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# **TRIUMPHANT MARCH of LENIN'S IDEAS**



Speech of  
**OTTO KUUSINEN**  
at the  
Lenin Anniversary  
Meeting

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## **TRIUMPHANT MARCH OF LENIN'S IDEAS**

*Speech delivered by Otto Kuusinen, member of the presidium of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a secretary of the party's central committee, at the Lenin anniversary meeting held in Moscow's Sports Palace on April 22, 1960.*

**C**OMRADES, today we are celebrating the 90th anniversary of the birth of the founder of our Communist Party and of the Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—the great leader of the working people of all countries.

Fundamental changes in the history of our country and in the international labour movement in the 20th century are associated with Lenin's name. And not only past history. His teaching of genius is still a reliable guide for all who are striving to remodel society in the interests of working mankind. The light of Lenin's ideas penetrates far into the future and makes it possible to see distinctly the prospects for historical development.

### **Lenin Is Always With Us**

The unforgettable picture of the living Lenin today still moves the hearts of all Soviet men and women—both those who were fortunate enough to meet Vladimir Ilyich, and also those who never saw him in the flesh and yet fought and worked inspired by his fiery calls.

Lenin's greatness and the tremendous historical importance of his life's cause, are now clear to everyone. But representatives of the rising generation and those who are middle-aged perhaps find it difficult to visualise the fascinating personality of this great leader, his exceptional tact with regard to comrades, with regard to all honest men and women coming from the midst of the people.

In talking with Ilyich, everyone felt how amazingly his personality combined warm humanity and strong revolutionary passion. You could talk with him without ceremony, just as you could with your own father or with an all-understanding teacher. He listened attentively, and his lively expressive face and his eyes reflected the rapid flow of his thoughts and feelings. And later, when in brief, terse sentences he gave a concrete and profound explanation on the questions uppermost in your mind, you could not help being amazed

by the force of his genius. Everything complicated turned out to be easily explained! It became immediately obvious where to go and with whom to go, what to do and what was the keystone of our policy in the given situation. Everything became clear as daylight. And you went from a conversation with Lenin with joyful confidence in victory and a profound affection for him, for Lenin.

This means that if someone were to ask us members of the older generation in what we specially sensed the genius of Lenin, we could reply: "He seemed to us to have 'second sight' in the best sense of the term."

As Maxim Gorky aptly put it, Lenin had the rare ability to look at the present from the summits of the future.

When speaking at meetings and rallies, Vladimir Ilyich overwhelmed the audience by his knowledge of life, with his mighty will and the force of his conviction gripping his hearers. The mass of the workers and peasants felt that Lenin worried to the bottom of his heart over their vital needs, lived for their interests and fiercely hated any oppression and exploitation of working people.

The people felt unbounded love for Lenin, just as Lenin loved the people.

Under Lenin's leadership socialism emerged for the first time from theory into living practice.

Vladimir Ilyich did not live to see the victorious march of socialism in other countries as well. His life was broken off prematurely. But the historic cause of Lenin and his ideas are immortal. The rays of his genius light up our party's road today as well.

The great teaching of Lenin—Leninism—is the Marxism of our epoch. As a loyal Marxist, Lenin further developed the teaching of Marx in conformity with changing historical conditions. Allegiance to the teaching of Lenin demands of our party that it too, taking present-day conditions into consideration, should further develop Marxism-Leninism, always applying its fundamental provisions in a creative way.

Such allegiance to Leninism is demanded of our party by its responsibility to the working class, to the entire Soviet people, and also to the international communist movement. For our party, thanks to its wealth of experience, has set an example of struggle for socialism, an example of the successful accomplishment of the most complicated tasks of building socialism and communism.

Our party proves its allegiance to Marxism-Leninism by its deeds and by its policy. Lenin wrote that politics is a science and an art. Emphasising the unbreakable ties between the theory and practice of Marxism, he pointed out: "Marxism lies in the ability to determine what policy should be pursued in the given conditions."

What is the specific policy our party is pursuing in the present

conditions? How does it fulfil Lenin's behests? What is the aim of the policy of the party and the Soviet government?

It seems to me appropriate at this meeting, devoted to the memory of our unforgettable teacher, to try to throw light on these questions.

## Along Lenin's Road—To Communism

At the present time, all the working people of our country are engaged in building the material and technical foundations of communism. What is the specific task that the party puts first in this great work? It is the electrification of all branches of industry and agriculture.

Today, more than ever before, we can appreciate the great wisdom of Ilyich who, already at the beginning of 1920, in the extremely difficult conditions of industrial backwardness and economic dislocation, confidently declared:

"Electrification will transform Russia. Electrification on the basis of Soviet power will ensure the final victory of the foundations of communism." (*Works, vol. 30, p. 343, Russian edition*).

In the years that followed, the Soviet people, under Lenin's personal direction, began to carry out the first electrification plan. Lenin attached the greatest programmatic importance to this task, proclaiming his famous formula: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country."

Since Lenin's time, in the course of the Five-Year Plans, many new power stations, including large ones, have been built in our country. But today, when our country has entered the period of the comprehensive building of communism, our party has set this task before all else. The central committee of the party, through Nikita Khrushchov, has proclaimed the electrification of the entire country to be the cornerstone of the development of the national economy, thereby restoring the programmatic importance, the importance in principle, of the great task bequeathed by Lenin.

The present Seven-Year Plan will be the decisive stage in the realisation of this idea of Lenin's. By 1965, the output of power in our country will be increased to between 500,000 and 520,000 million kilowatt-hours. This means that the country will be generating more than twice as much energy as all the power stations built in the years of Soviet government were generating at the beginning of the Seven-Year Plan. And by 1980, according to the preliminary estimates of economists, power output will reach approximately 2,300,000 million kilowatt-hours.

The fulfilment of this programme will mark a gigantic step forward in the development of the productive forces. It is on the basis of electrification, and on this basis alone, that the comprehensive mechanisation and automation of the national economy can be

accomplished. Having an abundance of electrical power in the country means being able to put millions of new electric motors and machines into operation and to saturate production with electronic instruments and devices. This will provide unlimited scope for further technical progress and make the labour of the Soviet people incomparably more productive and easy.

We have entered the epoch of a magnificent technical revolution. It is associated with the swift development of science, which is blending organically with production. Our people and the party love scientists, appreciate science and spare no means to support their bold undertakings. The outstanding achievements of Soviet science are known to all. Following the launching of the Soviet sputniks and luniks, even our enemies abroad have to acknowledge the leading role of Soviet scientists in world scientific progress.

The technical revolution is extending to agriculture as well. It is bringing a tremendous growth of labour productivity and is further reducing the dependence of agriculture on the whims of Nature. The electrification, mechanisation and development of the chemical industry is turning work in agriculture into a variety of industrial labour. The best collective farm fields and livestock sections are becoming veritable highly-productive factories of grain, feeding stuffs, meat and milk. Thus the material foundation is being laid for the solution of the great task of obliterating the differences between town and countryside.

The great achievements of the party and the Soviet government in establishing the material and technical foundations of communism are the best evidence of the correctness of this policy. It has the warm support of the masses of the working people, millions strong. This is shown convincingly by the labour enthusiasm of our workers in industry and agriculture and by the movement of communist work teams. We have whole industrial enterprises—the Moscow Machine-Building Works, for instance, the Hard Alloys Combine and the Trekhgornaya Textile Mill—where the workers are engaged in emulation for their right to be called “enterprises of communist work.”

At the same time, our achievements are a sure guarantee of victory in peaceful economic competition with the United States of America and the other most developed capitalist countries. Capitalism is incapable of our rate of economic and technical progress. Of course, bourgeois countries, too, apply new technology, but it does not always conform with the interests of the capitalists and, far from removing, further deepens the contradictions of capitalism.

And in general, scientific and technical progress cannot serve two masters. It can rather be likened to a steed which runs swiftly and confidently when it is spurred on by socialism, but which begins to

kick and rear when capitalism is in the saddle, and threatens to throw its rider.

To the workers of capitalist countries, rationalisation and further mechanisation mean an intensification of exploitation, while automation is fraught with the danger of many of them being thrown out of work. We, on the other hand, do not and cannot have any “surplus men.” The workers released in some branches immediately find work in others. The party and the government see to that.

Loyal to Lenin's behests, our party and state are consistently pursuing a policy of improving the labour conditions of our workers. What, precisely, is the party working for in this respect? By a decision of the 21st Party Congress, in carrying out the seven-year economic plan attention is being concentrated on replacing arduous manual labour by machine labour, not only in industry, but also in agriculture, in construction, in transport, in loading and unloading operations, and in the utility services. With the development of automation, more and more kinds of light manual labour will be done by machinery. The party's ultimate aim is to have man fulfil only those functions of creative labour which cannot be performed even by the “wisest” of machines.

Our party is also carrying out important measures to reduce working time without any cut in wages. This year we shall complete the transition of factory and office workers to a seven-hour working day, and in the case of those working underground to a six-hour working day. The transition to a six- and five-hour working day will begin in 1964. But that is not the limit.

This is the natural course of events under socialism. From the standpoint of socialism, the time free from work is time necessary for the all-round development of the individual. And our society is interested in having its citizens develop all their abilities to the utmost. It is seeking to raise all workers to the level of engineering and technical personnel. Its policy is to eliminate the differences between manual workers and brain workers.

That is why, in reducing the working day, the party, the state and the public are paying so much attention to the provision of conditions for the cultural development of the working people and above all, the expansion of the system of evening classes and correspondence courses. These efforts are already bearing fruit and are contributing to the development of the people's initiative in the most varied fields.

Let us turn now to the party's policy in raising the living standards of the working people.

The party is doing everything possible to enable our people—who are building communism and forging the happiness of future generations—to live well, already at the present time.

Important measures have been enacted on the initiative of the party

in recent years in order to ensure the improvement of the Soviet people's wellbeing. In so doing, our consistent policy is to improve the position, not of individual groups and segments, but of the broadest sections of the population.

The Soviet government is taking measures to raise the wages of the lower-paid categories, and then the medium-paid categories. Much has already been done in this respect, and our state will proceed with this policy in the future.

For several years now we have had a new pension law which has substantially improved the position of tens of millions of people.

In the interests of the broad masses of the people, the party has drawn up a vast programme for housing construction and is successfully carrying it out. Its scope can be gauged from the fact that about 15 million individual flats will be built in the towns and industrial settlements in the period from 1959 to 1965, and about seven-million dwellings will be built in the rural areas. The time is near when every Soviet family will be living in a separate flat.

Another goal of the party which is important in principle is the gradual elimination of taxes paid by industrial and other workers. As distinct from all bourgeois states, our socialist state is concerned, not with how to increase taxation, but with how to free the working people from taxes.

The measures taken by the party and the government to protect the health of the Soviet people are permeated with Leninist solicitude for man.

Tremendous and ever-increasing sums are being allocated in order to improve the public health services, to build sanatoriums, rest homes, boarding houses and hotels, to create zones for recreation and leisure around the big towns and in health resort areas, and to develop physical culture and sport.

Decisions recently taken by the government make provision for the broad development of the system of establishments for children under school age and for boarding schools and schools which take the children for the entire day. This is an essential contribution to the social education of the rising generation and is, at the same time, of substantial assistance to many millions of families, because the expenses for the maintenance of the children will be undertaken to an increasing extent by society, by the state. Such measures along with the development and improvement of public catering and service establishments, are of the greatest importance for women.

Model public dining rooms, nursery schools and kindergartens were described by Lenin as "the young shoots of communism." "And it is our common and primary duty," he told us, "to nurse them." (*Works, vol. 29, p. 397, Russian edition.*)

In recent years, closely following the spirit of Lenin's teaching,

the party has done a tremendous job in further developing and improving socialist democracy. It is not only in the full restoration and consolidation of socialist legality and in the struggle against all manifestations of red tape that this finds expression. The party and the government are resolutely setting a course towards the gradual transfer of many functions, earlier belonging to the state, to the trade unions, public organisations and collectives of working people. The party and the government will continue along the road of further developing socialist democracy.

Thus, we have every reason for saying, together with Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchov: "What Lenin cared for, planned and dreamed of is now being successfully translated into reality by our people and party!"

### Policy of Friendship with the Peoples Who Have Cast Off the Yoke of Colonialism

Comrades, true to the behests of Lenin, our party has always backed the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and their right of self-determination. When, after the Second World War, Lenin's forecasts concerning the liberation of the peoples of the East came true on a gigantic scale and when dozens of new independent states were founded on the wreckage of colonial empires, our Soviet state was confronted with new and important tasks.

The peoples who for centuries had borne on their shoulders the yoke of colonial exploitation, now needed, not only moral and political support, but also economic assistance in developing their national economy.

As for our relations with countries of the socialist camp—the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Mongolian People's Republic—those relations have been determined from the very outset by the principles of socialist internationalism. Close alliance and fraternal friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation in building socialism and communism—that is the foundation of these relations.

But we have a broader understanding of the international duty of our socialist country—we understand it as rendering assistance to those liberated peoples, too, who are not included in the world system of socialism. All-round, disinterested assistance in strengthening their political and economic independence is the foundation of our relations with the newly-created states. Of course, we do not impose assistance on anyone, but we help when we are asked to do so.

The road to the consolidation of the independence of the liberated countries is the road of developing their national economy, promoting the advance of their culture and improving the living standards of

## Struggle for Peace and Peaceful Co-existence

Lenin's behest to our party and all communists was: Fight tirelessly for peace and work to end wars. He said: "The ending of wars, peace between the nations, the stopping of plunder and violence—it is precisely this that is our ideal. (*Works, vol. 21, p. 264, Russian edition.*)

In the West at the present time there are glib propagandists who allege that Lenin was against the peaceful co-existence of the two systems. These falsifiers pick out individual quotations from Lenin's works, or even fragments of quotations dating back to the time of the Civil War and military intervention. But it was the world bourgeoisie itself which, by its intervention, added to the struggle of the Russian proletariat the character of an international clash. It is clear that at the time of the intervention the question of peaceful co-existence of socialism and capitalism was relegated to the background.

But then, these gentlemen carefully pass over in silence Lenin's entire policy during the first years of Soviet power, his line towards establishing businesslike co-operation with capitalist states, the line which was clearly expressed in Lenin's directives to the Soviet delegates to the first international conferences, for instance in Genoa in 1922.

In that period Lenin developed his idea of the peaceful economic competition of the two systems. To use Lenin's expression, this is the "rivalry of two methods, two formations, two kinds of economy—communist and capitalist."

"We shall prove," Lenin continues, "that we are the stronger."

"Of course, the task is a difficult one, but we have said and continue to say that socialism has the power of example. Force is of avail in relation to those who want to restore their power. But that exhausts the value of force, and after that only influence and example are of avail. We must demonstrate the importance of communism practically, by example." (*Works, vol. 31, p. 426, Russian edition.*)

The principles of peaceful co-existence, both then and now, form the basis of the whole of Soviet foreign policy. During the recent years our party has been creatively developing this idea of Lenin's. Of decisive importance in this connection was the conclusion drawn by the 20th and 21st Party Congresses about there being no fatal inevitability of wars in our epoch, about the possibility of preventing wars. By drawing this conclusion, the party has made a new contribution to Marxism.

Of course, aggressiveness is inherent in the nature of imperialism. But one should not dogmatically consider only this aspect of the matter. The fact that powerful forces counteracting war have appeared should not be ignored. One should not overlook the fact that the time has gone, never to return, when imperialism had the whole

the people. Industrialisation is of tremendous importance for such countries. It is precisely here that the young states need support most of all. Understanding this, the Soviet Union is accordingly developing its economic co-operation with them.

The supplying of up-to-date industrial equipment, assistance in building large enterprises, in prospecting for and exploiting natural resources, in training national cadres of specialists—these are the principal aspects of Soviet assistance. The Soviet Union's participation in building the gigantic steel works at Bhilai, in the construction of the Aswan High Dam, a steel works in Indonesia and dozens of other industrial projects accords with the vital interests of the peoples of the East.

One often hears the claim that the western countries also have a strong desire to help the peoples who have cast off the yoke of imperialism. Generally speaking, it would only be fair if the colonial powers were to return to the owners even a part of the wealth they have appropriated. However, this is not the case here.

The western powers, as in the past, still continue to hinder the independent development and industrialisation of underdeveloped countries. The nature of their "assistance" is determined, as we know, by their military plans, which are obviously a danger to the independence of the recipient countries.

It is said in the West that a struggle for the countries of the East has now developed and it is alleged that the Soviet Union is seeking to tie them to its chariot. But does the Soviet Union seek to draw the eastern countries into war blocs like S.E.A.T.O., CENTO, etc? Does the Soviet Union attach political strings to its assistance? Does it demand the right to intervene in domestic affairs? No, that is precisely how the western powers act.

Thus, the liberated peoples have two aspects of assistance, two policies before their eyes. Is it surprising that those peoples increasingly dissociate themselves from the policy of the West? They understand that assistance is a good thing if it is disinterested, and friendship is firm if it is sincere.

The consolidation of independence and the successful development of the liberated countries brings closer the time when they will achieve their legitimate right, on an equal footing with other states, to take part in the solution of all major international problems. This was rightly pointed out by Nikita Khrushchov when he addressed the Indonesian Parliament.

The confidence which Soviet policy enjoys in the countries of the East is a matter of great importance. It will have its bearing on the further strengthening of peace and social progress. We owe this confidence to the fact that underlying Soviet policy are the principles worked out by the great Lenin.

world under its sway. Capitalism can no longer make the whole world follow its laws. A powerful world system of socialism is already in existence; imperialism has been weakened by the collapse of the colonial system; a vast "zone of peace" has come into being; the forces of peace and democracy are now more closely united and better organised even in the imperialist countries themselves. Don't these powerful factors have practical significance in settling the question of peace and war?

Therefore, in order to be loyal to Marxism-Leninism today it is not sufficient to repeat the old truth that imperialism is aggressive. The task is to make full use of the new factors operating for peace in order to save humanity from the catastrophe of another war. A dogmatic position is a backward position. The correctness of our foreign policy of creative Leninism, making use of all the factors for peace, is proved best of all by the success of this policy. The persistent struggle of the Soviet government, abounding in initiative, has yielded fruit. A tangible easing of international tension has been achieved. The cold war is gradually receding. Businesslike relations, including cultural contacts, are being established between states with different social systems. The most burning questions of the international situation have, at long last, become the subject of serious East-West negotiations.

The active struggle of the Soviet government for peace and peaceful co-existence gives our foreign policy an innovative and creative character. This is demonstrated in the frankness with which the most burning issues of world politics are approached, in the combination of firmness, based on principle, with readiness to agree to sensible compromises. This is a truly democratic foreign policy which is being carried out openly before the eyes of the peoples.

In its practical activity the Soviet government is widely cultivating personal contacts with both statesmen and public leaders of bourgeois countries.

The numerous state visits to foreign countries by the head of the Soviet government, Nikita Khrushchov, have, as we know, acquired tremendous importance. They have been of historic significance in improving the Soviet Union's relations with other states and in improving the international situation as a whole. These visits have confirmed once again that the Leninist policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, pursued by our party and the Soviet government headed by Comrade Nikita Khrushchov, is the only correct and viable policy. All of us remember full well the moving demonstrations of friendship by masses of people during Nikita Khrushchov's stay in the United States of America, India, Indonesia, Burma, Afghanistan and France on his great mission of goodwill.

The change in the balance of forces on the international scene, the growing might of the socialist camp and the obvious disastrous consequences of another war—all this leads to a split in the ruling circles of the imperialist states. There appear, alongside the thick-skulled opponents of peace, sober-minded statesmen who realise that a war with the use of weapons of mass destruction would be madness.

Such are the dialectics of military-engineering progress: A new weapon created for war begins to exert an influence in favour of peace. For Marxists there is nothing mysterious in this. The classics of Marxism have never denied the fact that new types of weapons can not only bring about a radical change in the art of war but can also influence politics.

For instance, Engels wrote about this in *Anti-Dühring*. And Nadezhda Krupskaya tells us that Lenin foresaw that "the time will come when war will become so destructive as to be impossible."

Lenin told Krupskaya about his talk with an engineer who had said that an invention was then in the making which would render it possible to destroy a large army from a distance. It would make a war impossible. "Ilyich," Krupskaya writes, "talked about it with great enthusiasm. It was obvious that he passionately wanted war to become impossible."

The division among influential circles of the bourgeoisie is undoubtedly of importance for a successful struggle for peace. Already Lenin pointed out that it is by no means a matter of indifference to us, of course, whether we are dealing with those representatives of the bourgeois camp who are inclining towards a military solution of a problem, or with representatives of the bourgeois camp who are inclining towards pacifism, even of the most feeble kind and one which, from the communist viewpoint, will not stand up to the slightest criticism. (*Works, vol. 33, p. 236, Russian edition*).

The achievements in the struggle for peace provide a favourable basis for further advancement. The main task now is to achieve disarmament. It is very significant that it was precisely our socialist state, which possesses a generally recognised superiority in the military sphere, which put forward the proposal for general and complete disarmament and made this task the pivotal point of world politics.

Just imagine, comrades, a situation in which all these famous sputniks, luniks and our other celestial envoys had been made in the United States, and our country had been sending up rockets which persisted in coming down. Who would believe, then, that the American authorities would make a proposal for total disarmament? I don't believe it, nor do you. Obviously, no one would believe it! The diehard imperialists, naturally, are doing everything in their power to prevent the Soviet proposals from being accepted.



They represent the interests of those groups of monopoly capital which by no means want to give up the fat profits they get from the policy of militarisation and of the arms race. They are the leaders of the Pentagon—the American Defence Department, which continues to call recklessly for new military gambles. They are the “big shots” of N.A.T.O., who see the only meaning of their activity in turning the peaceful fields of Europe into the theatre of another destructive war. They are the militarist revenge-seeking forces who are rearing their heads in Western Germany and Japan. Yes, the cause of peace has many enemies. The danger they represent should not be underestimated. They are real vultures. Therefore the vigilance of the peoples must not be weakened.

A vigorous struggle against the bellicose imperialists is necessary in order to frustrate their aggressive plans. There is only one way to bring the aggressors to their senses; they must be convinced beyond a shadow of doubt that if they dare to unleash another war, then a formidable force will rise against them everywhere, at the front and in the rear, and will not let them escape just retribution. This force must constantly remind the enemies of peace: *Memento mori!*—Remember that you must die! If you start a war, you will be hanged as the nazi ringleaders were hanged in Nuremberg! Crimes against humanity will not go unpunished. Thus, the foreign policy line of our party, inspired by the ideas of the great Lenin, has stood the test of life and has earned wide international recognition. Being fully in keeping with the interests of the Soviet people, this line, at the same time, is imbued with consistent internationalism. It expresses the vital interests of the international working-class movement and of all progressive mankind.

## The Century of the Fulfilment of Lenin's Great Ideas

Comrades, our century—the 20th century—is a most important stage in the history of mankind. This is the century which is witnessing the fulfilment of Lenin's great ideas.

The first half of our century was marked by such gigantic leaps in historical progress that no other epoch in the past history of mankind bears comparison. First came the Great October Socialist Revolution, which turned tsarist Russia into a state of workers and peasants. Then followed the building of socialism on a wide scale, as a result of which our vast country rapidly rose to the position of an advanced state with socialist industry and large-scale collective farming.

Then the outcome of the Second World War, that is to say, the rout of the main armed forces of fascist Germany and her allies by the Soviet army, which ensured the complete victory of the anti-fascist coalition. Then the rise to power of the working people in 13 European and Asian countries including Great China—countries which all

took to the road of building socialism. Then the formation of the world system of socialism with a population of about 1,000 million. Then the liberation from the colonial yoke of many oppressed peoples in Asia and Africa, including the great peoples of China, India and Indonesia.

These are the most important epoch-making results of the first half of our century! These tremendous changes represent the triumphant march of the ideas of Leninism and provide extremely convincing confirmation of the historical laws discovered by Marxist-Leninist science.

And there is no objective reason to expect the history of the second half of our century to deviate from the basic laws of social development.

Naturally, Marxism-Leninism does not indulge in the futile forecasting of events. But that does not mean that it is altogether impossible to foresee the historical prospects of the second half of our century. We see clearly the basic tendencies of historical progress.

Firstly, it is perfectly clear that the Soviet people will carry out ever more successfully the great programme of communist construction. The majestic goals of the Seven-Year Plan will be achieved ahead of schedule.

By the end of the 'sixties the Soviet Union will have moved to first place in the world, not only as regards the total volume of output, but also as regards the *per capita* output of industrial and agricultural products and as regards the volume of the national income and the level of labour productivity. Then our country will also be the first in the world as regards the people's material standards.

When our people reach these heights, they will be within close reach of a communist society. We have not as yet definitely determined the number of years it will take us to achieve this ultimate goal set by Lenin. But if any one of the foreign sceptics believes that our heroic people will not be able to build a communist society before the end of the 20th century, he is very much mistaken. Any Soviet worker will answer him confidently and firmly: We shall do this, too, ahead of schedule!

Secondly, the other countries of the socialist camp will go forward side by side with the Soviet Union.

Thanks to fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance, all the countries of socialism are now developing by such leaps and bounds that economists expect the socialist camp to account for more than half of the world's industrial output as early as 1965. This means that the time is rapidly approaching when the great commonwealth of the socialist states will obtain a decisive superiority in the economic

competition with the camp of the imperialist states, and will then move on to communism.

Thirdly, judging by everything, the second half of our century will bring complete liberation to the oppressed and dependent nations.

Following its major victories in the middle of the century, the Asian national liberation movement is continuing to achieve ever new successes in the struggle for the complete political and economic independence of the nations. Most of the Arab nations have already thrown off the imperialist yoke in Africa. The Negro nations of Africa have also awakened and set up their first independent states. All the African colonies have proclaimed the militant slogan of their people's movements: "Independence during the lifetime of our generation!" Africa has now voiced an even stronger demand: "Immediate independence!" A national movement is also surging in the formally free, but actually dependent, countries of Latin America.

Of course, we must not ignore the fact that the imperialists will do everything possible to smother the national liberation movement of the oppressed nations. But haven't they done everything possible in that direction before? Nevertheless, the movement has continued to grow and has become an invincible force.

The imperialists have achieved temporary successes only in countries where they have obtained the support of corrupt local reactionaries. But can the freedom-loving peoples be expected to tolerate for long the rule of traitors to the nation—accomplices of foreign imperialists? Of course not. The days of colonialism are numbered.

Fourthly, the great struggle of the peoples to safeguard lasting peace throughout the world will grow year by year.

Already today, the correlation of forces is such that the peoples and states advocating the cause of universal peace are the stronger. However, the most rabid imperialists threaten to unleash a terrible nuclear war, which would subject the peoples to brutal mass annihilation. That is why the peoples cannot give up the struggle for reliable guarantees of peace. This is a question of life and death for them.

All the factors which have made for the successes recently achieved in the effort to safeguard peace and lessen international tension, will continue to assume ever greater scope. Lenin's idea of struggling to deliver mankind from the terrible nightmare of war has gripped the minds of vast bodies of people in all continents and has therefore become a major force which will continue to grow and will, finally, make any military aggression impossible.

It is from this that the tempestuous streams of historical progress are now flowing, in spite of all kinds of obstacles.

As for the prospects of the countries of modern capitalism, it will be best if we leave the concrete evaluation of those prospects within the competence of the Marxist-Leninists of each particular

capitalist country. After all, they know the situation in their countries better than anyone else. Here we can only state the general directions in which the basic laws of social development, laid down by the science of historical materialism, are operating and will continue to operate in those countries.

True enough, the Moroccan Court of Appeal has recently ruled, in connection with the hearings of the case of the Communist Party there, that "historical materialism can have no place in our country." But since all the rest of the world is not within the jurisdiction of the Moroccan court, we can rest unperturbed that the laws of historical development still have effective force. The main thing is that capitalism, as a social system, has outlived its day. Owing to the sharpening of the insoluble contradictions inherent in modern capitalism, it is increasingly losing its vital forces. It is already over-ripe, decaying capitalism. It is common knowledge that even cabbages, when they are not harvested in time, begin to rot. This is even more true of capitalism. In the second half of the last century, when the capitalist system of exploitation was in the prime of its strength, comparatively speaking, in the western countries, it did not need much state support.

Then the capitalists used to say that the state should merely perform the role of a "night watchman" and should not interfere in economic affairs. Now the situation is absolutely different. In no country dominated by monopoly capitalism does the latter manage without the support of a large army whose armaments are being feverishly increased. State power is now directly put at the service of capitalist monopolies too. Without government orders, subsidies and guarantees, not to mention government support of their interests abroad, these monopolies could not exist. But in spite of all this, modern capitalism is unable to make full use of its production capacities and cannot get rid of crisis convulsions, which are now more frequent than before. So it is clear that the organism of capitalism has already exhausted its vitality.

Under the slave system an owner unable to feed his slaves was regarded as an unworthy master. But year in and year out, modern capitalism cannot provide employment for millions of its workers—workers who have no other means of subsistence than wage labour. The lot of those working is also deteriorating. The life of most farmers and intellectuals is becoming harder, too. Dissatisfaction and resentment are growing among the people.

Certain American Senators believe that a most alarming thing in this situation is that people languishing under the yoke of capital are learning the truth about the rising living standards of the Soviet people. The well-known Senator Humphrey wrote about this recently: "Huge masses of people all over the world live on the verge of starvation."

"Even the United States has big centres of unemployment and real suffering . . . and wherever poverty remains in the world, accompanied by the emerging understanding that there is no sacred right [sic] to poverty, people may turn to Russia. In the American slums, the African savannas, in the coal pits of West Virginia, poverty breeds desperation and often violence."\*

Senator Humphrey added that the inevitably growing dissatisfaction of the poverty-stricken masses might turn into a powerfully organised action to overthrow the whole of society. But here, of course, the Senator has slightly exaggerated the danger, because even the most wrathful revolutionary actions of the masses of the people are known to be aimed, not at overthrowing the whole of society, which is impossible, but only the ruling class and the corresponding social system.

Many other representatives of the United States ruling class are openly calling for an idea conducive to salvation to be found for American policy. Even the late John Foster Dulles wrote quite a lot on this subject in his day. He stressed in the magazine *Life* as long ago as 1952: "It is also ironic that we, who proudly profess regard for the spiritual, rely so utterly on material defences while avowed materialists have been waging and winning a war with social ideas, stirring humanity everywhere . . . We should be dynamic, we should use ideas as weapons!"

In his capacity as Secretary of State, Dulles went out of his way to be "dynamic" and spent over a thousand million dollars on ideological struggle. But he spent them in vain. He failed to find a single attractive idea. After Dulles, other United States wizards continue to complain publicly about the ideological sterility of American policy, and not without reason. Ideological hunger is very acute there. That is why I sometimes think: Why don't the American leaders ask us for ideological aid? Soviet people are never grudging when we see poverty.

We have an inexhaustible wealth of ideas—sufficient for America too. For instance, the brilliant idea of completely liquidating crises, both economic and political! The idea of wiping out unemployment! The idea of reducing working hours without wage cuts! The idea of doing away with the poverty of the masses of the people! All these are absolutely concrete ideas which have been tested in practice. Furthermore, there is the idea of safeguarding peace, peaceful co-existence and co-operation among all nations! The idea of the independence and equality of all the oppressed nations! The idea of ensuring, not only formal but actual popular democracy and freedom in every country!

\* Retranslated from the Russian.

Why are these ideas unsuitable for the present policy of the United States? The point is that these excellent ideas are attractive only when the ruling circles of a country get down to actually carrying them out and do not simply pay them lip service. But the capitalist monopolies do not want that at all. That is why there is a glaring contradiction between their words and their deeds, and then, of course, the ideas proclaimed lose their effectiveness.

That is the trouble with the bourgeois governments. For instance, they advertise their love of peace while they are actually conducting an arms race and whipping together aggressive military blocs; they advertise the régime of their countries as democratic and free, while actually it is chiefly a democracy for the monopolistic bourgeoisie and freedom for social parasites. That is how it has come about that they themselves have deprived of meaning in the eyes of the people all their slogans in favour of peace, democracy and freedom.

Yes, the prospects of modern capitalism are not enviable. Realising the shaky nature of their social system and the ideological weakness of their policy, the extreme right-wing representatives of monopoly capital are increasingly demanding the employment of methods of reactionary class violence in their countries. But the experience of history has shown more than once that a reactionary power, relying on armed force, cannot guarantee the perpetuation of a régime which has exhausted its vitality. Such a power is brutal but not lasting. Russian tsarism, for instance, relied on the bayonets of its army, many millions strong, and on its gendarmerie at the beginning of 1917. At that time a casual observer might have thought that Russian autocracy was at the height of its power. But only a few days later the tsar's throne tottered and collapsed like a hen-roost in an earthquake.

Dear Comrades, all of us, Lenin's pupils and followers, are inspired by the realisation that we live and work in the epoch of a great turn in the history of mankind. The 20th century is the era of the implementation of Lenin's ideas—our great era.

We see the laws of historical progress operating as never before, with invincible force. But we also know that history is not made spontaneously, but with the brawny hands and the minds of living peoples. Our great happiness, the happiness of all progressive mankind, lies in hard work and ceaseless struggle to carry out the noble ideas of Lenin.

Long live Lenin's great cause!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded by Lenin!

Long live peace and international friendship!

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