and means of production and to transfer their lands and implements to the collective farms.

COLLECTIVE FARMS TRIUMPHED

The collective farm system triumphed throughout the country.

The Soviet peasants, the greater part of the population, started irrevocably along the path of socialism.

The victory of the collective farm system signified that public, socialist ownership had been established and that new, socialist

relations of production, had come into being in agriculture, the country's biggest economic sphere, in which until then private ownership of the means of production had prevailed.

The entire subsequent development of the collective farm system has shown its superiority over small-scale scattered, individual farming.

Simultaneously with the advance of socialism, a cultural revolution had been carried out along the whole line.

The country became covered with a close network of schools, cultural and educational institutions, and higher educational establishments.

Universal, compulsory elementary education in the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. was introduced.

The general cultural level of the working people was stepped up.

The historical experience of the U.S.S.R. has thus confirmed the foresight of Lenin, who pointed out that only by winning political power could the working class create the basis for the rapid cultural advance of the whole people.

THE MAIN RESULT

9 The building of socialism is the main result for our people of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The victory of socialism has changed the face of the country, transformed its economy, culture and mode of life, and has led to the establishment of new relations between classes and nations.

With the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and exchange, and the establishment of public, socialist ownership, the exploitation of man by man and the causes underlying it have also been abolished.

For the first time in many thousands of years, the producers of the material wealth, the workers, have won the possibility of working not for parasitic exploiters, but for themselves, for their own socialist society.

After many centuries of economic, social and national oppression of most people by a majority of exploiters, labour and the people of labour—workers, peasants and intellectuals from the ranks of the people—have become the masters of life.

The Soviet working class has grown substantially in numbers, while its cultural level and its production and technical skills have risen.

From being a class deprived of the means of production and forced to sell its labour power to exploiters, the working class of

the U.S.S.R. has been transformed into an entirely new class, a class which, together with the rest of the people, owns the means of production and works in socialist enterprises.

The Soviet working peasantry are no longer a class of petty private owners; they have been transformed into a collective-farm peasantry, whose wellbeing is based on collective labour and collective ownership.

New Soviet intellectuals have appeared and developed; they have come out of the ranks of the workers and peasants, are closely connected with the people, very well understand the vital interests of the people and serve them devotedly.

UNPRECEDENTED UNITY

The changes in the class structure of society have strengthened the union of the working class and the peasantry, and have created a moral and political unity of the people unprecedented in history.

A new society, undivided into antagonistic classes, cemented by a unity of vital interests and a common aim, has come into being for the first time in history.

The moral and political unity of the people has become the greatest motive force in the development of socialist society.

The historical problem of abolishing the economic and cultural backwardness of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., backwardness inherited from tsarist times, has been solved in the course of socialist construction.

The peoples, formerly deprived of all rights and doomed by capitalism to extinction, have experience a new assurance.

The bourgeois nations have been transformed into socialist nations, and firm friendship and fraternal co-operation has been established among them.

Modern industry has been created in all the Union Republics,* national forces of workers and intellectuals have developed, and a new culture, national in form and socialist in content, has come into being.

OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED

The solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R. has dispelled the age-old lie of the colonialists about "inferior" peoples, and has shown irrefutably that independent historical creativeness is

* The Soviet Union is made up of fifteen "Union Republics".—Ed.

accessible not only to "chosen" nations, but to all peoples, regardless of colour, national, or racial differences.

All that is needed is an opportunity for the peoples to display their creative forces—as they were able to do after the October Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the first revolution in history which gave the working people not only political and economic rights, but also material wealth.

It has not confined itself to ensuring freedom for the working people—the workers and the peasants—but has also created the conditions for a steady rise in the living standards of all the working people of town and country, rather than of any one class or section of the population.

The victory of socialism has resulted in a continuous rise in the material wellbeing of the masses of the people.

Unemployment and the working people's fear for their future have disappeared.

The socialist state has not only proclaimed but has also put into practice in reality, the right of the citizens to work, education, rest and leisure, and security in old age.

The socialist system has not only emancipated the women, ensured the complete equality in political and social life and opened up the widest opportunities to them for active participation in the work of society and the upbringing of the rising generation, but has also raised to a high level the dignity of motherhood.

It has introduced radical changes in the conditions of the young people, opened up before the youth of all nationalities wide opportunities for study, for acquiring production skills, for creative labour, and for daring and heroic deeds.

CHANGING PEOPLE

The bourgeois ideologists hoped that the construction of socialism would fail because of the "immutability" of human nature, presuming that man was an individualist and enemy of collective forms of life.

The bourgeoisie and its philosophers denied the possibility of creating a new, socialist morality based on co-operation and mutual aid among people free from exploitation.

Reality has refuted this malicious fiction of the defenders of the old system.

Having carried through a great transformation in the social life of the people, the socialist revolution has quite naturally also

engendered the most profound changes in their consciousness and morality, and in their attitudes to society and to one another.

Soviet patriotism and a socialist attitude to work and to public property are the most important signs of the new spiritual make-up of Soviet man.

The new attitude to work and to society has brought to life such phenomena—unheard of in the old world—as socialist emulation,* which aims at increasing the public wealth and at raising labour productivity.

The coming into being of socialist emulation is a sign of the greatest revolution in the history of humanity: work, which for many thousands of years people have looked on as a heavy and shameful burden, has become a matter of honour, confirming the dignity of man.

Peaceful socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. was interrupted by the treacherous military attack by imperialist Nazi Germany, which based itself on the military potential of the bulk of Europe, which it had occupied.

The war brought our people incalculable suffering, but at the same time confirmed the strength and invincibility of the new, socialist society created in the U.S.S.R., the indomitable spirit of the new man, born of socialism and brought up by the Communist Party.

* "Socialist emulation" is the countrywide movement in the Soviet Union whereby factories, shops, individual workers etc., challenge one another to outdo one another in quantity and quality of production.—Ed.

III

The Heroic Feat of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War*

10 The Second World War was unleashed by German fascism, but German fascism was only the most savage, piratical section of world imperialism.

Imperialism is the social system that is responsible for the death in war of tens of millions of people, for immeasurable suffering endured by hundreds of millions of people, for their tears and blood, and for the destruction of vast material resources and cultural values, built up over many generations.

It was the imperialists of the United States, Britain and France who spent many thousands of millions of dollars, against the interests of their peoples, to help the German monopolists nourish Hitlerism and to arm the fascist hordes.

It was they who encouraged the Hitler aggressors in their claims to Austria and Czechoslovakia, and who instigated them to move closer to the Soviet borders, rejecting all Soviet proposals for unity to rebuff the fascist invaders.

COUNTING ON HITLER

Even when it became clear that Hitler's hordes represented a mortal danger to the freedom and independence of all nations—since Hitler Germany had enslaved eleven European countries, including France whose army was once considered the strongest in Europe, before it attacked the Soviet Union—and Britain was threatened with the danger of complete defeat, the imperialists did not lose hope of improving their situations at the expense of the Soviet Union, which had been attacked.

The imperialists of the United States, Britain and France were counting on their German competitors being weakened in a war of extermination.

The Soviet Union would either be destroyed or bled white, and the imperialists would be able to dictate peace terms to both victor and vanquished.

But things turned out differently.

* Name popularly used in the U.S.S.R. for the war with Nazi Germany.—Ed.

The Great Patriotic War showed our party's wisdom in speeding up the socialist transformation of the country in good time.

Precisely because the country had been industrialised and its agriculture collectivised and because a cultural revolution had been carried through under the leadership of the party in a remarkably short time, the Soviet Union proved capable of holding out against the pressure of fascist Germany and her allies.

At the call of the party, the Soviet people rose to resist the enemy in the Great Patriotic War and through their heroic struggle upset all the plans and calculations of the Hitler invaders and their inspirers.

MOST SEVERE WAR

The Patriotic War was the most severe war our country has ever waged.

Particularly hard trials fell to the lot of the Soviet people at the beginning of the war, when, together with its allies, the Hitler army, armed to the teeth, with two years of battle experience, and backed by almost the entire economy of Europe, suddenly attacked our country and, making use of its temporary advantage, forced our troops to wage fierce defensive warfare.

Enemy armies broke through to vital centres of our country. Mortal danger hung over our land.

But severe trials did not destroy the fighting spirit of the Soviet armed forces, nor did it shake the staunchness of our people or their infinite faith in the victory of their righteous cause.

Under the guidance of Lenin's party the people turned their country into a united, militant camp. Soviet patriots began a widespread guerilla movement in the enemy's rear.

In the first fierce battles, Soviet troops wrecked Hitler's *blitzkrieg* plan, and inflicted heavy losses on the fascist armies.

The rout of the fascist armies before Moscow in December 1941 was Hitler's first big defeat in the Second World War.

A year later, in the fires of the great battle of Stalingrad, mankind glimpsed the dawn of victory over fascism.

The peoples of all the countries enslaved or in danger of being enslaved by Hitler followed with great hopes the heroic struggle of the Soviet people and their armed forces.

In the Soviet Union they saw a decisive force capable of halting and defeating the fascist hordes, of ridding mankind of the brown plague, and saving world civilisation.

THE MAIN BURDEN

The United States and Britain concluded an agreement with our country on joint action in the war against Germany.

First and foremost, they promised to open a second front against the German fascist troops in Western Europe in 1942.

If this promise had been kept, the war would have ended much sooner, and millions of lives and tremendous material and cultural values would have been preserved.

However, unlike the Soviet Union, which did everything in its power under the most difficult conditions to facilitate the actions of its allies and hasten victory, the governments of the United States and Britain kept putting off opening a second front with all sorts of excuses.

The Soviet people, their armed forces and their guerillas operating in the enemy's rear, bore the main burden of the struggle against the Hitlerite hordes on their shoulders.

The Soviet army wore the enemy down in battles unprecedented in scope, fought from the Barents Sea to the Black Sea and, after the battles of Byelgorod and Kursk in the summer of 1943, drove the fascist armies westward from Soviet territory, dealing powerful blows at their men and materials.

ARDENNES BREAK-THROUGH

When it became obvious that the Soviet army would be able to defeat Nazi Germany single-handed, and bring freedom to the enslaved peoples of Europe, the United States and Britain landed their troops in France in June 1944.

But even then the American and British imperialists were less concerned with attacking Germany from the west than with penetrating into the Balkans, where the peoples of Yugoslavia and other countries, supported by Soviet victories, were waging a successful fight against the fascists and their accomplices.

These tactics of our allies created a situation in which, without removing troops from the Soviet front, the German Command was able to break through the Anglo-American front in the area of the Ardennes at the end of December 1944 and threaten the allied troops with the danger of rout.

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, sent an alarmed message to J. V. Stalin, head of the Soviet government, asking him to undertake a new offensive on the Soviet-German front in order to ease the difficult position of the Anglo-American troops.

Despite the fact that the Soviet Army had just completed a big winter offensive, and the extremely unfavourable weather along the front, J. V. Stalin replied the very next day, January 7, 1945, that the General Headquarters had decided, in view of the allied situation on the Western Front, to speed up preparations and, regardless of the weather, to launch a broad offensive against the Germans along the entire Central Front not later than in the second half of January.

A week later, Soviet troops launched an offensive from the Carpathians to the Baltic Sea, thereby forcing the German Command to shift part of its troops from the west, in order to save its Eastern Front from collapse.

VICTORY ACHIEVED

On February 23, 1945, Mr. Churchill wrote to Stalin that the Red Army was celebrating its 27th anniversary with a triumph that had aroused the boundless admiration of its allies and had decided the fate of German militarism.

Future generations, Churchill said, would acknowledge their debt to the Red Army as unreservedly as those who had lived to witness such magnificent victories.

American and British soldiers and the peoples of those countries, followed with admiration the Soviet Army's final decisive offensive which, combined with the actions of British and American troops, forced fascist Germany to unconditional surrender.

The joint efforts of the Allies soon defeated the armed forces of imperialist Japan as well.

The heroic Chinese people, who fought for long years against the Japanese invaders, made a tremendous contribution to victory over imperialist Japan.

By dealing the crack troops of imperialist Japan, concentrated in North-West China, a devastating blow in August 1945, the Soviet armed forces fulfilled their international duty and welded in blood the unbreakable fraternal alliance of the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

THE HOME FRONT

11 Soviet factory workers, collective farmers and intellectuals performed an unprecedented feat in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

Under the complicated difficult conditions of wartime, they carried out the enormous job of converting the national economy

to war, evacuating industrial establishments from front-line areas deep into the rear, organising the mass production of tanks, planes, guns, trench mortars and other types of armaments, and keeping the front supplied with ammunition and equipment.

During the Patriotic War, Soviet men and women showed true heroism. The people of our country had only one desire; to do "everything for the front, everything for victory!"

In the titanic clash with the forces of fascist aggression, the Soviet social and state system born in the Great October Socialist Revolution emerged the victor, as did socialist ideology, the most advanced in the world.

The advantages of the Soviet system over the capitalist system of economy, and the moral and political unity of Soviet society, based on the unbreakable alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., gave the Soviet Union invincible sources of strength.

THE PARTY'S ROLE

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the force which inspired and organised the victory over fascist Germany and imperialist Japan.

The party sent millions of its finest sons to the front. They inspired the Soviet fighting men by their selfless devotion to duty, and were the guiding spirit in the military units.

The prestige of the communists grew immeasurably. Soviet soldiers considered it a great honour to go into battle as party members.

In spite of immense losses at the front, the ranks of the party increased by 1,600,000 during the war.

Throughout the war, the party explained the just nature and noble aims of the war to the people, and united and directed the efforts of the entire country.

The Soviet people emerged the victor from the war thanks to the guidance of the Communist Party and its central committee.

LIBERATING MISSION

12 Mankind will never forget the great feats, military and in work, of the Soviet people and their armed forces in the patriotic war against fascism.

The Soviet armed forces fulfilled their liberation mission with honour, saving the peoples of many countries from fascist enslavement.

The victorious offensive of the Soviet troops merged with the broad national liberation movements in the countries occupied by Hitler Germany.

Together with the Soviet troops, the Czechoslovak and Polish corps, the Yugoslav and Albanian guerilla forces and, later, the Rumanian and Bulgarian divisions fought courageously against the German fascist invaders.

Their military collaboration was welded with blood, shed in the common struggle.

The peoples of France, Britain, the United States and other countries in the anti-Hitler coalition made a significant contribution to the defeat of fascist Germany.

FAILURE OF IMPERIALISM

The victorious outcome of the Great Patriotic War signified the utter failure of the imperialist second military invasion of our country.

It had a profound influence on the further course of historical development.

In its consequences, this victory had no equal in all past wars of liberation.

The prestige of the Soviet Union and its role in the settlement of international problems increased immeasurably as a result of the rout of German fascism and Japanese imperialism.

The defeat of the reactionary forces which supported the Hitler invaders created conditions which made possible the rise of a people's democratic system in a number of countries, and has a powerful influence on the development of the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples.

As a result, the forces of socialism and democracy grew considerably in stature and strength, and the positions of imperialism and reaction became weaker and smaller.

VICTORY CONSOLIDATED

13 After defeating the fascist aggressors and defending their freedom and independence, the Soviet people could again take up their work of building communism.

The German invaders inflicted tremendous damage on the Soviet economy.

They destroyed 1,710 towns and more than 70,000 villages, blew up or burned down about 32,000 industrial establishments, and put out of commission iron and steel mills which before the war had

accounted for about 60 per cent of the country's steel, and mines which had produced 60 per cent of the country's coal.

Agriculture suffered colossal losses.

The invaders plundered and damaged 98,000 collective farms; 1,876 state farms; and 2,890 machine and tractor stations.

Losses resulting from direct destruction of property alone amounted to the vast sum of 679,000 million roubles.*

But the hardest blow in the Patriotic War was the death of millions of Soviet people.

If any bourgeois state, no matter how rich, had suffered the losses which Soviet society did, it would have been set back many years, and would inevitably have been enslaved by other imperialist states.

The politicians and ideologists of imperialism in the United States and the countries of Western Europe counted on this happening with the Soviet Union. Their hopes failed.

In spite of all the intrigues of imperialist reaction, and its attempts to hinder our socialist state in its economic development, the working people of the U.S.S.R. consolidated its further strengthening and development, and created the conditions for a successful advance towards communism.

IV

Results of Socialist Construction in the Post-War Period, and the Tasks of the Soviet People in the Struggle for Communism

14 Just as our country's socialist social and state system disclosed its unlimited possibilities and demonstrated its decisive advantages over capitalism in the organisation of the war economy and the mobilisation of resources for victory, so, too, it has enabled our country to heal quickly the heavy wounds resulting from the war, to restore and push confidently ahead all branches of the national economy.

Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet people, to their great energy, the factories and mills, power plants and mines, the collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms and the towns and villages devastated by the enemy in the Russian Federation,

* The exchange rate is 11.24 roubles to the £.

the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Moldavia, have been restored within a short period.

The greatest industrial giants—the Zaporozhye steel works, the Kramatorsk engineering works, and the Stalingrad and Kharkov tractor factories—were raised from the debris and ashes; the Dnieper hydro-electric station, the first giant born under the five-year plans, is shining with lights again.

Restored and expanded, heroic Leningrad and Stalingrad, Sevastopol and Odessa are more beautiful than ever before.

New factories, great power stations and mines have been put into action, while at the same time new modern towns and workers' communities have been built.

PRE-WAR SURPASSED

With the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans* brought to a successful conclusion, the Soviet Union was in a position to surpass the pre-war level of production greatly.

By the end of the first postwar decade in 1956, our country's industrial output was 3½ times the 1940 volume.

The general volume of industrial production in 1957 is 33 times greater than in 1913. That has furnished the basis for an increase in the output of 74 times as many consumer goods as in 1913.†

As compared with 1913, output of consumer goods will increase in our country 13 times over this year.

Moreover, the increase in quantity is being attended by improvements in variety and in the quality of the products.

Backed by the industrial and technical potentialities of their country, every year the Soviet people are utilising their innumerable economic resources and natural wealth, in a better way and more fully.

* The Fourth (first post-war) Five-Year Plan 1946-50, and the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1951-55).—Ed.

† The Soviet mechanical engineering and metalworking industries made particularly great strides in their development, the output of which will increase this year to 200 times the 1913 volume.

As a result of the rapid development of heavy industry, the specific gravity of the manufacture of the means of production in the general volume of industrial output was over 70 per cent in 1956, as compared with 33 per cent in 1913.

On this basis the ground was established for a simultaneous development of the production of consumer goods.

(This footnote is included in the original text.—Ed.)

AGRICULTURE AND SCIENCE

Our agriculture has also undergone a radical change. Instead of the 25 million small peasant households of the days before collectivisation, the U.S.S.R. now has large collective farms equipped with the latest machinery.

At the beginning of 1957, there were 1,577,000 tractors (figure based on an average of 15 h.p. per tractor); 385,000 grain harvester combines; 631,000 lorries; and millions of other agricultural machines used in the agriculture of the U.S.S.R.*

The areas under all crops have grown, as compared with 1913, by more than 50 per cent; the area under wheat by almost 100 per cent; under technical crops by 170 per cent; under cotton and sugar beet by 200 per cent.

Nor was this progress limited solely to the expansion of the areas in cultivation.

The efficiency of agriculture and crop yields have also been raised.

Science has made a major contribution to technical progress in our country. Soviet scientists have shown that they are able to solve the most difficult scientific and technical problems in the shortest periods of time.

The great achievements of Soviet scientists in mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry and electronics have made possible the successful solution of very difficult problems involved in the development of electric power production, engineering, metallurgy and radio engineering, automation and remote control; to increase the use of the latest technique in production, and to work out highly efficient technological processes.

ATOMIC POWER

The world's first atomic power station has been in operation in the Soviet Union since 1954, and construction of new atomic power stations is now under way.

The world's most powerful accelerator of particles, a synchro-phasotron, has been built in the Soviet Union.

An outstanding success for Soviet science and engineering has been the construction of intercontinental ballistic missiles, and the complex means for launching them.

* The socialist reorganisation enabled agriculture greatly to increase volume of output, while cutting at the same time the number of people employed in it.

(This footnote forms part of the original text.—Ed.)

Thanks to the heroic work of the Soviet people, led by their militant vanguard, the Communist Party, our country has developed into one of the economically most advanced powers.

The share of the Soviet Union in the world's industrial production has risen from between two and three per cent in 1917 to approximately 20 per cent today.

The U.S.S.R. has advanced to first place in Europe and second in the world in volume of industrial output.

OUTPUT PER HEAD

The experience of the U.S.S.R. and of the other socialist countries shows that under socialism, which is free from the ulcers and vices of capitalism, production grows much faster than under capitalism.

Thanks to the advantages of the socialist system, the Soviet Union is rapidly overtaking the most advanced capitalist countries in production per head of population.

Industrial production in our country per head of population, which was only one-thirteenth to one-fourteenth of the corresponding ratio in the United States of America in 1913, had grown to two-thirteenths by 1937, and to five-thirteenths today.

This shows that the gap in industrial production per head between our country and the U.S.A. has shrunk in Soviet years to one-fifth of its former size.

This confirms the complete correctness of Lenin's forecast, when he said that we would overtake other states with a speed of which they did not even dream.

LIVING STANDARDS

15 Socialism has opened the widest possibilities for continuous improvement in the living and cultural standards of our people.

The further improvements achieved in the wellbeing of all categories of the working people are the most important results of the postwar development of Soviet society.

As before the war, there is today no unemployment in the Soviet Union.

The average number of workers employed in the Soviet national economy this year will exceed 52,500,000, which is more than four times the corresponding average for 1913.

The great privation suffered by the masses of the workers and

peasants in tsarist Russia has been abolished from our country as the result of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Real wages and salaries were rising continuously in the years immediately before the Second World War and have been doing so in the postwar years.

The standard of material security of the working people today (taking into account free tuition and free health services, pensions, allowances and various benefits paid by the state, as well as the reduction of the working day) is several times greater than in 1913.

The real incomes* of the working peasants have also increased greatly as compared with the prerevolutionary period.

Increases in wages and salaries have been granted over the last couple of years to lower paid categories; old age and invalid pensions have been raised substantially; the duration of maternity leave† has been extended, and tuition fees have been abolished in the higher and secondary schools.

The volume of goods consumed by the public has grown everywhere. The Soviet people can afford better food, better clothes and more cultural facilities.

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE

The socialist revolution has done away with the monopoly of the well-to-do classes in the field of education.

The ignorance and illiteracy of the working people has become a thing of the remote past.

All the necessary conditions have been created for the education of the children and the young people in secondary and higher schools.

More than 50 million are studying in our country at present. The colleges and specialised secondary schools have an attendance of more than 4,000,000 compared with 182,000 in 1913.

The spiritual treasures of the Soviet society have been growing steadily in the postwar years.

Continuous progress is being achieved in literature and the arts, which reflect the rich spiritual world of the Soviet citizen, the builder of communism, his high ideals and his humanism; literature and the arts play an important part in the communist education of the working people.

The industrial, scientific and technical knowledge of the workers

* Here incomes in terms of what they will purchase is meant.—Ed.

† With pay.—Ed.

and peasants and their practical experience has grown incomparably.

More than six million qualified people with higher education, or passing out of specialised secondary schools, are employed in our national economy today, whereas in 1913 there were less than 200,000.

The higher schools and scientific institutions today employ 240,000 scientific workers—almost 24 times as many as in the days of the tsar.

More than 770,000 qualified people have graduated from our higher schools and specialised secondary schools this year alone. The number of college-trained graduates is 21 times greater today than before the revolution.

This rate of increase in the training of qualified people has no precedent in any capitalist country.

That fact is recognised even by those who wish our Soviet country ill.

With such a great number of skilled, qualified scientists and technicians it is possible for us to solve the most complicated problems of science and engineering much faster than can be done in the richest capitalist countries.

BETTER HEALTH

The health services for the population have been fundamentally improved.

Prerevolutionary Russia had one doctor for every 10,000 inhabitants, while the U.S.S.R. today has 17 (more than in the U.S.A.); the number of hospital beds has grown from 13 to 70 for every 10,000 of the population.

Medical assistance given to the population is free of charge. Sickness benefit is paid to all factory and office workers.

The higher living standards of the broad masses of the people and the fruitful work of the Soviet health protection system have brought about a radical improvement in the people's health, and a decline in mortality.

In tsarist Russia the death rate was $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the U.S.A. or Britain, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of France, but today it is much lower than in those countries, while the natural increase in the population is higher.

Average expectancy of life in the U.S.S.R. has grown sharply, as compared with the prerevolutionary period.

Our towns and villages are becoming well-appointed.

By 1956 there was 3.7 times as much housing in the towns as in

1913, despite the tremendous damage caused by the First World War, the civil war, and—especially—by the Second World War.

Moreover, the average expenditure from the worker's budget for rent is about 20 per cent or an even smaller proportion of the prerevolutionary rate.

Whereas the workers in prerevolutionary Russia, just as they do in the capitalist countries today, spent from a fifth to a third of their wages on rent, in the U.S.S.R. today, not more than about five per cent of the working class family's budget is spent in this way.

RISING STANDARDS

The Soviet state allocates vast sums to finance various benefits, pensions and scholarships and to provide accommodation in health and holiday centres, free education, free health services, etc.

In 1956 alone, such payments and privileges totalled 169,000 million roubles. They will have increased to at least 192,000 million roubles this year.

The rapid progress in the national economy and the continuous improvement in the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people reflect the great power of socialism, its superiority over capitalism.

In our country, the national income grows much faster than it does in the capitalist countries, and it is being distributed entirely in the interest of the working people—75 per cent of the national income being allocated for their personal use, whereas in the capitalist countries more than 50 per cent of the national income is appropriated by the exploiting classes.

Unlike tsarist Russia, the U.S.S.R. has no economically backward or politically oppressed national "borderlands", but it has union and autonomous republics, national regions, areas and districts endowed with equal rights.

They have advanced industry and a collectivised socialist agriculture, based on large-scale farming.

Unparalleled changes have taken place in the development of culture among the formerly oppressed peoples.

They have advanced their culture to a high level, and even those nationalities which in the past had no written language of their own are now contributing to the progress of science and engineering; they have developed a rich literature and art, national in form and socialist in content.

One of the greatest achievements of socialism has been the eradication of all possible forms of oppression, class or national.

All Soviet people have equal social and individual rights and civic duties, irrespective of sex or nationality.

COMMUNISM'S FIRST STAGE

16 Socialism is the first stage of communist society, the construction of which is the ultimate aim of the struggle conducted by the working class and all the working people.

"When undertaking socialist reforms", V. I. Lenin said, "we must clearly envisage the aim towards which these reforms are in the long run directed, namely, the creation of a communist society, which does not confine itself to expropriating the factories, mills, land and means of production, which does not confine itself to strict accounting and control of the production and distribution of products, but which proceeds to the realisation of the principle 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs'."

While ensuring the highest possible degree of satisfaction of the growing requirements of the members of society, socialism is not yet free from survivals of the past.

Socialist productive forces and productivity of labour are not yet on a high enough level to ensure the abundance of material wealth which would enable society to carry out the principle of communism.

There still remain particular contradictions between the growing requirements of the population and the existing possibilities of satisfying those requirements.

These contradictions are being and will be settled by means of the constant development and improvement of the material and technical foundation of communism.

RE-EDUCATING PEOPLE

Socialism is attended by a process of the re-education of people, of bringing all able-bodied citizens into joint creative, comradely labour, of freeing them from views and habits inculcated by the exploiting system, from survivals of capitalism.

In view of this, work—which under full communism will become to all people not only a duty, but a vital necessity, a source of happiness—still remains primarily a means of livelihood under socialism.

That is why, under socialism, products are distributed not

according to the needs of the people, but according to the amount and quality of labour each individual gives to society.

Socialism gives Soviet society the basis, all the necessary conditions for a successful advance towards communism.

Under socialism, to begin with, the foundation of material production, needed for the creation of abundance in consumer goods, is developed and expanded.

This foundation is large-scale mechanised production in town and country—based on complete electrification throughout the country, on overall mechanisation and automation in production, on the thorough mechanisation of production processes and on the wide use of atomic energy in the key branches of the national economy.

Moreover, socialism ensures uninterrupted technical progress and corresponding improvements in the cultural and technical standards of all the working people.

Under socialism, the creative initiative of the millions finds its expression in the socialist emulation movement for greater economic progress, for the widest introduction of the latest achievements of engineering in all branches of the national economy, for the fulfilment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan* ahead of scheduled date.

The party urges the working people to further the socialist emulation movement, because it is a firm guarantee of new successes for our country in her victorious advance towards communism.

COMMUNISM—A PRACTICAL AIM

17 The construction of communist society in our country is no longer a remote goal, but the direct practical aim of all the work of the Soviet people today, and of their leading force, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The magnificent task at present confronting the Soviet people in all its magnitude is that of constructing the material and technical foundations for communism, the task of overtaking and surpassing in a brief historical period the most advanced capitalist countries in production per head of population.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.† was an important landmark in the struggle to solve this problem.

The congress made a fundamental analysis of the situation at home and abroad; it raised and solved creatively a number of the most important problems of Marxist-Leninist science, problems

* The present plan, 1956-60.—ED.

† Held in February 1956.—ED.

which are of paramount significance for understanding the ways to develop society at the present stage, and the prospects for this development.

A most important task indicated by the congress was that of "continuing with all persistence the struggle to solve within the shortest historical period, along the lines of peaceful economic competition, the main economic problem of the Soviet Union, which is to overtake and surpass production per head of population in the most advanced capitalist countries, by capitalising the advantages of the socialist system of economy".

CONCRETE PROGRAMME

A concrete programme of communist construction at the present stage was outlined in the resolutions of that Congress.

The task set forth in the Sixth Five-Year Plan was that of ensuring still greater progress in all branches of the national economy, by giving priority to the development of heavy industry, by furthering uninterrupted technical progress and by raising the productivity of labour, by achieving a sharp advance in agricultural production, and by using that as the basis for still greater improvements in the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

REORGANISING INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

A factor of special importance for the successful fulfilment of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., for the steady advance of the Land of Soviets towards communism is the fundamental reorganisation of the management of industry and construction which the party and the government have carried out.

This reconstruction is a creative development of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism in economic management.

It provides the best opportunity of combining centralised state leadership of the national economy with greater local initiative, and stimulates the activity of the masses of the people.

By removing departmental barriers to the solution of economic problems, this reorganisation of economic management helps overall development of the economy in the economic areas, and advances specialisation in production and co-operation in production within and between districts.

The new system of management of industry and construction heightens the sense of responsibility of the leading workers both in the localities and at the centre; it brings the leadership closer to

production, eliminates superfluous units in the managerial apparatus, strengthens contacts between science and production and enables scientists and engineers to push more boldly the application of their researches to industry and agriculture.

All this makes possible the use of vast internal reserves inherent in the socialist economy, the fuller use of these reserves and of our natural wealth, in the interests of the people, to speed the country's advance towards communism.

AGRICULTURAL DECISIONS

Every important undertakings for a rapid advance in agricultural production have been carried into practice during the last three years (1954-56).

Especially important have been the decisions adopted by the party and the government on the reclamation of virgin and long-fallow lands; on strengthening the collective farms and the M.T.S.*; by providing them with efficient managers and qualified personnel, on the new system of planning in agriculture; on the raising of the purchase and procurement prices† for agricultural products; and on monthly advance payments to collective farmers.

These undertakings have encouraged local initiative, stimulated the interest of collective farms and collective farmers in increased agricultural production, by providing bigger incentives; and have brought about the first major successes in the solution of the problem of a further big step forward in agriculture.

The reclamation of virgin and long-fallow lands was a heroic exploit by the Soviet people. Hundreds of thousands joined in this reclamation effort.

More than 350,000 young patriots went there in two years at the call of the Komsomol alone.

New state farms and M.T.S. were set up in scores and in hundreds in the formerly harsh and deserted steppes of Kazakhstan, the Urals, Siberia and the Volga area.

Trains loaded with tractors, combine harvesters and other machinery were moving eastwards in an uninterrupted stream.

In less than three years, 35,900,000 hectares‡ of virgin and long-

* Machine and Tractor Stations.—Ed.

† Procurement Prices are those paid by the State for the portion of the collective farms' production which by law the farms must sell to the State. These prices are usually lower than the prices (purchase prices) which the State pays for other purchases from the farms.—Ed.

‡ About 88,710,000 acres, or 138,500 sq. miles.—Ed.

fallow lands were brought under cultivation; the country's cultivated areas were increased by almost 38 million hectares* in this period, expanding to about 195 million hectares† in 1956.

As the result of the reclamation of virgin and long-fallow lands, our country received in 1956 additionally over 1,000 million poods‡ of marketable grain and much greater amounts of feed for livestock farming.

Reclamation of virgin land will be continued in the coming years, with a continuous increase in grain production.

Thanks to the experience and achievements of the foremost collective farms, the party has been able to issue a bold call to the people working in our socialist agriculture to overtake the U.S.A. in the next few years in output per head of population of milk, butter and meat.

INCREASED OUTPUT

This appeal aroused a new upsurge of creative energy among the millions.

That is evident from the sharp increase in the output of meat and dairy produce by state and collective farms this year.

The increase in output has made it possible for us to stock much more produce of livestock farming than last year.

The amounts stocked on September 1, 1957 were greater; meat by 624,000 tons|| or by 38 per cent; and milk by 2,419,000 tons or 19 per cent.

These rates of growth in production and purchases of livestock produce gave grounds for confidence that we shall overtake the United States of America in a short time in production per head of population of the principal livestock farming products—which will make it possible to raise steeply the quantities consumed by the public.

The growth of marketable production at the collective farms and state farms is enabling the Soviet state to abolish, beginning with 1958, compulsory deliveries of agricultural products from collective

* About 93,900,000 acres, or 146,720 sq. miles.—Ed.

† About 481,860,000 acres, or 752,906 sq. miles.—Ed.

‡ Well over 16 million tons (one pood = .028 lb.).—Ed.

|| These are metric tons. In long tons, the figures would be 614,150 tons and 2,380,400 tons respectively.—Ed.

farmers' households and from the allotments of factory and office workers.*

Further reclamation of virgin and long-fallow lands; further expansion of the cultivated areas; increase in crop yields and more rational use of the land in all regions of the country; growth of herds and increased productivity of livestock; higher productivity of labour and cuts in agricultural production costs on the basis of overall mechanisation—these are the main tasks facing agriculture at the present stage of communist construction in our country.

HOURS AND WAGES

It is a well-known fact that increase in the productivity of labour is the main source for raising industrial and agricultural output, and for improving the life of the people.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for at least a 50 per cent increase in the productivity of labour in industry, and the reduction of production costs by at least 17 per cent.

All this will make it possible to raise the real wages and salaries of factory and office workers by approximately 30 per cent, and the incomes of collective farmers, in cash and kind, by at least 40 per cent.

Over the last two years, the working day has been reduced in our country by two hours on Saturdays and the eves of holidays; the general working day has been reduced to six hours for some categories of workers and for juveniles.†

Continuous improvement in production on the basis of superior techniques and in its organisation; improvement in the technical equipment for labour, and its growing productivity; these will make it possible gradually to reduce the working day for all working people to seven hours, thus giving them more time for their all-round development.

HOUSING PROGRAMME

In spite of the large scale of house-building in the U.S.S.R., the need for housing has by no means been satisfied in the post-war years.

That is explained by the great increase in the urban population

* Hitherto, collective farmers and workers with large kitchen gardens, orchards etc., and owning livestock, have had to sell a specified proportion of their personal produce to the State at the official prices.—Ed.

† Workers aged 16 or 17.—Ed.

as the result of the country's industrialisation; by the ravages of the Second World War, which caused tremendous destruction of housing, industrial and public buildings; and by the need for the restoration of industry in the first place—these were among the underlying reasons.

Improvement in the housing conditions of the working people is a task of paramount importance.

Houses with a floor space of more than 328 million square metres,* or double the housing built in the fifth five-year period, will have been built in the sixth five-year period by the state or with state assistance.

The party and the government have set forth the task of ending the shortage of housing in our country in the coming ten to twelve years.

The solution of this problem is a matter of paramount concern to the party and the government.

SOVIET DEMOCRACY

18 The Soviet state, the highest form of democracy, democracy for the people, is in a condition of uninterrupted development; it is developing along with the uninterruptedly growing political and social activities of the masses of the people.

There are more than 1,500,000 deputies† in the elected organs of Soviet power, in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics, and in the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies; they are all working people, from the factories, the socialist fields, scientists and cultural workers, workers from the state institutions or from public organisations.

The organs of Soviet power conduct their activities with the daily co-operation of their electors.

In 1956, the local Soviets had more than 240,000 standing commissions which carried on their affairs with the co-operation of some 1,500,000 working people.

A striking indication of the genuine democracy of the Soviet system is provided by the active way the masses of the people take

* Floor space, ignoring various types of "non-living" floor space such as corridors or staircases in blocks of flats is the basis of housing calculations in the U.S.S.R. The figure stated here is, very approximately, the equivalent of 8½ to 9 million small flats.—ED.

† Elected representatives—councillors, M.P.'s etc.—ED.

part in the discussion and solution of highly important problems concerning the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

More than 40 million working people attended the meetings called to discuss the further improvement of the management of industry and construction.

Many Bills of great value to the people pass into law only after discussion by the whole people.

Our laws are the embodiment of the collective reason and collective experience, the will, of millions.

The party and the government do not fail to consult the people whenever the need to reach a decision on pressing questions of communist construction arises.

Under socialism the people act as conscientious, active builders of the new life.

RIGHTS OF REPUBLICS

The economic and cultural progress in the union republics and the new tasks of communist construction have necessitated a considerable extension of the rights of the union republics in economic management.

Many enterprises and industries formerly within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. central authorities have been transferred to the direct jurisdiction of the Union republics; the rights of the union republics have been extended in state planning and economic financing, in judicial and administrative matters, and in the realm of culture.

All these measures have given still greater opportunities for the development of the initiative and creative forces of all the republics and all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; they help to strengthen friendship and co-operation among these peoples.

The Communist Party is conducting—and will continue to do so—a determined struggle for the still wider and more direct participation of the people in the administration of the state, in the management of the economy and of cultural undertakings, in a struggle against bureaucracy and for reducing the administrative apparatus.

The party is working to raise the importance and to bring into activity all links of the socialist state, all the mass organisations of the working people: the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol etc.

It is conducting a determined struggle against anti-socialist attitudes towards labour and public property, and is stimulating public opinion against each and every manifestation of a bourgeois outlook.

One of the most important forms of expression of socialist democracy is criticism and self-criticism.

By means of criticism and self-criticism the Party and the Soviet people bring out and eliminate shortcomings in the life of the socialist society, and speed its progress.

RADIANT FUTURE

History's lessons teach us that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the principal instrument in the hands of the people for building the new, socialist society.

Under existing conditions, Soviet society still needs a strong people's state to protect the achievements of socialism against foreign enemies and to direct the construction of communism.

Communism is the radiant future of all mankind. The building of communism is the ultimate aim of the Communist Party.

Class distinctions will vanish completely in communist society, the means of production will be transformed into a single, communist form of property; and social production, developing on the basis of superior techniques, will satisfy in full the requirements of all members of society.

"Communism", Lenin teaches, "is the highest productivity of labour—compared with capitalist productivity of labour—of voluntary, class conscious, united workers, employing advanced technique."

Under communism, people will have every opportunity for the all-round development of their physical and intellectual potentialities.

All essential differences between intellectual and physical labour, between town and country will be eliminated.

Everyone will work according to his abilities and receive according to his needs, and to man labour will become a source of happiness.

An essential condition for new successes in building communist society is leadership by the Communist Party, its monolithic unity, its contact with the masses of the people.

V

The Communist Party is the Leader, Inspirer and Organiser of the Victories of the Soviet People

19 The Great October Socialist Revolution and the rich experience accumulated in the process of building socialism and communism in the U.S.S.R. bear convincing witness that the decisive condition for the carrying out by the working class of its world-historic mission—to overthrow capitalism and to building a new, communist society—is the leading role of its vanguard, the Communist Party.

The working class cannot triumph without a party which unites within its ranks the most advanced, courageous, heroic and selfless elements of the working class and the people as a whole, without a party whose strength rests in its Marxist-Leninist theory, the cast-iron unity of its ranks and the indestructible bonds that link it with the broadest masses of the people.

Without a party enjoying the highest moral authority and the love, confidence and respect of tens and hundreds of millions of working people, who are ready to follow it into battle to the bitter end, who back its slogans, undertakings and policy—without this great party founded and trained by Lenin, the workers and peasants of Russia would not have been able to bring about the collapse of tsarism, overthrow Russian capitalism, win and retain their Soviet power—the rule of the working class—or to withstand victoriously the savage onslaught of internal counter-revolution, foreign intervention and imperialist aggression.

RELIABLE COMPASS

Socialist society could be built in the U.S.S.R. only under the leadership of the Communist Party, equipped with the reliable compass of Marxism-Leninism, and leading the Soviet people toward one great objective.

The fulfilment of this world-historic mission has in fact placed the Soviet people in the vanguard of progressive mankind.

Leninism teaches us that the more complex, the more difficult and glorious the tasks that have to be accomplished, the more far-reaching the revolutionary transformation, the vaster are the masses of people to be aroused, set in motion, organised, inspired, and have their will concentrated on victory.

The reason why the October Socialist Revolution was the greatest of all revolutions is that it was the first in the history of mankind to be called upon to accomplish the most far-reaching and the most difficult revolutionary transformation of the life of the broad masses of the people.

And these masses of the working people, headed by the working class, had to be enlightened, educated, set in motion, and then led in the great battle for freedom and the socialist reorganisation of society, for the most just cause, for the happiness of the whole people, for communism.

This was and is now being accomplished by our great Communist Party.

Back at the beginning of the century, when our party was just emerging, Lenin said: "Give us an organisation of revolutionaries and we will overturn Russia!"

When in October 1917, Lenin's party led the masses of workers and peasants to the assault on capitalism, its ranks numbered only 240,000 courageous revolutionaries.

At present the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has grown into a mighty political army, uniting some 8 million members and candidate members.

PARTY OF A NEW TYPE

Lenin, his followers and comrades-in-arms, built the Communist Party as a party of a new type, on the granite ideological foundations of Marxism, and based on the growing Russian revolutionary labour movement and on the whole historical experience of the international labour movement.

Dealing with this subject, Lenin wrote in 1920:

"Marxism, as the only correct revolutionary theory, has materialised in Russia in actual travail through a half-century of unheard of pains and sacrifices, of unparalleled revolutionary heroism, of incomparable energy and selfless quests, of learning, practical experiments, disillusion, verifications, and comparisons with Europe's experience."

Under conditions of incredible oppression, arbitrariness and coercion by tsarist despotism, suffering untold losses, and going through glorious victories and temporary set-backs, by its great deeds our glorious Communist Party proved its unshakable loyalty to the red banner of communism and the Marxist-Leninist teachings,

its boundless loyalty to its own people, to the international labour movement and to the sacred principles of working class internationalism.

That is the source of our Party's strength and its successes, of the love and respect it enjoys among the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the Soviet Union and among all honest and progressive elements the world over.

No one will ever succeed in shaking this respect and affection.

THE PEOPLE'S TRUST

It is not by mere chance that the greatest influx of workers and peasants into their Communist Party was to be observed in difficult times for the revolution—during the civil and the patriotic wars.

Such was the case on the eve of Great October, when it was necessary to embark in the decisive battle against capitalism.

Such was the case during one of the most difficult periods of the civil war, in October 1919, when some 200,000 workers and peasants joined the Party's ranks during Party Week.

Lenin's death was a terrible loss to the party and the people. To help fulfil Lenin's behests, 240,000 advanced workers responded by entering the ranks of the Party.

During the great battle of Stalingrad—between September 1942 and February 1, 1943—832,000 workers and peasants joined the Communist Party.

This is an expression of the people's trust in their party—their tested organiser and leader; of the indestructible bonds linking the party and the people in the most difficult periods of the struggle for socialism.

The historical experience accumulated in building socialism in the U.S.S.R. shows that the building and development of socialist society is a complex process, requiring the overcoming of many difficulties and contradictions and the resistance of the overthrown classes, the overcoming of old habits and customs and of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois anti-socialist tendencies.

Only with their battle-tested working-class vanguard, the Communist Party, capable of displaying daring foresight and of correctly and scientifically understanding and applying in practice the laws governing the building and development of a new society, could the Soviet people successfully surmount the tremendous difficulties they were faced with, and achieve victory.

WORK OF THE PEOPLE

20 The building of socialism and communism is the creative work of the masses of the people themselves.

The Communist Party directs into a single stream the constructive efforts of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals and leads it to the great common goal.

The party influences all aspects of the Soviet people's life and watches over all branches of economic and cultural development through its primary organisations and the transmission lines which link it with the masses of the people—the Soviets, representing all the working people of town and countryside; the trade unions, which unite almost all factory and office workers; the co-operatives, which encompass the peasantry and the artisans; the Komsomol, which unites some 20 million young men and women; and through other associations and organisations of the working people.

At present, when the building of socialism is being completed under conditions of the gradual transition from socialism to communism, the Communist Party unites, organises, educates and inspires the Soviet people, and leads them forward to new victories. The Communist Party is the heart and soul of all of the people's constructive activities; it is the great architect of communist society.

And, therefore, whoever intentionally or otherwise seeks to weaken the leading role of the Communist Party in any sphere, gives aid and comfort to the enemies of communism.

UNITY OF THE PARTY

An essential condition for successful work by the Communist Party in guiding the masses of the people is its ideological and organisational unity.

Throughout its whole history, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has struggled for unity against the factional activities of anti-Marxist groups and trends and anarchistic elements who have sought to undermine party discipline.

The Communist Party has been able to lead the world-historic cause of socialism in our country and to secure its victory because of its uncompromising attitude towards all kinds of revisionist, dogmatic or sectarian views, alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The party unmasked and routed such hostile trends as those of the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Trotskyites, the right deviation, bourgeois nationalism etc., failing which, the working

class could not even have thought of gaining political power or building a socialist society.

Lenin wrote: "In Russia, there have been *many times* difficult situations in which the Soviet regime would have been *unfailingly* overthrown, had the Mensheviks, reformists and petty bourgeois democrats remained in our Party."

Lenin wrote in 1920 that it was impossible to carry on a successful fight against the forces and traditions of the old society without an iron, battle-tested, highly centralised party, enforcing a strict discipline.

When anti-party elements within the party's ranks insisted on freedom for factions and groups and rejected a party discipline that was uniform for leaders and rank-and-file alike, the 10th Congress adopted a resolution on Party unity which conferred on the central committee full powers "in cases of breach of discipline or of a revival or toleration of factionalism, to apply all Party penalties, including expulsion, and in regard to members of the Central Committee to reduce them to the status of alternate members and even, as an extreme measure, to expel them from the Party".

AGAINST FACTION

The Communist Party and the whole Soviet people have been as one in their condemnation of the schismatic, factional activities of the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, formed by Shepilov.

This anti-party group, which cut itself off from the party and the people, came out against the line adopted by the 20th Party Congress; against the party line directed at the relaxation of international tension; against all the new measures for securing higher living standards for the working people; against the bringing into cultivation of the virgin lands; against the call to overtake the U.S.A. in the output per head of meat and dairy produce; against the reorganisation of industrial management; and against other important measures.

The unanimous condemnation of the anti-party group provided new evidence that, following the abolition of hostile, antagonistic classes in our country, the moral and political unity of socialist society was so strong that no anti-party group, no matter under what colours it might appear, could count on support either within the party or among the people.

COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has not hesitated to combat the personality cult of J. V. Stalin, which did a great deal of harm to the activity of the party and the cause of communist construction; or to condemn the mistakes he made in the later period of his life, so that the possibility of such mistakes being repeated would be precluded.

The party has sharply criticised the violation of Leninist principles in party life, in collective leadership and in inner-party democracy, and the violation of socialist law.

The elimination of these violations has strengthened our party and raised to a still higher level its prestige among the masses of the working people.

GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS

The supreme law in the Communist Party's activities is maintenance of a constant and daily contact with the widest interest of the people, and concern for their needs and wellbeing.

The Communist Party, genuinely a party of the people, has no other interest except those of the people.

For that reason, the Soviet people always have trusted and do trust, their party, supporting its policy, which they regard as their own, because this policy gives scientific expression to their essential and daily interests.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people are bound by indestructible unity. That is the source of the strength of the party and the people.

The unity of the party and the people is a firm guarantee of the socialist society's strength, a guarantee of success in the construction of communism.

So long as the ties linking the party and the people are unbreakable, the forces of socialism will fear no storms of any kind, nor any type of malevolent or slanderous propaganda disseminated by the enemies of communism.

The unity of the party and the people must always be strengthened, therefore, as the most sacred thing.

Not only teach the masses, but learn from the masses too, from the practical experience they have gained in creating a new life—this is one of Leninism's paramount precepts, and whoever forgets it is bound to suffer defeat.

APPLYING THEORY

21 The vitality, strength and maturity of a Marxist party is shown by its ability to apply revolutionary theory creatively to solve the new problems brought forth by the development of life and practice.

Contrary to the revisionists and dogmatists of the Second International and of our days, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union offers a model of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in solving the problems of our age—problems involved in the struggle for communism; for peace, against war; for genuine, not false democracy; for the welfare and happiness of the people.

The history of the labour movement shows that parties and political figures who betray Marxism are doomed to failure.

On the other hand, parties which are true to Marxism-Leninism and are able to develop it creatively and apply it to the most complex of contemporary problems are bound in the end to be victorious over their enemies, in spite of all and every difficulty and temporary setback.

CONTEMPORARY MARXISM

Revisionist elements allege that Marxist theory relevant to our modern times does not exist, and that someone has yet to create it anew.

Such statements are often made under the pretence of "concern" for the future advance of Marxism, but in fact they are motivated by an altogether different purpose, one far removed from Marxism.

History has proved that Marxism of the modern epoch has won and is winning great, unparalleled historic victories, and that every true champion of socialism in all countries rightfully takes pride in that fact.

Contemporary Marxism is the Marxism creatively developed by Lenin, tested in and enriched by the experience gained in the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism and communism in the U.S.S.R.; by the experience of the great Chinese revolution; and by the building of socialism in all the countries where the working class is in power—that is the Marxism which is being daily advanced by the C.P.S.U. and all the fraternal communist and workers' parties, fighting against imperialism and capitalist oppression.

WORLDWIDE IMPORTANCE

An outstanding example of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism were the decisions and materials of the 20th Party Congress, which tabled a programme for the further struggle for peace and building communism in the U.S.S.R.

The 20th Congress decisions were of tremendous significance for the entire international communist and labour movements.

The spirit of Marxist theory is completely alien to any form of dogmatism—to a wish to reach to practical conclusions, not on the basis of an analysis of the vital facts or processes, but on the basis of theoretical tenets learned by rote—as a result of which Marxism, that ever-living and advancing doctrine, is transformed into a sum of dead and petrified dogmas.

A conservative approach, an unwillingness or inability to perceive new historical conditions or a new situation, and an attempt to operate with petrified formulas divorced from reality—these inevitably lead to political bankruptcy.

Lenin regarded our party as “the intellect, honour and conscience of our epoch”.

The Communist Party has demonstrated its great wisdom, discernment and foresight by its more than half a century of struggle at the head of the masses of the people against bloody tsarism, against imperialism and all the forces of reaction and war, for communism, for the cardinal interests of the people and of toiling mankind.

AGAINST WARS

Twice in the course of the last half century the imperialist bourgeoisie have driven mankind into world wars of annihilation and massacre; and at present, here and there on our globe, “small” wars are all the time being waged against the peoples.

The C.P.S.U. has always exposed in an outspoken manner the schemes of the enemies of peace; it has aroused the peoples against the inciters and organisers of war, and removed their masks.

Today, too, by its outspoken, principled policy, the C.P.S.U. is exposing the schemes of the imperialists—the enemies of peace, the munitions kings, those new-fangled alchemists who have learned to transmute blood and the people’s sufferings into gold and dollars, who are threatening mankind with the most devastating war, through the use of atomic and thermonuclear weapons.

The enemies of communism, peace and progress, the enemies of

democracy and freedom are full of hatred for our party, because it is the carrier and herald of the great truth of our epoch.

But for that very reason, it enjoys love and respect in all nations, of the toiling and oppressed in all countries, and of all progressive people on every continent. Therein lies its invincible strength.

VI

The Soviet Union’s Foreign Policy and the People’s Struggle for Peace

22 The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new era in relations among countries and peoples.

In its foreign as in its domestic policy, the socialist state is guided by the interests of the Soviet working people, which coincide with the interests of the working people of all countries.

The main objectives of the Soviet state in its foreign policy is the preservation of peace; the development among all states of relations based on equality of rights and mutual respect; and the achievement of friendship and co-operation among all peoples.

In the historic Decree on Peace, drafted by Lenin and endorsed by the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies on November 8, 1917, the Soviet state called on all the powers then at war to cease hostilities and conclude a just and democratic peace; and it called on all peoples to take the ensuring of peace into their own hands.

The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, made public a week later, outlined a programme of truly friendly and equal relations among nations.

These documents formed the basis of the Soviet state’s peaceful policy, which—in spite of slanderous assertions coming from the bourgeois camp—has never faltered as a result of political considerations; it has steadily and consistently defended peace and the interests of peoples struggling for their freedom and independence.

POLICY OF PEACE

The Soviet state’s very first years of existence were marked by successes in its efforts to secure peace on its frontiers and to establish relations based on equality of rights with the countries of the east.

By abolishing the unequal treaties imposed by tsarist Russia, the Soviet state laid the foundations for a genuine friendship among the peoples of Asia, Africa and the Soviet Union.

As it became a great industrial power, the socialist state has not only been giving those countries moral and political aid in the struggle they wage to gain, preserve or strengthen their independence, but it also has been helping them to lay the economic foundations of independence—to develop industry and advance agriculture.

In socialist society, there are no classes or social groups interested in wars or an arms race.

The striving for profits or for the conquest of foreign territories or markets is organically foreign to the Soviet state.

As far back as the Genoa great power Conference,* Soviet Russia submitted a proposal for a general reduction of armaments.

In 1927 when, for the first time, she took part in the fourth session of the disarmament conference's preparatory commission, the Soviet Union submitted a proposal for universal, total and immediate disarmament.

During all the years preceding the Second World War, the Soviet Union consistently opposed the arms race, exposing the efforts of the munitions monopolies of Germany, the U.S.A. and Britain to arm Hitler and direct him eastwards, against the Soviet Union.

Since the Second World War, through the agency of the United Nations, the Soviet Union has time and time again raised the question of disarmament, of reducing armaments and armed forces.

In recent years, following the appearance of the atomic bomb, and then of the even more destructive thermonuclear (hydrogen) bomb, the U.S.S.R. has put forward the proposal that the use of weapons of mass annihilation, should be banned, that tests of nuclear weapons—whose explosions poison the atmosphere and are a threat to future generations—should be halted.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Great Lenin proclaimed and proved the possibility of peaceful co-existence among states with different social and political systems. The socialist state is always guided in its foreign policy by this Leninist principle.

After repulsing the attack of the bourgeois states, it proposed to them that normal relations be established, that trade be developed and cultural ties expanded.

* 1922.—ED.

The Soviet Union has always been ready to co-operate with those forces in the capitalist world which are concerned for the preservation of peace.

Before the Second World War the U.S.S.R. proposed the creation of a system of collective security to prevent Nazi Germany from unleashing war.

It expressed its readiness to give military aid to countries threatened by aggression.

If its efforts were not crowned with success, this was because Nazi Germany was in collusion with reactionary elements in the U.S.A., Britain and France, who hoped they could use Hitler to throttle the first socialist state.

But the interests of the rival monopolist groups outweighed their class interests, and Nazi Germany decided to strike first at France and Britain.

The Second World War, which, from an imperialist war was transformed into an anti-fascist war of liberation, is evidence not only that capitalist and socialist states can co-exist, but they can also co-operate—even in a war situation.

NEW WAR PLANS

But the defeat and destruction of German Nazism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism did not bring about the defeat of the monopolist, reactionary forces in the principal capitalist countries.

Having made huge profits out of the last war and having further strengthened their positions, these reactionary forces have engaged in a struggle against the Soviet Union again, and against the other socialist countries which emerged as a result of the Second World War.

Ruling quarters in the U.S.A., their military clique and diplomats, began encircling the socialist countries with military bases and aggressive military alliances; N.A.T.O. appeared in the west, the Baghdad pact in the Middle East and an Asian pact in South-East Asia.

The German militarists and the men eager for revenge who have seized power in Western Germany have been again given the role of the main striking force.

By reviving the war machine of German imperialism, the American, British and French rulers are acting against the national interests of their own countries; when they abet the sinister revenge-seeking schemes of the German militarists, who dream of a new war, they are playing with fire.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The peoples of Europe, and those bordering on Germany, in the first place, are becoming ever more conscious of the danger this policy involves.

The patriotic forces in the European countries firmly support the Soviet proposal for the establishment of a general European system of collective security, which could ensure peace on the European continent and which could help the German people to find realistic ways of restoring a unified German state.

The Soviet Union and all the socialist countries have been and still are consistently urging the peaceful settlement of all international issues.

The Soviet Union has proved this—by its tireless efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the German problem; by the State Treaty with Austria it signed; by giving up its military bases on the territories of other countries.

Acting in concert with the Chinese People's Republic and backed by the mass movement of the peoples for peace, the Soviet Union's efforts were instrumental in forcing the imperialists to cease hostilities in Korea and Viet-Nam.

It took a determined stand against the Anglo-French-Israeli imperialists who, with the backing of the U.S.A., made an armed attack on Egypt.

WORLDWIDE SUPPORT

23 In the course of these past forty years the Soviet Union has become a decisive factor in international politics.

The Soviet Union's international position is firm and unshakeable, not only because of its impressive economic and military might, but also because the Soviet standpoint in world affairs has always coincided with the point of view of the broad masses of the people in all countries.

For example, the Soviet demand for a ban on atomic weapons was voiced in accordance with the wish of the masses of the people and received their strong support.

The Stockholm Appeal for a ban on atomic weapons, signed by hundreds of millions, showed how correct and timely was the Soviet proposal.

Taking into account the will of the masses of the people, the Soviet Union has urged that atomic and hydrogen weapons should be banned and that the testing of them should stop immediately.

The movement for the banning of hydrogen weapon tests, now widespread in all countries and among all sections of the population—including many leading scientists—has confirmed the correctness and timeliness of this Soviet initiative.

The Soviet Union's struggle for peace, for peaceful co-existence and economic competition among states with different social systems could not fail to coincide—and, indeed, does coincide, with the movement of the peoples for the preservation and strengthening of peace; the reason for this is that the working people of all countries want peace; they want the arms race to end (something which, of course, would lighten the burden of military taxation and would improve the wellbeing of the people).

Lasting peace is in the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind, irrespective of differences in their social systems, political creeds or religious beliefs.

THE 'PEACE ZONE'

Today, this striving for peace by the broad masses of the people has led to the emergence of a vast "peace zone", which includes both socialist and non-socialist countries in Europe and Asia, with populations totalling about 1,500 million.

In all countries without exception the peace movement is in continuous growth; this movement is one of the widest and most progressive movements of modern times.

In our days, war is not fatally inevitable.

The sinister forces of imperialist reaction and capitalist monopolies, who are interested in an arms race and wars of aggression, are challenged by countries and peoples inspired by a noble desire to hamstring those who would foment military adventures, and to save mankind from incalculable new sacrifices and destruction.

The strengthening of the world socialist countries and the growth of the peace movement all over the world are thwarting the aggressive forces and making more difficult the unleashing of another war.

If, nevertheless, the imperialist forces should dare to start a new world war, they would meet with such indignation and opposition from the peoples as would bring about the final collapse of the entire capitalist system.

VII

The Influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the Historical Destiny of Mankind

24 The October Socialist Revolution proved not merely a great upheaval in the life of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. It has also exerted a decisive influence on the entire course of world history and on the historical destiny of all mankind.

The October Revolution became a turning point in the development of the world liberation movement; it gave the working people of all countries new strength and confidence in their ultimate victory; and it evoked an unprecedented upsurge of the national liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries.

All peoples saw the October Revolution as an inspiring example; they saw the system that it had created as the prototype of that future towards which the working people of all countries were striving.

Today the great Chinese people and the working people of a number of other countries in Europe and Asia have taken the path marked out by the October Revolution.

The victory of the socialist revolution in China and the other people's democracies is the most significant event in world history since October 1917.

While, before the Second World War, the socialist system extended over 17 per cent of the world's territory, embraced about nine per cent of its total population and produced about a tenth of the world's industrial output, today the socialist countries cover 26 per cent of the territory of our planet, inhabited by about 35 per cent of the total population, and they produce about a third of the world's industrial output.

SOCIALIST STRENGTH

The fact that the countries which, with the Soviet Union, form a single socialist camp, have broken away from the system of world capitalism has radically changed the correlation of the forces of socialism and capitalism in favour of socialism.

The growth of the might and unity of the countries of the socialist camp still further strengthens the positions of the socialist and progressive forces throughout the world.

The strength of the socialist camp lies in the fact that the

countries comprising it have common interests, the same ideology and final goal.

It is this very community of interests among the people's, governments and Marxist-Leninists parties of the socialist countries which forms the basis of their relations—relations typified by their unweakening fraternal ties, their mutual exchange of experience, their close economic co-operation and their friendly mutual assistance.

Such relations among the countries of the socialist camp come from the social and economic nature of socialism just as naturally as relations of rivalry and enmity among the capitalist countries arise from the nature of capitalism.

The principle of working class internationalism is embodied in the indestructible community of the countries of the socialist camp.

Not a single socialist country can ignore this fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance.

That would be to the detriment of its own interests, for the close mutual economic and political assistance among the socialist states contributes to the speediest development of each individual state and ensures its security.

The Soviet Union, as the first country in which socialism was victorious, and as the most powerful in the family of socialist countries, and having very rich experience, constantly helps and supports the other socialist countries, thus fulfilling its international duty.

The peoples of these countries regard the Soviet Union as the bulwark of socialism, and entertain feelings of fraternal gratitude and friendship towards it, feelings which the enemies of socialism will not be able to weaken.

SOVIET EXPERIENCE

25 The advance towards socialism in the countries which have broken away from the capitalist system is made easier by their constructive assimilation of the experience of the October Revolution.

The leader of the great Chinese people, Mao Tse-tung says:

“It is because our Chinese people have been following the path of the Great October Socialist Revolution that they have achieved their present victories and successes. The Chinese people have always regarded the Chinese Revolution as a

continuation of the October Socialist Revolution, and consider this a great honour.”

The world-historic significance of the forty years of experience of the October Revolution lies in the fact that it has paved the way to socialism, and has revealed those common features and laws which are applicable to all countries advancing towards socialism.

In 1920 Lenin pointed out:

“... We already have very considerable international experience which quite definitely shows that some of the fundamental features of our revolution have a significance which is not local not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but international.”

As the historical experience of the development of the socialist countries shows, the general features and laws governing the victory of the socialist revolution and the formation of the new, socialist society are:

- The conquest of political power by the working class, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat—democracy for the working people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.
- The alliance of the working class with the main masses of the peasantry and all other strata of the working people.
- The ending of national oppression and the establishment of equal rights and fraternal friendship among the peoples.
- The elimination of capitalist ownership and the establishment of socialist, public ownership of the basic means of production.
- The planned development of industry and economy as a whole, for the purpose of building socialism and communism and of improving the living standards of the working people.
- The gradual socialist transformation of agriculture.
- The strengthening and development of the socialist state, and the development of socialist democracy.
- The defence of the socialist achievements against encroachment by foreign or domestic class enemies.
- The solidarity of the working class of a particular country with the working classes of other countries, fighting for the triumph of the ideas of socialism and communism—for working class internationalism.

‘GRADUALISM’ REFUTED

The October Revolution refuted all kinds of reformist and opportunist theories—theories which asserted that socialism could be built without political leadership of society by the working class, without dictatorship of the working class, but instead through capitalism gradually growing into socialism.

The chief condition for the socialist transformation of society, as historical experience shows, is the socialist revolution and the establishment of the political power of the working class, the dictatorship of the working class, in one form or another.

As for the ways by which the working class gains power, the methods and pace of socialist transformation and the forms the working class dictatorship may take, they not only may have, but will have their own specific features, depending upon the actual conditions of development in the various countries.

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the fact that the specific features of the path traversed by each country do not exclude a community in certain basic features and laws of the socialist revolution, the construction of socialism and communism.

The views of those who, while stressing the national peculiarities of each country advancing towards socialism, forget the general basic, fundamental principles of the socialist revolution, are thoroughly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

26 The world historic turning point in the development and the destinies of mankind, which was initiated by the October Revolution of 1917, is also being felt with all its force in that part of the world which is still dominated by capitalism.

The very fact of the existence of a world socialist system and the advantages of socialism over capitalism greatly increases the strength of the working class in the capitalist countries, in its class struggle against capital.

Fear of socialist revolution compels the bourgeoisie, while increasing their repressions against the revolutionary labour movements, sometimes to make specific concessions to the demands of the workers, as regards wage increases, reductions in the working day, etc.

The organisation and political consciousness of the working class are growing.

In such large capitalist countries as France and Italy the majority of the organised workers support the communist parties.

In 1917, on the eve of the October Revolution, the number of communists in Russia did not exceed a quarter of a million and in other countries there were only small groups that were close to the communists; but today there are over 33 millions in the ranks of the communist parties.

This is evidence of a definite steadiness in the growth of the influence of communist ideas and the development of the communist movement.

DRAWN TO UNITY

The Great October Socialist Revolution dealt a telling blow to bourgeois ideology, to opportunism in the labour movement, to social-chauvinism and reactionary nationalism. Many millions of working people rallied under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism, and the weakening of the positions of the reactionary bourgeoisie deepen the crisis in the reformist parties and lead to a weakening of the influence of the right-wing social-democratic leaders among the working people.

The working class are more strongly drawn to unity in the struggle against the power of capital, in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

This creates the conditions necessary to overcome the split in the labour movement, without which the conquest of power by the working class is impossible.

Now that there exists a powerful camp of socialist countries and the colonial system of imperialism is disintegrating, now that the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are becoming ever more bankrupt, favourable conditions have been created in a number of capitalist countries for uniting the peasantry and the masses of the people with the working class.

The struggle against reaction and fascism and the experience in achieving unity of action of the democratic forces in a number of countries show what tremendous opportunities the broad democratic movement headed by the working class has in our days.

MODERN REVISIONISM

Imperialism and its ideologists—politicians and journalists, as well as its entire propaganda apparatus—are, however, not only contin-

uing, but even increasing their attacks on Marxism-Leninism, on socialism as a doctrine and as a social economic system.

The underground ideological activities of reaction against the communist movement have recently found reflection in the spreading of pernicious “ideas” of so-called national communism, and the spreading of all sorts of revisionist attacks within the communist parties.

As in the past, revisionism today has an international character.

In its social essence, it is the result of the influence and pressure of the bourgeoisie on a specific section of the working class, and, under modern conditions, it is the result of the influence of the bourgeois, reformist ideology of the right-wing socialists on the wavering section of the communists.

What are the chief features of modern revisionism?

They are, first of all, the rejection, to a greater or lesser degree, of the foundations of Marxism, rejection of the abolition of capitalist ownership of the means of production and its replacement by public ownership, rejection of the idea of the dictatorship of the working class, of the reaching on the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and communism.

They reflect the sliding down of the advocates of revisionism to the positions of bourgeois democracy.

Imre Nagy in Hungary showed this side of revisionism especially clearly, and degenerated to the complete betrayal of the cause of socialism.

‘NATIONAL’ COMMUNISM

Typical of modern revisionism is its withdrawal from the principles of working class internationalism, its adoption of positions which undermine the unity of the socialist camp, its going over to a nationalist standpoint.

Revisionism denies certain basic, general features and laws in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The slogan “national communism”, put forward by Dulles and other ideologists of imperialism, aims at disrupting the community of the socialist countries, setting them against each other and especially against the Soviet Union.

The objective of this scheme of the international bourgeoisie is clear: it would like to weaken the world system of socialism and to strengthen the international positions of capitalism.

The communist and workers' parties are struggling against this harmful influence of modern revisionism and are giving it a fitting rebuff.

COLONIAL ADVANCE

27 The power of attraction of the example of the Soviet Union, which has completely abolished national inequality, and the flourishing of the republics of the Soviet East, have inspired the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries to fight for their liberation.

The Great October Socialist Revolution started a profound crisis in the colonial system of imperialism and began a historical epoch in the emancipation of the peoples of Asia and Africa, in the formation of sovereign independent states in the countries of the east, and their national regeneration.

After the Second World War, which ended in the routing of the fascist aggressors and the weakening of the international forces of reaction, the crisis in the colonial system became even more acute, and the disgraceful system of imperialist oppression began to disintegrate, under the increasing onslaught of the national liberation struggle of the peoples.

The victory of the great Chinese people over the forces of imperialist and domestic feudal reaction was a very striking manifestation of this disintegration in the colonial system.

The liberation from colonial dependence of more than 1,300 million people—that is, half the population of the world—and the formation of such large independent states as China, India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt and Syria reveal the beginning of a new period in world history, which was foreseen by Lenin: a period of the regeneration of the peoples of the East, who are independently deciding their own destinies, and are actively taking part in solving the destinies of all mankind.

IMPERIALISM WEAKENED

Attempts by the imperialist states to delay the disintegration of the colonial system—by diverse means varying from the launching of colonial wars against the freedom-loving peoples of Asia and Africa to interference in the affairs of sovereign states under the pretext of rendering economic and military “aid”—cannot change the course of history or prevent the inevitable collapse of the colonial order.

The successful rebuff given to the imperialist interventionists in Korea, Indo-China and Indonesia, and the failure of the Anglo-French colonial adventure in Egypt are evidence of the growing weakening of the positions of imperialism.

The existence of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, which resolutely defend Lenin's principle of self-determination of nations, greatly helps the struggle of all oppressed peoples for their national independence and against colonialism.

The peoples of yesterday's colonies and semi-colonies, who have entered upon the path of independent development, may be sure of disinterested support from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in their struggle to strengthen their economic and political independence, in their struggle against imperialist conspiracies and adventures.

* * *

THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE of the Great October Socialist Revolution—which has shown bright new horizons to mankind, and which has raised high the banner of struggle for social and national liberation, the banner of communism—keeps growing from year to year.

Today it has been irrefutably confirmed, not only theoretically, but by life itself, that the socialist revolution is more than merely a “Russian experiment”, as bourgeois ideologists have repeatedly declared.

Lenin's prophetic words are coming true, that “our socialist republic of Soviets will stand firmly, like a beacon of international socialism and as an example to all the masses of the toilers”.

The events of the past forty years are evidence that only the socialist reorganisation of society can lead mankind out of that dead end into which capitalism has brought it, only this can solve those urgent social problems which confront mankind in the present epoch.

Only socialism can provide unlimited opportunities for the development of productive forces, put an end to economic crises, unemployment, the impoverishment of the working people and the menace of new, more devastating wars; only socialism can ensure lasting peace for the peoples.

Only socialism and communism open before mankind the prospects of the unlimited development of science and technique; of literature and art; and of the all-round development of the individual.

TWILIGHT OF CAPITALISM

The prospects for the development of the socialist and capitalist systems became fully clear towards the middle of the 20th century.

The capitalist system which, compared with previous systems, was once progressive—has long passed the stage when it flourished.

Modern capitalism is a dying, decaying capitalism; it is now in its twilight, its decline, and is irretrievably advancing towards its inevitable end.

In contrast to this, the young socialist system, full of vitality, is steadily developing and flourishing.

And the powerful step of this new, socialist world will become ever firmer and surer with every year and with every five-year period.

In their preparations for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intellectuals are, rallying even more closely around their Communist Party and Soviet government; they will meet this wonderful anniversary with new achievements in all fields of economic and cultural development, with new victories in Soviet society's magnificent advance towards communism.