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**FOR NEW  
VICTORIES  
FOR THE WORLD  
COMMUNIST  
MOVEMENT**

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*Concerning the Results  
of the Meeting of Representatives  
of the Communist and Workers' Parties*

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PEACE AND SOCIALISM  
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Speech delivered at a meeting of  
the Party organisations in the Higher  
Party School, the Academy of Social  
Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-  
Leninism, C.C. C.P.S.U., on January  
6th, 1961.

The meeting of representatives of eighty-one Marxist-Leninist parties, held in Moscow in November 1960, will go down in the history of the world Communist and working-class movement as one of its most vivid chapters. The meeting made a profound analysis of the present international situation and arrived at a common standpoint on the major issues facing our movement. As a result of the meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal unity, the million-fold family of Communists in all countries have drawn closer on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and redoubled their strength in the valiant struggle for the triumph of peace and socialism.

The meeting, the most representative in the history of the Communist and working-class movement, was attended by veterans steeled in class battles, people who have experienced long years of grim struggles and who remained staunch under the torture of fascist executioners and other enemies of the working class. It was attended by leaders of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries, by representatives of the Communist parties which in difficult conditions are fighting valiantly against capitalism, and by militant leaders of the national-liberation movement—in short, it was a gathering of the flower of the world Communist movement.

Now that the Communists in all countries are vigorously discussing the statement issued by the meeting and its appeal to the peoples of the world, both of which they approve of unanimously, it is perfectly clear that the time and effort which the participants in the meeting devoted to their common task were not wasted. The working people everywhere can see for themselves that the Marxist-Leninist parties have justified the hopes of the peoples.

Over a thousand million people in the socialist countries followed the proceedings of the meeting with close attention. They were confident that it would result in the further consolidation of the socialist camp and closer unity of the ranks of the world Communist movement. The working class, all working people in the capitalist countries wanted to know how best to fight for their revolutionary goals, for social progress and for democratic rights and liberties, how to resist imperialist reaction effectively. The fighters for national independence expected the meeting to tell them how to abolish, speedily and for ever, the shameful colonial system and how to ensure the development of the liberated countries along the road of national independence, peace and social progress.

All peace-loving people awaited from the meeting the answer to the great question of the day—how to safeguard the world against nuclear war and how to establish lasting peace on earth and friendship among all nations, how to ensure the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems.

And hundreds of millions of people all over the world experienced deep satisfaction when they learned about the results of the meeting.

The meeting greatly enriched the ideological treasure-house of international communism. The statement, which was adopted unanimously, is a militant Marxist-Leninist document of the utmost international significance. It reaffirms the loyalty of the Communist parties to the Declaration adopted in 1957. At the same time it furnishes a profound analysis of the new developments in the world arena, and contains theoretical and political conclusions which are important for all the Marxist-Leninist parties. For the Communists, the working class and progressive people in all countries this statement will be a reliable guide in the further struggle for their noble aims.

The statement contains a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the times, and points to the new prospects opening up before the international Communist, working-class and liberation movement. The documents of the meeting show the way forward for the socialist world system and for the further consolidation of the socialist camp; they define the major issues of the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries, of the fight for the final abolition of the infamous colonial system, and for the unity of all those taking part in the movement to avert war.

The appeal to the peoples of the world is an impassioned call for unity in the struggle to solve the most pressing problem of our time—to prevent a world war. The appeal shows once again that it is we, the Communists, who are the most consistent champions of the interests of the people, that it is we who show the sole way to preserve peace and make it durable.

The work of the meeting was inspired by proletarian internationalism, party democracy and the desire to reinforce the unity of the Communists. The delegations from all the parties expressed their views, shared their experience, and made their contribution both in assessing and in elaborating the problems of the day.

The chief results of the meeting were greater unity of the world Communist movement and the further consolidation of the international Communist front on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This can be described as a new ideological and political victory for the Communists, a victory of the greatest significance and, by the same token, as another defeat for the enemies of communism and progress. The imperialists and their stooges were bitterly disappointed when they read the documents of the meeting. We have every reason for saying that the unity of the world Communist movement, which strikes terror in the hearts of the imperialist reactionaries, is now stronger than ever. This is a notable success for our common cause.



## 1. Our Epoch Is the Epoch of the Triumph of Marxism-Leninism

An analysis of the world situation as it appeared at the beginning of the sixties cannot but impart to all members of the great Communist movement feelings of deep satisfaction and legitimate pride. Indeed, comrades, the reality has greatly exceeded the boldest and most optimistic predictions and expectations.

In the past we used to say that history was working for socialism. By that we meant that eventually man would consign capitalism to the dustbins and that socialism would triumph. Today we can say that socialism is working for history, because the rise of socialism and its affirmation on a worldwide scale are the basic content of the historical process in our times.

In 1913, that is, four years before the October Revolution, Lenin, our immortal leader and teacher, wrote that since the time of the *Communist Manifesto* world history could plainly be divided into three main periods, the first from the revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune of 1871, the second from the Paris Commune to the Russian revolution of 1905, and the third from the Russian revolution. Lenin rounded off his characterisation of the three periods in these words: "Since the emergence of Marxism, each of the three great epochs of world history has brought it further confirmation and new triumphs. But the future will bring Marxism, the doctrine of the proletariat, an even greater triumph." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 18, p. 547).

Those prophetic words have come true with amazing force and accuracy. The new epoch foreseen by Lenin has arrived and qualitatively it can be described as a fundamentally new epoch in world history. No previous epoch can be compared to it. Those were epochs when the working class was gathering strength and when its valiant struggles, while shaking the foundations of capitalism, were unable to solve the main problem, that of the transfer of power to the working people. On the other hand, the new epoch is distinguished from all others by the historic victory of socialism, initiated by the October Revolution in 1917. Ever since, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine has been winning one resounding victory after ano-

ther. And today its impact and revolutionising role are felt not merely in separate countries and continents, but throughout the world.

There are a number of factors which make the march of socialism irresistible. To begin with, Marxism-Leninism has been taken up by hundreds of millions of people and for this reason it has become, as Marx put it, a mighty material force. Moreover, in the eyes of mankind Marxism-Leninism is not just a theory, it has become a living reality; today the socialist society being created in vast areas of Europe and Asia embodies that theory. There is no longer, nor can there be, a force in the world capable of halting the growing urge of vast masses of the people to see with their own eyes and feel with their own hands what socialism is like—not through books or manifestoes, but in reality, in practice. There is no longer any force in the world capable of barring the road to socialism for the peoples of more and more countries. There is yet another circumstance of prime importance. Whereas yesterday hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America were crushed by the oppression of the imperialist "civilisers", today the scene is undergoing a drastic change. The rise of growing numbers of nations through revolution provides most favourable conditions for an unprecedented extension of the sphere of influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The day is not far off when Marxism-Leninism will dominate the minds of the majority of the population of the globe. That which has taken place in the world in the forty-three years since the victory of the October Revolution is proof of the scientific soundness and vitality of the Leninist theory of the world socialist revolution.

It will be useful to recall how Lenin characterised the process of the world socialist revolution and the forces taking part in it. "...The socialist revolution," he said, "will not be solely and chiefly a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in the country concerned against their own bourgeoisie; it will be a struggle of all the colonies and dependent countries oppressed by imperialism against international imperialism." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 138.) Stressing that that struggle was aimed primarily at achieving national liberation, Lenin said: "And it should be perfectly clear that in the coming decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the world, first

aimed at national emancipation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism, and will, perhaps, play a much greater revolutionary role than we expect." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 32, p. 458.)

Now that a socialist world system has taken shape and with anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolutions in full flood, it is necessary to determine the further course and perspective of world development. This cannot be done without a profound understanding of the essence, content and nature of the decisive tasks of the present epoch.

The question of the character of the epoch is not an abstract, purely theoretical question. Inseparably linked with it are the general strategy and tactics of world communism and of each Communist party.

The ideologists of imperialism, and their reformist and revisionist associates, are doing their utmost to misrepresent the character of the present epoch. This is an instance of falsification with a definite aim: to mislead the masses of the people, divert them from the revolutionary path, hitch them to the bandwagon of imperialism and create the impression that capitalism is not in its death-throes but is creeping into socialism through a sort of calculated "evolution". This is the notorious theory of the so-called reformed capitalism. The falsifiers maintain that this "reformation" is in the best interest of all classes and that peace and harmony are, therefore, the order of the day in capitalist society. That is how the bourgeois ideologists, the right-wing Social Democrats and the revisionist renegades depict the present epoch. It is not accidental that the capitalist ideologists substitute far-fetched definitions such as "people's capitalism" and the "welfare state" for "capitalism" and "imperialism".

Naturally, we must expose this ideological sabotage and counter it with our scientific Marxist-Leninist definition of the epoch. We must do so in order properly to define the relationship of forces and use the new opportunities which the present epoch opens up for the further advancement of our noble cause.

What, then, are the requirements which a Marxist-Leninist characterisation of the times should meet? It should provide a clear idea of the class holding the key position in this epoch, of the basic content, trend and tasks of social development. Secondly, it should encompass the entire revolutionary process

from the formation of socialism to the complete victory of communism. Thirdly, it should show the forces aligning themselves with the working class, which is the key force in our times, and the movements flowing in the general tide against imperialism.

At a time when the socialist revolution has triumphed in many countries, when socialism has become a powerful world system, when the colonial system of imperialism is approaching complete disintegration, and with imperialism in a state of decline and crisis, the definition of our epoch should reflect these decisive developments.

The statement adopted by the meeting defines the epoch in these terms:

"Our times, the basic content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the great October Socialist Revolution, are times of struggle between the two opposed social systems, times of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, times of the transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale."

This definition of the character of the present epoch can be regarded as an example of a creative, genuinely scientific solution of an important and responsible task. The strength of this definition is that it faithfully characterises the main achievements of the world liberation movement and provides the international Communist and working-class movement with a clear perspective of the victory of communism on a world scale.

In defining the essence and character of the present epoch as a whole, it is absolutely essential that we should be clear about the main peculiarities and distinguishing features of its present stage. The post-October period, seen from the point of view of its basic motive forces, is clearly divided into two stages. One of these began with the victory of the October Revolution. It was, to use Lenin's phrase, the period of establishing and developing the national dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat within the national bounds of Russia alone.

Although right from its inception the Soviet Union began to exert a very great influence on international affairs, imper-



alism had largely determined the course and character of international relations. But even in those early days it proved incapable of crushing the Soviet Union, of preventing it from becoming a mighty industrial power, the outwork of progress and civilisation, a centre of attraction for all the forces fighting against imperialist oppression and fascist enslavement.

The second stage in the development of the contemporary epoch dates from the rise of the socialist world system. This was a revolutionary process of historic significance. The October Revolution broke the first link in the imperialist chain. After this the chain was broken in a number of places. In the past, we used to speak about the breaking of one or more links in the imperialist chain, but at present an all-embracing chain of imperialism no longer exists. The dictatorship of the working class has emerged beyond the confines of one country and become an international force. Imperialism has lost not only the countries where socialism has triumphed, it is rapidly losing nearly all its colonies. Naturally, as a result of these blows and losses, the general crisis of capitalism has become much more acute, and the balance of forces in the world has changed radically in favour of socialism.

The main distinguishing feature of our time is the fact that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. This finds direct expression also in the sphere of international relations. In the conditions of today socialism is in a position to determine, in growing measure, the character, methods and trends of international relations. This does not mean that imperialism is an "insignificant factor" which can be ignored. Not at all. Imperialism is still very strong. It controls a powerful military machine.

Now in peacetime imperialism has created a gigantic war machine and a ramified system of military blocs and has subordinated its economy to the arms drive. The U.S. imperialists, bent on bringing the whole world under their sway, are threatening mankind with missile-nuclear war. Modern imperialism is increasingly marked by decay and parasitism. In their evaluation of the prospects of international development, Marxist-Leninists do not, and must not, have any illusions with regard to imperialism.

The facts of the barefaced provocations and aggression on the part of the imperialists are countless. There is nothing new in this. What is new is that all the imperialist probings,

in addition to being conclusively exposed, are firmly repelled, and the attempts made by the imperialists to start local wars are being thwarted.

The present balance of world forces enables the socialist camp and the other peace forces for the first time in history to set themselves the entirely realistic task of forcing the imperialists to refrain, for fear of seeing their system destroyed, from starting a world war.

In connection with the possibility of preventing a world war, I should like to deal with the prospects of the further development of the general crisis of capitalism. It is common knowledge that both the First and Second World Wars greatly influenced the rise and aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Can it be inferred from this that world war is an indispensable condition for the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism? Such an inference would be absolutely wrong, because it distorts the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution and inverts the true causes of revolution. A proletarian revolution is not caused solely by military cataclysms; first and foremost it is the result of the development of the class struggle and of the internal contradictions of capitalism.

It is obvious that the rise of the socialist world system, the rapid disintegration of the colonial system and the unprecedented growth of the struggle of the working class for its rights and interests are sapping the foundations of capitalism and intensifying its general crisis. Capitalism has suffered irretrievable losses from these blows. This applies both to the capitalist system as a whole and to the main capitalist country—the United States.

The strongest capitalist country has been affected by the general crisis more than any other capitalist country. Since the war the United States, with its frequency of economic shocks, has already experienced three slumps—1948-49, 1953-54 and especially in 1957-58.

U.S. industrial production last year, according to the American press, rose by only 2 per cent, and as for this year, U.S. economists forecast not a rise, but a 3.7 per cent drop in production. Soviet production in 1960 rose roughly by 10 per cent.

It is none other than monopoly capital in the United States that shows inability to utilise the available productive forces. The richest country of the capitalist world is also the country

of the greatest chronic unemployment. Obviously garbled official U.S. figures show that the number of wholly unemployed in the United States rose from 2,600,000 in 1956 to 3,800,000 in 1959, and exceeded 4,000,000 towards the end of 1960. Furthermore, there are millions of partially unemployed in the United States.

Growing under-capacity operation of industry is a permanent factor in America. In 1959, some 37 per cent of the U.S. steel industry's production capacity was idle, despite the fact that steel output rose somewhat after a steep decline in the crisis year of 1958. By the end of 1960 less than half the production capacity of the U.S. steel industry was in operation. Despite the big increase in military appropriations, the rate of growth of production has slowed down in the post-war years, barely exceeding the growth of population. Between 1956 and 1959, U.S. industrial production per head of population remained at the same level.

Although the United States is still the main economic, financial and military force of contemporary imperialism, its weight in the economy and politics of the capitalist world is declining. The share of the United States in the industrial output of the capitalist countries dropped from 54 per cent in 1950 to 47-48 per cent in 1959. In 1950 the United States accounted for 57.4 per cent of the total steel output of the capitalist countries; by 1959 output had dropped to 40.4 per cent. The share of the United States in the total exports of the capitalist countries shrank from over 30 per cent in 1946 to 21 per cent in 1953, and to 17.4 per cent in 1959. Nevertheless, the U.S. monopolists were and they still are the greatest usurers and exploiters of peoples.

There is every reason for saying that both economically and in the sphere of international affairs the principal capitalist power has entered a phase of growing difficulties and crises—the twilight phase.

As for the economy of the other capitalist countries, it, too, is characterised by greater instability.

Although at present the capitalist world is not split into two imperialist camps, as was the case on the eve of the two world wars, it is nonetheless far from being united, and is being rent by bitter internal conflicts. The shop-window of the so-called "Atlantic solidarity" is a cloak for an unpre-

possessing picture of internal strife and conflict and increasing resistance to United States leadership and *diktat*. The rebirth of German militarism and revenge-seeking in the heart of Europe is restoring the complex tangle of Anglo-German, Franco-German and other imperialist contradictions. One has only to compare the present state of capitalism with what it was at the end of the Second World War, to see that its general crisis has become much deeper.

Having profoundly analysed the international situation as a whole, the meeting reached a conclusion of very great theoretical and political significance, namely, that "*a new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism.*" The feature of this new stage is that it originated, not in the conditions of a world war, but in the circumstances of competition and struggle between the two systems, of the ever growing changes in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, and of pronounced aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism, in the circumstances when the successful struggle of the peace supporters for peaceful coexistence has prevented the imperialists from wrecking world peace by their aggressive actions, in an atmosphere of rising struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism by the masses. All this speaks of the further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism.

Our militant comrades in the Communist parties in the capitalist countries take cognisance of this when defining their further tactical line in the struggle for the working-class cause. And we can confidently say that the immediate future harbours new successes for the combined forces of world socialism, the working class and the national-liberation movement.

## 2. All-out Building of Communism in the U.S.S.R. and Prospects for the Socialist World System

Comrades, the socialist world system is the great motive-power of our time. The international working class and its Communist vanguard see their duty in reinforcing in every way the might and unity of the socialist camp—the bastion of peace, freedom and independence of the nations.

You will recall that the meeting devoted close attention to matters associated with the further development of the socialist world system. The statement adopted by the meeting formulated important theoretical and political propositions on these matters. I should like to dwell on some of them.

As pointed out in the statement, the cardinal task of the socialist countries is to make use of the possibilities inherent in socialism and surpass the capitalist world system in the shortest possible term in the physical volume of industrial and agricultural output and, thereafter, outstrip the most developed capitalist countries in output per head of population and in the standard of living.

The period since the previous meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 has seen a steep rise in the economic strength and international prestige of the socialist world system. Between 1957 and 1959 industrial production in the socialist countries rose 37.1 per cent, compared with a 7.4 per cent increase in the capitalist countries. In the same period, output in the Soviet Union increased 23 per cent, and in the United States only 4.6 per cent. The average annual rate of growth amounted to 17 per cent for all the socialist countries, and to 3.6 per cent for the capitalist countries. The average annual rate in the Soviet Union was 10.9 per cent, in the United States it was 2.3 per cent.

The changes effected by socialism in all spheres of life in the people's democracies are so profound that now with feelings of legitimate pride we can say that not only in the Soviet Union but also in all the other countries of the socialist camp, the socio-economic possibilities of capitalist restoration have been abolished. The socialist world system has entered upon a new stage in its development.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held that it was its duty to inform the world Communist

forum about the work of our Party and to acquaint it with our immediate prospects.

Our Party is concentrating on the all-out building of communist society. The main tasks here are: first, to establish the material and technological base of communism; second, to develop from this base communist social relations; and, third, to mould the man of the future communist society.

The seven-year plan is a vital stage in establishing the material and technological base of communism in our country. According to the plan figures, industrial output was scheduled to go up 17 per cent during the first two years of the seven-year plan. Actually the rise was nearly 23 per cent. If the present rates of development are maintained, industrial output will rise approximately 100 per cent in the seven years, instead of the 80 per cent envisaged in the plan. This will mean about 90,000 million roubles' worth in industrial output (in terms of the new currency) in excess of plan. You will get a better idea of what this figure means if you recall that Lenin proudly reported to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International that in 1922 our country was able for the first time to invest 20 million roubles in heavy industry.

Such was the modest sum in 1922. And look at the possibilities we have today!

Here I should like to say a few words about our iron and steel industry. The seven-year plan fixed a target of 86-91 million tons of steel by 1965. Last year's output was 65 million tons. The increase planned for 1961 is 6 million tons. This will bring the total to 71 million. In the event of our raising the annual output for the remaining years of the plan by not more than the 1961 figure, we will be producing at an annual rate of 95 million tons by the end of 1965. And should we push steel production at the same rate as during the first three years of the plan, we could raise steel output to 100-102 million tons by 1965.

But in all probability we will not pursue a policy of developing iron and steel to the full extent of our potential. The likelihood is that we will channel part of our capital investments to agriculture and light industry. Communism cannot be built by machines and ferrous and non-ferrous metals alone. People should be able to eat well and dress well, they should be properly housed and enjoy other material and cultural amenities.

This is not a revision of our general line, it is rather a ra-

tional utilisation of our material possibilities. When we were surrounded by enemies and our industry was weaker than that of the capitalist countries, we economised on everything, even on schools, as Lenin said. Things are different now: we have a powerful industry, and our armed forces are equipped with the most modern weapons. Why, then, deny ourselves the things that we can have without detriment to the further development of our socialist state?

At present the Central Committee of the Party and the government are drawing up a general economic development plan for 1960-80. Truly exciting is the perspective opened up by establishing the material and technological base of communism, by making the people prosperous through completing the grand projects mapped out by Lenin, our immortal leader and teacher.

The rise in the cultural level of the masses is one of the really great achievements of socialism. In 1959, there were 2,200,000 students in the higher and specialised secondary schools of our country, and today the number of non-manual workers is in excess of 20 million.

Of the people engaged in manual labour the numbers with a secondary and university education have grown considerably. Before the revolution no worker or peasant had a secondary to say nothing of a university education; whereas now, according to the last census, 32 per cent of the citizens engaged in manual labour have had a secondary or university education, including 39 per cent of the workers and 21 per cent of the collective farmers. These figures show convincingly that we have made tangible progress in the gradual elimination of the essential distinctions between mental and manual labour.

The results of this great cultural revolution are clearly reflected in the achievements of Soviet science. The whole world admires these achievements. The three Soviet earth satellites, the solar satellite, our luniks and spaceships—all this is a striking indication of the success and superiority of the socialist system, of the socialist genius of the people who are building communism.

The first stage of the all-out building of communism, as represented by the seven-year plan, is also a decisive stage in fulfilling the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R. In 1950, the industrial output of the Soviet Union amounted to less than 30 per cent of U.S. output, today it is approximately 60 per cent. Economists estimate that by 1965 the Soviet Union will

have surpassed the United States in physical output, and somewhere around 1970 in output per head of population.

The peoples of the other socialist countries, too, are working selflessly on the basic economic task of socialism. The time is not far off when socialism will assume first-place in world production and capitalism will suffer defeat in this decisive sphere of human endeavour—the sphere of material production. As a result of fulfilling and overfulfilling the seven-year plan and the rapid rates of economic development in the people's democracies, the countries of the socialist world system will be producing more than half of the world industrial output.

Victory for the Soviet Union in its economic competition with the United States, and victory for the socialist system as a whole over the capitalist system, will be a major turning point in history, one that will have a still more powerful revolutionising influence upon the working-class movement of the world. And when this happens even the most inveterate sceptics will see that socialism alone provides everything needed for man's happiness and will make their choice in favour of socialism.

The most important thing today is to win time in the economic competition with capitalism. The faster our economic development, the stronger we shall be economically and politically, and the greater will be the influence of the socialist camp on the trend and rate of development, on the future of the world.

The statement of the meeting stresses the need steadily to improve political and economic work and continuously to perfect management of the national economy, the need for scientifically-grounded socialist economic management. Experience shows that the correct solution of these matters is highly important. We are devoting special attention to the matter of gearing economic management to the objective conditions, so as to avoid running ahead and, equally, to avoid retarding the rates of development.

Measures are being taken on a vast scale in the U.S.S.R. to make the utmost use of the natural resources. Forty-one million hectares of virgin and long-fallow land—an area equal to that of several West-European countries—have been brought under cultivation. A cascade of giant hydro-electric stations has almost completely harnessed the waters of the Volga. The Angara cascade will consist of a chain of even larger hydro-

electric stations, including the more than 4,000,000 kW. Bratsk station. Still more powerful stations of up to 5,000,000 kW. will harness the great Siberian river, the Yenisei. One of the world's richest iron-ore deposits, the Kursk magnetic anomaly in the heart of the European part of the country, is now being worked.

Oil derricks are spreading farther and farther East. Three-fourths of the oil in pre-revolutionary Russia was extracted in the Baku region. And while the oil output in Baku has more than doubled since the revolution, yet in 1959 it was less than 15 per cent of the total Soviet oil output. The inexhaustible mineral wealth of Siberia is being developed, yielding millions of tons of ferrous, non-ferrous and rare metals, a wide range of other mineral raw materials and industrial diamonds. Millions of hectares of arid land are being irrigated. Consideration is being given to reversing the flow of some of the biggest northern rivers. These are just a few examples to show what fruitful results are obtained through scientifically grounded methods of economic management which enable us to make full use of the creative possibilities of socialism.

Elaboration of the theoretical questions posed by everyday life is an important and organic part of the work of the Party in guiding communist construction. The practice of communist construction raises many questions for which we have no ready answers. In building communism we are following as yet unexplored paths. Man has as yet no exhaustive theoretical grounding and experience in organising all the aspects of social life in communist conditions. Marxists, it is true, have a good knowledge of the general laws and principles which will shape the mode of life under communism. But today knowledge of the general laws alone no longer suffices. Communism has emerged from the sphere of theory into the sphere of practice. The Party is resolving the new problems of communist construction correctly because it treats Marxism-Leninism not as a dogma but as a creative, constantly developing doctrine.

In carrying out the practical tasks of building communism, our Party is continuously developing Marxist-Leninist theory. The great Lenin teaches us that the revolutionary Marxist doctrine is inseparable from revolutionary practice, that theory and practice are interwoven and supplement each other, that theory lights the way for practice.

Allow me to mention some of the theoretical matters on which our Party has worked in the recent few years. They are

the questions of the two phases of communism, of the transition from the first phase to the second, higher phase, and questions concerning the development of the productive forces and the production relations during the transition from socialism to communism, the growing over of the socialist statehood into communist public self-government, the communist education of the working people, etc.

I should like to dwell for a moment on some of these questions. As we advance towards communism, management of the socialist economy becomes more complicated and the links between its branches and between the economic regions of the country become closer. Consequently, our Party devotes special attention to economic management and planning. In 1957 we reorganised the management of industry and building, abolished the ministries in some branches of industry and set up economic councils in the economic administrative regions. The purpose was to shift the centre of gravity in the day-to-day management of economic development to the localities concerned, while retaining the principle of centralised planning. As a result, democratic centralism has been further developed. This is in keeping with Lenin's words that, with the advance towards communism and the rise in the cultural level of the working people, economic management will become more and more democratic.

Further. Our Party has worked out the ways of elevating collective-farm and co-operative property to the level of public property and has indicated their merging into the single form of communist property. The Party has worked out and effected a series of economic, political and organisational measures designed to invigorate and develop all aspects of the collective-farm system and collective-farm and co-operative property (e.g., reorganisation of the machine-and-tractor stations, sale of machinery to the collective farms, modification of the procurement system and the price policy, despatch of personnel to the countryside, and others).

Our Party is devoting close attention to the correct application of the socialist principle of distribution and to the future transition to the communist principle of distribution. It has demonstrated that wage-levelling and weakening of incentives are economically inept and wrong. It may be recalled that in the past there had been deviations from the principle of incentives, particularly in agriculture. These deviations

caused grave harm to agriculture and to the collective-farm system. Neglect of the material needs of the working people and putting the emphasis chiefly on enthusiasm and political consciousness, on social and moral forms of encouragement and reward, were detrimental to growth of production and raising of the standard of living. This had bad effects at home and even abroad, because it hurt the prestige of the collective-farm system and played into the hands of the enemies of communism.

We have eliminated these shortcomings and are working for consistent application of the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." This principle makes labour obligatory for all. Its realisation is of immense importance for raising labour productivity, improving skills, and for educating people in the spirit of a communist attitude to labour as life's prime necessity. At the same time, our Party combines material and moral stimuli. As we draw nearer to communism, the role of the moral factor, which is highly important even now, will steadily increase. The appearance and the spread of the movement for communist-work teams, shops and enterprises is one of the outstanding things in Soviet life.

The transition to the communist principle of distribution to each according to his needs will not be effected until the productive forces and the productivity of labour attain a level that will ensure an abundance of material values, and until labour becomes life's prime necessity for the members of society. At present, the bulk of the national consumption fund is distributed according to the quantity and quality of labour done. At the same time, a considerable portion of the working people's requirements are satisfied free of charge. Allocations for social and cultural measures, public education and the health services, which all citizens enjoy free of charge, amount at present to about 25,000 million roubles annually. For us increasing the public funds for personal consumption is a communist way of raising the standard of living.

The Party is devoting close attention to problems of the theory of the socialist state. In our country, where exploiting classes have long ceased to exist, there is taking place the gradual withering away of the administrative bodies, first and foremost of those exercising functions of compulsion. Our Party is firmly following the line of extending democracy, of transferring certain functions of the state organs to the public

organisations, of encouraging public initiative in all spheres of political and cultural life, of enlisting the participation of the masses of the working people in economic management, in maintaining public order, in combating infringements of the law, etc. This line, far from weakening socialist society, is strengthening it and is in keeping with the perspective of socialist statehood evolving into communist public self-government.

These and other questions on the theory and practice of building communism will be reflected in the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This programme, now being drafted, will be discussed by the Party and adopted at its forthcoming Twenty-Second Congress.

The statement expresses the common striving of the Marxist-Leninist parties to see things in each of the socialist countries going smoothly, that the problems stemming from the building of socialism and communism be solved correctly, in the interest of the respective country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In this connection emphasis is laid on the very great importance of the collective experience of the socialist camp, accumulated on the basis of the socialist construction in the different countries.

Our Party is closely studying the experience of the fraternal parties in these countries, for they are contributing much that is valuable to the Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society. The accumulated collective experience of socialist construction is a valuable asset of the entire international Communist movement. The study and correct application of this experience by all the fraternal parties is a primary condition for the development of every socialist country.

The prototype of the new society for all mankind is being created on the part of the globe occupied by the socialist world system. This places a special responsibility on the Communist parties in the socialist countries. With proper political and economic guidance, which takes into account both the general laws governing the building of socialism and the specific features of the respective countries and the peculiarities and demands of each stage of development, we shall be able to utilise with still greater effect the advantages of socialism and attain new successes.



The countries of the socialist world system are drawing closer to each other; their co-operation in all fields of endeavour is growing. This is a natural development. There are no insoluble contradictions between the socialist countries. The more developed and economically stronger are rendering disinterested fraternal aid to those less developed. For instance, some 500 industrial enterprises and installations have been built in the fraternal socialist countries with Soviet help. Our loans and credits to these countries amount to 7,800 million roubles in the new currency. At the same time we are bound to acknowledge that the fraternal socialist countries are aiding in the development of the Soviet economy.

The socialist world system is an aggregate of the national economies of sovereign independent countries. The steady strengthening of contacts between the national economies is a law of the system as a whole. There are good grounds for saying that the further development of the socialist countries will be along the lines of consolidating the world system of socialism. As the statement points out, the Marxist-Leninist parties at the helm in these countries are unanimous in their striving actively to further this process.

They are working jointly for a correct solution of the problems concerned with specialisation and co-ordination of production, with the international division of labour, and by so doing are contributing to a fuller utilisation of the advantages of socialism. Co-ordination of the national-economic plans is the main form of pooling the production efforts of the socialist countries at the present stage. It is in the interest of all the socialist countries to perfect this work, especially in view of the task of drawing up long-term plans for these countries.

The consolidation of the common economic base of the socialist world system and the creation of the material base for the more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism will be accelerated to the extent that the internal resources of each of the countries and the advantages of the socialist international division of labour are fully utilised; this will result in evening up the various levels of economic development. By gradually abolishing the historically conditioned disparity in levels of economic development we are showing the peoples of the world the communist way of doing away with the economic

and cultural backwardness caused by imperialism. The effectiveness of this way was first demonstrated by the formerly backward peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus, who, with the generous aid rendered by the more developed socialist nations, the Russian nation first and foremost, rapidly overcame their backwardness and caught up with the industrially developed regions of the country. This process is now taking place throughout the socialist system.

It is our common duty to continue to strengthen in every way unity, co-operation and mutual aid among the socialist countries. The statement of the meeting reads: *"The Communist and Workers' parties constantly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. The firm unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist teaching are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and of the socialist camp as a whole."*

The Communist and Workers' parties have correctly defined, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the principles governing the relations among the socialist countries and nations. It stands to reason that some shortcomings and rough edges are bound to appear in such a momentous undertaking. But the socialist community is characterised, not by incidental shortcomings, but by the international policy of the fraternal parties and countries and the epoch-making successes achieved thanks to this policy. As to the shortcomings, we must remove them, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of international solidarity and fraternal friendship, seeing our main aim in consolidating the socialist camp. The Soviet Union has always sacredly fulfilled its international duty, putting the interests of the unity of the socialist countries and of the international Communist movement first. Our Party will steadfastly adhere to this policy.

Closer unity of the socialist countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism will provide still better opportunities for solving the paramount problems of the day in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

### 3. Prevention of War Is the Question of Questions

Comrades, the meeting focused its attention on the issues of war and peace. Those present were conscious that the matter of preventing a nuclear holocaust is the great and vital issue facing mankind.

Lenin pointed out that since the time of the First World War the issue of war and peace had become the basic issue of the policy of all countries, a matter of life and death for tens of millions. Lenin's words sound even more forcefully today, when mass annihilation weapons hold the threat of unprecedented destruction and death to hundreds of millions of people. The most pressing task today is to avert such a catastrophe.

The meeting charted ways and means of making still more effective use of the new possibilities of averting world war afforded by the rise of the socialist camp and its growing might, and also by the new balance of forces in the world. The peoples believe that the Communists will use the might of the socialist system and the greater strength of the international working class to rid mankind of the horrors of war.

Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the historic mission of the working class and its Communist vanguard not only in abolishing oppression, exploitation, poverty, and lack of rights, but also in delivering mankind from sanguinary wars.

Lenin instilled in our Party the spirit of uncompromising struggle against imperialism, for durable peace and friendship among all nations. These principles have always been the essence of our foreign policy. Our Party remembers Lenin's words to the effect that capitalism, even while disintegrating and dying, is still capable of bringing misfortune to mankind. Our Party, always vigilantly on guard against the danger emanating from imperialism, has educated the Soviet people accordingly, doing everything to prevent the enemy from taking us by surprise. We alert the peoples to the danger of war in order to whet their vigilance and rouse them to activity, to rally them in the struggle to avert world war.

The stand taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the questions of war and peace is known to all. It has been stated on more than one occasion in the decisions of its congresses and in other Party documents.

Wars arose with the division of society into classes. This means that the breeding ground of war will be completely abolished only when society will no longer be divided into hostile, antagonistic classes. With the victory of the working class throughout the world, with the triumph of socialism, which will destroy all the social and national causes giving rise to wars, mankind will be able to rid itself of this dreadful scourge.

In the present conditions we must distinguish the following kinds of war: world wars, local wars, and wars of liberation or popular uprisings. This is necessary in order to work out correct tactics in regard to each.

Let us begin with the problem of *world wars*. The Communists are the most resolute opponents of world wars, as they are of wars between countries in general. Only the imperialists need these wars in order to seize foreign territories and to enslave and plunder the peoples. Prior to the rise of the socialist world camp, the working class was unable to exert a decisive influence on the decision of the question whether there would or would not be a world war. In those circumstances the finest representatives of the working class advanced the slogan of turning an imperialist war into a civil war, that is, of the working class and all working people using the situation created by the war to take power. A situation of this kind set in during the First World War, and it was used in classical fashion by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

In our time the conditions are different. The socialist world camp with its powerful economy and armed forces exerts an ever-growing influence on the decision of questions of war and peace. To be sure, acute contradictions and antagonisms between the imperialist countries and the urge to profit at the expense of the weaker still exist. However, the imperialists are compelled to heed the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and fear to start a war between themselves. They are trying to tone down their differences. They have formed military blocs and have entangled many capitalist countries in them. And although these blocs are torn by internal conflicts, their members are united, as they themselves admit, by their hatred of communism and, naturally, by the common nature and aspirations of the imperialists.

In the conditions of today the likelihood is that there will not be wars between the capitalist, imperialist countries, al-

though this eventuality cannot be ruled out. The imperialists are preparing war chiefly against the socialist countries, above all against the Soviet Union, the most powerful of the socialist countries. They would like to sap our might and by so doing restore the one-time rule of monopoly capital.

The task is to raise insurmountable obstacles to the unleashing of war by the imperialists. Our possibilities for putting roadblocks in the way of the warmongers are growing, so much so that we can avert a world war. It stands to reason that we cannot completely exclude the possibility of war, since imperialist countries continue to exist, but it is now much more difficult for the imperialists to start a war than was the case heretofore, prior to the rise of the powerful socialist camp. The imperialists can start a war, but they cannot do so without giving thought to the consequences.

I have had occasion to say that if even Hitler had had an inkling that his reckless gamble would end in the way it did and that he would be forced to commit suicide, then in all probability he would have thought twice before starting the war against the Soviet Union. But at that time there were but two socialist countries—the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. Yet we smashed the aggressors, and in doing so we made use also of the contradictions between the imperialist states.

Today the situation is entirely different. At present the imperialist camp is opposed by the socialist countries, and they are a mighty force. It would be wrong to underestimate the strength of the socialist camp, its influence on world developments and, consequently, on deciding the question whether there is to be war or not. Now that there is a mighty socialist camp with powerful armed forces, the peoples can undoubtedly prevent war and thus ensure peaceful coexistence provided they rally all their forces for active struggle against the bellicose imperialists.

Now about *local wars*. There is much talk in the imperialist camp today about local wars, and the imperialists are even making small-calibre atomic weapons to be used in such wars. There is even a special theory on local wars. Is this mere chance? Not at all. Some of the imperialist groups fear that a world war might end in complete destruction of capitalism, and for this reason they are banking on local wars.

There have been local wars in the past and they may break out again. But the chances of starting wars even of this kind are dwindling. A small-scale imperialist war, no matter which of the imperialists starts it, may develop into a world thermo-nuclear and missile war. We must, therefore, fight against both world war and local wars.

An example of a local war started by the imperialists was the aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt. They wanted to strangle Egypt and intimidate the other Arab countries fighting for their independence, to scare the peoples of Asia and Africa. When we were in London, British statesmen, Mr. Eden included, spoke to us quite frankly about their desire to settle accounts with Egypt. We told them plainly: "If you start a war, you will lose it, we will not be neutral." Eventually, when the war did break out, the United Nations formally condemned it, but this did not upset the aggressors; they went ahead with their dirty business and thought they would soon reach their goal. The Soviet Union, and the socialist camp as a whole, came to the defence of Egypt. The stern warning which the Soviet Government gave to Eden and Guy Mollet stopped the war. A local war, the gamble in Egypt failed ignominiously.

That was in 1956 when the balance of forces between the socialist and imperialist countries was not quite as favourable to us as it is now. At that time we were not as powerful as we are today. Moreover, the rulers of Britain, France and Israel banked on profiting from the difficulties that had arisen in Hungary and Poland. Representatives of the imperialist countries whispered to us, "You have your difficulties in Hungary, we have ours in Egypt, so don't meddle in our affairs." But we told the whisperers what we thought of them. We refused to shut our eyes to their knavish acts. We intervened, and we frustrated their aggression.

There you have an example of how a local war, started by the imperialists, was nipped in the bud by the intervention of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

I have said that local wars may recur. It is our task, therefore, always to be on the alert, to summon to action the forces of the socialist camp, the people of the other countries and all peace-loving forces, in order to prevent wars of aggression. If the people of all countries are united and rallied, if they

fight indefatigably and combine their forces both in each country and on an international scale, wars can be prevented.

Now about *national-liberation wars*. Recent examples of wars of this kind are the armed struggle waged by the people of Viet Nam or the present war of the Algerian people, which is now in its seventh year.

These wars, which began as uprisings of colonial peoples against their oppressors, developed into guerilla wars.

There will be liberation wars as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. Wars of this kind are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only justified, they are inevitable, for the colonialists do not freely bestow independence on the peoples. The peoples win freedom and independence only through struggle, including armed struggle.

Why was it that the U.S. imperialists, who were eager to help the French colonialists, did not venture directly to intervene in the war in Viet Nam? They did not do so because they knew that if they gave France armed assistance, Viet Nam would receive the same kind of assistance from China, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and that the fighting could develop into a world war. The outcome of the war is known—North Viet Nam won.

A similar war is being waged today in Algeria. What kind of a war is it? It is an uprising of Arab people against French colonialists. It has assumed the form of a guerilla war. The imperialists of the U.S.A. and Britain are helping their French allies with arms. Moreover, they have allowed France, a party to N.A.T.O., to transfer troops from Europe to fight against the Algerian people. The people of Algeria, too, get help from neighbouring countries and others sympathising with their love of freedom. But this is a liberation war, a war of independence waged by the people. It is a sacred war. We recognise such wars; we have helped and shall continue to help peoples fighting for their freedom.

Or take Cuba. A war was fought there too. It began as an uprising against a tyrannical regime, backed by U.S. imperialism. Batista was a puppet of the United States and the United States helped him actively. However, the U.S.A. did not directly intervene with its armed forces in the Cuban war. Led by Fidel Castro, the people of Cuba won.

Is there the likelihood of such wars recurring? Yes, there is. Are uprisings of this kind likely to recur? Yes, they are.

But wars of this kind are popular uprisings. Is there the likelihood of conditions in other countries reaching the point where the cup of the popular patience overflows and they take to arms? Yes, there is such a likelihood. What is the attitude of the Marxists to such uprisings? A most favourable attitude. These uprisings cannot be identified with wars between countries, with local wars, because the insurgent people are fighting for the right to self-determination, for their social and independent national development; these uprisings are directed against the corrupt reactionary regimes, against the colonialists. The Communists support just wars of this kind wholeheartedly and without reservations and they march in the van of the peoples fighting for liberation.

Comrades, mankind has arrived at the stage in history when it is in a position to solve problems that were too much for the previous generations. This applies also to the problem of all problems, that of preventing world war.

The working class, which today rules over a vast area of the world and in time will rule over all the world, cannot allow the forces doomed by history to bring down hundreds of millions into the grave with them. For a world war in the conditions of today would be waged with missiles and nuclear weapons, that is, it would be the most destructive war in all history.

Among the H-bombs already tested there are bombs each of which is several times more powerful than all the explosives used in the Second World War and, indeed, ever since man appeared on earth. Scientists have estimated that the explosion of a single H-bomb in an industrial area would kill up to 1,500,000 outright and bring death to another 400,000 through radiation. Even a medium hydrogen bomb would be enough to wipe out a large city. According to British scientists, four megaton bombs, one each for London, Birmingham, Lancashire and Yorkshire, would kill at least 20 million. According to data supplied by U.S. experts to the Senate, the anticipated casualties in the United States in twenty-four hours of nuclear war would range from 50 to 75 million people. The American physicist Linus Pauling says that the areas likely to receive powerful nuclear blows are inhabited by a total of about a thousand million people and that 500 to 750 million people would be likely to perish within sixty days of a nuclear blow. Nor would nuclear war spare the people in the countries not

directly subjected to the bombing, in particular, millions would die as a result of radiation.

We know that if the imperialist madmen were to begin a world war, the peoples would wipe out capitalism. But we are resolutely opposed to war, because we are concerned for the destinies of mankind, its present and its future. We know that the first to suffer in the event of war would be the working people and their vanguard—the working class.

We remember how Lenin put the question of the destiny of the working class. Just after the revolution, when the first country of the workers and peasants found itself besieged, he said: "If we can save the working man, save the main productive force of society—the worker—we shall get everything back, but, should we fail to save him, we are lost..." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 29, pp. 334—335.)

There exists in the world today, not just one country of workers and peasants, but a whole system of socialist countries. It is our duty to safeguard peace and ensure the peaceful development of this grand creation of the international working class, to protect the peoples of all countries from a new war of annihilation. The victory of socialism on a world scale, inevitable by virtue of the laws of history, is no longer far off. War between countries is not needed for this victory.

A sober consideration of what a nuclear war implies is indispensable if we are to pursue a consistent policy of averting war and of mobilising the masses for the purpose of doing so. For the realisation by the masses of what a nuclear war means strengthens their resolve to fight against war. It is necessary, therefore, to warn the masses about the deadly consequences of a new world war and arouse their righteous wrath against those who are plotting this crime. The possibility of averting war is not a gift from heaven. Peace cannot be had by request. It can be secured only by an active, purposeful struggle. That is why we have been waging this struggle, and will continue to do so.

The entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union is aimed at strengthening peace. We have used and will continue to use the growing might of our country, not to threaten anyone, not to arouse war-like passions, but in order to pursue a steadfast policy of combating the war danger and averting world war.

We have always held that we stand for friendly relations

with all peoples for the benefit of peace, in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Comrades, experience has demonstrated the soundness of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy constantly pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For our Party the policy of peaceful coexistence, which we have inherited from Lenin, is the general line of its foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence is the highway of the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries.

Consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence strengthens the positions of the socialist world system, furthers the growth of its economic might, international prestige and influence, and provides favourable opportunities for it in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

And because the socialist countries pursue a correct policy, a policy of active struggle against the imperialist warmongers, the prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is higher than ever. It is a fact that the socialist countries today are in an extremely favourable international position. The prestige of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries, parties which carry on their work in particularly difficult conditions, is likewise growing daily. The whole world now acknowledges that the active and effective foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which carries great weight, is winning the support of additional millions for peace and socialism.

This active struggle for peace imparts a dynamic quality to the foreign policy actions of the socialist countries. In recent years the initiative in the world arena has belonged to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, while the imperialist countries and their governments have had to fall back on the defensive. Their prestige and international influence have never been so low as they are now.

The policy of peaceful coexistence promotes the growth of the forces of progress, of the forces fighting for socialism; in the capitalist countries it facilitates the work of the Communist parties and the other progressive organisations of the working class, makes it easier for the peoples to combat the aggressive war blocs and foreign military bases, and contributes to the success of the national-liberation movement.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is, then, as far as its social content is concerned, a form of intense economic, political and

ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive forces of imperialism in the world arena.

The struggle against imperialism can succeed only if its aggressive actions are firmly resisted. Scolding will not halt the imperialist adventurers. There is only one way in which they can be curbed: steady strengthening of the economic, political and military power of the socialist countries, vigorous consolidation and reinforcement of the world revolutionary movement, mobilisation of the people for the struggle to avert war.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government will continue to do everything to increase the military might of our country, since the imperialists are continuing the arms drive.

In rebuffing the aggressive actions of imperialism, our Party and Government always display firmness and self-control. In upholding the interests of the socialist camp, we invariably strive to direct developments in such a way as not to allow imperialist provocateurs to launch a new world war.

We see our task in exposing the aggressive nature of all the military-political alignments of the imperialists, such as N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and C.E.N.T.O., and in working for their isolation and eventual abolition. We have repeatedly declared that we are ready, on this condition, to dissolve the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. The nations of the world stand to gain from ending the military alignments.

This would be a real contribution to peace and a better international climate; it would be an achievement for the policy of peaceful coexistence. All their efforts notwithstanding, the imperialists have in recent times failed to draw a single new state into their military blocs. It is significant that all the newly-independent states have declared their intention to pursue a policy of non-participation in military blocs.

Of special importance for peace in Europe, and not only in Europe, is the struggle against renascent West-German militarism. The Soviet Union is waging this struggle together with the G.D.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries in various ways, the most important being the struggle for a peace treaty. The initiative of the socialist states in advancing a programme for a peaceful settlement of the German question and the solution, on this basis, of the question of West Berlin, has done much to unmask the aggressive ele-

ments in the U.S.A., the Federal Republic and the other N.A.T.O. countries as opponents of a *détente*. The international position of the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe—has been strengthened.

The positions of the U.S.A., Britain and France have proved to be especially vulnerable in West Berlin. These powers still cling to the old positions, but they cannot fail to realise that sooner or later the occupation regime in that city must be ended.

It is necessary to go ahead with bringing the aggressive-minded imperialists to their senses, and compelling them to reckon with the real situation. And should they balk, then we will take resolute measures, we will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, since we are firmly resolved to conclude at long last a peace treaty with Germany, end the occupation regime in West Berlin, and by so doing remove the thorn from the heart of Europe.

Comrades, if prevention of a new war is the question of questions, then disarmament is the best way to do it. The meeting of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties declared that the realisation of the Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament would be an act of historic importance.

Our struggle for disarmament is not a tactical move. We sincerely want disarmament. In this we stand squarely on Marxist-Leninist ground. Engels pointed out as far back as the end of the last century that disarmament, which he described as the "guarantee of peace", was possible. In our times disarmament was first advanced as a practical goal by Lenin, and the first Soviet proposals for complete disarmament—or, for partial disarmament in the event of the capitalists objecting to complete disarmament—were made at the Genoa Conference.

The struggle for disarmament is a most important factor for the prevention of war. It is an effective factor in the fight against imperialism. In this fight the socialist camp has most of mankind on its side.

Peace and progress are our cherished ideals. After all, the inaugural Manifesto of the First International, written by Marx, contained the appeal "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations." (Marx, Engels, *Sel. Works*, F.L.P.H., Vol. I, p. 385.)



When we call for a world without arms and without wars, we take into account, of course, that in the conditions of today, with two differing world social systems, there are forces in the imperialist camp, and fairly strong forces at that, who not only refuse to support this call, but who are waging a struggle against it.

The question of the struggle for communism is a class question. In the case of the struggle for peace, this is a question the solution of which can unite not only the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, but also that part of the bourgeoisie which sees the real danger of a thermonuclear war.

Consequently, the slogan of the fight for peace by no means contradicts the slogan of the fight for communism. The two go hand-in-hand, for in the eyes of the masses communism appears as a force capable of saving mankind from the horrors of a missile-nuclear war, whereas imperialism is, increasingly, associated with war as a system engendering wars. That is why the slogan of the fight for peace is, as it were, a satellite of the slogan of the fight for communism.

As correctly pointed out in the statement, "the peace movement is the broadest movement of our time; it embraces people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse social classes, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure an enduring peace." People of different social strata, different political views and different religious beliefs are represented among the peace supporters.

The fight for disarmament is an active fight against imperialism, for narrowing its war potential. The peoples must do everything to achieve the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of wholesale annihilation. Peace will then be ensured and the peoples will be able to arrange their lives in keeping with their wishes and interests.

A primary condition for progress in disarmament is the mobilisation of the people, their growing pressure on the imperialist governments.

Two trends can be observed in the policy of the capitalist camp in relation to the socialist countries—one bellicose and aggressive, the other, moderate and sober. Lenin pointed to the need of establishing contacts with those circles of the bourgeoisie which gravitate towards pacifism, "be it even of the

palest hue." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 33, p. 236.) In the struggle for peace, he said, we should not overlook also the saner representatives of the bourgeoisie.

The soundness of these words is confirmed by current events as well. Fear for the future of capitalism haunts the ruling classes of the imperialist camp. The more reactionary circles are displaying a growing nervousness and tendency towards reckless practices and aggression, by means of which they hope to mend their fences. At the same time, there are also among the ruling circles of these countries those who know the danger of a new war to capitalism. Hence the two trends: one leaning towards war, the other towards accepting, in one way or another, the idea of peaceful coexistence.

The socialist countries take both of these trends into account in their policy. They work for negotiations and agreements with the capitalist countries on the basis of constructive proposals and promote personal contact between statesmen of the socialist and capitalist countries. Every opportunity should be used as before to expose the cold-war men, those who want to keep up the arms drive, and to convince the masses that the socialist countries really mean what they say in working to safeguard world peace.

The peoples are becoming increasingly aware that it is the Communists who advocate relations between countries to be based upon the principle of peaceful coexistence, that it is they who are the most ardent and consistent fighters for peace. We can take pride in the fact that more and more peace and communism are being associated in the minds of people.

The Communists believe that if all the progressive and peace-loving forces of our times—the socialist countries, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, the newly-established national states and all other countries opposed to war, and all supporters of peace—will wage a determined fight against the war danger, they will be able to tie the hands of the warmongers and prevent the catastrophe of another world war. Every day bigger sections of the population should be drawn into the struggle for peace, and the passivity which unfortunately still prevails among some sections in the bourgeois countries overcome. "*The struggle against the threat of a new world war must be waged now, not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall,*" the statement of the meeting stresses.

The fact that communism is the standard-bearer of peace is one of the main sources of its moral power, of its tremendous influence over the masses. The banner of peace enables us to rally the masses round us. By holding aloft this banner we will be even more successful.

The Communists consider it their sacred duty to make full use of all the available opportunities to bridle the war-like forces of imperialism and prevent a new war.

The international Communist and working-class movement has become so powerful and so well organised that it is now setting itself the task of saving mankind from the ordeal of another war. The statement of the meeting says:

*"The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission."*

#### 4. Abolition of Colonialism and the Perspectives of the Further Development of the Newly-Independent Countries

The peoples that have gained national independence have become another mighty force in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The national-liberation movement is striking telling blows at imperialism, strengthening peace and accelerating social progress. At present, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important centres of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Some forty countries have won national independence since the war. Nearly 1,500 million people have cast off the chains of colonial slavery.

The meeting with good reason noted that the disintegration of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is second in historical significance only to the rise of the socialist world system.

A splendid new chapter is now being opened in the history of mankind. It is easy to imagine the things that these peoples will do when they have completely ousted the imperialists from their countries and feel themselves the masters of their destinies. This multiplies enormously the progressive forces of mankind.

Take Asia, for example, that ancient cradle of human civilisation. Look at the inexhaustible forces at the disposal of the peoples of this continent! And what a great role the valiant Arab peoples, those already liberated or now in the process of being liberated from political and economic dependence upon imperialism, and all the peoples of the Middle East could play in resolving the issues now confronting mankind!

The awakening of the people of Africa is one of the most outstanding events of our epoch. Dozens of countries in North and Central Africa have already won independence. The south of the continent is in a ferment and there is no doubt that the fascist dungeons in the Union of South Africa will crumble to dust, that Rhodesia, Uganda and other parts of Africa will become free.

The multiplying of the forces of the national-liberation movement is due in large measure to the fact that in recent years

one more front of active struggle against U.S. imperialism, namely, Latin America, has emerged. Only a little while ago that vast continent was identified by a single concept—America. And that concept accorded largely with the facts, for Latin America was bound hand and foot to Yankee imperialism. Today, the Latin American peoples are showing by their struggle that the American continent is not a manorial estate of the U.S.A. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano. The eruption of the liberation struggle has wiped out dictatorial regimes in a number of the countries. The thunder of the glorious Cuban revolution has reverberated throughout the world. The Cuban revolution is not only repulsing the onslaught of the imperialists; it is spreading, signifying a new and higher stage of the national-liberation struggle, when the people themselves come to power, when the people become the master of their wealth. Solidarity with revolutionary Cuba is the duty not only of the Latin American peoples, but also of the socialist countries, the entire international Communist movement and the proletariat all over the world.

The national-liberation movement is an anti-imperialist movement. Imperialism has become much weaker with the disintegration of the colonial system. Vast territories and large masses of people have ceased, or are ceasing, to serve as a reserve for it, as a source of cheap raw materials and cannon fodder. Asian, African and Latin American countries, supported by the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world, are inflicting defeats upon the imperialist powers and coalitions more and more frequently.

We were glad to welcome at the Moscow meeting representatives from the fraternal Communist Parties of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, staunch fighters for the independence and free development of the peoples. Today there are Communist Parties in more than fifty countries of those continents. This has extended the sphere of influence of the Communist movement, making it truly world-wide.

Addressing the Second All-Russian Congress (1919) of the Communist Organisations of the Eastern Peoples, Lenin said: "...Whereas the Russian Bolsheviks were able to make a breach in the old imperialism, to take upon themselves the exceptionally difficult but also exceptionally noble task of paving new ways to revolution, you who represent the working masses of the East are faced with a greater and even more

novel task." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 30, pp. 137-138.) Lenin saw that task in encouraging the revolutionary urge of the working masses for activity and organisation irrespective of the level they had attained, in using Communist theory in the specific conditions of their countries, in merging with the proletarians of other countries in common struggle. (*Ibid.*, p. 141).

This task had not yet been realised anywhere when Lenin first set it, and there was no book to tell how it should be carried out. The Communist parties in the countries which are now fighting for national independence or which have already won it, are in an incomparably more favourable position, for there is now a vast store of experience in applying Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of countries and areas which capitalism had doomed to age-long backwardness.

This experience gained by the world Communist movement is a great treasure-house for all Communists. Obviously, only the Party operating in the country concerned can make proper use of this experience and correctly shape the policy to be pursued.

These parties are concentrating on the main point of how best to approach their own peoples, how to convince the masses that they cannot win a better future unless they fight against imperialism and the forces of internal reaction, and how to strengthen international solidarity with the socialist countries, with the Communist vanguard of the working people of the world.

The renovation of the world on the principles of freedom, democracy and socialism, in which we are now participating, is a great historical process in which different revolutionary and democratic movements unite and co-operate, with socialist revolutions exerting the determining influence. The successes of the national-liberation movement, due in large measure to the victories of socialism, in turn strengthen the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism. It is this truly Leninist concept of the historical processes that forms the basis for the policy of the Communist parties and socialist countries, a policy aimed at strengthening the close alliance with those peoples fighting for independence or who have already won it.

Bourgeois and revisionist politicians claim that the national-liberation movement develops independently of the struggle

waged by the working class for socialism, independently of the support of the socialist countries, and that the colonialists themselves bestow freedom on the peoples of the former colonies. These fabrications are designed to isolate the newly-independent states from the socialist camp and are an attempt to prove that they should act the role of a "third force" in the international arena instead of opposing imperialism. Needless to say, this is a falsehood.

It is an historical fact that attempts made by peoples to break the chains of colonialism prior to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, failed. History is the proof that until socialism triumphed in at least a part of the world there could be no question of destroying colonialism.

The imperialist powers, above all the United States, are doing their utmost to harness the countries that have cast off the colonial yoke to their system and thereby strengthen the positions of world capitalism, to infuse it, as bourgeois ideologists put it, with fresh blood, to rejuvenate and consolidate it. If we look the facts in the face, we shall have to admit that the imperialists have powerful economic levers with which to exert pressure on the newly-independent countries. They still succeed in enmeshing some of the politically-independent countries in the web of economic dependence. Now that it is no longer possible to establish outright colonial regimes, the imperialists resort to disguised forms and methods of enslaving and plundering the countries that have attained freedom. At the same time, the colonial powers back the internal reactionaries in all these countries; they impose on them puppet dictatorial regimes and involve them in aggressive blocs. Although there are sharp contradictions between the imperialist countries, they often take joint action against the national-liberation movement.

But if we take account of all the factors shaping the destinies of the peoples that have shaken off colonial rule, we will see that in the final analysis the trends of social progress opposing imperialism are bound to prevail.

But these matters are resolved in bitter struggle within each country. The statement of the meeting contains important propositions on the basic issues of the national-liberation movement. It defines the tasks of the Communist parties and their attitude to the various classes and social groups. In expressing the identity of views of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the statement calls for the maximum utilisation of the revolutionary

possibilities of the various classes and social strata and for drawing all allies, no matter if inconsistent, shaky and unstable, into the struggle against imperialism.

The Communists are revolutionaries and it would be a bad thing if they failed to discern the new opportunities, to find the best ways and the best means of reaching the goal. Special note should be taken of the idea set forth in the statement about the formation of national democratic states. The statement outlines the main characteristics of these states and their tasks. It should be stressed that in view of the great variety of conditions in those countries where the peoples, having achieved independence, are now moulding their own way of life, a variety of ways of solving the tasks of social progress is bound to emerge.

The correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the newly-independent countries consists precisely in seeking the forms that take cognisance of the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples to unite all the sound forces of the nation, to ensure the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle completely to eradicate the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, and to clear the way for the ultimate advance towards socialism.

Today, when imperialist reaction is striving to foist the policy of anti-communism on the young independent states, it is most important to give a truthful explanation of the Communist views and ideals. Communists support the general democratic measures of the national governments. At the same time, they explain to the masses that these measures are far from being socialist.

The aspirations of the peoples now smashing the fetters of colonialism are particularly appreciated and understood best of all by the working people of the socialist countries, by the Communists of the whole world. Our world outlook, the interests of all working people for which we are fighting, impel us to do our best to ensure that the peoples take the right road to progress, to the flowering of their material and spiritual forces. We, by means of our policy, must strengthen the confidence of the peoples in the socialist countries.

The aid extended by the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist states to the countries which have won independence has but one aim—to help strengthen the position of these countries

in the struggle against imperialism, to further the development of their national economy and improve the life of their people. Noting that the working class of the advanced countries is vitally interested in "ensuring the independence" of the colonial countries "in the shortest possible period", Engels wrote: "One thing is indisputable: the victorious proletariat cannot impose happiness on another nation without undermining thereby its own victory" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 27, pp. 238, 329).

¶ The international duty of the victorious working class consists in helping the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries to smash the last links in the chains of colonial slavery, in rendering them all-round aid in their struggle against imperialism, for the right to self-determination and independent development. However, it does not follow that socialist aid exerts no influence on the prospects of the further development of newly-independent countries.

The Soviet Union has been and is the sincere friend of the colonial peoples; it has always championed their rights, interests and strivings for independence. We shall continue to strengthen and develop our economic and cultural co-operation with countries which have become independent.

The Soviet Union submitted to the Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly the declaration for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.

As a result of the bitter political struggle which raged round this proposal both within and without the U.N., the General Assembly adopted the declaration. The basic point in the Soviet Declaration—the need for abolishing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations rapidly and for good—was in the main reflected in the resolution adopted by the United Nations. This was a victory for the progressive forces and all the socialist countries, which are defending the cause of freedom and independent national development of peoples firmly and consistently.

It should be stressed that when the matter was debated in the General Assembly the colonialists were isolated by the socialist and neutral countries—countries which are also working for the abolition of the colonial system. Even some of the member-countries of the aggressive blocs, Norway and Denmark for instance, voted for the abolition of colonialism. The

colonialists comprised a group of merely nine countries which abstained during the voting. This was highly indicative. It showed the world what countries stand for abolishing the colonial system, and the attitude of the so-called "free countries". Is it not revealing that the countries which abstained included the United States, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and Belgium?

Though doomed, colonialism still has a considerable power of resistance and causes untold harm to many peoples. All that is moribund and reactionary rallies round it. Colonialism is the direct or indirect cause of many conflicts which threaten humanity with another war. Colonialism, which has caused bloodshed on so many occasions, is to this day a source of the war danger. It manifests itself repeatedly in outbursts of maniacal fury, as eloquently illustrated by the bloodshed in Algeria, in the Congo and in Laos; it still holds tens of millions of people in chains. Not all the peoples which have won national independence enjoy its fruits, because their economies are still dominated by foreign monopolies.

The peoples of the socialist countries, the Communists and progressives all over the world see their duty in abolishing the last remnants of the colonial system of imperialism, in supporting the peoples now liberating themselves from the colonial powers and in helping them to realise their ideals of liberation.

## 5. Some Ideological Questions of the Communist Movement

In summing up the historic victories of the Communist movement we address our first word of gratitude to our great teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin. For their teaching has made the international Communist movement all-powerful and secured it its victories. As we work out our strategy and tactics for the future, we again consult with Marx, Engels and Lenin. The guarantee of all our future victories is our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

The path of the Communist movement is a difficult and thorny path. No other party has suffered so many trials and losses as the Communists. Hosts of reactionaries have had a go at destroying communism. But communism has emerged from these trials still stronger and has become the mighty force of our times.

You have all seen at one time or another a sturdy tree with roots going down deep into the soil. Such a tree fears neither storms nor hurricanes. Though the slender tree may bend under the gale, the sturdy one weathers the storm, the foliage of its crown becomes denser and even more luxuriant, reaching outward and upward towards the sun. The same can be said of the Communist movement. Though imperialist reaction unleashes storm after storm against it, the Communist movement remains unshaken, keeps on growing and becomes more tempered.

Forty-one years ago when the First Congress of the Comintern took place here in Moscow, Communist parties and Left socialist organisations from thirty countries were represented at it. Not counting the Communist parties of the Republics which today form the U.S.S.R., there were only five Communist parties in Europe at the time. There were no Communist parties in Asia, Africa, Australia and Oceania. On the American continent there was only the Communist Party of Argentina. Today Communist and Workers' parties exist in eighty-seven countries. They unite more than 36 million people. The ideas of communism have won the minds of millions in all corners of the globe. That is a good thing, a very good thing, Comrades!

We are witnessing the birth of many new Communist parties. Twelve such parties have appeared and established interna-

tional contact since the Moscow Meeting of 1957. If Marx, Engels and Lenin could have been present at the November Meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, how happy they would have been to see this mighty army of Communists of the whole world!

The growing ranks of the Communist parties reflect the deep urge of the masses for communism. That is one of the most remarkable phenomena of our times.

The communist system, for which the Marxist-Leninists are fighting, has been prepared by the entire process of social development; the transition to it is on the order of the day. Marxist-Leninists cannot but concern themselves with indicating the ways of the transition to the new society. Here many complex questions arise. The fraternal parties have highly appreciated the contribution made by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in elaborating the urgent problems of our day. Both the 1957 meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, and the November 1960 forum of the world Communist movement devoted considerable attention to these problems and further developed the theory and practice of the Communist movement.

For us Soviet Communists, sons of the October Revolution, recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society is axiomatic. The road to socialism lies through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As regards the forms of the transition to socialism, these, as pointed out by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., will become more and more varied. This does not necessarily mean that the transition to socialism will everywhere and in all cases be associated with armed uprising and civil war. Marxism-Leninism starts from the premise that the forms of the transition to socialism may be peaceful and non-peaceful. It is in the interests of the working class, of the masses, that the revolution be carried out in a peaceful way. But in the event of the ruling classes resisting the revolution with violence and refusing to submit to the will of the people, the proletariat will be obliged to crush their resistance and launch a resolute civil war.

We are convinced that with the growth of the might of the socialist world system and the better organisation of the working class in the capitalist countries, increasingly favourable conditions for socialist revolutions will arise. The transition



to socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions may be effected by utilising parliament and in other countries by utilising institutions conforming to their national traditions. In this case it is a question of using the parliamentary form and not the bourgeois parliament as such in order to place it at the service of the people, and to fill it with new meaning. Thus, it will not be a matter of electoral combinations or simply skirmishes round the polls. The reformists indulge in this sort of thing. Such combinations are alien to us Communists. For us the rallying and consolidation of the revolutionary forces of the working class and of all working people, and the launching of mass revolutionary action are an absolute condition for winning a stable majority in parliament. To win a majority in parliament and transform it into an organ of the people's power, given a powerful revolutionary movement in the country, means smashing the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and setting up a new, proletarian people's state in parliamentary form.

It is quite obvious that in those countries where capitalism is still strong and still commands a huge military and police apparatus, the transition to socialism will inevitably take place in conditions of sharp class struggle. The political leadership of the working class, headed by the Communist vanguard, is the decisive condition no matter what the forms of transition to socialism are.

These conclusions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. are based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, on the practice of the fraternal Communist parties, on the experience of the international Communist movement, and rightly take into account the changed international conditions. They orientate the Communist parties towards uniting the working class, the majority of the people, and mastering all the forms of struggle—the peaceful and non-peaceful, the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. Lenin taught the Communists to be ready to use the various forms of struggle, depending on the situation, and to educate the masses of the working people in the spirit of preparedness for decisive revolutionary action.

Of course, it is for the proletariat itself in each country, and for its Communist vanguard, to decide on the forms and methods of struggle to be employed by the working class of the respective country in the concrete historical situation.

In this connection it should be stressed that in the present

conditions the following thesis, formulated in the statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, acquires particular importance.

*"The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution."*

To lead the masses to the socialist revolution is a highly complicated matter. We know from the experience of our own Party that when the Bolsheviks were fighting for power, they focused attention on work among the masses, on forming and cementing the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, on preparing the political army of the socialist revolution. Leninists worked wherever the masses were—among industrial workers and peasants, among women and youth and in the army. Each party knows best what slogan is most suited at the given moment to the task of winning the masses, of leading them, of reinforcing the political army of the socialist revolution.

The importance of working among the youth was stressed at the meeting. Bourgeois propaganda is spreading lies about the youth of today, calling them the "lost generation", and depicting them as being apolitical. But the latest revolutionary manifestations in a number of countries show that the young people can be a powerful revolutionary force. No political party can so attract the youth as the Communists—the most revolutionary of all parties, and the youth delight in revolutionary action.

The working class is the leading revolutionary force of our times. The working class in the developed capitalist countries forms a large proportion of the world army of labour. It numbers 160,000,000 factory and office workers, which is about three-fifths of the total in the non-socialist world. The working class in the developed capitalist countries is a great revolutionary force not only because of its numbers, but above all because it is organised. It has its mass trade unions and its

mass parties. We are well aware that the Communists in Western Europe and in the United States come up against big and specific difficulties. They have to deal with an experienced bourgeoisie that has vast material resources and a powerful military, police and ideological machine. But we have every confidence in the working class of the West-European countries, the successor to the revolutionary traditions of the Communards of Paris and the English Chartists, the leader and organiser of the anti-fascist resistance movement. The working class, which has experienced and mass Communist parties in many countries, with steely Marxist-Leninist cadres, will make its contribution to the revolutionary transformation of society.

Comrades, the greater the successes of the socialist system, the greater becomes the international army of Communists, and the more the bourgeoisie rages. In its rage it resorts to fascist methods of government and to other forms of tyrannical rule. It musters all its means of propaganda in an attempt to whitewash the capitalist system, to blacken socialism and our communist ideas. Bourgeois propaganda is becoming more insidious and subtle. It is using anti-communism as its principal weapon in the struggle against the socialist camp and the Communist parties. We must vigorously expose this anti-scientific ideology, which is false from beginning to end.

The socialist cause cannot be successfully advanced without waging relentless struggle against opportunism in the working-class and Communist movement, against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism.

It will be recalled that three years ago the Communist movement was furiously assailed by the revisionists. This was a matter of life and death for the revolutionary working-class parties in some countries. In the Communist Party of the United States the Gates group was active and in the Communist Party of Denmark the Larsen group conducted its disruptive work. The revisionists were a grave menace also to some other fraternal parties. We can now say with deep satisfaction that the revisionists have been exposed and expelled from the ranks of the parties. The Communist parties have emerged from the struggle against the revisionists stronger and more steely and experienced. The Communist parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of contemporary revisionism.

The struggle against revisionism, against any deviation from Leninism, is as important as ever. It is a struggle aimed at strengthening the socialist camp, at consistently applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin pointed out with his innate foresight that the struggle against the evil of nationalism, against the most deep-rooted nationalistic petty-bourgeois prejudices "comes increasingly to the fore as the task of turning the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of shaping world politics) into an international dictatorship (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat embracing at least a few advanced countries and capable of exerting a decisive influence on world politics) becomes more actual." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 126.)

The struggle against revisionism in all its varieties continues to be an important task of the Communist parties. As long as the bourgeois system exists there will be soil for the revisionist ideology. That is why we must always keep our powder dry and conduct an uncompromising struggle against revisionism which is trying to emasculate Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary substance, to embellish capitalism, undermine the unity of the Communist movement and confine the Communist parties to their own national quarters.

The Communist movement faces yet another danger—dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, when all forces must be united to fight imperialism, prevent war and end the omnipotence of the monopolies, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising towards dogmatism. Lenin wrote: "... It is necessary to grasp the indisputable truth that the Marxist should study life as it is, the precise facts of *reality*, and should not cling to the theory of yesterday which, like any theory, at best can but indicate the basic, the general factors, and can but *draw close* to an understanding of the complexities of life." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 24, p. 26.)

Dogmatism nourishes a sectarian bigotry, which hampers the unity of the working class and of all progressive forces with the Communist parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism are irreconcilably at variance with the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application, they lead to the isolation of Communists from the masses of the work-

ing people, doom them to pass the anticipation of a reckless ultra-leftism in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from utilising all the opportunities in the interests of the victory of the working class and of all the democratic forces.

The statement stresses that the Communist parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts — against revisionism, which is still the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Dogmatism and sectarianism may also become the main danger at one or another stage in the development of the various parties unless a consistent struggle is waged against them.

The international duty of all the Communist and Workers' parties is to hold aloft the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism as the decisive condition of all our future victories.

## 6. For the Further Consolidation of the Communist Movement on the Principles of Marxism-Leninism

Comrades, the battle between the Communists and all popular forces, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, on the other, is entering upon a new stage. In these circumstances, the unity of the socialist camp, of the entire international Communist movement, acquires paramount importance. Our solidarity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, is the main condition for the victory of the working class over imperialism. The behest of the great Lenin to advance shoulder to shoulder, is sacred to us. The unity of our ranks multiplies our forces tenfold. Unity, unity and again unity — this is the law of the world Communist movement.

The very essence of Leninism implies that no Marxist-Leninist party can permit either in its own ranks, or in the international Communist movement, any actions likely to undermine its unity and solidarity.

The common goal of struggle of all Communists demands, as in the past, unity of will and action of the Communist parties of all countries. The meeting made a big contribution to the further consolidation of the international Communist movement by declaring, fully in keeping with Lenin's teachings, that the Communist parties will do all in their power to strengthen the unity of their ranks and of the entire international Communist movement.

"The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause," the statement says, "demand from each Communist Party and from the great army of Communists of all countries the further consolidation of their ranks and ever closer unity of will and action. The supreme international duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party is to work steadfastly for greater unity of the international Communist movement.

"Resolute defence of the unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the impermissibility of any action likely to undermine this unity are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for accomplishing the tasks of the so-

cialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would weaken the forces of communism."

It should be noted that at the meeting the delegation of the C.P.S.U. expressed its point of view concerning the formula that the Soviet Union stands at the head of the socialist camp and the C.P.S.U. at the head of the Communist movement. The delegation declared that this formula was regarded above all as high appreciation of the services rendered by our Party, founded by Lenin, and expressed its heartfelt gratitude to all the fraternal parties for it. Our Party, reared by Lenin, has always seen its first duty in fulfilling its international obligations to the working class of the world. The delegation assured the meeting that the C.P.S.U. would continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and would spare no effort in carrying out its international duties.

Nevertheless, the C.P.S.U. delegation proposed that that formula be not included in the statement or other documents of the Communist movement.

As to the principles of relations between the fraternal parties, the C.P.S.U. very definitely expressed its views on this matter at its Twenty-First Congress. From the rostrum of the Congress, we declared to the whole world that in the Communist movement, as in the socialist camp, there has always been complete equality and solidarity of all the Communist and Workers' parties and socialist countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not lead other parties. There are no "superior" and "subordinate" parties in the Communist movement. All the Communist parties are equal and independent, all are responsible for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its setbacks and victories. Every Communist and Workers' Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the entire international working-class and Communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in its leading the other socialist countries, but in its being the first to blaze the trail to socialism, in its being the most powerful country in the socialist world system, in its having accumulated vast positive experience in building socialism, and being the first to embark on the full-scale building of communism. It is stressed in the statement that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and remains the universally recognised van-

guard of the world Communist movement, being its most experienced and steered contingent.

At the present time, when there is a large group of socialist countries each facing its own specific tasks, when there are eighty-seven Communist and Workers' parties each with its own tasks, it is impossible to lead all the socialist countries and Communist parties from any single centre. It is both impossible and unnecessary. Tempered Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their parties, their countries, have grown up in the Communist parties.

And, indeed, it is well known that the C.P.S.U. does not issue directives to other parties. The fact that we will be called "the head", spells no advantages for our Party or the other parties. Just the reverse. It only creates difficulties.

As is seen from the statement, the fraternal parties agreed with the reasons stated by our delegation. The question may arise: will not our international solidarity be weakened by the fact that this proposition is not written down in the statement? No, it will not. At present there are no rules regulating relations between parties, but we have a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and loyalty to this ideology is the main condition of our solidarity and unity. It is essential that we guide ourselves consistently by the directions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, that we persistently put into practice the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The international solidarity of the Communist movement will then constantly increase.

Our Party as an internationalist party closely follows the struggle of its class brothers in all countries of the world. We are well aware of the difficulties which the Communists have to overcome in their struggles under capitalism.

From the rostrum of the meeting the delegation of the C.P.S.U. expressed our Party's boundless solidarity with the fighters for communism in the capitalist countries, and especially with our comrades languishing in the prisons of Spain and Portugal, Greece and West Germany, the U.A.R., Iraq and Iran, the U.S.A. and Paraguay, and with all the other prisoners of capital. We are confident that our words of greeting will encourage the selfless fighters for the people's happiness.

Comrades, representatives of the Communists of all countries assembled at their meeting at an auspicious time when the international Communist movement is on a steep upgrade.

Striking successes have been attained by the Communist parties in the capitalist countries. More and more victories are scored by communism in the countries where the working class has triumphed. Not only have these countries withstood the onslaught of foreign and domestic class enemies, but, acting upon the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction, they have scaled great heights in their economic, cultural, scientific and technical development, and in improving the living standard of the people. The peoples in those countries show monolithic solidarity with the Communist and Workers' parties.

Whereas in the past the slogan of struggle for socialism, for communist changes, was a slogan of the Communist parties, today the struggle for socialism, for communism, has in those countries become a nation-wide cause, a nation-wide struggle for the triumph of the new communist world. In this way, life itself confirms the correctness of our revolutionary theory, the correctness and vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

It is a great reward for us Communists that the potent force of communism is now realised not only by the peoples of the socialist countries, but even by people who do not accept the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They cannot help acknowledging the great results of the development of our countries, achieved on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory. And that, comrades, is immensely important.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is the guide to action, the guiding star for us Communists. Being the front-rank contingent of the working class, the Communists have always regarded it as the scientific programme of their struggle for victory, have always put implicit trust in it, and have always fought perseveringly for its realisation. Today, when, on the basis of this doctrine, the socialist countries are attaining major successes in the economic competition with the capitalist states, the broad masses see that socialism, communism, is the greatest force of our time, and that the future belongs to communism.

It stands to reason that in the process of socialist and communist construction new forms and methods emerge, which yield good results in the achievement of the great socialist aims. Inasmuch as in the socialist countries conditions differ from country to country, it is only natural that each Communist Party applies Marxist-Leninist theory in keeping with the conditions obtaining in its country. For this reason, we must

show understanding for this urge of the fraternal parties, which should know the conditions and features of their countries best.

We act upon the behest of the great Lenin that "all nations will come to socialism; that is certain, but all of them will come to it not in entirely identical ways and each will contribute something of its own to this or that form of democracy, this or that variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, this or that rate of socialist change in the various aspects of social development." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol 23, p. 58.)

Naturally, one must not inflate the importance of these distinctive features, exaggerate them and overlook the basic general line of socialist construction charted in the doctrine of Marx and Lenin. We have always firmly championed the purity of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the basic principles for its realisation, and will continue to do so.

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties exchanged opinions on questions of the current international situation and discussed the pressing problems of the Communist and working-class movement, or, as comrades put it figuratively at the meeting, we set our watches. Indeed, the socialist countries and the Communist parties need to set the time. When someone's watch is fast or slow, it is adjusted, so as to show the right time. The Communist movement, too, needs to set the time, so that our formidable army marches in step and advances with confident strides towards communism. Putting it figuratively, Marxism-Leninism, the jointly prepared documents of international Communist meetings, are our time-piece.

Now that all the Communist and Workers' parties have adopted unanimous decisions at the meeting, each Party will strictly and undeviatingly abide by these decisions in everything it does.

Comrades, the importance of the meeting lies in the fact that the participants in it now feel even better, stronger and more confident and have acquired an even broader view of the great epic struggle of all the Communist and Workers' parties. All this contributes to the unity of the international Communist movement. At the international forum each fraternal party gained added confidence in the victory of our common cause, which is of tremendous importance for the consolidation of the entire international Communist movement.

The unity of every Communist Party, the unity of all the Communist parties, is what makes up the integral world Communist movement, which is aimed at achieving our common goal, victory for communism throughout the world. The main thing that is required of all the Communist and Workers' parties today, is perseveringly to strengthen to the utmost the unity and cohesion of their ranks. The unity of the ranks of the Communist movement is especially important in present conditions in view of the historic tasks the Communist movement is called upon to perform.

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our delegation assured the participants in the meeting that for our part we would do our best to strengthen still more our close fraternal bonds with all the Communist parties. Our Party will do everything to make the socialist camp and the world Communist front still stronger.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly determined to strengthen unity and friendship with all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, with the Marxist-Leninist parties of all the world. In this connection I want to emphasise our invariable effort to strengthen bonds of fraternal friendship with the Communist Party of China, with the great Chinese people. In its relations with the Communist Party of China our Party always proceeds from the premise that the friendship of our two great peoples, the unity of our two parties, the biggest parties in the international Communist movement, are of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our Party has always exerted and will continue to exert every effort to strengthen this great friendship. We have one common goal with People's China, with the Chinese Communists, as with the Communists of all countries—safeguarding peace and the building of communism; common interests—the happiness and well-being of the working people; and a firm common basis of principle—Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will do their utmost to further increase the unity of our parties and our peoples, so as not only to disappoint our enemies but to jolt them even more strongly with our unity, to attain the realisation of our great goal, the triumph of communism.

Comrades, it is a magnificent time we live in! Communism has become the invincible force of our epoch. The further suc-

cesses of communism depend to a tremendous extent on our will, our unity, our foresight and determination. By their struggle, by their work the Communists, the working class will achieve the great goals of communism throughout the world.

Men of the future, the Communists of the coming generations will envy us, they will keep going back in their thoughts to our times, when the lines of the Party anthem ring out with special force:

“Let the power be wielded by the masses  
Let those who labour hold the reins.”

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, is, and shall ever be loyal to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism and friendship among the peoples. It will always fight for world peace, for the victory of communism, as the great Lenin taught us!

*Comrade Khrushchov's speech was repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause, and his closing words were followed by a prolonged ovation.*