

1917-1967

50th Anniversary
of the October
Revolution

**Theses of the
central committee
of the Communist
Party of the
Soviet Union**

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**50th Anniversary
of the Great October
Socialist Revolution**

**THESES OF
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CPSU**

June 20 - 21, 1967

LONDON, JULY 1967

The plenary meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in Moscow on June 20 and 21, discussed and approved the following Theses of the Central Committee for the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

THIS year, 1967, the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal socialist countries, the world communist and working-class movement and progressive mankind in general are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Our country took the socialist road of development half a century ago. The October Revolution marked the beginning of mankind's deliverance from the exploiting system and of the implementation of the ideas of scientific communism and had a most far-reaching impact on the entire course of subsequent world history. It ushered in the epoch of the universal revolutionary renewal of the world, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

During these past decades the cause of the October Revolution has gone through the comprehensive test of time. It has demonstrated the invincible strength and immortality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism both for our own country and for all the other peoples in the world. This cause lives and triumphs in the victory of socialism and the achievements in communist construction in the USSR, the growth of the world socialist system, the mighty upsurge of the working-class movement and the successes of the struggle for national liberation. Marxism-Leninism has gripped the minds of hundreds of millions of people in the world and the communist movement has become the most influential political force of modern times. All this is a result of the historical development initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In accomplishing the Revolution and in carrying out the colossal tasks that history has set us, the working class and the entire Soviet people have demonstrated their infinite devotion to the ideas of communism, their courage and self-sacrifice, and a high level of political consciousness and organisation. Soviet people express their profound respect for, and gratitude to, the fighters for the victory of the Revolution and the triumph of socialism. Our people will always revere the memory of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the heroes of the socialist revolution, the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. The courageous builders of the new factories and collective and state farms during the period of the first Five-Year Plans and all those who built socialism and fortified the might of the world's first socialist state will never be forgotten. Their example unflinchingly serves the great cause of the revolutionary remaking of the world.

From the summits of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution the party and the Soviet people look back over the path that has been travelled, in order better to solve new problems. The revolutionary cause launched by the Great October Socialist Revolution is broadening out, growing stronger and triumphing. For hundreds of millions of people, socialism is the present, and for the rest of mankind it is the future.

1. Heroic road of struggle and creation—historic significance of complete and final victory of socialism in USSR

1. The socialist revolution was accomplished in Russia on November 7 (October 25), 1917, as a result of the armed uprising of workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors led by the Bolshevik Party and headed by the great Lenin.

The working people overthrew the landowners and capitalists and smashed the exploiting system. Power was seized by the proletariat in alliance with the working peasants. The Revolution set up the dictatorship of the proletariat and created a state of a new type (the socialist republic of Soviets) and a new type of democracy—democracy for the working people. This gave rise to the first and principal political conditions for reorganising the economy and culture and attaining socialism and communism—those great goals of the working class.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is a law-governed process springing from social development. The objective conditions and also the subjective prerequisites for a victorious socialist revolution took shape in Russia early in the 20th century, and Russia became the centre of the world revolutionary movement.

Although Russia was mainly an agrarian country, capitalism developed rapidly and industrial production reached a high level of concentration. A working class, with the industrial proletariat as its nucleus, took shape in Russia. The ruthless exploitation of the workers, the land hunger and poverty of the peasants, the denial of political rights to the people, the oppression of national minorities, the survivals of feudalism and patriarchalism, and dependence on international capital made Russia the focal point of social and national oppression, the storm-centre of the contradictions of the entire system of imperialism and the weakest link in that system. The revolution of 1905-7 shook the foundations of tsarist autocracy and was the prologue to the revolutionary battles of the working class and the peasants in 1917.

In Russia the socio-economic and political contradictions came to a head during the imperialist world war, which undermined the country's economy and totally exhausted the workers and peasants. The revolution of February 1917 swept away tsarist autocracy, but the bourgeoisie who came to power neither wanted nor was it able to satisfy the vital needs of the workers and peasants. The solution of fundamental social problems could be ensured only when political power was conquered by the proletariat. Vital interests and deep anxiety over the fate of the country imperiously spurred on the working masses towards the accomplishment of revolutionary changes. The socialist revolution became the immediate practical task.

The working class headed the Revolution. Tempered by stern class battles, the proletariat of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party, displayed a high level of political consciousness, organisation and staunchness in the struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, and proved capable of providing the working peasants with leadership. It personified the splendid revolutionary traditions of its people and was the successor to, and continuer of, the cause of a glorious galaxy of fighters for the happiness of the working people. From the very outset the proletariat of Russia came forward as an internationalist class, raising on high the militant red banner of the first fighters against capitalism, the banner of the International Workingmen's

Association—the First International—and of the heroes of the Paris Commune.

The road to the victory of the proletarian revolution was illumined by the theory of scientific socialism. Marx, Engels and Lenin, the leaders of the world proletariat, made a profound analysis of the laws of social development, brought to light the acute contradictions of capitalism and proved that it was bound to die as a result of the socialist revolution. They showed that under the leadership of the revolutionary party and in close alliance with the non-proletarian working masses, the proletariat was called upon by history to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

The Bolshevik Party, a proletarian party of a new type, emerged and grew stronger in the course of the class struggle on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism. It was the first to integrate scientific socialism with the mass working-class movement and was thoroughly prepared for leading the proletariat towards the seizure of power. It absorbed everything honest, thinking, courageous and self-sacrificing that had been accumulated by generations of revolutionaries, and creatively analysed the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the working people. The Bolshevik Party gave the proletariat of Russia a programme for the democratic and socialist revolution, organised it politically and rallied it for the struggle against autocracy and the capitalist system. Its policy was in keeping with the fundamental interests of the working class and all other working people and was therefore supported by the majority of the population.

The party which headed history's greatest revolution was led by the brilliant thinker and unflinching revolutionary Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The ideological leader and organiser of the revolution, he dedicated his entire life to the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

In the new conditions ushered in by the epoch of imperialism, he creatively developed Marxism, raising it to a new and higher stage. His theory of the socialist revolution was one of the greatest contributions to scientific communism, for it ideologically armed the party and the working class in their struggle against bourgeois rule and for political power. Drawing upon the teaching of Marx and Engels, he produced solutions to key theoretical and practical problems of building socialism and communism. His ideas inspire the new generations of fighters for social transformations. Leninism is the eternal source of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. The name of Lenin has become the symbol of the new world.

A splendid feature of the Leninist party is its ability to unite, temper and educate fearless revolutionaries. The outstanding organisers of the Revolution trained by the party, its leaders and theoreticians, propagandists and captains of economic and cultural development made a great contribution to the building of socialism.

The October Revolution, proletarian in content, was at the same time a profoundly popular revolution. The most essential, paramount expression of the popular nature of the October Revolution was the alliance between the working class and the peasants, and the joint struggle and fraternal co-operation of the working people of all the nations of Russia against the oppressors. Basing itself on the alliance between the working class and the peasants, the Bolshevik Party united and directed towards a single goal the different revolutionary currents—the socialist movement of the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the revolutionary struggle of the peasants against the landowners, the national liberation movement for the equality of the peoples and the popular movement for peace and an end to the devastating imperialist war. Owing to this, together with basic socialist tasks, the October Revolution provided a radical solution to pressing tasks of democratic development, thereby demonstrating not only the possibility of, but also the need for uniting the socialist movement of the working class with

the broad democratic movement of the people, for uniting the struggle for socialism with the struggle for democracy.

The socialist revolution is not a conspiracy, a coup at the top, carried out by a group of "active revolutionaries", but a movement and struggle of millions of people headed by the working class and led by the Marxist-Leninist party. In 1917 the Leninist party set a great example of historic initiative and of a correct assessment of the balance of class forces and the specific features of the moment. In the different stages of the revolution the party applied flexible and varied tactics, utilising peaceful and non-peaceful, as well as legal and illegal means of struggle, and demonstrating its ability to combine these means and to move from one form and method of struggle to another. This is one of the fundamental aspects of the strategy and tactics of Leninism that distinguishes it from both social-democratic reformism and petty-bourgeois adventurism.

The profoundly revolutionary and democratic essence of the new socialist state was strikingly revealed in the very first decrees and actions of Soviet power.

The Great October Socialist Revolution overthrew the system of exploitation and oppression. The proletariat fought for emancipation from wage slavery, and it became the master of the factories and mills. The working peasantry suffered from land hunger—Soviet power abolished the landed estates and turned the land over to the peasants. Soviet power nationalised large-scale industry, the land, the railways and the banks, and instituted a monopoly over foreign trade. For the first time in history all the mineral wealth and the principal means of production became the property of the people. Public ownership of the means of production, which became the economic foundation of socialism, was established in the key branches of the economy. The oppressed nationalities living in tsarist Russia suffered from a lack of political rights—Soviet power proclaimed the equality of the nations and their right to self-determination. The division into social estates and the privileges that went with this were abolished, and the humiliating laws keeping women in a position of inequality were abrogated.

The Great October Socialist Revolution wrested our country from the abyss of a devastating imperialist war. The people passionately desired peace—the Decree on Peace was signed on the very first day of the Revolution; the country was saved from the national catastrophe to which it was condemned by the ruling circles, and the peoples of Russia were delivered from the threat of enslavement by foreign capital.

The Great October Socialist Revolution shook the world of capitalism to its very foundations. The world split up into two systems—the socialist and the capitalist systems. The Soviet state began to implement new principles in relations between nations and countries. The economic, social and political emancipation of the masses became the primary aim of the power of the workers and peasants established by the Revolution. Therein lies the profound significance of the revolutionary humanism of the October Revolution. Mankind acquired a reliable bulwark in its struggle against predatory wars, for peace and security, for social progress.

The epoch-making significance of the October Revolution lies in the fact that it charted the road to revolutionary change and evolved the forms and methods for effecting this change. These forms and methods have acquired an international character. The experience gained in the Great October Socialist Revolution is an inexhaustible treasure-store of the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle, a model of scientific strategy and tactics.

2. The working people of the Soviet Republic were confronted with far-reaching, complicated and difficult tasks: they had to defend the gains of the Revolution and utilise the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to achieve

complete victory over the exploiting classes and carry out socialist changes.

Soviet power triumphed both at the centre and in the localities. The working people of Russia and the rest of the world saw for themselves that Soviet power expressed the basic interests of the masses. The far-reaching revolutionary changes awakened colossal revolutionary energy in the people. Lenin wrote: "Our cause is ensured by the fact that the masses themselves have undertaken to build a new, socialist Russia" (*Collected Works, vol. 37, p. 77, Russian edition*). The socialist republic concentrated all its strength on peaceful construction.

However, the creative plans of the Soviet Republic were cut short by the class enemy who sought to destroy the young Soviet state. The armed struggle against the Soviet Republic was organised by international imperialism. The imperialists of Germany, Britain, France, the United States of America, Japan and other countries joined hands in their desire to strangle the Revolution in our country. The imperialist intervention and the offensive mounted by the White Guard hordes merged with the counter-revolutionary revolts and conspiracies of the Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and surviving elements of the bourgeois parties. The deposed exploiting classes and international imperialism fought savagely against the new social system. They inflicted incalculable hardships and suffering on the people. But their attacks were repulsed and the cause of the Revolution triumphed.

In response to the armed attack by the counter-revolution, the working masses resolutely rose to defend the gains of the Revolution. The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army—the army of the Revolution, the army of the working people—was born in the battles against the interventionists and the White Guards, in the flames of the Civil War. The party drew up a programme for the defence of the country and for the organisation of our armed forces. "The Army", it was pointed out in the resolution of the Eighth Party Congress on the military question, "must be trained, armed and organised in accordance with the last word in military science" (*The CPSU in Resolutions, Part I, p. 435, Russian edition*). The Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence, with Lenin at the head, was set up to mobilise the country's forces against the enemy. In defending their socialist country the people displayed mass heroism and brought to the fore outstanding military leaders and legendary heroes.

The working people of all the nations and nationalities of our country fought selflessly for Soviet power, for freedom and a communist future. The alliance between the workers and peasants, and between all the peoples liberated by the Revolution, became stronger than ever during the Civil War. This victory demonstrated the viability and stability of Soviet power.

In the grim battle against the armed forces of imperialism and the White Guards, the Soviet workers and peasants had the fraternal support of the international proletariat and of working people throughout the world. "Hands Off Russia" Committees were formed in many countries. The mass movements in support of the young Soviet Republic fettered the actions of international capitalism. During the Civil War the Red Army had in its ranks Hungarians, Poles, Serbs, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Finns, Chinese, Koreans and people of other nations. The international solidarity of the working people was tested in the fire of the socialist revolution.

The experience of the initial years of Soviet power provides ample proof that the deposed exploiting classes resort to all means in their attempts to regain the positions they have lost. The victorious people must always be prepared to fight to defend the gains of the Revolution and suppress the resistance of the exploiters. Being a response to violence by the exploiters, revolutionary violence against them is the sacred right of people who have risen to fight for social emancipation.

The defeat of the united forces of world imperialism and the complete

roust of the internal counter-revolution were of tremendous significance not only for the destiny of our country but also for the liberation struggle of the working people of other countries. The Land of Soviets—the hope and mainstay of the working people of the whole world—stood its ground and emerged victorious. Socialism won the first decisive battle against the forces of the capitalist world. “We withstood them all”, said Lenin with legitimate pride.

3. After the foreign interventionists had been driven out and the Civil War had ended, it became possible for the party and the people to concentrate their efforts on the main task of the Revolution, that of building socialism.

The imperialists failed to destroy the Soviet Republic by military force, but they ruined our country to such an extent that, to use an expression of Lenin's, they “half-achieved their aim”. We had to begin peaceful construction with an extremely low potential: our industrial output totalled 14.3 per cent, and the output of steel less than 5 per cent of the prewar level. Agricultural production fell by half. All this created tremendous difficulties in starting socialist construction.

The historic service of the Communist Party, headed by Lenin, was that it gave the Soviet people a scientific plan for building socialism which took into account the economic and social conditions in the country. Lenin's ideas envisaged the industrialisation of the country, socialist co-operation in agriculture and the accomplishing of a cultural revolution. These ideas were in keeping with the fundamental interests of the masses who strove to put an end to economic dislocation and backwardness, poverty and ignorance.

With Lenin's direct leadership the party drew up and, at its Tenth Congress, adopted the New Economic Policy, which was a major and necessary stage on the road to socialism. The purpose of this policy was to overcome the economic dislocation, create the foundation for a socialist economy, establish an economic link between town and countryside, strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasants, oust and then abolish capitalist elements, and achieve socialism. The ways and means of accomplishing these tasks called for the maximum encouragement for co-operation, the broad expansion of trade, and the utilisation of material incentives and cost-accounting. With the object of restoring the economy, provision was made for drawing in private capital while keeping the command posts in the hands of the proletarian state.

The basic principles underlying the New Economic Policy are of international value and are being utilised in the process of building socialism in other countries.

The policy of building socialism was upheld and implemented by the party and the working class in a fierce class struggle against the remnants of the deposed exploiting class, capitalist elements in town and countryside and left and right opportunists who attempted to divert us from the Leninist path.

Trotskyism displayed distrust of the working class of the USSR, maintaining that socialism could not be built in our country without the victory of the proletarian revolution in the West, and the ideological and political roust of Trotskyism was of great importance. The Trotskyites sought to deprive our party and people of their faith that socialism could be successfully built in the USSR, saying that this was of no importance to the world revolutionary movement. Using the screen of ultra-revolutionary leftist phraseology, they tried to impose an adventurist policy of artificially “pushing” the revolution in other countries and condemning to failure the building of socialism in our country. They demanded that anti-democratic, militarised methods of leading the masses be adopted within the country, rejected the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, insisted on “freedom” for factional struggles in the party and, on this road, slid down into anti-Sovietism.

The party had to fight against the right opportunists as well, for they

espoused the ideology of the exploiting, kulak strata in the countryside and opposed the high rates of industrialisation, the collectivisation of the farms and the abolition of the kulaks as a class.

Sweeping aside the petty-bourgeois adventurism of the Trotskyites and the capitulation of the right opportunists, our party firmly and confidently led the Soviet people along the road charted by Lenin.

Socialist industrialisation was the key task in the building of socialism. In line with Lenin's theory that it was possible to build socialism in our country, the 14th Party Congress issued the instruction that “the policy of industrialising the country and stepping up the output of the means of production must be maintained” (*The CPSU in Resolutions, Part II, p. 197*). Socialist industrialisation proceeded in a situation marked by capitalist encirclement and the constant threat of attack by the aggressive forces of imperialism. This determined the forced pace of the changes in the country and demanded the utmost mobilisation of efforts and resources. In the USSR industrialisation was achieved without outside help, at the expense of internal resources and rigid economy.

The fulfilment of Lenin's Goelro Plan (the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia) and of the first Five-Year Plans for economic development ensured the rapid economic growth of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union became a mighty industrial power. Automobile, aircraft and tractor industries, some branches of the chemical industry and many other entirely new industries were created. In 1940, as compared with 1913, the total output of industry had increased by 670 per cent and output of the means of production had risen 13-fold. A considerable increase was also registered in the output of consumer goods.

The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan at a time when the capitalist world was in the grip of its most devastating economic crisis vividly demonstrated the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system of economy and greatly enhanced the Soviet Union's international prestige.

Industrialisation created the material basis for strengthening our country's economic independence, for the technical reconstruction of all branches of the economy and for reorganising agriculture along socialist lines. This achievement was of tremendous social and political importance. It consolidated public ownership in the key branches of the economy and ensured the ousting of capitalist elements in the towns, the establishment of the socialist mode of production and the growth of the working class, helping to strengthen the leading role of the working class in society and enhancing the Soviet Union's economic and defensive might. Socialist industry, built by the people, in many ways predetermined the victory that was won in the Great Patriotic War.

The reorganisation of agriculture along socialist lines was the most complicated and difficult task after power had been seized by the working class. It was necessary to surmount the traditional habits of the petty proprietor, to change his psychology and to convince the peasants of the advantages of the new life. The 15th Party Congress charted the political line for the gradual transition of the scattered peasant households to large-scale socialist production.

Lenin's co-operative plan served as the basis for carrying out this key revolutionary task. It took the party years of painstaking organisational and educational work to carry out this epoch-making task. As a result of collectivisation, small-commodity production gave way to socialist production; agriculture, which had been the most backward sphere of the economy, was put on a socialist footing. Millions of small individual peasant producers united in collective farms and set out on the road to socialism. Collectivisation gave rise to an efficient form of management of agriculture—the agricultural *artel*, which made it possible to combine public interests with those of the peasants, to surmount the leftist attempts to introduce egalitarian distribution,

and to put a stop to cases of violations of the principle of voluntary membership in the peasant co-operatives. The collective farms were set up in a fierce struggle against the kulaks. The resistance of the exploiting elements in the countryside was broken by the efforts of the working class and the rural poor, in alliance with the middle peasants. Complete, nationwide collectivisation abolished the last and most numerous exploiting class.

The large state enterprises—state farms and machine and tractor stations—set up in agriculture played a big role in transforming the countryside along socialist lines.

Socialist ownership became the foundation for economic relations in the countryside. All the social causes breeding exploitation of man by man were completely removed. Collectivisation consolidated the gains of the October Revolution, took the countryside to the new, socialist road, still further strengthened the alliance between the working class and the peasants and became one of the major factors contributing to victory over the nazi invaders.

The 17th Party Congress emphasised that the foundations of a socialist economy had been built in our country during the period of the First Five-Year Plan.

The experience of industrialisation and collectivisation gained in the USSR has withstood the test of time and is being creatively utilised by many socialist countries, with due account being taken of their own special features and specific conditions.

A cultural revolution was needed for the successful building of socialism. The party was guided by Lenin's proposition that socialist culture can be built up by mastering and critically analysing the cultural heritage of the past and all the values created by world culture, while resolutely surmounting the reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes and the survivals and prejudices of the past, and by deeply inculcating the ideas of scientific communism in the conscience of the people.

A cultural revolution is a long and complicated process. In spite of the country's cultural backwardness and the acute shortage of skilled personnel and of resources, the state created a new system of public education which eliminated illiteracy, brought about a rapid upsurge of science and culture and ensured that the younger generation would be brought up in the spirit of socialism. The finest people among the old intelligentsia come over to the service of the people and there emerged a new workers' and peasants' intelligentsia entirely devoted to socialism.

A socialist, genuinely people's culture was shaped in the course of the cultural revolution. The greatest achievement of this revolution was the fact that the working masses accepted the socialist way of thinking as their own.

The Leninist programme for the solution of the national question was carried out and the socialist fraternity of the peoples of our country was established in the course of socialist construction. While surmounting economic and cultural backwardness and the remnants of the national strife which had previously existed, the party and the Soviet government patiently and consistently built up all-round co-operation among the peoples who, in December 1922, voluntarily united to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The formation of the USSR, an act legislatively recorded in the Soviet Constitution of 1924, was an event of tremendous and historic importance.

The October Revolution and the building of socialism awakened and roused to independent activity formerly backward peoples, some of whom were saved in this way from physical extinction. During the building of socialism they acquired their own statehood, put an end to their economic and cultural backwardness and gradually adopted the highest, socialist forms of economy and culture. This achievement was all the more remarkable in view of the fact that many nations which, when the Revolution was accomplished, had been at the stage of feudalism, or even of the patriarchal-clan

system, by-passed capitalism in their progress towards socialism. All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognise that the Russian working class and the Russian people as a whole played an immense role in carrying out the Leninist policy on the national question.

Socialism brought to the peoples of the USSR genuine equality in the political, economic and cultural spheres. Peoples who were at a lower level of economic development were rendered tremendous economic assistance and huge sums of money were invested in order to accelerate the development of their industry, farming and culture. The reunification of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Moldavian peoples, the restoration of Soviet power in the Baltic republics and their accession to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were important milestones in the solution of the national problem.

By concerted efforts the free and equal peoples of the Soviet republics—the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenia and Estonia—all the nations and nationalities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have built socialism, taken the road to prosperity and achieved colossal progress in economic and cultural development.

The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the principal instrument for the building of socialism in the USSR. The supreme principle underlying the dictatorship of the proletariat is the alliance between the working class and the peasants, with the working class playing the leading role. The Soviet state developed into a mighty force capable of organising the constructive labour of millions of people, building a new economy and culture and ensuring a steady rise in the standard of living. Soviet people did not stint their efforts, consciously accepted hardships and set examples of courage and self-sacrifice in their work to overcome the country's economic backwardness and to transform it into a great socialist power. The building of Magnitogorsk, the Kuzbas mining complex, the Turkestan-Siberian railway, the Dnieper Hydro-Electric Station, the town of Komsomolsk-on-Amur and many other industrial projects, as well as the socialist emulation and shock worker movements, were manifestations of the new, socialist attitude to work. The mass heroism that was displayed by the working people during the period of economic rehabilitation and the first Five-Year Plans constitutes an unforgettable page in the history of our society.

Thanks to revolutionary changes and the labour and political enthusiasm of the people, the Soviet Union was the first country in the world to build a socialist society. The triumph of socialism was legislatively recorded in the Soviet Constitution adopted in December 1936 by the Special Eighth Congress of Soviets. This Constitution laid down the socialist principles underlying the social and state system in the USSR and the broad social freedoms and rights of citizens; it instituted a system of direct, equal and universal suffrage by secret ballot for elections to the organs of power and enlarged the representation quota of all the Union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national areas in the highest organ of power. The political superstructure was brought into line with the economic basis of socialism.

The Soviet Union developed in a tense international atmosphere, with the threat of imperialist invasion constantly hanging over it. This threat became particularly great when fascism, a barefaced terrorist and chauvinist dictatorship of the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism, seized power in Germany. Fascism entrenched itself firmly and rearmed Germany with the help of the United States and British monopolies, which regarded it as the assault force of anti-communism.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government saw the danger behind the policy of the fascist states, kept watch over the situation and took steps to strengthen the country's defence capacity. The party took important

measures to reorganise industry and transport in order to meet the growing military threat. The defence industry built in the prewar years ensured supplies of modern military equipment for the armed forces.

The Soviet government made energetic efforts to create a system of collective security in Europe in order to prevent war. These efforts came up against the resistance of western politicians, the "men of Munich", who sought to direct nazi aggression against the USSR and to enter into an alliance with Hitler. In this difficult situation the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression treaty with Germany and thereby upset the calculations of the imperialists and gained time for strengthening the country's defences. But it proved to be impossible to prevent war in those conditions. With the connivance of the ruling circles in the West, nazi Germany started the Second World War. After seizing many European states, it invaded the USSR.

4. The war forced upon the Soviet Union by German nazism on June 22, 1941, was the greatest military clash between socialism and the assault forces of imperialism. It became the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people for the freedom and independence of their socialist country and for socialism.

German imperialism set itself the objective of destroying the world's first socialist state, annihilating millions of people and enslaving the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries.

The Great Patriotic War was the most exhausting and savage war ever experienced by our country. Particularly grim trials fell to our lot at the beginning of that war. The huge army of the nazis and their satellites, which had been mobilised beforehand and had been made intoxicated with the poison of chauvinism and racialism, went deep into the territory of our country. The enemy reached the foothills of the Caucasus, broke through to the Volga, laid siege to Leningrad and threatened Moscow. Mortal danger hung over the Land of Soviets.

The nazis took advantage of their temporary superiority: the militarisation of the economy and of life in Germany; the long preparations for a war of aggrandisement and the experience gained in the military operations in the West; the superiority in armaments and numbers and the concentration of troops in the frontier zone long beforehand. They had at their disposal the economic and military resources of almost the whole of Western Europe. In the European countries nazi Germany had seized colossal supplies of military equipment, metal and strategic raw materials and metallurgical and armaments factories. The Soviet Union had to fight that enormous military machine single-handed.

Furthermore, there were miscalculations in determining the time of a possible nazi attack against us, and shortcomings in the preparations for repelling the first blows.

In addition, Soviet troops lacked experience in conducting large-scale operations in a modern war. However, in the initial period of the war it could already be seen that the military adventure of the nazis was doomed to failure. The defeat of the Germans near Moscow was the beginning of the turning-point in the course of the war. The Hitlerite plan for a blitzkrieg was buried for good; the spurious legend about the "invincibility" of the Hitler army was completely shattered.

The entire Soviet people rose up in defence of their motherland. The country became one vast military camp with the single desire to smash the enemy, drive him out of Soviet territory and destroy nazism. The slogan "Everything for the front! Everything for victory!" put forward by the Communist Party, became the law of life for the Soviet people. The party took energetic steps to organise the rout of the enemy and to co-ordinate the efforts of the people at the front and behind the firing lines. The State Defence Committee, with Joseph Stalin as its chairman, was set up. In the republics,

territories and regions the party, local government, trade union and Young Communist League organisations worked tirelessly to mobilise all the country's strength and means of defence.

Led by the Communist Party, our heroic people overcame the difficulties of the early period of the war and in 1942-43 they turned the tide against the enemy. The milestones on the road to the Soviet Union's victory over nazi Germany were: the victory in the gigantic Battle of Stalingrad; the rout of the nazis near Kursk, and their devastating defeats in other battles. The last of the nazi invaders were driven out of the Soviet Union in 1944, and the offensives mounted by the Soviet Army during the last year of the war played the decisive role in delivering the peoples of Austria, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia from nazi occupation and in the final victory over the nazi coalition.

The Soviet people successfully defended their socialist country and the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Nazism was smashed and the war ended where it had come from. The defeated nazi armies capitulated unconditionally. Militarist Japan was also defeated. The Soviet Union rendered military and political assistance to the revolutionary forces in China and Korea. The principal war criminals were tried and given the punishment they deserved. World civilisation was thus saved from the plague of nazism.

The victory over the nazi invaders was won through the joint efforts of many peoples. A mighty anti-nazi coalition took shape in the course of the war. Powerful blows were dealt the enemy by the armies of the Western Allies. A courageous fight was put up by the allied troops of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and by the participants in the Resistance Movement. The main burden of the war, however, was borne by the Soviet people and their heroic army, which played a decisive role in the victory over Hitler Germany.

The war cost the Soviet people huge losses in life and property. More than 20 million Soviet people were killed on the battlefields, buried alive beneath the ruins of towns and villages, executed by the nazi bandits or tortured to death in the nazi concentration camps. It would be difficult to find a family which, during the war, did not experience the grief caused by the death of some of its members. The bitterness of the losses inflicted by the war was infinite.

The material loss sustained in the war was colossal. The nazis reduced more than 70,000 of our towns, workers' settlements and villages to ashes. The country lost nearly 30 per cent of its national wealth. The mass barbarism and the outrages committed in our land by the nazi invaders have no precedent in history.

The social and political system of socialism emerged victorious in that gigantic military collision with imperialism and its most monstrous creation—nazism. The Soviet Union drew its strength from the socialist economy, the socio-political and ideological unity of its people, the Soviet patriotism and friendship of the Soviet peoples, the unity of the people round the Communist Party and the unexampled heroism and courage of the Soviet troops. This was a victory of socialist ideology over the inhuman ideology of imperialism and nazism.

In that war the Soviet people were the victors. They rose as one man to defend their country, displaying unparalleled, truly mass heroism. The feats of the valiant defenders of Moscow, the capital of our country, of the heroes of Brest, Sevastopol, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Odessa, Kiev and other towns will always be an example of selfless valour and courage. The eternal flame of glory over the grave of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall burns as a symbol of the great grief of our motherland, as a symbol of her undying love for her sons and daughters who fell in battle during the war, and of her gratitude to them.

In the war the Soviet armed forces were victorious. Created to defend the gains of the October Revolution, they have held their battle standards aloft with honour throughout the history of the Soviet state. The feats which they accomplished during the Great Patriotic War will never be forgotten. The great victory over nazism was also ensured by the superiority of Soviet military science and military technique and equipment.

A people's struggle against the nazi invaders was waged behind the enemy's lines. Together with the Soviet armed forces, the partisans dealt the enemy crushing blows. People's Avengers and underground party and Young Communist League organisations functioned in many parts of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and in the Smolensk, Bryansk, Pskov, Novgorod, Orel, Leningrad, Kalinin, Moscow and other regions.

The victory in the war was also a victory of the people who worked behind the Soviet firing lines. Workers, collective farmers and intellectuals laboured with devotion under the most difficult conditions. Women and adolescents took the place of their fathers, husbands and brothers who had joined the army. The party implemented measures on an unprecedented scale in order to switch the economy over to a war footing and conducted extensive organisational work in the military sphere. A total of 1,360 large factories were evacuated to eastern regions and quickly put into operation. The eastern industrial base bore the main burden of providing our army with weapons and other supplies. During the war Soviet industry produced almost twice as much military equipment as the entire industry of nazi Germany.

United by a single will, a single desire, the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, men and women, communists and members of the Young Communist League who had been reared by the party and Soviet power, proved able to accomplish a feat that is unequalled in history.

During the stern years of war the people fought under the leadership of the Communist Party. The party organised and ideologically inspired the Soviet people for the struggle against the enemy. The finest sons of the Communist Party were in the forefront in the armed struggle against nazism. The party reared and promoted a galaxy of brilliant military leaders. An immense amount of organisational, party and political work was done in the armed forces by political workers who included prominent party and government officials. By the end of the war there were more than three million Communists at the front. The influx of fighting men into the party reached its zenith during the grim months of 1941 and 1942. Ours was a truly embattled party.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War was of epoch-making significance. Conditions conducive to the development and triumph of socialist revolutions appeared in European and Asian countries, conditions conducive to the emergence of the world socialist system. The national liberation struggle spread swiftly. The international forces of socialism and democracy grew stronger to the detriment of imperialism and reaction.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union most convincingly demonstrated that there is no power on earth capable of crushing socialism or of bringing to their knees a people devoted to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, loyal to their socialist motherland, and united around the Leninist party. Those results are a stern warning to imperialist aggressors, and a harsh and unforgettable lesson of history.

5. Having won the historic victory over their mortal enemy, the Soviet people resumed the implementation of their plans of peaceful construction.

The party and the government took vigorous steps in order to rehabilitate as rapidly as possible the war-ruined towns and regions. The national economy was restored as the country's occupied territories were liberated. Nothing in

history has matched the simultaneous waging of those large-scale offensive military operations and rehabilitation on such a grand scale. Stalingrad, Kiev, Minsk, Kharkov, Smolensk, Novgorod, Pskov, Vitebsk, Voronezh, Sevastopol and many other towns and villages were rebuilt on the ashes and ruins. New factories and other industrial enterprises were erected. The Soviet peasantry revived the collective and state farms which had been plundered by the nazis. The socialist motherland rapidly grew stronger. The key enterprises which had been moved deep into the hinterland at the outbreak of war sparked off an economic upsurge in a number of areas. Already by 1948, the prewar industrial level was in the main achieved.

In spite of its war losses, Soviet industry developed at a rapid and steady rate. From 1940 to 1960, the output of key industrial items went up as follows: steel, from 18,300,000 to 65 million tons¹; oil, from 31,100,000 to 148 million tons; gas, from 3,400 million to 47,000 million cubic metres²; electric power, from 48,300 million to 292,000 million kilowatt-hours. Profound shifts took place in the structure of production. There was an accelerated development of such leading industries as the power, engineering, chemical, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals and building materials industries, and such new branches of industry as electronics and radio electronics, and the atomic industry; comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production was being carried out. On the basis of technical progress, there was a steady rise in the productivity of labour. The output of foodstuffs, fabrics, footwear and consumer durables increased considerably. The quality of industrial goods was improving.

Matters were much more complex in agriculture, which had suffered very heavily in the war. The collective farm peasantry and the workers of the state farms displayed a high sense of duty and selfless labour by restoring the war-ruined farms within a short period. Already by 1950, total agricultural production was back to the prewar level. However, in the next few years there was a slowing down in the rate of development in this key branch of the economy, causing definite difficulties in the supply of food for the population and of raw materials for light industry. This was to some extent due to the fact that in the early postwar period the possibilities for financing and providing material and technical supplies for agriculture were limited. Insufficient use was also made of the reserves latent in the socialist mode of production in order to develop the collective and state farms. The September (1953) plenary meeting of the party's central committee took steps to give the farms material and technical assistance and to increase the material incentives of the collective farms and their members in relation to the fruits of their labour. The development of virgin and fallow land was an additional source for increasing the output of grain.

The growth of material production made it possible to carry out a number of measures aimed at raising living standards. The wages of industrial and other workers were increased, old-age and disability pensions were considerably raised, the working week was reduced without any cut in wages, and large-scale housing construction was started throughout the country. New successes were achieved in science and technology and in the development of culture. As regards the scale and level of public education, the Soviet Union was firmly among the world's leaders.

The conditions in which Soviet society developed in the postwar period confronted the Communist Party with complex and responsible tasks. Life proved that the party's political line was correct. The party demonstrated its ability to draw general theoretical conclusions from the experience of the

¹ These are metric tons. One metric ton = 2,204.6 lb.

² One cubic metre = 35.3 cubic feet.

masses, to put forward the correct political slogans, and to expose and rectify mistakes. In pursuing its course towards the further development of socialist democracy, the 20th Party Congress resolutely condemned the Stalin personality cult, which had been expressed in the glorification of the role of one man, something that is alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, in departures from the Leninist principle of collective leadership, and in unwarranted reprisals and other breaches of socialist legality which harmed our society. Those distortions, for all their gravity, did not alter the nature of socialist society, nor did they shake the pillars of socialism. The party and the people had an abiding faith in communism and they worked with enthusiasm to implement the Leninist ideals, overcoming difficulties, temporary setbacks and mistakes.

The party carried out measures to overcome the effects of the cult of the individual in every sphere of party, state and ideological work, and to ensure the observance of the Leninist rules and principles of party life. The powers of the Union republics, territories and regions in deciding on economic and cultural matters and the rights of executives at enterprises were extended. All of this led to greater socio-political and cultural activities in the country, and to more efficient functioning by every section of the party, government and economic apparatus. The Soviet social and state system was further strengthened and developed, the socio-political and ideological unity of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia was further strengthened; the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union became firmer and they rallied more closely round the Leninist party.

6. The complete and final victory of socialism is the principal result of the Soviet people's revolutionary and transforming activity under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The formation of the world socialist system, and the growth of the Soviet Union's economic and defensive strength brought about a change in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism. Socialism has won once and for all in the USSR, and our country is fully guaranteed against the restoration of capitalism.

The country has travelled a great road of struggle and victories. The way of the pioneer is always hard. It calls for unceasing search, the solution of very complex problems, and the overcoming of many contradictions and obstacles. These five decades have shown how truly hard it is to reconstruct society on socialist lines. "This is a new endeavour", Lenin stressed, "there has been nothing like it in history; you cannot read about it in books". (*Collected Works*, vol. 35, p. 265.) For the first time in history, social change was carried out on the basis of a scientifically-grounded programme of revolutionary action. The party had to display political maturity, efficient organisation and self-control, and consistency in implementing the policy of socialist construction; it had to adopt a bold and constructive approach in tackling complex theoretical and practical problems, and it had to check and re-check methods, ways and means of building the new society.

Our party tackled the tasks of socialist construction without any fear of the novelty and magnitude of the problems, the difficulties, the uncharted ways, or the temporary failures and retreats, because the socialist revolution is an unprecedented creative social effort on the part of millions of people, unequalled in scope and depth. The party has always drawn for strength on its strong and extensive ties with the people, loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its tireless creative development of revolutionary theory and its unremitting critical assessment of the results achieved.

A wealth of experience in the construction of the new society has been accumulated over the decades. Lenin said: "With this country taking the path of great transformations, it is to the credit of the country and the party of the working class, which has won the day in this country, that we have made

an immediate practical approach to tasks which had earlier been presented in abstract theory. This experience will not be forgotten. This experience, whatever happens and however hard the trials of the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution, cannot be denied. It has gone down in history as a gain of socialism, and this experience will serve the future international revolution in building its socialist edifice." (*Collected Works*, vol. 36, p. 383.)

The historic significance of the victory of socialism in the USSR lies in the fact that the experience of our party and people has provided extensive and irrefutable confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching concerning the building of the new society. Soviet society has demonstrated in practice that the implementation of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism fully meets the vital interests of the workers and peasants and all working people, and that all-round social progress is possible only through the socialist development of society, bringing the people social and national liberation, real democracy, firm and lasting peace, and freedom. Socialism has replaced exploitation and oppression by friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance between toiling classes and between nations, and anarchy and *laissez-faire* by planned development of the economy and every sphere of social life; it has instituted truly popular government where the toiling majority were once deprived of political rights. Socialism has wrought a basic change in the purpose of social production and has given working people confidence in the future. Soviet citizens have no fear of unemployment or poverty. Socialism creates strong bonds between the personal destiny of individuals and the social transformations and successes of society as a whole. Socialist property opens up an epoch of free labour for the sake of a better life for the working man. The emancipation of labour is the basic condition for real freedom for the individual. Socialism has placed the achievements of material and spiritual culture at the service of the working man.

The historic significance of the victory of socialism in the USSR lies in the fact that the peoples of our country have shown the world the practical ways of resolving the major contradictions of the present epoch. Over the decades, a vast amount of experience has been accumulated in the construction of socialism and the application on a massive scale of socialist principles and rules for a truly human way of life—experience which is being adopted in a creative way by other nations.

The historic significance of the building of socialism in the USSR lies in the fact that our experience has refuted the claim of exploiters that the working class and the working people are incapable of remaining in power for any length of time or of building a new society. For a long time the Soviet people were virtually alone in their confrontation with world imperialism and bore the main burden of the struggle against the united forces of international reaction. The country was faced with the choice: either consciously to impose limitations on living standards and to build up a powerful economy and strengthen its defence capability within a short time through heroic efforts, or to be crushed by the united forces of reaction.

In order to withstand the onslaught of imperialism, build the new society and safeguard the gains of socialism, the revolutionary people became revolutionary warriors, political fighters and selfless workers. They achieved victory in an unprecedentedly hard struggle and created a powerful economic, military, political and spiritual potential which is a reliable bulwark of socialism throughout the world.

The Soviet people have invested their labour, their courage and their thought in socialist construction. Mankind will never forget the historic feats of those who pioneered the construction of socialism.

2. The building of communism— continuation and development of the great cause of the October Revolution

7. The victory of socialism created the economic, social, political and cultural conditions for transition to the construction of a communist society.

Socialism grows into communist society in accordance with laws. Such gains of socialism as public ownership, powerful productive forces, a planned economy and the development of social relations, freedom from exploitation, the fact that all must work and have the possibility of so doing, socialist democracy, society's socio-political and ideological unity, and the achievements of science and culture constitute a sound basis for building communism. Communism, however, does not arise spontaneously but is the result of conscious efforts on the part of the whole people and a ceaseless search for the correct solutions to the problems posed by life. Communism can be built only as a result of enthusiastic effort on the part of the working people themselves, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Marxism-Leninism says that the transition from socialism to communism requires the creation of the corresponding material and technical foundation, considerably higher productivity of labour, an abundance of material and spiritual values, the obliteration of the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between manual and mental labour, and the establishment of a scientific world outlook and communist ethics. Only then will it be possible to practise the fundamental principle of communism, which says: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs".

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a new Programme, which maps out the main lines of communist construction in the USSR: the creation of the material and technical foundation of communism, the formation of communist social relations, and the education of the new man. The decision of the 23rd Congress and of the October (1964) and subsequent plenary meetings of the central committee have provided comprehensive substantiation of these tasks, which have been concretised in the light of the present conditions of Soviet society's development, the actual possibilities and the material, manpower and financial resources available, and the international situation.

The successful solution of the tasks of communist construction implies:

Close unity of the entire Soviet people under the banner of Leninism and around the CPSU; selfless labour on the part of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, and large-scale development of emulation in every sector of economic and cultural construction;

Acceleration of scientific and technical progress and greater effectiveness of social production; steady industrial growth and stable rates of development in agriculture, and the further improvement, on that basis, of the people's material and cultural standards;

Full use of the advantages and possibilities of socialism in industry, transport, construction, agriculture and the public services; industrialisation and more extensive automation of every sphere of the national economy;

Perfecting of the democratic principles of socialism, development of the working people's initiative, improvement of discipline and organisation, greater responsibility to the people on the part of executive bodies and persons in official positions, and strict observance and strengthening of socialist legality;

Strengthening of the socialist rules of life, the education of people in a communist attitude to work and public property and in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism and the friendship of nations; further development of science, culture and public education;

All-round strengthening of the country's defence capability, and the keeping of the people and the army in a constant state of readiness to ward off any possible aggression by the reactionary forces of imperialism.

The building of communism is based on science. The growing complexity of the economy, the advance of the scientific and technical revolution, the perfecting of social relations and the rise of cultural standards make the tasks of management more varied. Since the need for well-trained, highly-skilled personnel, devoted to the party and the people, is increasing, it is important for the party and the Soviet state to improve the system of training and employing personnel.

The advantages of socialism as a social system are realised to the extent to which society obtains a scientific understanding of those advantages and utilises them in practice. The all-round improvement of centralised planned guidance and the development of democratic principles of management, the recruitment of broad masses of working people into the work of government, the improvement of the system of accounting and control, the working out and application of scientific organisation of labour throughout the country, the employment of modern scientific and technical means—these are the principal ways of developing the system of management.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government attach great importance to the scientific direction of economic and social processes. The measures for improving the guidance of the country's economic, socio-political and cultural life which were worked out by the November (1964) and the March and September (1965) plenary meetings of the central committee and approved by the 23rd Party Congress, mark a new stage in the development of Soviet society on the road to communism.

Communism can be built only on the basis of the achievements of socialism, through the further development and improvement of its economy, social structure, political organisation and cultural life.

Development of socialist production and rise in living standards

8. The creation of the material and technical foundation of communism, through the development of science and technology, mechanisation and automation, and a steady rise in the productivity of labour, is the principal economic task of Soviet society.

Socialist production has now risen to a level which makes it possible to accomplish successfully the task of building the material and technical foundation of communism.

One of the decisive achievements and advantages of socialism is the high and stable rate of economic development. From 1929 to 1966, Soviet industrial output grew at an average rate of 11.1 per cent a year, as compared with 4 per cent for the United States, and 2½ per cent for Britain and France. The high rate of industrialisation has enabled the country to boost its industry to a tremendous extent. Between 1913 and 1966, industrial output increased 66-fold, including: engineering and metal-working, 538-fold; chemicals, 294-fold; steel, 22.5-fold; electricity, 267-fold; cement, 45-fold; light industry, 16.2-fold; food, 12.8-fold and all types of freight and passenger carriage, 23.1-fold.

In spite of the fact that the Soviet Union lost about 20 years in warding off aggression and subsequently rehabilitating its national economy, it has

become a country with developed engineering and power industries, and up-to-date metallurgical, fuel, chemical and electronics industries. In steel output the country has this year reached a level exceeding 100 million tons per annum. Soviet industry is capable of tackling the most complex production and technical tasks and of ensuring a high rate of growth for the entire economy.

The successes achieved in industry make it possible steadily to increase the technical facilities of the collective and state farms and to step up agricultural production. By the end of 1966, there were 1,666,000 tractors and 531,000 grain combine-harvesters in Soviet agriculture. The total power facilities in agriculture last year were ten times greater than before the Revolution. Today nearly all the state and collective farms are using electric power. Electricity is being used more and more extensively in technological processes.

However, the violations of the economic laws of socialist production, of the principles governing material incentives and of the correct combination of public and personal interests, and the subjectivist approach which we had in the management of agricultural production had a negative effect on the development of agriculture. The party has taken vigorous measures to eliminate the mistakes and shortcomings in the management of agriculture. The March (1965) plenary meeting of the central committee worked out a system of economic and political measures to increase collective and state farm production. The implementation of this policy and the correct employment of scientific and technical achievements, skilled personnel and economic incentives ensures the necessary conditions for developing agriculture and increasing crop yields and the output of livestock products. In 1966, the grain harvest came to 171,200,000 tons, or 80 per cent more than in 1940; meat, 10,800,000 tons, or 130 per cent more; and butter, 1,200,000 tons, or 210 per cent more.

The fulfilment of the current Five-Year Plan (1966-70) will ensure that our society will make a considerable advance towards the creation of the material and technical foundation of communism and the strengthening of the country's economic potential and defence capability. The task of further boosting the socialist economy as a whole is being carried out through priority development of the most progressive and key branches of the national economy and the raising of labour productivity with the use of the latest techniques and equipment and scientific organisation of labour, with better use of production resources and capital investments, higher quality of goods and vigorous reductions in costs. Agricultural output is to increase considerably through the intensification of farming with the aid of mechanisation, wider use of chemicals, and extensive land reclamation.

The Soviet economy is developing on the basis of modern science and technology and is becoming ever more balanced and streamlined. The party, while maintaining priority growth rates in heavy industry, has initiated the rapid development of industries which serve immediately to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of the population; these industries are undergoing technical reconstruction and their raw material basis is being built up and enlarged. One of the main features of the present structural shifts in the national economy is the fact that the rates of growth in the output of means of production and consumer goods are drawing closer together.

The Soviet Union has attained uninterrupted, crisis-free economic growth, a high rate of scientific and technical development, the employment of all the able-bodied population, and rising living standards. The balanced development of the national economy makes it possible to direct the economy efficiently on the scale of the entire state, to establish the optimum proportions, to secure a rational distribution of the productive forces and to ensure a saving of material, manpower and financial resources. Socialist planning

embraces every section of social production. It goes hand in hand with economic initiative in the enterprises and is based on the creative endeavour of the working people. The theory and practice of the Soviet planned economy is a major contribution to the historical experience of the peoples and to communist construction.

The consistent implementation of the new system of planning and economic incentives is of great importance in carrying out the plans for developing the socialist economy. This system is a reflection of the changed conditions in which socialist economic operations are being conducted, the increased scale of modern socialist production, the qualitative changes in its structure, and the demands of the scientific and technical revolution. The economic reform, socialist in essence and expressing the need for bringing the economic relations of socialism into line with the level and character of the development of its productive forces, signifies a new approach to economic management. Its essence lies in increasing the role of economic methods of management, improving state planning and giving greater scope for the economic initiative of enterprises, and in improving cost-accounting and introducing it throughout the economy.

The successful implementation of the reform largely depends on a correct balance between centralised management and the economic initiative of enterprises, moral and material incentives, the skilful use, on a socialist basis, of commodity-money relations and related economic categories, such as profit, price and credit, which in socialist conditions have a new social content, and on the level of organisation and ideological and educational work among the masses of the people.

In the new conditions, the interests of society, the collective and the individual working people are combined in a more rational way, and there are greater incentives for the workers to see to it that all production resources are used to the fullest extent and the quality of goods improved. The economic reform is resulting in a further rise in the creative activity of the people and an enhancement of their role in the management of production, and is helping further to develop the national economy.

9. The growth of socialist production has created a solid basis for raising the Soviet people's living and cultural standards.

In 1966, the real earnings of workers in industry and construction were 560 per cent higher than in 1913, while the real earnings of peasants had risen by 750 per cent per working person.

In the Soviet Union, the rise of living standards is ensured, in the first place, by increases in the wages of industrial and other workers and in the incomes of the collective farmers in cash and in kind, by cuts in retail prices, and by the reduction and abolition of taxes; secondly, through the enlargement of the social funds for meeting, free of charge, the needs of the population and benefits in education, medical care, social security and recreation.

The main source of the working people's earnings at present is payment for labour. In the period from 1950 to 1966 the average cash wages of industrial and other workers increased by more than 50 per cent. In the past few years there has been a marked rise in the earnings of workers in the lower-paid categories; the incomes of the collective farmers have risen and they now have guaranteed payment for their labour. The Soviet people now have a richer diet and better clothes, and their cultural life has become richer and more varied.

In socialist society the principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work", makes labour the only source and measure of well-being, and the principal criterion of each person's status in society. Under socialism, there still remain social and economic distinctions between different kinds of labour. That is why material remuneration is determined for each

worker by the quality and quantity of his labour for the benefit of society. Egalitarianism would cut the ground from under the relationship between the workers' material incentives and the products of their labour and would sap their urge for vocational and cultural improvement.

The socialist system of society offers people moral and material incentives for increasing the productivity of labour and developing their capacities and endowments. The urge to do more and better for society is given striking expression in socialist emulation on a mass scale and in the communist work movement, which embraces tens of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Social insurance and pensions for the working people are being improved year by year out of state funds. In the USSR 34 million persons receive old-age and disability pensions. Sick benefits and grants for children are increasing, and considerable sums are set aside to organise health care and recreation for industrial and other workers. A unified system of pensions for collective farmers has been introduced.

In Soviet society, education is paid for out of public funds. A considerable proportion of the students in higher educational establishments and technical colleges receive state scholarships, and those who study without leaving their jobs are allowed additional paid holidays.

Social consumption funds are being widely used to give material assistance to families of working people for the maintenance and upbringing of their children. More than eight million children attend nursery schools and crèches. Large sums are allocated for grants to large families, mothers without breadwinners, maternity grants and grants payable on the birth of children.

The entire population enjoys free medical care. There are 578,000 doctors in all fields—more than 20 times as many as before the Revolution. There is an extensive network of hospitals, out-patient departments, health centres, sanatoriums, boarding houses and rest homes. A considerable proportion of the working people receive accommodation at rest homes and holiday centres either free of charge or at reduced rates.

One of the most important problems in the Soviet Union is that of meeting the needs of the population as regards housing. The Communist Party and the Soviet government have adopted vigorous measures to solve this problem. The Soviet Union is among the leading countries in the world as regards the scale and speed of housing construction. Every year about 11 million Soviet people move into new flats. Over the past ten years, nearly half of the population have moved into new dwellings or have had their housing conditions improved.

The Soviet state has reduced the working week without cutting wages, but even increasing them. The bulk of the industrial workers have a 41-hour working week, or 18 hours less than in 1913. The transition to a five-day working week with two free days is to be completed in the main by the 50th anniversary of the Revolution.

In the period of the present Five-Year Plan, measures for the further improvement of living standards are being carried out on the basis of economic growth and higher labour productivity. The wages of industrial workers, engineers, technicians and office workers will be further increased, as will the incomes which farmers receive for their work on the collective farms. Cultural and everyday services for the working people are being improved and steps are being taken to improve retail trade and public catering.

The labour contribution made by each person in promoting the development and prosperity of society and society's constant concern for every one of its members are characteristic features of the Soviet way of life. The present countrywide socialist emulation movement to mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is an expression of the high political consciousness, enthusiasm and initiative of the people.

The social structure of Soviet society and the development of socialist democracy

10. Soviet society consists of friendly classes and groups of working people, and is characterised by the community of economic, social, political and ideological interests and the common desire of the people to build communism.

The working class is the leading creative force of the new society. The half-century that our state has been in existence has confirmed one of the most important Marxist-Leninist tenets about the historic mission of the working class. The working class has played the leading role in overthrowing the exploiting system and in establishing a new socio-economic formation. Its goal is to surmount class distinction and build a classless, communist society. The standard bearer of socialist patriotism, it is, at the same time, free of national egoism and champions the solidarity of the working people of all countries.

Industrial development is accompanied by the growth of the number of workers, who now account for more than a half of all the working people in our country. Radical changes are taking place in the professional qualifications of Soviet workers, in their technical and cultural level and in the content and nature of their labour. Today about 50 per cent of the workers have either a secondary or middle-school education.

All this has led to higher labour productivity and extensive public activity by Soviet workers, has broadened their cultural requirements and accounts for such a remarkable phenomenon as the mass movement for the improvement of production and for innovation. The labour of a worker who operates modern machines and controls complex production processes is becoming more like that of an engineer or a technician.

Since it is involved in industry, which is one of the material foundations of socialist society, the working class, as the most advanced and organised social force, plays the leading role during communist construction.

Socialism has fundamentally changed the position of the peasantry. The peasantry, a true ally of the working class, have become active in building a communist society. With the establishment of big socialist enterprises—state and collective farms—and the mechanisation of agricultural production, farm labour has been brought substantially closer to industrial work. The general education and the cultural and technical level of agricultural workers is steadily rising. The basic distinctions between town and country are being gradually obliterated. The external appearance of the village is changing. Soviet peasants are using more machinery and more modern machinery. They are raising the productivity of labour and are improving their living conditions and raising their cultural level.

In the period of communist construction, the Soviet intelligentsia plays a steadily increasing role in all spheres of social activity. Its interests are inseparable from those of the workers and peasants. The number of intellectuals, especially in the technical field, is rapidly growing as a result of the swift advance in production, science and technology. In 1913 Russia's economy employed about 200,000 specialists with a higher or secondary specialised education, whereas in 1966 their number totalled some 13 million. Socialism gives intellectuals wide possibilities for engaging in creative work. Communist construction gives them wider scope for applying their knowledge and skill to the designing of new machines, the management of production, the education and rearing of young builders of communist society, and to the promotion of culture, science, literature and art.

Social distinctions are being gradually obliterated due to the powerful upsurge of the productive forces, the development of socialist social relations, and the rising living and cultural standards. Communist construction raises the co-operation of the classes and social groups of our society to a new level.

Working shoulder to shoulder they create the material basis of communism, improve social relations and consolidate the moral, political and ideological unity of the people.

11. Relations of equality, friendship and co-operation between nations and nationalities have been established in Soviet society, and firm foundations have been created for drawing them closer together and promoting their prosperity.

Fully corresponding to the interests of each individual nation and to the interests of the community of the Soviet nations as a whole, these relations are a powerful accelerator of social progress.

All the Union republics are rapidly increasing their productive forces. Their modern industry and socialist agriculture are making swift progress and the working class, the collective farmers and the people's intelligentsia are growing in number. Economic co-operation between the Soviet nations is growing in scale and becoming more diversified and each of them is making a steadily rising contribution to the common work of building communism. The economy of the USSR is a single integrated complex and the material basis for the further drawing together of the nations. The Soviet nations benefit by the increasing reciprocal exchange of their material and spiritual values, which has become a vital necessity for them.

International traits are developing rapidly on the basis of the community of economic and social interests; the traditions of the builders of communism are becoming consolidated among the socialist nations of the USSR. Identical aims, a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, allegiance to the communist cause, profound internationalism and Soviet patriotism, respect for national dignity, friendship and brotherhood—these are the characteristic features of the working people of the united and, at the same time, multi-national socialist society. The CPSU is consistently working to overcome the survivals of national narrow-mindedness, parochialism, nationalism and chauvinism.

All the Soviet peoples have their own culture, which is national in form and socialist in content. More than 40 nationalities evolved a written language only after the October Revolution. Socialism has created the conditions for the flowering and mutual enrichment of national cultures. Preserving and furthering their best national traits and traditions and surmounting obsolescent forms, each national culture fruitfully draws on the cultural achievements of the other nations. The Russian language has become a medium of exchange of scientific knowledge and cultural values between the nations. The advancement of the national cultures and languages gives each nation every possibility to use and absorb the cultural wealth of all the Soviet peoples.

Soviet experience is convincing the world of the viability of the Leninist nationalities policy. Having solved the national question, our country has incontrovertibly proved that active and independent historical creativity is not a monopoly of "chosen" nations, but that it is within reach of all peoples. The multi-national Soviet socialist state demonstrates in practice the triumph of proletarian internationalism.

12. Socialist statehood and democracy are further developed and improved in the period of communist construction.

The role of the socialist state, particularly its functions in the sphere of economic and organisational activity and cultural and educational development is steadily enhanced in the process of communist construction. This is achieved only by drawing wide sections of the people into the administration of public affairs.

In our country the people exercise their rule primarily through the Soviets, which are the representative organs of the people combining the features of government and mass organisations. The Soviet socialist state is strong because it has a broad social base. With the victory of socialism the state of

the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a political organisation of the whole people under the leadership of the working class.

The state of the whole people is a new stage in the development of socialist statehood into communist social self-government. It continues the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the building of communism—and together with other socialist states wages the class struggle against imperialism in the international arena. The road to social self-government lies through the further development and improvement of the socialist state and socialist democracy, and this finds its concrete expression in the enhancement of the functions of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, in the drawing of more people into their work on a voluntary basis and in giving workers' collectives and mass organisations a bigger role in solving questions relating to production as well as to social affairs and cultural life.

With the development of Soviet society, the trade unions play a growing role as schools of administration, economic management and communism. The trade unions unite more than 80 million industrial, office and other workers. They are a reliable bulwark of the party and a great organising force in promoting the country's productive forces, raising the productivity of labour and accelerating scientific and technical progress. Soviet trade unions take an active part in economic planning and management. They promote socialist emulation and stimulate technical innovation and conscious labour discipline on a wide scale.

They have the right to initiate bills, administer state social insurance and, jointly with government agencies, control the amount of labour and the amount of consumption and the observance of labour legislation. They help to improve working and living conditions and organise holiday facilities for the people. The trade unions administer a ramified system of cultural and educational establishments and promote physical culture, sports and tourism. The further consolidation of the trade unions and the enhancement of the role they are playing in the life of Soviet society constitute an important condition for furthering the building of communism.

The Leninist Young Communist League—an active assistant and reserve of the party and organiser of the Soviet youth—has a membership of 23 million young men and women. The YCL, the glorious young people of the Soviet Union, have demonstrated selfless devotion to the party's cause at all stages of socialist construction. The YCL helps the party to educate young people in a spirit of loyalty to the ideas of communism. YCL members and all the other young people of the Soviet Union are following the road charted by their fathers and continuing the traditions of the October Revolution.

Extensive development is given to mass co-operative, cultural, technical, scientific, sports, defence and other organisations which are playing an important part in public life.

As distinct from bourgeois democracy, in which social rights and freedoms are only nominal for a considerable section of the population, socialist democracy, which arose on the basis of public ownership, guarantees the people social and political rights and freedom of the individual and opens before them broad possibilities for participating in the administration of state, economic and public affairs. In the Soviets and at party, trade union and general meetings, through the public control bodies and through the press, radio and television, the working people advance suggestions on different aspects of public life, discuss bills, criticise shortcomings and errors and uproot laxity and violations of the law.

Possession of social and political rights inherent in Soviet democracy entails strict observance of their duties by all members of society; they have to safeguard and increase public property, work conscientiously, maintain law and order and defend their socialist country. Socialist democracy is

incompatible with an individualistic approach and an anarchistic disregard for civic duty and with any actions which harm the public interest.

The improvement of socialist democracy makes for accelerated economic and social development and swifter and more effective solution of the problems of communist construction.

13. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society.

In its entire activity the party relies on the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism. On the basis of revolutionary theory and cognition of the objective laws of social development, the Communist Party works out and carries out its policy in the economic, social and cultural spheres. The organic unity between science and politics is one of the most important principles underlying party leadership.

The great Lenin said that there could be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. The party and Lenin worked out solutions to such fundamental Marxist theoretical problems as the ways and means of accomplishing the proletarian revolution and waging the liberation struggle, the peaceful and the non-peaceful ways of making revolution, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the guiding role of the party in revolution and in socialist construction, the possibility of initially building socialism in one country, the ways and means of building a socialist economy and drawing the peasantry and the intelligentsia into socialist construction, the solution of the national question, the content and methods of carrying out the cultural revolution, and other problems.

Creatively developing and enriching Marxism-Leninism, the party lights up the road for the Soviet people in their work to build communism. In working out the laws governing the development of socialism into communism, the party has unfolded the supreme significance of creating the material and technical basis of communism, worked out the scientific principles of economic organisation and management, theoretically proved that socialist statehood is bound to develop into communist self-government, and designed the ways and means for improving socialist social relations and fostering communist consciousness among the members of socialist society; it is playing an important part in tackling vital problems of the contemporary world development and of the international communist and working-class movement.

The science of building socialist society, now embodied in Soviet reality, is an outstanding contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism. The three Party Programmes, each corresponding to the most important historical stages in the development of socialism, are a concentrated expression of the party's revolutionary thought and revolutionary practice.

Possessing a wealth of theory and having accumulated unprecedented experience of applying it in revolutionary struggle and in building a new society, our party highly assesses the achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought in other countries. It takes them into account and uses them in its theoretical and practical work, in the struggle for socialism and communism.

The CPSU is a living political organism whose unceasing development is inseparably linked up with the building of a new society. Democratic centralism is an indispensable condition of its activity as a political organisation.

In the 50 years of Soviet power it has become a tremendous force uniting in its ranks more than 12,800,000 communists, the foremost representatives of the working class and all working people. Concern for the purity of the party ranks and for seeing to it that each communist worthily bears and justifies the high calling of member of the CPSU is a law of life of the party and of all its bodies. The leading place in the party is occupied and will

continue to be occupied by the working class. The Communist Party is flesh and blood of the working class, of the people who work and create, and it constantly feels their unanimous support. The party cherishes the trust of the people and it has no interests other than those of the people.

The party preserves the continuity of the general line. It has upheld it in uncompromising struggle against Trotskyism, petty-bourgeois adventurism, Right opportunists, national deviationists and other anti-Leninist trends and groups.

The CPSU has amassed enormous experience in guiding communist construction and the domestic and foreign policy of the country. Exercising its leadership through a system of state and voluntary organisations, the party unites and directs their efforts towards the achievement of a single goal, employing its own methods of organisational, ideological and educational activity. The party promotes the initiative of local government and economic bodies, ensuring their maximum efficiency.

The party makes high demands of communists, sees to it that they improve their knowledge of theory and politics, educates them to an irreconcilable attitude towards inertia and routine and upholds everything that is new and in the forefront. It takes every opportunity to encourage businesslike and principled criticism and self-criticism aimed at improving the work of party, state and voluntary organisations.

As socialism develops, the greater the role played by the party becomes. This is due to the emergence of bigger and more complicated problems connected with the remaking of society, to the increased creative activity of the masses and to the further growth of socialist democracy.

The October 1964 and subsequent plenary meetings of the central committee and the 23rd Party Congress have charted measures aimed at solving urgent economic, political and cultural problems. The struggle to put these decisions into effect is the main concern of the CPSU and all Soviet people today.

Socialist culture and the communist education of the people

14. In Soviet society cultural wealth serves the interests of the people and the cause of communist construction.

Before the Revolution general education schools of all types had only 9,656,000 pupils, whereas in 1966 the number enrolled totalled 48,170,000; in tsarist Russia there were 127,000 students at the institutions of higher learning, whereas in 1966 the student body in the Soviet Union totalled 4,123,000. In 1966, there were 124,000 libraries in the country, or almost nine times as many as before the Revolution. Extensive development has been registered by the mass media, the press, radio, the cinema and television, which are a means for placing cultural values within reach of the people and are an active factor in communist education.

All the greatest achievements of Soviet culture have become part and parcel of the life of our people, enriching the treasure-house of progressive culture and winning world fame. Socialist culture rejects all forms of reactionary ideology that spiritually enslave and disarm people. Soviet culture is holding aloft the banner of revolutionary humanism.

The 20th century is witnessing a phenomenal scientific and technological revolution. Science is increasingly rapidly becoming a direct productive force. But only a socialist society opens up possibilities for the extensive and planned development of scientific investigations, for using scientific achievements in the interests of working people and for finding solutions to social problems arising from the scientific and technical revolution. The prediction made by

Marx that, as a society of working people, socialism would adopt a scientific approach to its continuing reproduction on a constantly increasing scale is coming true.

From the first years of the development of Soviet power, science has been a matter of state importance and the subject of constant care on the part of the party and the people. Even in the most difficult periods the country has undergone, the Soviet government has not stinted the means to organise an extensive network of research institutes, to develop fundamental and applied trends in science and to establish an experimental base for scientific research and for training personnel. Over 700,000 scientific workers, or a quarter of the world's total, are employed at scientific institutions, higher educational establishments and other organisations in the Soviet Union. A country-wide system for co-ordinating and guiding science, in which the leading role is played by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academies of Sciences of the Union republics has been set up.

Soviet people are legitimately proud that the world's first socialist state has produced outstanding scientists who have made an immense contribution to scientific and technological progress and who are the pride of Soviet and world science.

Soviet science has helped to introduce new technological processes into production, to create huge atomic and power engineering industries, to develop enormous mineral resources and to evolve new and high quality varieties of crops and breeds of animals. Great headway has been made in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, geology and other spheres of knowledge. Soviet scientific achievements are epitomised in the study and conquest of outer space. Our country initiated investigation of outer space: it was the first to launch an artificial earth satellite and the first to send a man into outer space. This is the result of the talent, dedication and labour of Soviet scientists, engineers, technicians and workers and of the staunchness and heroism of our glorious cosmonauts.

Social sciences are developing on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology. A major condition of their progress is that they are linked with practice, i.e., with everyday problems of communist construction, and that they promote the creative, revolutionary-critical spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Developing in line with the Leninist principle of partisanship, they are acquiring increasing significance as a factor in the education of the people in a communist spirit and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and all varieties of opportunist views.

Soviet scientists are working on promising, leading theoretical trends and sciences and raising the efficiency and increasing the practical results of research. The party persistently sees to it that the results of scientific investigation are implemented in production as speedily as possible. Such factors as the further improvement of the organisation and planning of science, the advancement and encouragement of talented young scientists, and creative research and scientific discussion are essential prerequisites for the more rapid development of science.

Socialism has opened broad vistas before literature and art. An art of socialist realism appeared in our country after the Revolution. Its distinguishing features are that it is deeply rooted in the people and embodies communist ideals, that it is imbued with revolutionary humanism and the spirit of civic duty, that it truthfully and profoundly portrays reality and that it adopts an irreconcilable attitude towards bourgeois ideology and morals. Ideological integrity and an irreconcilable attitude towards everything that hinders progress, a spirit of innovation and a bold search for the new are all inherent traits of our art. Soviet art mirrors the historical road traversed by the Soviet people and their heroic work in building a communist society. A

new type of artist has emerged who regards it as his civic duty to take an active part in building the new world.

Mass amateur art has become an organic part of cultural life in the USSR. Groups of amateur artists cultivate the talent and aesthetic tastes of millions of people. Amateur art is a wonderful means for bringing cultural values within the reach of the masses and for stimulating the harmonious development of the individual.

The party will continue to do everything necessary to further the all-round cultural progress of Soviet society.

15. Educating the working people in a spirit of noble communist consciousness—an important condition for the transition to communism.

Economic and political transformations have entailed profound changes in social consciousness, with the result that the ideological unity of Soviet society has been established. Marxist-Leninist ideology has become a powerful motive force of social development, an important factor in rallying the Soviet people and a source of their socio-political and labour activity. New generations have been brought up in a spirit of wholehearted loyalty to communist ideals, convinced of the justice of our great cause. The character of Soviet man has been forged, the character of a fighter, a revolutionary and a conscientious worker.

All this creates favourable conditions for carrying out the new and more complex tasks of communist education: the moulding of individuals, harmoniously uniting ideological steadfastness, love of work, discipline, spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection.

The education of harmoniously developed man is a long and complex process which depends on the material and cultural conditions of life, and on the depth and scope of ideological and political work. Socialist ideology must help people to work out a scientific and realistic understanding of the tasks to be tackled and of the ways and means of achieving communism, to show the continuity in the development of Soviet society, to indicate the connection between noble ideals and men's day-to-day interests and how to solve practical workaday tasks, to overcome difficulties and to establish unity of word and deed and of thought and action.

Ideological work at the present stage is carried on in a situation where the Soviet people are extending and intensifying their social, political and labour activities, a situation marked by a tense class struggle raging in the international arena. The main tasks in this work have been determined by the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress and the Party Programme. They are, above all, to develop a high level of political consciousness and a communist attitude to work and to public property, to educate the working people and the rising generation in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to an irreconcilable attitude towards bourgeois ideology and to readiness to defend the gains of socialism.

The party attaches primary importance to the Marxist-Leninist education of communists, the leading cadres in particular, and to improving ideological and educational work among the population. It works tirelessly to improve the system of party education, and also such mass media of ideological, political and moral education as the press, television, radio and the cinema. The party regards the speedier dissemination of information, the strengthening of the connection between propaganda and life, and the deepening of its theoretical content as a most important means of making ideological work more efficient.

The party bases its ideological work on the Leninist precept that communist education is impossible without conscious labour and social activity. The party is drawing working people into the discussion and solution of practical questions of social life on a broad scale.

Scientific and technological progress, the economic reform and the improvement of socialist democracy make great demands on the nature and content of human activity in every sphere of social life and require a high level of political consciousness, discipline and responsibility. The training of skilled specialists must go hand in hand with the formation of noble ideals, communist ethics and respect for the rules of the socialist way of life. Discipline and self-discipline, a thrifty attitude to public property, principled behaviour, respect for others, a sense of human dignity and civic duty, and an irreconcilable attitude towards every manifestation of anti-social behaviour constitute the real foundation for communist consciousness. A combination of persuasion, example and exacting standards is a necessary condition for bringing up the rising generation. The working collective, a key link in the economic, social and cultural life of socialist society, plays a great part in developing the ideological and ethical qualities of Soviet man.

The ideological struggle in the world arena is growing increasingly sharp. The greater the successes scored by socialism, the deeper the contradictions of world capitalism and the more subtle the methods used by the imperialists in their struggle against communism become. Capitalist propaganda has been trying to obscure the principal social antagonisms and evils of the modern capitalist world, to dull the political understanding and paralyse the will of working people in the struggle for socialism. Imperialist ideology has been trying to inject the idea of individualism into the minds of the masses, to distract them from politics and from the solution of fundamental social problems. It relies on a revival of the prejudices and vestiges of the past in the minds of men. It is an important task of communist education to fight the influence of alien morals and traditions and to overcome the negative phenomena in the thinking and behaviour of men.

There can be no question of neutrality in the struggle against bourgeois ideology or anti-communism. The struggle against bourgeois ideology and anti-communism is one of the most acute aspects of the class struggle; it is a struggle for man, and for the triumph of freedom and progress for mankind.

Our aim is communism. The party ties in the solution of the immediate practical tasks with the attainment of the ultimate goal—the building of communism.

The glorious road of struggle for communism, which unites the past, the present and the future, runs from the days of October 1917 through the harsh trial of war and the years of creative endeavour. New generations of builders of communism hold the revolutionary traditions sacred and are doing everything to realise the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

The building of communism is a complex process. It embraces the sphere of material production, social relations and social consciousness, and entails the overcoming of difficulties and the resolving of contradictions, the conquest of nature, the continuing search for efficient solutions to new problems, and the struggle against imperialism.

A great goal induces great energy among the people. Communism is built by the dedicated day-to-day labour of the workers in the plants and factories, the peasants in the fields of the collective and state farms and the creative efforts of the intelligentsia.

The transition from socialism to communism is a natural historical process. As a socialist society develops and becomes stronger, it inevitably grows into a communist society. Our advance can bring us only to communism. Any attempts artificially to slow down or to by-pass the necessary stages of advance inevitably clash with the objective laws of social development. As we build factories and plants, consolidate collective and state farms, improve social relations and enrich our culture, we create a highly organised society of conscious and free working men and women devoted to communist ideals. Communism is the embodiment of true humanism. "Everything for the sake

of man, everything for the benefit of man", is a basic principle of our party's policy.

The Soviet Union possesses all that is required to build communism: wonderful cadres, a powerful industry and a developed agriculture, a modern science and technology, a progressive social system and enormous natural resources. The energy and thoughts of the Soviet people are directed to the solution of the great tasks of communist construction. These tasks will be successfully carried out by the people's creative effort under the leadership of the party.

3. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the world revolutionary process

The Great October Revolution marked the beginning of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. During the past 50 years the world revolutionary process has been developing without stop, drawing in more and more countries and peoples. From the outset, this development has taken place in struggle with imperialism, which tenaciously resists the forces of revolution and mounts counter-offensives wherever it can. At the same time the world revolutionary movement encounters internal difficulties, due to its rapid growth and the heterogeneity of the social forces participating in the anti-imperialist struggle. However, the main trend of mankind's historical development charted by the October Revolution, has asserted itself firmly: its main character, direction and features are now determined by the world socialist system and by the anti-imperialist forces fighting for the socialist reorganisation of society.

16. The experience of the 50 years since the Revolution has borne out the conclusion of revolutionary theory that capitalism is doomed.

Imperialism has strikingly revealed the inherent vices of the modern capitalist system and its fundamental opposition to the interests of the people. It has precipitated two world wars, taking a toll of 60 million lives, and now it threatens to unleash another world war that would involve missiles and thermonuclear weapons. Local wars and punitive expeditions against the national liberation movement—the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the Israeli invasion of Arab countries—the militarisation of the economy, the onslaught on democracy and the efforts to establish terroristic fascist regimes—the most recent example being the reactionary coup in Greece—are the most obvious expressions of the reactionary nature of imperialism.

The conclusion of Marxist-Leninist theory that capitalist relations have become an obstacle preventing the productive forces from developing in the interests of the peoples and in the interests of the working people has been fully confirmed. This is demonstrated by the terrible economic crisis of 1929-33, by the stagnation of production in the subsequent years, the cyclic crises in a number of countries after the Second World War, the general instability of capitalist economy, the constant under-capacity operation of industry, and the growing uncertainty of the working people in their future. Imperialism with its policy of plunder and its promotion of colonialism and neo-colonialism is responsible for the economic and technological backwardness of dozens of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The positions of imperialism in the world economy and political arena have

been considerably undermined. Imperialism is resorting to every means to prolong its existence. Modern capitalism, and first and foremost state-monopoly capitalism, is trying to adapt itself to the existence of the two world systems and the struggle between them. In face of the modern level of the productive forces, the specific features of the class struggle, the successes of the socialist countries and the intensification of class battles within the capitalist world, the imperialists are manoeuvring in an effort to curb such highly destructive and socially dangerous phenomena as anarchy of production, economic crises and mass unemployment. They resort on a wide scale to state regulation of the economy and introduce new and better camouflaged, but essentially no less ruthless, methods of exploitation, and increasingly have recourse to social demagoguery.

However, no innovations can change the essential exploiting character of capitalism; no manoeuvres can rid it of its basic vices and remove its incurable contradictions. The scientific and technological revolution, increasing state-monopoly regulation, and on this basis a certain growth of production inevitably lead to a greater socialisation of production in the imperialist countries, to an aggravation of class contradictions and to substantial changes in the alignment of the social and political forces. This creates objective conditions for the further growth of the anti-imperialist forces called upon to effect the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism under the leadership of the working class.

17. The revolutionary remaking of the world, begun by the October Revolution and embodied in the triumph of socialism in the USSR, has been continued by the triumphant socialist revolutions in other countries. The emergence of the world socialist system is the most important historic event after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

A number of countries embarked on the socialist road immediately after the Second World War and subsequently. This was striking confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the inevitable triumph of the new social system. The building of socialism proceeds in those countries in more favourable conditions: from the very beginning they have been able to rely on the support of the socialist community, on the Soviet Union. True to its internationalist duty, the country of the October Revolution rendered and continues to render extensive support to the fraternal socialist countries. The Communist and Workers' Parties are able to draw upon the rich experience of building socialism in the USSR. In turn, the progress made by a large group of countries along the road blazed by the October Revolution facilitates the building of communism in the Soviet Union.

The example of many peoples has demonstrated that there are a number of general laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism which first became manifest in the course of the socialist transformation in the USSR. The thesis that every nation injects many new features into the forms and methods of this transition has also been confirmed. The experience gained by the socialist countries has contributed to a better and deeper understanding of how these general laws operate and how the diverse forms and methods of socialist construction are applied in specific conditions.

Within a short period most of the socialist countries that had a low economic level in the past have become highly developed states with considerably improved standards of living and a rapidly developing science and culture. The socialist countries are outstripping the capitalist states in economic growth rates. In 1966 their industrial product was 10 times that of the same territory in 1937, while in the capitalist world industrial output rose only 3.6-fold in the same period.

The successful development of the socialist economy, influenced by the profound changes being wrought by the scientific and technological revolution,

presupposes a constant improvement in economic management and in the scientific basis of planning, the strengthening of cost accounting principles, and greater moral and material incentives for working people in developing production. The economic reforms now under way in many socialist countries have the aim of raising the efficiency of social production, of utilising the reserves of the socialist economy and of creating conditions for the further successes of socialism in economic competition with capitalism.

As a result of the struggle of the working people under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties the foundations of socialism have been laid in most countries that have taken the socialist road, and a society of working classes has been formed in which the socio-political and ideological unity of the entire people is asserting itself. The consolidation of the new system and the unfolding of all its potentialities are promoted by the extension of socialist democracy and the enlistment of the masses into active participation in political life and in the solution of all social issues.

18. The victories and achievements of socialism spring directly from the formation and development of the new, socialist international relations based on principles of equality and national sovereignty, all-sided mutually advantageous co-operation and the fraternal reciprocal assistance of the socialist countries.

The rapprochement of the countries that have embarked on the socialist road and their consolidation in the socialist community falls in with the fundamental interests of the peoples; it is based on the fact that they have a socio-economic and political system of the same type, a single Marxist-Leninist ideology, and identical tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. The idea of proletarian internationalism, which has always been the leading principle of the communist movement, has found a vivid new embodiment in the co-operation of the sovereign socialist countries, guided by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties, in the economic, political and military fields.

The formation of international relations of a new type is a complex and manifold process linked up with overcoming the grim heritage left by the centuries old rule of the exploiting classes—national exclusiveness, strife and mistrust. The differences in the level of economic and social development, class structure and the historical and cultural traditions inherited from the past give rise to objective difficulties in the fulfilment of such essential tasks as the establishment of comprehensive co-operation and the organisation of a system of socialist international division of labour.

All these gigantic tasks have to be carried out by the Communist Parties for the first time in history. And while the establishment of socialist international relations is still in progress, it would be hard to overestimate the significance of what has been achieved in the 20 years' existence of the world socialist system. A sound foundation has been laid for the community of socialist countries, various forms have been created for their economic, political and military co-operation—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, bilateral treaties, and so on—and considerable experience has been accumulated in the joint action of socialist nations in the world arena.

Devotion to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the guarantee of the successful development of the world socialist community and the growth of its influence on world developments. At the same time, any deviation from Marxism-Leninism and from proletarian internationalism is fraught with dire consequences to the cause of socialism, to the genuine national interests of the peoples. The situation in China testifies to this.

In the first years following the triumph of the Chinese revolution, which inflicted a heavy blow on imperialism, the Chinese people secured major success in the social reorganisation of their country and in the development

of its economy and culture. This success was, to a great extent, due to the comprehensive political, economic, military and cultural co-operation of the Chinese People's Republic with the socialist community, and particularly with the Soviet Union.

At the end of the 'fifties the leadership of the Communist Party of China adopted a new line in foreign and domestic policy, which was a deviation from Marxism-Leninism and in flagrant contradiction with the principles of proletarian internationalism and the basic laws of socialist construction. The Mao Tse-tung group adopted a policy which combined petty-bourgeois adventurism with great-power chauvinism, disguised by Left phraseology; it openly set out on a course intended to undermine the unity of the socialist community and to split the world communist movement.

The adventurist line of the Mao Tse-tung group seriously weakened the positions of the Communist Party and the Chinese working class and gave a free hand to petty bourgeois and anarchist elements. It seriously threatens the socialist achievements of the Chinese people.

The Soviet people have always considered the great Chinese people a friend and ally in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society. A break by the Communist Party of China with its present ruinous policy and the strengthening of relations between the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries would promote the interests of world socialism and, primarily, those of China herself.

True to Lenin's behests, the CPSU consistently upholds the jointly worked-out standards and principles of relations between socialist countries and opposes all violations of these principles. Greater political and economic co-operation among the socialist countries and their further consolidation clear the road for new successes, ensure the growing might of the world socialist system and the enhancement of its influence on social development.

The socialist community, which is in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress, makes a decisive contribution to the development of the revolutionary process.

19. The Great October Socialist Revolution dealt a crushing blow to the entire system of imperialist colonial rule, and gave a mighty impetus to the spread of the national liberation movement.

The triumph of the October Revolution triggered the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism. The Soviet Republic, which gave a practical example of the fusion of the socialist revolution with the national liberation movement, became a model for and a reliable bulwark of the liberation struggle.

In keeping with Lenin's behests, the Soviet Union has, throughout its history, consistently conducted a policy of giving every assistance to the national liberation forces in their struggle against imperialism, for freedom and social progress.

After the Second World War, when imperialism was weakened, the world socialist system emerged and a powerful upswing of the working-class and democratic movement took place, the capitalist system of colonial oppression collapsed under the impact of anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions. More than 70 independent national states were formed on the territory of the former colonies.

The imperialists seek to keep their former colonies in economic and social dependence, to fetter their social and cultural progress. However, the peoples refuse to remain objects of imperialist exploitation. They strive to strengthen and consolidate their independence and look for a road of economic and social development that will enable them to solve the complicated problems facing them in the shortest possible time. They have before them the example of how the national outlying regions of Russia, once oppressed by tsarism,

relying on the support of the victorious proletariat of Russia, succeeded in eliminating economic and cultural backwardness in a short period, and achieved remarkable successes in all fields of social life. This may be seen by the example of the Mongolian People's Republic, which is successfully building socialism.

The revolutionary-democratic forces of some newly-free countries have directed the development of their countries along the non-capitalist road and are now implementing far-reaching practical steps to that effect. The revolutionary-democratic parties are expanding their relations with the international working-class and communist movement and are evincing greater interest in the ideology of scientific socialism. The achievement of unity between the national-democratic and all progressive forces in the struggle for social reform is a major condition that will enable these countries to develop successfully and overcome their serious difficulties in domestic and foreign policies.

In many young national states the division between the forces fighting for progressive social development and the reactionary circles entering into collusion with the imperialists is becoming more pronounced. Imperialism, notably U.S. imperialism, was and continues to be the main enemy of the national liberation movement. Relying on internal reaction, it organises plots and coups, sows strife between nations, fosters reactionary nationalism and tempts newly-free states into territorial disputes.

The world socialist system actively supports the courageous struggle of the peoples of the former colonial and semi-colonial world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, renders them political and economic assistance and, if necessary, helps to strengthen their armed forces and defences. The union of the forces of socialism and the national liberation movement is an important condition for the success of the struggle against imperialism for freedom, national independence and social progress.

20. The revolutionary transformation of the world initiated by the October Revolution has created new conditions conducive to the struggle of the international working class for its immediate and ultimate aims. The organisation and international bonds of its various contingents have grown in strength. The triumph of the October Revolution has made the working class the pivotal factor of the modern epoch.

The consolidation of the forces of socialism increasingly influences the correlation of the class forces in the capitalist world. Objective material prerequisites for the socialist revolution have been formed within bourgeois society. Subjective conditions for a revolutionary transition to socialism are taking shape under the impact of mounting class contradictions. The astute tactics of the bourgeoisie and the concessions it has been forced to make have not been able to prevent the process of the revolutionising of the masses.

The October Revolution opened up greater possibilities for the masses in the capitalist countries to acquire class, socialist consciousness. They see the advantages of socialism in its practical achievements. The fact that the position of working people has radically changed under socialism has given the proletariat new incentives in its struggle. The workers in the West won their most important gains under the direct impact of the October Revolution and the successes of socialist and communist construction in socialist countries. These successes and the example set by socialist countries are a powerful factor intensifying the class battles, now acquiring ever new forms.

Under state-monopoly capitalism, when the proletariat is directly confronted in the economic sphere not only by individual industrialists and their associations but also by the bourgeois state, the economic struggle of the working people is bound to become political in nature. The working class is

advancing direct political demands with growing insistence and is fighting against the aggressive and reactionary policies of imperialist governments and for democracy and social progress.

During the past 50 years, the participation of the working class in the economic and political life of the capitalist countries has grown substantially. The progressive trade unions that have appeared and grown strong in the capitalist countries are now playing an important role in the working-class struggle against the offensive of the capitalist monopolies on the economic, social and political rights of the working people. The international unity of the trade unions in the fight against imperialism, for peace and social progress, is becoming more solid.

The working class of the capitalist countries is stepping up militant action against the rule of the monopolies and their governments. And if it has not yet succeeded in realising its socialist ideals, this is largely due to the split in its ranks. Today more favourable conditions are being created for overcoming this split. The successes of socialism have convincingly demonstrated that the working class's ultimate aims can be achieved only through a radical reorganisation of society. At the same time history has proved the futility of the reformist way. In no country have the Social-Democratic governments done anything to shake the foundations of capitalist rule. Workers supporting the Social-Democrats, the Catholic parties and the trade unions, are becoming more and more aware of the need to approach social problems from class positions and to co-operate with communists in finding solutions to these problems.

The changes in the balance of class forces in individual countries and on a world scale witnessed in the 50 years since the October Revolution have broadened the possibilities for effecting the transition from capitalism to socialism and have brought to life new means of struggle for socialist revolution.

At a time when the united anti-monopoly front is consolidating and expanding, when the working class and its allies are gaining ever greater political weight in society, they can make a wider use of their hard-won democratic rights and institutions in the struggle against monopoly rule. The democratic reforms, reflecting the interests of the working class and the non-proletarian sections of working people, which are being enforced under pressure from the masses, result in the consolidation of the positions of the progressive forces, and expand the bridgehead for launching a decisive offensive against capitalist positions. The movement to win greater rights for the people in the bourgeois countries is an important aspect of the class battles and an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

Worked out by the 20th to 23rd Congresses of the CPSU and the Moscow Meetings in 1957 and 1960, the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the possibility of applying peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle in the transition to socialism, depending on the specific relation of class forces in a country, on the organisation and political maturity of the working class, on the authority and ability of its vanguard, on the degree of resistance offered by the ruling classes and on the world situation, is becoming particularly important.

In our time the working class of any country can rely in its revolutionary struggle on the support of the victorious contingents of the working-class movement—the working people of the socialist countries—and can draw upon the experience of the socialist countries and, primarily, of the country of the October Revolution, whose enormous achievements inspire and help the working people and their revolutionary vanguard. This is an expression of the organic bonds linking the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries with the gains of the October Revolution and the achievements of the world socialist system.

21. The triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia marked the birth of the contemporary international communist movement, which is developing under the banner of the ideas of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution has shown the world proletariat how much it needs a party of a new type, a party of revolutionary action, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, a party standing in the vanguard of the masses.

The Communist International, organised on Lenin's initiative, played a great role in establishing and strengthening the Communist Parties. It was their revolutionary headquarters, a school of Marxism-Leninism, a centre for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the new conditions, a school spreading communist ideas among the masses, a school of internationalism. The Communist International played an important role in educating many outstanding leaders and militant cadres of the communist movement.

In the course of 50 years the communist movement has developed into an enormous force. It has become a world movement in the true sense of the word. There are Communist Parties in practically all countries where there is a working class.

Communists are the most consistent spokesmen of the interests of all the exploited and oppressed, and selflessly champion the vital interests of the peoples. It is for this reason that the vanguard of the international working class spreads its influence on ever broader sections of the working people, and is one of the most important factors altering the balance of forces in the world today in favour of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The experience of the past 50 years has demonstrated that the strength of the communist movement rests on its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. There can be no communist movement outside the orbit of scientific communism. Elaborating its strategy and tactics, the communist vanguard of the working class of the socialist countries, of the advanced capitalist countries and of the newly-free states, develops and enriches the heritage of the October Revolution. The creative result of the joint, collective work of Marxist-Leninists is their general line, which was formulated in the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960.

The most urgent task of the international communist movement is to ensure its unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. At the present stage, this unity is being achieved by finding joint solutions to common problems, by holding bilateral and multilateral meetings between parties, by comradely exchanges of views, and by mutual study of experience. The Conference of the European Communist and Workers' Parties at Karlovy Vary, at which problems of peace and security in Europe were discussed, has played a major role in strengthening the unity of communists throughout the world. International conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties are a tested form of collective discussion of the most vital problems and for working out a common programme of action.

Particularly significant in modern conditions is a correct combination of the national and international tasks of the huge army of communists.

International obligations cannot be fulfilled outside the struggle for the solution of national tasks, or in disregard of the vital interests of the working masses of every country. At the same time the national tasks cannot be fulfilled without the active participation of every detachment of the communist movement in the solution of general problems. The faithfulness to proletarian internationalism is one of the most important lessons to be drawn from the 50-year long experience of the communist movement since the October Revolution.

The international unity of Communists was tempered and grew stronger in the struggle against imperialism, against all kinds of opportunism and

sectarianism and against bourgeois nationalism. The CPSU has always fought and will continue to fight against Right and Left deviations, whose danger to the cause of the revolution has been proved by the history of the communist movement. Events have demonstrated that deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line become particularly dangerous when they are coupled with manifestations of nationalism, great-power chauvinism and hegemonism.

The CPSU works tirelessly and consistently to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxist-Leninism. The unity of communists and the international solidarity of the working class and working people of the world with the country of the October Revolution has been an important condition of the historic victories achieved by the Soviet peoples in the field of battle and in labour.

Our party and all Soviet people express their deep gratitude to the working people of all countries and their communist vanguards for their fraternal international solidarity and for the support they have rendered and are rendering to the country in which socialism first triumphed.

22. The October Revolution precipitated radical shifts in the entire system of international relations, threw imperialist foreign policy into a deep crisis and proclaimed principles of peace and international security, equality, friendship and co-operation between peoples. The struggle between socialism and imperialism has become the pivot of world politics.

By the fact of its emergence, the Soviet country had limited the manoeuvres of the imperialists in the world arena. In all its doings the bourgeoisie has to reckon with the Soviet Union. Today there is not a single important international question that can be solved without the participation of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Further successes of the world socialist revolution will create more and more grounds for asserting the principles of the national sovereignty and the right of nations to self-determination and the equality of all countries, both large and small.

After the October Revolution the working masses, the working class, began to play an increasingly greater part in solving fundamental foreign political problems.

There has been a radical change in the role played by the former colonial and dependent countries in international relations. In our days progressive national states which are conducting an independent foreign policy actively work for peace and for democratic solutions to key international problems.

The militant union of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces is an important factor in international politics. Imperialism no longer dominates the world arena. By vigorous, co-ordinated action the peoples can now prevent a new world war.

However, there will always be a threat of predatory wars breaking out so long as imperialism continues to exist. This is borne out by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, by Israel's aggression against the freedom-loving Arab peoples, which was inspired by imperialism, and by the unceasing provocations against Cuba. All the peace-loving forces and peoples must redouble their vigilance and mobilise their forces in order to be ready to repel the aggressive actions of imperialism, to curb international reaction and to stop it from plunging mankind into a new world holocaust.

Consistently defending peace and international security, the Soviet government has maintained and will maintain its defence potential at the highest level. Our Armed Forces possess all types of modern weapons, including missiles and nuclear arms. Large sums are spent on defence, but Soviet people understand that such outlays are necessary. The socialist revolution, as Marx and Lenin said, must be capable of defending itself, and confront the aggressive actions of the class enemy with invincible military force. The strength of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries creates a real counterweight

to the aggressive forces of imperialism and is an important factor in the struggle to avert a new world war and to preserve the peace. Our defence potential must be strengthened in every way and the problems of defence given the utmost attention—this is one of the principal conclusions to be drawn from the experience of the past five decades.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries plays a key role in the struggle for peace and against imperialist aggression. It is aimed at consolidating all anti-imperialist peace-loving forces in the struggle against the forces of reaction and war.

Peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, which is an integral part of this policy, is aimed at preventing the imperialists from unleashing a new world war, instigating international provocations and exporting counter-revolution. At the same time its purpose is to create favourable conditions for the peoples to exercise their sacred right of choosing their own road of development and to promote mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological co-operation and cultural exchanges between all countries.

While condemning predatory imperialist wars, Marxist-Leninists support and regard as just the wars which are waged to defend the peoples' gains against imperialist aggression, national liberation wars, and wars fought by the revolutionary classes to repel the attempts of the reactionary forces to perpetuate or re-establish their rule by force of arms. The Soviet people decisively support the Vietnamese people in their heroic fight against the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism. They firmly believe that the just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph. The Soviet people fully support the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression and against Israel's imperialist patrons.

Fulfilling Lenin's behests, the Soviet people and Communist Party have, during the past 50 years, consistently pursued a policy of proletarian internationalism, in line with the principle of the indivisibility of the international and national tasks of the country where socialism had triumphed.

The great aim of the Soviet People, the building of communism, is also its chief internationalist cause. Working heroically the Soviet people have transformed their country into an invincible citadel of socialism which is exerting growing influence on world affairs. The establishment of a new social system, and the constant growth of its economic and defence potential are decisive factors further altering the balance of forces in the world today to the detriment of imperialism and reaction, and strengthening the material, political and ideological prerequisites for the victory of the socialist revolution on a world scale.

The principal aim of Soviet foreign policy is to ensure favourable conditions for building communism. The Soviet Communist Party and government are doing their utmost to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, to support the struggle of the peoples for national and social emancipation, to develop co-operation with the young sovereign states, consistently to implement the principle of peaceful coexistence between the countries with different social systems, and to deliver mankind from the threat of a thermonuclear world war. The achievement of these aims fully corresponds to the interests of all revolutionary and democratic forces and all peoples.

The aim of the international policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to achieve an all-out strengthening of the ties and fraternal co-operation with the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries and to consolidate the ranks of the world communist movement. Throughout its history, our party and our people, in the face of difficulties, have always rendered extensive assistance to the fighters for the cause of freedom and

national independence, for the cause of the revolution. The international working class knows that there has not been a single considerable revolutionary action that was not supported by the CPSU and the entire Soviet people. The CPSU, the party of Lenin, considers rendering support to international revolutionary forces as an integral part of its activity.

Holding aloft the torch of socialism, lit by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people and the Leninist party have opened a new epoch in world history. Socialism, which in the 19th century had turned from a dream into a science, became the socio-political practice of millions of working people in the 20th century following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We are marching along the correct road to our goal, that of building communism, which was paved by the development of Soviet society over the past 50 years.

We are armed with an advanced scientific theory—Marxist-Leninist teaching—and we rely on our rich experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction.

United in a single international detachment, we are marching together with the international working class, with the fraternal socialist countries and with the forces of the national liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, national independence and the security and freedom of peoples.

The strength of communism is inexhaustible, on its side is the truth of life. Only communism can solve the fundamental problems of social development, deliver mankind from oppression and exploitation, from hunger and poverty, from militarism and war and establish on our planet democracy, peace and friendship between peoples, a life that is in keeping with the dignity of man.

The ideas of the October Revolution, the ideas of communism, are the leading ideas of our time, the great creative force of contemporary history.

Future years will bring new victories to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to the cause of communism.