ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMMES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS)

(1947—1953)

This is a publication of STC — SPC — DD(CP).
September 2026

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the preparation of the programme of the CPSU(B) dates back to 1938. The personal archives of J. V. Stalin preserve a letter dated October 22, 1938, addressed by Stalin to members and candidate members of the Politburo (*cf.* Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI). F. 558. On I.D. 122.L. 1.). It proves that Stalin initiated the drafting of a new Programme of the CPSU(B), hoping it would be adopted at the 18th Party Congress planned for March 1939. For reasons that remain unclear, however, this did not happen (see Appendix).

However, two years after the end of the Great Patriotic War —in the summer of 1947— intensive work began to formulate the theoretical and ideological line of this important new party document. The drafts and discussion records presented here contain the versions of the draft programmes addressed to A. A. Zhdanov, head of the Central Committee Commission for the preparation of the new Programme of the CPSU(B). These drafts of the new programme were prepared by three working groups.

The documents presented here have been translated from "Stalin's Economic Heritage: Plans and Discussions 1947–1953, Documents and Materials," compiled by V. V. Zhuravlev and L. N. Lazareva and published in Moscow in 2017, and have been checked against the original Russian copies found in Stalin's Archive. This reference book also contains documents other than the draft programmes, which will be presented separately.

The reader will see from these drafts and discussions that the USSR was preparing for the transition to communism in the second half of the 1940s. This transition was to be completed within 20 years through abundance, product exchange, elimination of the antithesis between mental and physical

labour, and ensuring that the cultural and social conditions of life in the countryside were no different from those in urban areas — thus preparing for the elimination of the distinction between town and country.

It is beyond doubt that to dismiss the USSR's transition toward communism in the late 1940s and early 1950s is nothing more than a belittling of the science of communism. It was at this juncture that Stalin passed away (or was murdered).

Socialist Truth in Cyprus
London Bureaux

September 2026.

I— G. F. Aleksandrov[1], K. V. Ostrovityanov[2], P. N. Fedoseev[3]— A. A. Zhdanov[4]. Materials For The Draft Programme of the CPSU(B)[5]

[1] Alexandrov Georgy Fedorovich (1908-1961), Soviet party and statesman, scientist-philosopher, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1946), Doctor of Philosophy (1939), professor (1939), director of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1947-1954). Research interests: history of philosophy, history of sociology.

[2] Ostrovityanov Konstantin Vasilievich (1892-1969), Soviet economist, director of the Institute Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1947-1953).

[3] Fedoseev Petr Nikolaevich (1908-1990), philosopher and public figure, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1946), academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1960). In 1941-1955.worked in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) / CPSU. In 1941-1947.First Deputy Head of the Propaganda and Agitation Directorate of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks. Simultaneously in 1945-1949.was the editor-in-chief of the magazine "Bolshevik", head of the department of dialectical materialism of the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the CPSU. Research interests: historical materialism, the theory of scientific communism.

[4] Zhdanov Andrei Alexandrovich (1896-1948), Soviet statesman and politician, in 1946-1947. Chairman of the Council of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, since 1946—a member of the three higher bodies of the Central Committee of the People's Commissars (b): Politburo, Orgburo, Secretariat.

[5] A document signed by J.V. Stalin has survived (F. 558. On. 11. D. 122. Sheet 1): "Several months ago I asked a member of the programme committee of the CPSU(B) comrade. Mayuilsky sketch draft the new programme of the CPSU(B), using for this, under his leadership, the workers of the Comintern. At the same time, he proposed to Messrs. Mitin and Yudin to sketch out a draft of a new programme of the CPSU(B) based on my conversation with Comrade Mitin. Since the draft agenda of the 18th Party Congress is supposed to include the issue of adopting a new programme of the CPSU(B) and, in this regard, it is quite timely to start

Draft[6]

ABSTRACTS OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS)

A. General Part

I. Significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the History of Human development [a]

1. Great October Socialist Revolution, which began on November 7, 1917, for the first time in history, it eliminated the rule of the capitalists and landowners, established the power of the working people. The Soviet Revolution ushered in a new era in the historical development of mankind—[the era of building a classless communist society]. The revolutionary [impulse][b] workers and peasants were led and directed by the Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, it organised the masses [c] of the people for the struggle against capitalism, armed them with a clear prospect of further movement forward. The Communist Party,

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preparatory work on the new programme of the CPSU(B), I consider it necessary to send for members of the Politburo both drafts for familiarisation. "The date on the document is October 22, 1938. The previous programme of the CPSU(B) was adopted by the VIII Party Congress (March 18-23, 1919) and has already ceased to correspond to the changed political and economic realities. The Great Patriotic War interrupted the work begun, to which circumstances allowed to return only in 1947.

[6] No dates on this document, no authors are named. Presumably, the authors of this version of the programme are G. F. Aleksandrov, K. V. Ostrovityanov, P. N. Fedoseev.

[a] From the title with a pencil arrow to the left margin: the note is not legible.

[b] From the "rush" with a pencil arrow to the right margin: ?

[c] Over a line in pencil: USSR.

proceeding from the fundamental interests of the masses, set as its goal complete elimination of the exploitation of man by man, organisation of construction of socialist society, and then the construction of complete communism. The October Revolution, [which laid the foundation [d] for the movement] of society towards communism, marked a radical turn in world history.

The whole history of [preceding] society since classes appeared has been based on the exploitation of man by man. The masses, that is, the overwhelming majority of mankind, bore the yoke of political and economic oppression, were torn away from the management of social life and could not use the benefits of culture. Throughout its centuries-old history, the working masses have repeatedly rebelled against the exploiters, tried to throw off the yoke of the oppressors and become masters of their position, their destiny. But all these efforts did not bear proper fruit. Although the revolutions of the past were carried out with the participation of the masses, but the workers did not succeed in taking advantage of the results of their struggle, the fundamental improvement of their position, free themselves from exploitation. As a result of the revolutions of the past, only the forms of exploitation have changed; to replace some exploitative classes of other oppressors. The slave revolution eliminated the slave owners and abolished the slave-owning form of exploitation of the working people. But instead of them it put the serf owners and the serf form of exploitation of the working people. The serf peasant revolution eliminated the serf form of exploitation.

But it replaced them with capitalists and landlords, the capitalist and landlord form of exploitation.

[d] Underlined with a pencil twice.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, unlike all revolutions of the past, destroyed the domination of all exploiters, eliminated oppression and the exploitation of people by each other. The formerly oppressed and oppressed masses of working people, led by the party of Lenin-Stalin, threw off domination from their shoulders the landlords and capitalists and put in its place the power of the working people. The Great October Socialist Revolution was a truly people's revolution, accomplished in the interests of the masses, in the interests of the progressive development of mankind.

All the centuries-old development of society in the past was essentially just [the prehistory of human society]. [Working people of Russia] rallied around the Russian proletariat, united under the invincible banner of Lenin-Stalin, [put an end to the prehistory of] human society, [the history of] oppression and inequality of masses and marked the beginning of the true history of mankind—the beginning of the communist era in the development of society.

2. Having put an end to the bourgeois system in Russia, the Great October Socialist Revolution opened up for the working people a [broad][a] prospect of creating a new social system—communism. Russia, which was the homeland of Leninism, became the homeland of socialism.

The October Revolution freed the peoples of Russia from economic and spiritual enslavement by foreign capital. For the first time, Soviet power made our country a free and independent state.

Having overthrown the rule of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, the working class in Russia, in alliance with the peasant poor, established a new type of state—the Soviet

[a] Circled in pencil.

socialist state. Soviet power was the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship was needed in order to suppress the frenzied resistance of the defeated exploiting classes, to repulse all attacks of the imperialists on the Soviet Republic and to ensure the building of a socialist society.

Soviet power not only abolished the political domination of the exploiting classes, it abolished the economic basis on which the exploitation of man by man was based. Soviet power abolished landlord property on the land, transferred the land for use to the peasantry, nationalised all the land in country, industry, transport, banks. As a result of the October Revolution, the working people received not only political power, but also the material resources for building a new socialist life. Thus, for the first time in the history of class society, that is, for many thousands of years, the working people were finally able to put an end to a society based on the oppression of the working people by the propertied classes, and created solid preconditions for the development of socialist construction, for the victory of socialism. The October Revolution laid the foundation for a new, higher social system—communism and created broad conditions for the real and full involvement of the country's population with all the benefits of modern civilisation, which were previously available only to the exploiting classes. The October Revolution emancipated the previously oppressed peoples of Russia, provided all nations with equal rights and broad opportunities for economic and cultural growth. Thus, the strength of society has multiplied immeasurably and its development has accelerated tremendously.

Enemies of the revolution, the exploiting classes of Russia, with the support of foreign imperialists tried to overthrow Soviet power, deprive the people of the fruits of their victories and to restore in Russia the bourgeois order, broken and hated

by the people. The popular masses of Russia, having defeated the White Guards and foreign interventionists, consolidated the gains of the revolution, proving its invincibility. The victory of the young Soviet republic over the White Guards and foreign interventionists meant the greatest military and political defeat of world imperialism.

3. The October Revolution in Russia broke through the front of world imperialism, destroyed the capitalist system and overthrew the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the largest countries in the world, split the world into two systems and thereby shook the foundations of world capitalism. This practically proved the teaching of Leninism that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism. The October Revolution showed that the most acute struggle of the revolutionary working class and the working peasantry against capitalist exploitation, which unfolded in the period of imperialism, can successfully end with the overthrow of the yoke of capitalism and the victory of socialism against the reactionary forces of bourgeois society, which sought to prolong and consolidate the rule of capital. The October Revolution shook the foundations of capitalism in the imperialist countries. At the same time, it struck at the rear of imperialism, [undermining its domination] in the colonial and dependent countries. The socialist revolution has clearly and convincingly shown that the proletariat can with successfully govern the country without the bourgeoisie in the interests of the whole society, can build a socialist state based on the fraternal alliance of workers and peasants and the intelligentsia, on sincere cooperation and equality of all peoples building socialism. Thus, the great Soviet revolution [kindled in the hearts of the working people] the whole world [unfading hope] for liberation from the yoke of exploitation, increased the strength of the working people in their struggle

against capital, instilled in them confidence in the possibility of a socialist transformation of society.

The Soviet revolution finally buried the dogmas of all pseudo-socialists about the impossibility of the victory of labour over capital, the need to come to terms with capitalism and beg the exploiters for concessions in favour of the masses. Carried out under the banner of Leninism, according to the plan of Lenin-Stalin, the October Revolution means the victory of Marxism, the triumph of the ideas of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the triumph of Leninism along all lines.

Thus, victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution means a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the historical fate of world capitalism, a radical change in the methods and forms of organisation, in everyday life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses of the whole world. This means that the Soviet revolution not only dealt a mighty blow to capitalism, but by the entire course of its development makes it easier for the working people of other countries to free themselves from the oppression of capital.[a]

II. Contemporary International Environment

1. After the victory of the October Revolution, a period of sharp and ever-increasing decline and loosening of the foundations of capitalism along all lines began. Since the First World War and the Great October Revolution, a general crisis of capitalism began. The First World War and its aftermath intensified the decay of capitalism and undermined its

[a] In the left margin, a vertical line is drawn in pencil opposite the paragraph, followed by a note: The meaning is only the victory of October or the entire period. Def. creatures, perfectly, authorities.

equilibrium. As a result of the October Revolution, capitalism ceased to be the only and all-encompassing system of the world economy, because along with the capitalist economic system has a socialist system that is steadily gaining strength and growth, and which, by the very fact of its existence, demonstrates the rottenness of capitalism and shakes its foundations.

In the economic sphere, the general crisis of capitalism manifested itself in the strengthening of the dominance of monopoly trusts and the competition between them, in the appearance of chronic underutilisation of enterprises and mass unemployment. Under these conditions, periodically recurring economic crises proved to be especially destructive for the national economy, especially painful for the working masses. Unemployment has grown to colossal proportions, covering at times up to half of the working class, and has become chronic. Thanks to the growing omnipotence of monopoly trusts and banks and the direct subordination of the state and its apparatus to the most powerful financial tycoons and monopolists, the imperialist bourgeoisie shifts all the devastating consequences of anarchy of production and crises onto the shoulders of the working people. The position of the working class and the working masses of the peasantry in the capitalist countries was continuously deteriorating, in connection with which the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the struggle of the exploited the masses against the exploiters. Along with the aggravation of class contradictions within the capitalist states, the contradictions between the imperialist powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials and foreign territories, as well as between the imperialist countries and colonies, whose peoples are increasingly involved in the struggle against the imperialist colonialists, intensified and deepened.

The imperialist bourgeoisie, entangled in unsolvable internal and foreign policy contradictions, constantly tried to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the USSR. Since the birth of the Soviet state, the bourgeoisie has already tried all means to stifle it—military invasion, economic blockade, political isolation, organisation of internal sabotage, ideological and diplomatic offensive, etc. The Soviet state successfully repelled all the frenzied attacks of the imperialists, thereby demonstrating its vitality and invincibility, the historical inevitability of socialist transformations.

As a result of the exacerbation of class contradictions within the capitalist countries, as well as deepening foreign policy contradictions the imperialist bourgeoisie is increasingly taking the path of strengthening reaction, the elimination of democratic freedoms, the path of using terrorist methods of government inside country and military aggression in foreign policy. This reactionary tendency of imperialism found its most dramatic expression in the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Italy, Germany, Japan and in a number of other capitalist countries. The victory of fascism in Germany and other countries was not only the result of the weakness and split of the forces of the working class, which was unable to repel the onslaught of imperialist reaction, but also the result of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, an expression of its inability to rule over the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy. The transition of the bourgeoisie to terrorist methods of government within the country and to military aggression in foreign policy was not the result of strengthening the positions of the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, the result of further weakening of these positions.

2. The development of contradictions between capitalist countries on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism has steadily led to the Second World War. The uneven

development of the capitalist countries has led to a new sharp disruption of the equilibrium within the world capitalist system. The capitalist countries—Germany, Japan, Italy, considering themselves less secure in raw materials and sales markets, decided to redistribute the spheres of influence in their favour through the use of armed force. The Second World War was unleashed by the fascist states—Germany, Italy and Japan, which established a brutal terrorist regime and began to strive for world domination, the spread of the fascist regime in the world. The fascist aggressors created a threat to the freedom and independent existence of the peoples of the world, as a result of which the war of freedom-loving peoples against the fascist aggressors took on an anti-fascist, liberating character. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the fascist states strengthened the anti-fascist liberation character of the Second World War.

As a result of the efforts of the united nations and, first of all, thanks to the selfless struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union and its heroic army, who played a decisive role in achieving the victory of the freedom-loving peoples, the main centres of fascism and aggression—Germany, Italy and Japan—were defeated. The defeat of the fascist states in the Second World War showed that [the attempts of the imperialist bourgeoisie] to find a way out of [the crisis by eliminating the democratic] freedoms and [the establishment of a terrorist dictatorship], on the way [of foreign policy expansion and struggle] for world domination [proved to be doomed to failure].

3. The Second World War, which was the result of the development of the contradictions of imperialism, led to a huge waste of productive forces, demanded innumerable human sacrifices, caused destruction and devastation to entire countries, brought enormous disasters and suffering to peoples.

World War II with renewed vigour showed that capitalism has outlived its usefulness, that capitalism can give nothing to the peoples except for wars, crises, destruction of productive forces, and impoverishment of the population. The fact that the imperialist bourgeoisie has twice plunged peoples into devastating, devastating world wars in the past 30 years suggests that capitalism has long ceased to meet the needs of the further development of human society and has become a threat to world civilization.

4. In the post-war period, the imperialist bourgeoisie, in spite of life in the interests of the peoples, it continues and strengthens the reactionary imperialist policy both within the capitalist countries and in the international arena. The political and economic offensive of American capital against the living standards of the working people, against democratic freedoms testifies to the further development of the crisis of bourgeois democracy and conceals the danger of a revival of fascism. The monopoly capital of the United States, which swelled during the Second World War on military speculation and robbery of less powerful countries, has become the main pillar of modern capitalism, a bulwark of world reaction and the centre of imperialist expansion. Reactionary circles in the United States have embarked on the path of a struggle for world domination, for the subordination of all countries of the world to American capital. The British bourgeoisie, in its attempts to preserve and strengthen its colonial empire and in fear of the developing liberation movement in all parts of the British Empire and beyond, became the main accomplice and partner of American monopoly capital in its struggle for world domination. Under the guise of providing economic assistance to weaker countries, the American and British imperialists unceremoniously interfere in the internal affairs of these countries, exerting direct economic, political and military

pressure on them, trying to turn them into their colonies. The Anglo-American imperialists are openly attempting to create a bloc of capitalist states in order to establish Anglo-American world domination, in order to combat democratic forces and movements throughout the world. The imperialist bourgeoisie is again raising the racial theory on the shield, cultivating chauvinism, trying to poison the consciousness of the peoples with the poison of a corrupted bourgeois culture, an ideology of servility towards Anglo-American capitalism.

The monopoly capital of the USA and England, in order to fight the democratic forces in the international arena, in order to subordinate the world to their domination, is strenuously supporting reactionary-fascist elements in all countries and corners of the world. The Anglo-American imperialists strengthen the fascist regimes in Spain, Turkey, Greece, the reactionary military clique in China; support the fascist revanchist elements in Germany, Japan and Italy, posing a threat to the cause of peace.

At the same time, deep imperialist contradictions are growing and exposing between England and the United States in their struggle for spheres of influence. American imperialists kicked the British out of their old spheres of influence in the Far East, seized control of Australia and Canada, strengthened economic positions in India, Egypt, South Africa, intensively penetrated the Middle East, captured Greece and Turkey and pave the way for the economic enslavement of Western European countries. Itself

England, sharply weakened by the decay of British capitalism, fell into economic bondage to the United States. England is retreating everywhere, placating American imperialists. But the offensive of the American imperialists on Great Britain and its sphere of influence is expanding, and before England there is the prospect of turning a vassal of American imperialism. In view of this, an acute crisis is

brewing in the Anglo-American contradictions, which is covered up for the time being by their joint struggle against the democratic movement in all countries, their united struggle to isolate the Soviet Union in the international arena.

5. In the current international situation, the Soviet Union is the main bulwark of the progressive forces of society, a consistent champion of peace, and is marching at the head of the democratic forces against reaction and aggression, for a just and lasting peace, for the freedom and security of peoples. The authority and influence of the Soviet Union in the international arena has increased enormously due to the decisive role it played in defeating the fascist aggressors and which it plays in the struggle for a just, democratic world. The Soviet Union firmly stands on the positions of combating the imperialist claims of Britain and the United States to world domination, on the positions of defending the interests of all peoples who are threatened by imperialist aggression.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that a long-term democratic peace can be ensured not on the basis of world domination of one or another power or group of powers, but on the basis of cooperation of both large and small states in the struggle against aggression, in the struggle for a democratic solution of the post-war problems. The Soviet Union supports the United Nations as an important organ of international cooperation in the establishment of a democratic peace and is waging a consistent struggle against attempts to transform the United Nations into an instrument of the imperialist struggle for world domination. By upholding the policy of reducing armaments and prohibiting the use of atomic energy for military purposes, the Soviet Union is clearly demonstrating its will for peace, for international cooperation, and for a good-neighbourly settlement of international issues. The policy of establishing a democratic peace and preventing

possible aggression, consistently pursued by the Soviet Union, is receiving the support of democratic forces in all countries and will have more and more supporters throughout the world, while the imperialist policy of the United States and Britain is meeting with an ever-increasing rebuff.

Thus, in the post-war period, two tendencies in international politics are fighting:

a) the first tendency—imperialist, which is fraught with a source of strife and mistrust between peoples, the danger of new world even more destructive wars, a threat to the very existence of mankind;

b) The second trend, expressed in the foreign policy of the USSR and supported by all democratic forces in the world, leads to the creation of stable international relations, lasting and lasting democratic peace and business cooperation between peoples, based on equality and recognition of the sovereignty of all large and small nations and states.

Only this policy corresponds to the interests of the majority of mankind, while the first policy contradicts the fundamental interests of the peoples and corresponds only to the selfish interests of a handful of monopolists.

6. The reactionary domestic and foreign policy of monopoly capital takes advantage of the fact that the working class in the capitalist countries still underestimates its strength, does not yet have the necessary solidarity and does not display the necessary decisiveness in the struggle against the onset of imperialist reaction. The reactionary elite of Western European Social Democracy are helping the bourgeoisie to spread disbelief in the working class in its strength. The imperialists use the reactionary upper strata of the Social Democracy to deceive the masses, in order to carry out their anti-popular policy by the hands of the socialists, in order with their help to corrupt and weaken the democratic forces. Meanwhile, the

imperialist reaction, although it is currently acting very aggressively, is not so strong and powerful as to stifle the democratic movement of the popular masses against the omnipotence and oppression of monopoly capital. The imperialist bourgeoisie is clearly overestimating its strength, clearly underestimating the fact that capitalism does not have its former stability and strength. The socialist revolution and the victory of socialism in the USSR shattered the foundations of world imperialism, shattered the legend of the inviolability of capitalism. The Second World War exposed capitalism's ulcers even more sharply and further exacerbated its crisis. The following facts testify to the deepening crisis of capitalism and the weakening of the forces of imperialism:

a) As a result of the Second World War, the most important and most dangerous centres of imperialist reaction and aggression were destroyed, which means a great victory for the democratic progressive forces over the reactionary, most aggressive forces of imperialism. The imperialist reaction has lost some of its strongest bastions. The collapse of the fascist states gave a powerful impetus to the rise of the democratic movement in Europe and Asia.

b) There is a growing hatred among the masses of the people for monopoly capital, which brings down wars, devastating crises, unemployment, and incalculable suffering on the peoples. The strengthening of the democratic forces against the imperialist forces finds its expression in the serious growth of the Communist parties, in the intensification of the struggle for the unity of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries. In the lower ranks of the working masses, the cooperation of representatives of various parties—communists, socialists, etc.—is being strengthened in order to fight against the offensive of reaction.

c) A [as a result of the Second World War] number of countries broke away from the system of imperialism and

embarked on the path of democratic development (Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, etc.). These countries of popular democracy have escaped from the chains of world imperialism. The masses of the people in these countries overthrew the power of the landlords and capitalists, who were the servants of foreign capital, and took in their own hands, the leadership of the political and economic structure of their countries. The new people's governments carried out fundamental democratic transformations in their countries, eliminated the economic base of large-scale land ownership and monopolistic capital, and created favourable conditions for further economic and social transformations and development on the path to socialism. The broad masses of the people are closely united around the current democratic governments and actively support all their activities. The exploiting classes are isolated and rely only on external forces in their struggle against the new democracy. In the hands of established democratic governments are the most important economic levers, as well as the state apparatus, the army, the court, the police, etc. The social system created in these countries is based on the vast majority of the population. Under such conditions, the conquest by the masses of the people of the prerequisites for socialist development was possible without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries. The working class, as the main bearer of the socialist ideal, as the [leader and support] of the broad coalition of the working classes that is now in power in these countries, is interested in preserving and strengthening this coalition. The leading role of the working class in the State life of the countries of the new democracy is the most important condition for their progress towards socialism. The emergence and development of the countries of popular democracy leads to a further undermining of the position of imperialism.

d) The struggle of Britain and the United States to turn all other countries into vassals of Anglo-American imperialism and, above all, American imperialism, is causing the aggravation of foreign policy and internal contradictions in the capitalist camp itself. The bourgeoisie of the countries of Western Europe, for the most part compromised by cooperation with fascism, mortally afraid of their people and chained to the chariot of American and British capital, is following the lead of the American and British imperialists. Relying on the corrupt circles of the bourgeoisie of France, Italy, Greece, Belgium and Holland, the British and American imperialists, under the banner of the Western bloc organisation, are trying to strangle the European countries. However, the masses of these countries, freed from fascist tyranny, do not intend to allow, instead of this tyranny, the rule of American or British imperialism. And not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world, the resistance of the popular masses against the attempts of American and British imperialism to trample on the sovereignty of nations and establish their world domination is growing. In these conditions, the struggle of the masses of the capitalist countries for the preservation of the economic and political independence of nations is becoming an anti-imperialist struggle.

Thus, the tendency of the United States and Britain to establish world domination leads to an expansion of the front of the anti-imperialist struggle and is fraught with the prospect of foreign policy isolation of imperialist aspirants to world domination.

e) In the post-war period, the national liberation movement in the colonies rises sharply and gains strength. Attempts by the imperialist powers to the armed suppression of the national liberation movement by force lead to the armed actions of the masses against the imperialist colonialists (Indo-China, Indonesia, India).

The further development of the crisis of capitalism will inevitably lead to the fall away from the system of imperialism of the new countries, which will mean the weakening of capitalism and the strengthening of the democratic camp, the strengthening of the position of socialism, and which will eventually lead to the inevitable death of capitalism and the victory of the masses of the people fighting for the triumph of communism.

III. Results of the Achievements of the Soviet Society

1. Since the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet system, in contrast to capitalism, has steadily developed along an ascending line and has proved its greatest strength and vitality, has proved that true progress, the further advancement of human society, is possible only on the paths of socialism.

As a result of the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, for the first time in history, Soviet power was established as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which grew out of the bowels of the people and enjoyed their powerful support. The Soviet government, implementing the policy of the union of the working class and the working peasantry, attracted the broad masses of the people to actively participate in the construction of a new society and was the highest form of democracy corresponding to the fundamental interests of the people. Thus, it was proved that the times when society could be ruled by exploitative classes hostile to the people were over, that a new era had come when the masses of the people became not only producers of material goods, but also masters of public life. The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which united all the efforts of the working class and the working peasantry in the struggle for the socialist

reconstruction of society, was the guiding and leading force in the system of the dictatorship of the working class.

The Party took into account that building of socialism in an economically backward country and in a hostile environment would be a difficult task. But the Party was confident that the Soviet state, relying on the support and creative initiative of the masses, on the advantages of the Soviet social system, would be able to overcome all the difficulties and fulfill the historical tasks facing it.

2. Armed with the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, the Communist Party led the struggle of the working people of our country for the construction of a socialist society.

Under her leadership, the great plan for the socialist industrialisation of our country was developed and implemented. The Soviet government, relying on the nationalisation of industry and banks, began the process of industrialisation of the country with the deployment of heavy industry, which served as the basis for the reconstruction of the entire national economy. The working people accepted the plan of socialist industrialisation as their own blood work, as a national plan for the construction of socialist life, and enthusiastically undertook its implementation. Socialist industrialisation was implemented at an unprecedented pace. As a result of three pre-war five-year plans, the Soviet Union eliminated the age-old economic backwardness of the country, created a first-class modern industry equipped with the latest technology, and turned into an advanced powerful industrial power. During the years of the Stalinist five-year plans, thousands of new factories and factories were built with the latest technology, dozens of giants of socialist industry, [of which the country is rightfully proud].

New industries were re-created: the tractor and automobile industries, machine-tool construction, aircraft construction, engine building, the production of combines, turbines, synthetic rubber, etc. The light textile and food industries made a huge leap forward in their development.

For 13 years, the Soviet Union in its industrial development has passed the path that the capitalist countries have passed for many decades. In terms of industrial output, the Soviet Union rose from the 4th place, which was occupied by tsarist Russia, to the 1st place in Europe and from the fifth to the second place in the world (after the United States). In the shortest period of history, the Soviet Union caught up and surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries in terms of production technology and the growth rate of our industry. As a result of the rapid growth of socialist industry, unemployment was permanently eliminated and a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the working people began. Thus, the implementation of the policy of industrialisation of the country was the basis for the victory of socialism in the USSR, the basis for the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy, the technical armament of agriculture, the improvement of the welfare of the working people, ensuring the independence and independence of the country from the capitalist environment and strengthening its economic and military power.

3. One of the most difficult tasks of the socialist revolution after the seizure of power by the proletariat was the socialist transformation of the peasantry. In order to put an end to our backwardness in the field of agriculture and to provide more food for the population and raw materials for industry, it was necessary to move from the fragmented small peasant economy to large-scale production.

The capitalist path of creating large-scale production in agriculture is an extremely long path based on the ruin and impoverishment of the bulk of the peasantry.

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The Soviet government, led by the Communist Party, opened up a new way to enlarge agriculture by uniting peasant farms into collective farms; it carried out the Leninist-Stalinist plan for the collectivisation of agriculture. It was the greatest revolutionary coup in human history, equivalent in its consequences to the revolutionary coup in October 1917. As a result of this revolution, instead of an ocean of small individual peasant farms with their weak technology, poverty, the dominance of the kulaks, the world's largest socialist agriculture arose, armed with the most advanced technology.

For several years, the whole country was covered with large collective farms, which have the opportunity to apply new technology, use all agronomic achievements and give the country more marketable products. Strengthening the position of socialism in the countryside, the Soviet state developed an extensive network of state farms and machine and tractor stations, which played a major role in the socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

As a result of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture, a complete technical revolution in agriculture was carried out. In the pre-revolutionary Russian village there were 8 million woodworms. In the collective farm village, the plough lost its place for the tractor and the combine. In 1940, 523,000 tractors and 182,000 combines were in operation on socialist fields.

The use of advanced machine technology greatly facilitated labour collective farmer, increased his productivity and resulted in an increase in marketable output. Socialist

agriculture produced 38.3 million tonnes in 1940 marketable grain, 17 million tonnes more than in 1913.

On the basis of collectivisation, the last capitalist class is the kulaks, and the exploitation of man by man, poverty and misery in the countryside have been abolished forever. Collectivisation saved at least 20 million poor people from poverty and ruin, from kulak bondage and turned into wealthy people and before she opened the way to a prosperous life for all the collective farm peasantry.

Implementing the policy of socialist construction, the party broke the mad resistance of the capitalist elements and their henchmen the Trotskyists and Bukharinites, who systematically pulled the party back and tried in every possible way to push it to capitalist path of development. The Communist Party defeated the bands of Trotskyist-Bukharin spies and saboteurs who were trying to disrupt the party's policy and slow down the collectivisation and industrialisation of the country, and undermine the defensive capability of the Soviet state.

4. Implementation of the policy of industrialisation of the country and collectivisation of agriculture was a tremendous world-historical victory of the working class and peasantry of the USSR. On the basis of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture, an unprecedented increase in production was ensured in the country. This was not the usual development of the country from backwardness to progress; it was a leap with the help of which our Motherland turned from a backward, agrarian country into an advanced, industrial one.[a] As results of this victory, the capitalist elements were eliminated both in the city and in the countryside, the

[a] On the left margin, the sentence is marked with a vertical line in pencil.

exploitation of man by man was abolished, and a basically socialist society was built—the lowest phase of communism.

a) The social ownership of the means of production in its two forms, in the form of state, public property and cooperative-collective farm.

b) Together with the elimination of private ownership of the means of production, there was the anarchy of production, crises, unemployment was destroyed forever and domination of the planning principle in the Soviet economy. Economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the state national economic plan in the interests of increasing social wealth, a steady rise in material and cultural level of workers, strengthening the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defence capability.

c) In Soviet society, along with the elimination of the exploiting classes, parasitism has been abolished forever, and labour is a sacred duty, the only a source of subsistence and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen. The basic principle of socialism is from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. The greatest significance of this principle lies in the fact that it creates the personal material interest of the worker in his work, ensures the best combination of personal and public interests and is at the stage of socialism the main driving force behind the increase in labour productivity and the growth of productive forces.

d) With the establishment of public socialist ownership of funds production has radically changed the nature of labour. The working people of the USSR do not work for the exploiters, not for the enrichment of the parasites, but for themselves, for their class, for their own Soviet society, where the best representatives of the people are in power. Because of this labour from a private business, as it was under capitalism, has turned into an honourable public business, it is a matter of honour, valour and heroism. On this basis, arose the greatest

movement of our time is socialist competition. Socialist emulation opened up the broadest arena for the creativity of millions of working people, opened up an endless spring of talents that capitalism stifled. In the course of the development of socialist emulation, thousands, tens of thousands of bold innovators of production have emerged, breaking old technical norms and discovering new methods of increasing labour productivity. Socialist emulation was a powerful driving force in the development of socialist production, one of the decisive factors in the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Stalinist five-year plans.

5. As a result of the victory of public socialist property in its two forms: state, national, and cooperative-collective farm and liquidation of the exploiting classes, the class structure of our society. For the first time in history, a class structure has emerged, characterised by the presence of non-antagonistic, friendly classes of workers and peasants, relations between which are built on the basis of comradely cooperation and socialist mutual assistance. The Soviet intelligentsia, serving the people, is taking part in this great cooperation. On the basis of this community of interests of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, on the basis of their friendly cooperation, such motive forces of Soviet society as the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, friendship of the peoples of the USSR and Soviet patriotism developed.

6. Based on the victories of socialist construction, strengthening the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the Communist Party and the Soviet state steadily carried out the democratisation of the country's political life.

The most important step on this path was the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR—the Constitution of victorious socialism. The Constitution was a legislative

consolidation of the fact that socialism in the USSR won, that the socialist economic system and socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production constitute the economic basis of the Soviet state. The restrictions on electoral rights that existed during the struggle for the elimination of the exploiting classes were abolished, and universal, equal, direct suffrage by secret ballot was introduced.

The Constitution consolidated the rights and democratic freedoms of workers won by the Soviet revolution: the right to work, to education, to material security in old age, freedom of speech, press, assembly, rallies, the right to join public organisations, personal inviolability, and freedom of conscience.

In contrast to the false bourgeois democracy, which only formally proclaims the rights of citizens in order to cover up the actual domination of capital, Soviet democracy really provides for the working people the most active participation in social and political life and guarantees the exercise of the rights and democratic freedoms of citizens of the USSR.

Soviet society truly emancipated a woman, gave her equal rights with a man and opened the way for her in all areas of social and political and cultural life. The woman has become a great force in socialist construction.

7. One of the greatest achievements of Soviet power is the resolution of the national question. Tens of millions of working people of all nationalities inhabiting Russia were liberated by the Soviet government from the oppression of tsarism and the bourgeoisie, and were united in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Soviet state not only proclaimed the complete equality of all nations and national groups, but also provided them with all the opportunities for rapid development, launched construction national in form and socialist in content culture. The economically and culturally backward peoples of

the national borderlands created and developed a powerful economy, rich national culture, strengthened their national statehood. On the basis of this highly progressive national policy of the Soviet state, the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR was formed and strengthened. The sovereignty of the Soviet Union republics is growing stronger and expanding.

A major achievement of the Soviet Union was the reunification of the Ukrainian, Belarusian and Moldovan people in the Soviet state, the reunification of the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

8. The Soviet government, as a truly people's power, introduced the broad masses and carried out a real cultural revolution in the USSR.

a) In a short time, the illiteracy of the population, inherited from the tsarist regime, universal compulsory primary education was carried out.

The Soviet state did not spare funds for the education of the people; it developed a wide network of schools and higher educational institutions. The socialist revolution snatched the school out of the hands of the exploiting classes and made it the property of the people and an instrument communist education of the younger generation. Soviet state achieved major successes in raising the cultural and technical level of the working people, which is an important step towards the complete elimination of the antithesis between mental and physical labour.

b) The most important result of the cultural revolution in the USSR was the creation of its own Soviet intelligentsia. The Soviet state in a short time was able to train many thousands of engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, scientists, literature and art from among the workers and peasants. By fully

supporting the development of Soviet science, literature and art, the Soviet state achieved a true flourishing of advanced culture, national in form and socialist in content, and introduced the broad masses of the people to culture. Literature and art in Soviet society have become truly popular, for they reflect the creative activity of the masses, the best people of the people, and the beloved heroes of the people.

c) The establishment of the socialist system caused radical shifts in consciousness the broad masses of the population. Major successes have been achieved in the socialist re-education of the working people, the socialist consciousness of the masses has grown, and the patriotic feelings of the people have strengthened. The educational work of the Party and the Soviet state raised the ideology and consciousness of the masses, respect for public property, to the rules of a socialist community. Carrying out cultural revolution and creating their own state, the Soviet people did not break the chains only material, but also spiritual dependence of the country on the bourgeois west. The Soviet Union has become a bulwark of world civilisation and progress.

d) The Communist Party launched a widespread propaganda of the scientific materialist worldview and achieved major successes in overcoming unscientific views, superstitions and prejudices, in spreading among the people genuinely scientific views on natural phenomena and social life.

e) The Communist Party and the Soviet state tirelessly cared about improving the organisation of health care and the all-round development of medical science. As a result of the deployment of a wide network of medical institutions, the implementation of wide measures to improve the health of workers, to develop physical culture and sports, the Soviet state has made tremendous strides in protecting public health.

9. On the basis of the growth of socialist industry and the successes of collective agriculture, the country's defence capability has grown immeasurably and strengthened. The Communist Party and the Soviet state, reckoning with the danger of a military attack on our country, tirelessly cared about the growth and strengthening of the armed forces of the Soviet state, about equipping our army with modern military equipment.[a]

10. The stability of the Soviet social and state system, the power of the Soviet armed forces withstood the rigors of the Great Patriotic War. The victory of the Soviet people in the struggle against the fascist aggressors showed that the socialism built in the USSR gave our people invincible strength, that the Soviet the system turned out to be not only the best form of organising economic and cultural the rise of the country in the years of peaceful construction, but also the best form of mobilising all the forces of the people to repulse the enemy in wartime. Soviet society won a great military, economic and ideological victory over the enemy. Socialism has shown itself as a great progressive force not only in the field of peaceful construction, but also in the military field. Soviet military science, developed and applied by Comrade Stalin, overthrew the military doctrines of enemy states. The Great Patriotic War showed not only the increased power of the Soviet state, but the unprecedented patriotism of the Soviet people, their solidarity around the Communist Party, exceptional devotion to the Soviet Motherland and the Soviet government of the entire population of the Soviet Union.

[a] In the left margin in pencil opposite point 9 of the note is not legible.

11. The strength and invincibility of the socialist stand are also manifested in the successes of eliminating the grave consequences of the war and the German occupation, in the successes of the restoration and further development of the national economy in the post-war period. The Soviet people, having carried out a planned restructuring of the economy to suit the conditions of peaceful development, are striving for a rapid restoration and a new upsurge of the socialist economy, new successes on the road to communism.

12. As a result of the construction of socialism, the socialist state got stronger and developed, its social base expanded immeasurably.

The Soviet state is a political form of organisation of society during the transition from capitalism to communism. But the character and functions of the Soviet state are not invariable.

At the first stage—from the October Revolution to the liquidation of the exploiting classes—the most important task of the Soviet state was to suppress resistance of the overthrown classes and to defend the Soviet country from the frenzied attacks of foreign imperialists, who acted in close alliance with the overthrown exploiting classes.

As long as the exploiting classes remained in our country, our organs of suppression were directed with their spearheads within the country against the overthrown landowners and capitalists and the last exploiting class—the kulaks. The function of the country's defence against external enemies was inextricably linked with the matter of internal military suppression of the exploiters. The fulfilment of such important tasks of the Soviet state as the involvement of the broad masses of the working peasantry in the construction of socialism, the creation of a socialist economy, the cultivation and education of the new intelligentsia, etc., was also associated with the need

to suppress the resistance of the class enemy within the country.

The elimination of the capitalist elements of town and country marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the Soviet state. At this stage, such a function of the Soviet state as military suppression within the country fell away, for there was no exploitation and exploiters and there was no one to suppress. The organs of suppression henceforth turned their spearheads not inside the country, but outside it, against external enemies. Inside the country, the Soviet state acquired the function of protecting socialist property, and the function of economic, organisational and cultural and educational work was fully developed.

The victory of socialism led to the establishment of the unshakable moral and political unity of Soviet society. The Patriotic War showed that all the working people of our country—workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia—showed deep devotion to the cause of socialism. In Soviet society, there are no classes that need to be suppressed or forced. The peasants and the intelligentsia, together with the workers, are building a communist society. All of them are interested in strengthening and developing the socialist system and in defending its gains from external enemies. Of course, the Soviet state applies coercion to individuals who violate the rules of socialist society. But in the Soviet state there is not and cannot be violence against any class or social stratum. That is why, at the present stage of the development of the Soviet state, one of the most [fundamental aspects of] the dictatorship of the proletariat has disappeared—[the violence of one class against another] within Soviet society.[a]

[a] Along the left margin with a pencil from the "most root sides" marked with a vertical line.

The Soviet state at the present stage of its development is no longer, in the full sense of the word, a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet state is a socialist state based on the complete moral and political unity of Soviet society. The working class, as before, is the guiding force of the Soviet society, directing all its development to communism. Such a role for the working class is determined not only by its leading place in socialist production, its work in enterprises of a consistently socialist type, but also the entire previous history of the working class, which made it the most consistent revolutionary class and the foremost fighter for communism. It is not yet completely the boundaries between the classes and social groups of Soviet society have been erased, and the working class retains the leading role in all spheres of our life.

13. The Communist Party and the Soviet state, having ensured the building of a basically socialist society, are now directing the efforts of the Soviet people to complete the building of a socialist society and to create the prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism.

B. The Practical-Political Part of the Party's Tasks in the Struggle to Build [Complete] Communism

The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) sets its specific, a practical task in the next two to three decades to ensure the transition from socialism to the highest phase of communist society.

The highest phase of communist society presupposes such a high level development of productive forces, which provides: 1) an abundance of consumer goods necessary for the implementation of the principle from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs; 2) raising the cultural

and technical level of all workers to the level of workers in engineering and technical labour and the elimination of the opposition between mental and physical labour; 3) the flourishing of the technology and culture of the socialist countryside and the elimination on this basis of the opposition between town and country, between industry and agriculture; 4) the all-round development of the individual, free from worries about a piece of bread, and the transformation of labour from a means of living into a first vital need; 5) blurring the lines between the working class and peasantry and the creation of a classless society.

The transition from socialism to communism represents the greatest leap forward in human history. This leap is carried out [not by violent revolution][a], but in an evolutionary way, through the development of socialism into communism, on the basis of the further powerful development of those common features and embryos of communism, which are embedded in the socialist mode of production.

Setting before the Soviet people the task of building a classless communist society as a practical goal for the next 2-3 decades, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) proceeds from Stalin's position that in our country, over the years of its previous socialist development, all the necessary internal prerequisites for this.

In their struggle for the victory of communism in our country, the Soviet people will meet with warm support from the working people of foreign countries and all progressive humanity.

To implement a gradual transition from socialism to communism, the CPSU (B)outlines the following measures.

[a] Along the left margin, the text is edited with a short vertical line in pencil.

I. In the Economic Sphere

1. In order to create the economic base necessary for the transition to communism, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) plans to carry out such an upsurge in socialist production, which will ensure, within the next two decades, the solution of the main economic task of the USSR to catch up and overtake economically, i.e. in terms of production per capita, the most advanced countries in Europe and the United States of America.

This will require raising the level of industry by about three times compared with 1940, bringing the annual production of pig iron to 50 million tonnes, steel to 60 million tonnes, coal to 500 million tonnes, oil to 60 million tonnes.

2. To accomplish this task, a new powerful upsurge of the productive forces is required on the basis of further improvement and revolutionisation of production techniques. The CPSU (B) sets its task in this area:

a) to carry out [full][a] electrification of the whole country: industry, agriculture, transport, widespread use of electricity in the field of public services;

b) carry out a [complete] b comprehensive mechanisation of labour processes in all sectors of industry and agriculture based on the improvement of production methods and technological processes, the ubiquity of the flow method, electrification and automation of production, shifting the entire severity of physical labour on automatically operating mechanisms[b];

[a] Circled in pencil.

[b] Circled in pencil.

c) to ensure the development of new industries based on the application of modern achievements of science and technology, such as: gasification and energy-chemical use of solid fuels, the production of synthetic products and others;

d) revolutionising the production process based on the widespread use of radar, jet technology and intra-atomic energy for the needs of the national economy;

e) to carry out a rational, comprehensive use of raw materials and fuel on the basis of the further development of cooperation of individual sectors of the national economy[c];

f) ensure broad development and rearmament based on the latest technology of railway, road, water, air transport, telephone and telegraph and radio communications as the most important condition for the rise and rational distribution of the productive forces of our country. To expand work on the comprehensive reconstruction of rivers, the construction of canals, and the full development of the Northern Sea Route.

3. The rise of socialist production, which is necessary for the transition to communism, requires an all-round increase in the production of the means of production, the priority development of heavy industry, and an increase in metal production as the basis for an upswing of socialist industry, the further development of mechanical engineering, the necessary for technical equipment of all branches of industry and agriculture, ensuring high rates of growth of productive forces and strengthening the technical and economic independence and defence capability of the country, all-round and accelerated development based on the use of the latest achievements of science and technology in light industry, textile and food, in

[c] In the upper field with a pencil for a note: Placement of manuf. forces [inaudible] to [inaudible] means of consumption. Signature to the left: J. V. Stalin.

order to create an abundance of consumer goods necessary for the transition to communism.

4. The growth of socialist production based on public ownership, advanced technology, mechanisation and automation of production changes the role of the worker in the production process. From an appendage to the machine, he becomes its master, exercising the functions of management and control over automatically operating mechanisms.

Socialist production places high demands on the worker in relation to knowledge of complex modern production technology and the ability to use it, makes raising his qualifications to the level of the employee is a decisive condition for the growth of labour productivity. At the same time, the elimination of the old enslaving division is taking place and the basis for a new division of labour, for the development of new professions that combine mental labour with physical, which transforms labour, enriches its content, broadens the outlook of the worker, enhances the creative nature of labour and thereby creates the preconditions for the elimination of the opposition between mental and physical labour. The decision of this most important task of building a communist society will go along the line of the all-round development and encouragement of a socialist attitude to work as a matter of honour, valour and heroism, the development of socialist competition, the implementation of measures to improve the qualifications of workers and the training of specialists through the system of universities, technical schools and schools of factory apprenticeships, state labour reserves and individual training.

The growth of technology and labour productivity will create conditions for reducing the working day in the near future to 7 hours, and later to 6 and 5 hours.[a]

Eliminating the old division of labour and the opposition between mental and physical labour will open an unprecedented scope for human creative activity in the field of further conquering the forces of nature and using them in the interests of culture and progress. New, much more powerful sources of energy, on the basis of which the production technique will be radically transformed, new species of plants, will be created and new, more perfect breeds of animals will be developed, barren deserts will turn into blooming lands, conquered and will even more widely open their wealth, now inaccessible, immense regions of the North. Man will become the true master of nature and make her serve his interests.

5. The most important condition for the transition to communism is the rise of agriculture, which is necessary for the complete and versatile satisfaction of the entire population with food, for supplying industry with raw materials and for eliminating the opposition between town and country on the basis of:

a) electrifying agriculture, equipping it with the most advanced technology, improved agricultural machines, tractors, harvesters, the implementation of complete complex mechanisation of all agricultural work and the transformation of agricultural labour into a kind of industrial labour;

b) ensuring a high, continuously growing yield of agricultural crops and increasing soil fertility through the mechanisation of the production process, the chemicalisation of

[a] On the left margin, the paragraph is marked with two short vertical lines in pencil.

agriculture, the widespread maintenance of correct crop rotations, the widespread use of organic and mineral fertilizers;

c) the all-round development of animal husbandry, necessary for the complete satisfaction of the population in meat and dairy products, increasing its productivity, improving the quality and breeding new breeds of livestock;

d) raising the cultural and consumer services of the collective farm village; the widespread deployment of housing construction of power plants, water pipes, mechanical laundries, bakeries, modern kitchens, cinemas, clubs, libraries, nurseries and kindergartens, medical institutions.

The CPSU (B) considers the all-round development of the social economy of collective farms, the strengthening of the agricultural artel as a means to achieve this goal, the main form of collective farm production during the transition from socialism to communism. The rise of the productive forces of socialist agriculture based on the use of advanced technology and the all-round development and strengthening of the social economy of the collective farms will create that abundance of products that will provide the necessary conditions for the development of an agricultural artel into a commune.[a]

The process of developing an agricultural artel into a commune based on highly developed technology and an abundance of products will take place gradually as farmers become convinced of the need for such an outgrowth, when they see that it is more profitable for them to get meat and milk from the farm than to have their own cow and small livestock, that it is more profitable for them to dine in the canteen, take bread from the bakery and receive washed linen from the public laundry, than to do this business themselves in their

[a] On the left margin with a pencil of a note: Strengthen the roles of the total households and reduced the role of a private subsidiary at this stage of the artel.

household. The development of an artel into a commune will be an important stage in the transition from two forms of socialist property to a single common communist property and the elimination of class lines between workers and collective farmers.

In the process of raising agricultural production and eliminating the antagonism between town and country, the state farms and the machine and tractor stations will have to play an enormous role. State farms should become hotbeds of advanced agriculture, breeding grounds for advanced methods of tillage, cultivation of improved varietal seeds, more productive breeds of livestock for the surrounding collective farms, and machine and tractor stations are called upon to play a decisive role in the technical armament of collective farms and in their organisational and economic strengthening.

6. With a view to the most rational distribution of productive forces in accordance with the need to create an economic base for communism and strengthen the defence capability of the USSR, it is necessary to ensure the comprehensive development of the main economic regions of the country, union and autonomous republics, the all-round development of local industry and industrial cooperation, further growth of industry in the East, in particular in the regions of Siberia and the Far East, bringing industry closer to sources of raw materials and areas of consumption, eliminating irrational and excessively long-distance transportation.

7. The rise of productive forces based on new advanced technology, the fast growth of socialist industry and socialist agriculture pursue the task of creating an abundance of products of industrial and agricultural production and ensuring the possibility of transition to distribution according to needs already in the next 5-10 years of basic food items (bread, sugar,

meat, fats, vegetables) and industrial goods of basic necessity and mass demand, and in the future go to the distribution of all consumer goods according to the needs.[b]

Thus, the transition from socialism to the higher phase of communism will include a certain stage when distribution according to needs will be combined with distribution according to work.[a]

8. The Party sets itself the task of fully solving the housing needs of the working people of the Soviet Union within the next two to three decades by expanding the construction of large apartment buildings in cities and large industrial centres, the deployment of housing on collective farms, all-round encouragement and state assistance to workers, collective farmers, and the intelligentsia in the matter of individual housing construction.

9. The movement of socialist society towards communism is based on every possible strengthening and development of public property in its two forms—public and cooperative collective farm. As we approach the highest phase of communism, the role of public property will increase more and more, and at the highest phase of communism the distinction between the two forms of property will be erased and they will merge into communist public property. Based on the growth and multiplication of the nationwide socialist property [personal property of the workers on commodities].[b]

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[b] Along the right margin with a pencil, the paragraph is marked with a vertical wavy line.

[a] Along the right margin, the paragraph is marked with a short vertical line in pencil.

[b] Along the right margin with a pencil, the underlined with a short vertical line, on the left margin with a pencil:?

The bourgeois and their learned lackeys slander socialism, claiming that the communists are striving to abolish the personal property of the working people.

Socialism does not deny, but combines individual interests with the interests of the collective. Socialism cannot be distracted from individual interests. Only a socialist society can give the fullest satisfaction to these interests. Moreover, a socialist society is the only firm guarantee of the protection of the personal interests of the working people. Under socialism, the continuous growth of personal consumption, the fullest and most versatile satisfaction of the needs of the working people becomes one of the main goals of socialist production.

As we move towards the higher phase of communism, as we get rid of the remnants of capitalism in the economy and the consciousness of people, as the danger of attack from the capitalist environment decreases—this goal will increasingly determine the entire direction of socialist production. Communism strives to make all the benefits of culture, all the inventions of human genius the property of the entire people and every individual citizen.

Proceeding from the fact that the needs of the citizens of the USSR in basic necessities will be satisfied in the coming years, the CPSU (b) for a more versatile satisfaction of the state of the personal needs of workers will in every possible way contribute to the production of: cars, musical instruments, art and jewellery, high quality clothing, shoes, all kinds of china and crystal dishes, furniture made of valuable varieties of wood, highly artistic products, etc.—in a word, everything that adorns life, meets a variety of individual tastes, contributes to the development of new cultural skills and needs, the upbringing of a diversified personality.[c]

[c] The paragraph is marked with a long vertical line in pencil: on sheet 42 along the left margin, on sheet 43 the line continues on the right margin.

Thus, the transition from socialism to the highest phase of communism will mean the most comprehensive and complete satisfaction of the needs of the working people, the continuous growth of new needs, which in turn will be a powerful engine for the development of production.

10. The growth of industrial and agricultural production and the continuously growing demand for food and goods on the part of the working masses will require an even wider trade turnover between town and country, between various regions and regions of the country, between various sectors of the national economy, state enterprises and collective farms.

A huge increase in the production of consumer goods, the development of state and cooperative trade, the competition between these two types of Soviet trade will result in the best service and the most full satisfaction of consumer needs, will be a powerful lever of economic influence on the collective farm market, will lead to a rapid and significant decrease in prices for consumer goods and will be one of the most important factors in raising the well-being of the Soviet people.

All this in the near future will create favourable conditions for strengthening the Soviet ruble, which should become the hardest currency in the world, which will further strengthen the economy of a socialist society and strengthen the effectiveness of the economic levers of socialist production and distribution.

An all-round increase in the production of goods, the expansion of Soviet trade and the strengthening of the ruble, at the same time, will create the preconditions for the transition to direct product exchange in the highest phase of communism.

11. The creation of the economic base of a communist society requires:

a) comprehensive improvement of methods and strengthening the role of the socialist planning of the national economy;

b) creation of powerful material reserves;

c) strengthening the role of economic levers of socialist production and distribution (piecework wages, pay according to workdays on collective farms, bonus payment, cost accounting, cost reduction, money, price and credit).

With the development of the productive forces of socialist society, the elimination of the opposition between mental and physical labour, the creation of abundance consumer goods and the growth of the communist consciousness of the working people, the role of the socialist attitude to labour in the development of productive forces and prerequisites will be created for the transformation of labour from means of living in the first vital need.

II. In the Political Sphere

1. The Communist Party will focus its efforts on further strengthening the Soviet state as the main force in building a communist society, on the implementation of tasks for the further all-round flourishing of Soviet democracy, for the broadest involvement of the entire adult population in the active management of the socialist state, which further raises the communist initiative and activity of the people and will contribute to the formation of the highest phase of communism. Further expansion of Soviet democracy will develop in the direction of: a) involving all citizens, men and women, in active management the state through broad participation in the work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies; b) further strengthening the role of trade unions as a mass school for the communist education of the working class, a school for managing the national economy and involving all workers and

employees in public and state affairs; c) further development of freedom of speech, press, more and more multilaterally expressing [all shades of public opinion] of socialist society, wide involvement of workers of socialism in active discussion of public affairs in newspapers, magazines and other publications, in view of which the collective state, social and economic experience will be more and more comprehensively covered in the Soviet press during the transition to communism and become the property of the whole society workers; d) strengthening the role of public opinion and public organisations in the implementation by all citizens of the basic laws of the Soviet state, the rules and norms of communist society, and in the struggle against antisocial acts; e) an ever-increasing increase in the authority and role of public courts, courts of honour in the communist education of the working people and the implementation of socialist legality; f) further development of the activity and expansion of public organisations, cultural, scientific, industrial, sports societies and the direction of their activities to raise the communist creativity of the masses, to the physical and mental development of all citizens of the Soviet Union.

The development of Soviet democracy in the indicated directions politically ensures the transition from socialism to communism, ensures the strengthening and expansion of the political basis of communism.

The development of Soviet democracy in the indicated directions politically ensures the transition from socialism to communism, ensures the strengthening and expansion of the political basis of communism.

2. With the transition to the highest phase of communism, further development of the economy, state sovereignty, the flourishing of the culture of the Soviet republics will take place, the achievement of the actual equality of all the nations

of the Soviet Union will be completed and the role of each Soviet republic in the life of the USSR will steadily increase. The already achieved friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet Union will fully deploy their strength and will to an even greater extent become the source of the might of the socialist state and the driving force behind the development of Soviet society. The best national traits of every people of the USSR, its culture will be more fully assimilated by the entire Soviet society and become the property of all peoples, as a result of which Soviet culture will receive new sources of unprecedented upsurge and prosperity. This, in turn, will cause a gradual convergence of the national characteristics (forms) of culture of all the peoples of the USSR on the basis of their already achieved and rapidly growing socialist content.

Every Soviet people will, in an ever-increasing volume, benefit from all the achievements of Soviet democracy, the most advanced modern science and technology, literature and art.

3. By placing the transition from socialism to communism on the order of the day, the Bolshevik Party thereby realises the ultimate goal of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, a goal discovered and scientifically substantiated by the great founders of the communist movement, leaders and teachers of the working class, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. In this great epoch of the creation of communism, an epoch of truly world-wide historical significance, the most responsible and complex tasks fall on the party of communists. In the interests of successfully solving the tasks set, the party considers it necessary:

a) to raise the activity and vanguard role of communists in all areas of social life, economic and cultural development;

b) to concentrate their efforts within the party on educating all communists in a fighting spirit, in the spirit of Leninism, to

make all Bolsheviks even more mature Leninists, capable of leading the creative work of the masses of working people in building communism;

c) to further educate in party members the qualities, character, skills that will be characteristic of all members of the future communist association of working people—selfless service to society, homeland, people, deep knowledge of the laws of development of society, selfless struggle for the interests of the people, creative initiative, innovative spirit, unceasing concern for improving their technical and cultural level, constant progress.

4. Just as the political foundation of the transition from socialism to communism is the powerful development of Soviet democracy, the socialist state, the ideological and moral basis of this transition will be the further development and strengthening of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, united under the banner of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the growth of the communist consciousness of all working people, consolidation and elevation in the consciousness of all citizens of the USSR of the great idea of Soviet patriotism.

The party sets [therefore] as its goal:

a) achieve [the gradual erasure of] the class lines between workers and peasants, between them and the intelligentsia, and the transformation of all citizens into active creators of communism;[a]

b) raise the level of communist consciousness, all-round political and cultural development of the entire people to the level of its vanguard—the Communist Party;

[a] In the left margin, the paragraph is marked with a vertical line in pencil, followed by a note: This does not apply to ideology.

c) to develop in all possible ways in all citizens the consciousness and feeling of Soviet patriotism, Soviet dignity, devotion to the interests of the Soviet state, pride in their great Motherland, where socialism has triumphed and communism is being built, for our Bolshevik Party, for the activities and teachings of their leaders, the greatest people in the world—Lenin and Stalin. The party sets the task of completely rooting out the most harmful remnants of capitalism unworthy of the Soviet people—facts of servility and servility to bourgeois civilisation, to foreignism, to educate citizens of the Soviet Union in the consciousness of the superiority of Soviet society, Soviet culture over bourgeois society and its culture, in the spirit of cheerfulness, strong will and character, the ability of every Soviet person to skilfully and to the end stand up for his Soviet Motherland, for the interests and honour of the Soviet state;

d) educating the working people in the spirit of a communist attitude towards labour and public property, in the spirit of a merciless struggle against idlers, parasites, plunders of public property, violators of public order and the laws of the state.

The growth of the communist consciousness of the citizens of the USSR is now acquiring decisive significance in the building of a communist society. More than ever, it is now required of all Soviet people to fully develop and display a spirit of creativity, innovation, the ability to resolutely overcome all difficulties, all obstacles that may stand in the way of communism, confidence in the unconditional and complete victory of communism.

5. The most important task of the Party and the Soviet state and a necessary condition, ensuring the possibility of building a communist society is the strengthening of the military-economic might of the country and the armed forces of the

Soviet Union. It is necessary to improve military affairs, equip the Soviet armed forces with the most advanced equipment, and train the entire population of the country in military affairs.

6. CPSU (B) seeks to complete the implementation of full de facto equality (women by the widest possible involvement of them in state, industrial and social work in all sectors of economic, political and cultural life, complete liberation of women from household chores, deployment of a public catering network, improving its quality, creating mechanised laundries, and expanding a network of children's institutions.

III. In the Field of Education, Science and Culture

The CPSU (B) sets as its task to make all workers and peasants completely cultured and educated, to provide an abundance of spiritual culture. To this end, the Party plans to carry out the following measures:

1. Further expansion of the network of educational institutions and increasing the role of the school in communist education of the working people. Implementation of free universal secondary and vocational education in the native language and higher education for everyone. Providing all students with food, clothing, footwear and educational benefits at the expense of society.

2. Satisfaction of all the cultural needs of the working people of Soviet society. Creation of conditions for the comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual. Meeting the needs of the population for books, newspapers, magazines and, in accordance with this, the development of publishing, libraries, reading rooms.

3. To achieve a powerful flourishing of all branches of science and to ensure the earliest possible implementation of the task—to surpass the achievements of science outside the Soviet Union.

For this purpose:

a) deploy on a large scale the construction of a network of research institutes and systematic training of scientific personnel in all fields of knowledge;

b) make full use of the latest achievements of science and technology in all areas industry, agriculture, transport and communications.[a]

4. To contribute to the rise of literature and art, to enhance their role in the communist education of the working people, to ensure a high ideological and party spirit in creativity of workers of Soviet culture.

5. Provide cinematography and radio coverage of all settlements of the country, widely expand the construction of clubs, houses of culture, theatres, museums and art galleries that meet the cultural needs of the entire population.

6. To carry out general physical education of citizens of the USSR, the development of all sports in the country, providing physical culture and sports with the necessary material conditions, building stadiums, water stations and swimming pools, playgrounds, gymnasiums and other sports facilities.[b]

7. The party aims to promote the earliest possible liberation of workers from religious prejudices through broad scientific

[a] In the upper margin in pencil above the sub-item "b" of the note: About scientists.

[b] On the left margin with a pencil note: Bulk.

and educational propaganda, avoiding any violence and offending the feelings of believers, leading only to the consolidation of religious fanaticism.

IV. In the Field of Public Health Protection

CPSU (B) seeks to create conditions for the maximum reduction of morbidity and the complete elimination of epidemics, occupational and social diseases by radically improving the living conditions and everyday life of the working people and by widespread implementation of preventive measures. Sharp and Increasing Health of the working people under socialism, based on the creation of completely materially secured and cultural living conditions for the entire population, for the first time and truly solves for the whole society the problem of comprehensive, harmonious physical development of human and increase in the duration of human life, which is even greater degree will increase the vitality and power of the socialist society.

To this end, the party will promote the implementation of:

a) extensive measures for the improvement and improvement of cities (water supply, sewerage, removal of harmful enterprises outside the city limits, purification of city air, landscaping, etc.);

b) carrying out measures to eliminate social diseases and combat harmfulness at work;

c) extensive construction in all large settlements of medical institutions (hospitals, maternity hospitals, clinics, outpatient clinics);

d) meeting the needs of all workers in free sanatoriums and homes recreation;

e) providing the population with public catering establishments.

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The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) calls on the workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union to devote all their strength and knowledge, all their enthusiasm to the cause of the struggle for the bright future of the Soviet people, for communism.

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II— M. B. Mitin[1], P. F. Yudin[2] — To A. A. Zhdanov. Materials For The Draft Programme Of The CPSU(B)

26 July, 1947

Dear Andrey Alexandrovich!

We are sending you abstracts for the drafting of the CPSU (B) programmes.

Time constraints did not give us the opportunity to work more thoroughly separate provisions.

M. Mitin
P. Yudin

26.VII.1947

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[1] Mitin (Gershkovich) Mark Borisovich (1901-1987), Soviet scientist, Doctor of Philosophy (1934), Professor (1933), Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1939). In 1947 he worked as the head of the department of dialectical materialism at the Higher Party School under the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (1944-1950) and first deputy chairman of the Board of the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge (1947-1956).

[2][2]Yudin Pavel Fedorovich (1899-1968), Soviet scientist, diplomat and public figure, Doctor of Philosophy (1936), Professor (1935), Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1953). In 1937-1947. —Director of OGIZ (Association of State Book and Magazine Publishing Houses). Supervised the Department of Marxism-Leninism at Moscow State University from 1943 to 1948.

ABSTRACTS ON THE DRAFTING OF THE CPSU (B) PROGRAMME

I. Significance of the October Revolution in the Historical Development of Mankind

1. The Great October Socialist Revolution on November 7 (October 25) 1917 in Russia carried out the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, with the support of the bulk of the peasantry, began to build the foundations of a communist society.

This revolution was the inevitable result of the development of international capitalism. Russia was the weakest link and the focal point of all the contradictions of imperialism.

The Russian working class was the first to enter a decisive struggle against capitalism and won a complete victory over the Russian bourgeoisie and landowners.

The October Revolution ushered in a new era in world history. It was the beginning of a radical turn in the development of humanity from the old capitalist world to the new socialist world.

2. For the first time in history, the workers and peasants deprived the bourgeoisie and landowners of political power, destroyed the old bourgeois state apparatus to the core and created a new type of state—the Soviet state.

The creation of the Soviet state was a world-historical step forward in the struggle of the working class for its liberation. The Soviet state has realised genuine freedom for the working people, a new, people's, socialist democracy. The state of workers was opposed to the bourgeois state, and Soviet socialist democracy was opposed to capitalist democracy.

3. The October Revolution dealt a mortal blow to the exploitative theories that the working class is incapable of running the state.

Thirty years of existence of the Soviet state with all convincingness proved that the people themselves, without capitalists and landlords, not only can successfully manage the state, build industry, manage the economy, but is also able to create the most durable and most powerful state that has ever existed in history.

4. The entire experience of historical development over the past decades shows that the bourgeois form of ownership of the instruments and means of production has outlived its usefulness, that the transformation of the means of production into social, socialist property is a historical necessity, a condition for the further progress of mankind.

The Soviet revolution abolished bourgeois and landlord ownership of the means of production and established the domination of socialist property in our country, which was a decisive condition for the unprecedented growth of the productive forces of Soviet society in terms of its scope and rate.

For the first time in history, the economy of a huge country was organised on scientific, planned principles. The domination of socialist property made possible a reasonable combination of science and economy. New patterns of social development have emerged.

The victorious development of the socialist economy of the USSR led to a complete the ousting of capitalist elements from all spheres of economic and social life, to the elimination of the exploiting classes, to the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. The Soviet people are now saved forever from economic crises, unemployment, poverty and ruin.

The socialist form of economy has shown its greatest advantages in compared with capitalism, as the highest historical stage of organisation and development production.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Victory of Socialism in the USSR confirmed the great truth of Marxism-Leninism that capitalism is a transitory mode of production and that, by virtue of the laws of historical development, it will inevitably be replaced by socialism.

5. The victory of the socialist revolution in the USSR liberated the peoples of Russia from economic and spiritual enslavement by foreign capital and provided them state independence and national independence. The October Revolution roused the broad masses of the country to conscious historical creativity. The people became the true creator of a new social and state system, a new socialist culture.

6. The October socialist Revolution completely broke the chains of national oppression in Russia, and established the Soviet multinational state, built on the principles of the brotherhood of peoples. The Soviet state provided all the peoples of Russia with economic and cultural flourishing. It has raised previously oppressed peoples to the position of truly free and truly equal.

The October Revolution dealt a crushing blow to the bourgeois racial theory, showing that the most backward peoples, drawn into the channel of Soviet development, are capable of moving forward a truly advanced culture and a truly advanced civilisation. She exposed the centuries-widespread lie about the inequality of peoples, about the superiority of some races and nations over others.

7. The October Revolution served as a signal and an example for the working people of the whole world in their liberation struggle, infusing them with confidence in their strength and hope for liberation from oppression and exploitation.

In the broad masses of the people of the capitalist countries, in the colonies and dependent countries, the belief in the inviolability and eternity of capitalism was shaken. Under the influence of the October Revolution, a powerful wave of revolutionary uprisings and national liberation movements swept across the world. The struggle of the working people against capitalist oppression after the October Revolution rose to a higher historical level.

8. The October Revolution dealt the death blow to the social democratic reformist ideology. She proved that only the Communist Party, only Bolshevism is the true representative of revolutionary Marxism. The October Revolution showed the working class of the whole world that social democratic reformism is the ideological pillar of capitalism, a loyal defender and servant of imperialism.

9. The leader and organiser of the masses who carried out the socialist revolution and the victorious building of socialism in the USSR is the All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the party of Lenin-Stalin.

Bolshevik Party armed with the theory of scientific communism, theory of Marxism-Leninism, educated the working class and working people in the spirit of the ideas of the socialist revolution and showed them the right path to victory.

10. World War II, which ended with the complete victory of the Soviet Union over German fascism and Japanese

imperialism, proved to the whole world that only thanks to the Soviet state and the selfless struggle of the peoples of the USSR, who bore the brunt of this war on their shoulders, mankind was saved from the danger of fascist enslavement. The USSR acted as the saviour of world culture and civilisation from fascist barbarism.

The Soviet state in the new, post-war conditions continues to lead to the end consistent struggle for the complete eradication of the ideology of fascism throughout the world, for a lasting democratic peace, for the freedom and independence of peoples, tirelessly exposing the instigators and provocateurs of a new world war.

11. The Great October Socialist Revolution put the working people of the USSR at the head of all advanced and progressive mankind.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the stronghold of the culture and civilisation of modern mankind. A new world culture, the culture of communism, is being created on the basis of victorious socialism in the USSR.

II. Contemporary International Environment

1. The Second World War brought about significant changes in the current international situation.

As a result of the defeat of German fascism and Japanese imperialism, two of the most aggressive imperialist powers, Germany and Japan, were knocked out of the world capitalist system. There was a serious weakening of the British Empire, which lost part of its economic and political positions and turned into a junior partner of the United States.

The centre of gravity of world reaction has shifted to the United States. The economic, financial and military

strengthening of the United States is pushing the American monopoly and financial oligarchy to fight for the establishment of world domination, to abandon traditional isolationism and move to an unrestrained expansionist foreign policy. The failed German-fascist imperialism, which was striving to conquer world domination, was replaced by American imperialism with its aspirations to establish the world domination of the USA. After the failure of the German fascist racial theory, the Anglo-Saxon racial theory was brought to light as the new ideological weapon of American and British imperialism.

2. British imperialism does not have the strength and the means to keep its old positions in the capitalist world, with the result that the British ousted by the American imperialists from China, ousted from Canada, lost their position in Greece and Turkey, etc. The United States is betting on the economic conquest of foreign colonies, on overcoming the colonial monopoly of the European powers and the seizure of foreign markets and sources of raw materials. With false-demagogic declarations against colonial oppression, the American imperialists cover up their desire for a general re-division of the colonial world in their favour.

3. Contemporary imperialist reaction does not want and cannot do away with fascism to the end, for it needs fascism as a counterbalance to the growth of the workers' and people's democratic movement. The ruling circles of the United States and Britain are everywhere conniving at the fascists. The governments of the imperialist states (Britain and the USA) are pursuing a policy of supporting reactionary elements throughout the world (in China, Greece, Italy, France, Iran, Germany, Austria, etc.), a policy of suppressing the national liberation movement in the colonial countries.

4. In the post-war domestic policy of the United States, the process of militarisation of the country and the bureaucratisation of the state apparatus, the strengthening of the military, the transition to methods of direct violence against progressive organisations was sharply defined.

Extreme reactionary circles in the United States are openly pushing the country towards fascism. Enforcement of laws against trade unions, screening of US government employees and dismissal of all 'disloyal', cleaning the state apparatus of communist and democratic elements, racial discrimination, a widespread political and ideological campaign against the labour movement, trade unions, the communist party testify to the serious danger of the fascisation of the United States.

5. One of the manifestations of the US struggle for world domination is the trampling on national sovereignty of many European countries. Relying on the strength of the dollar, taking advantage of the poverty and distress of the population of many European countries after the Second World War, seeking to unite a number of European states under their auspices, reactionary circles of the United States are trying to arbitrarily interfere in their economic and political life. The reactionary elements of these countries openly betray national interests of their peoples for the sake of the rich and overweight masters from the United States.

6. As a reflection of the growth of the forces of imperialist reaction, further decline and stitching of modern bourgeois culture and ideology. In the camps of the bourgeois world, primarily in the USA and England, new variations of the old racial theories are widely preached. Once again, imperialist reaction is raising the weapon of zoological nationalism to the shield. The preaching of 'powerlessness of reason', individualism of the 'proud personality', intellectual anarchy,

philosophical idealism and mysticism intensified greatly in the post-war period.

7. The growth of reaction, the intensifying processes of militarisation and fascisation of the countries of the old bourgeois democracy, the reactionary course in their domestic and foreign policies exacerbate class contradictions; intensify the struggle of progressive and reactionary elements in these countries. There is a growing process of the forces of progress, democracy; ever broader masses of the people are being drawn into the struggle against reaction.

8. After the Second World War, an upsurge in the labour movement was clearly visible in all capitalist countries. The working class of the capitalist countries during the liberation war against fascism acted as the most consistent fighter for the defeat of fascism, as the most patriotic force in the struggle against fascist aggressors and oppressors. Today the working class of the capitalist countries is fighting against international and national reaction and is acting as the true bearer of the national and national interests. The working class of the capitalist countries more and more unites all democratic elements around itself.

9. One of the patterns of the current stage of historical development is the growth of the forces of communism in all countries. During the Second World War, the communist parties played the main organising role in the creation of the resistance movement and the unification of the masses in the countries under German and Japanese occupation. As a result, the communist parties have grown in number, have become stronger politically and ideologically, have won great prestige among the masses and are now a powerful force opposing internal and external reaction.

10. As a result of the defeat of German fascism and Japanese imperialism, the crisis of the entire colonial system of the capitalist world intensified. An unprecedented rise in the history of the nationalist colonial liberation movement is taking place. Not only do the colonial peoples no longer want to live in the old way, but the dominant classes of the metropolises can no longer rule the colonies in the old way. The colonial peoples oppose the attempts of imperialist reaction to find a way out of the crisis of the colonial system through reforms and concessions - their own path, the path of the revolutionary, national liberation struggle.

Under the flag of granting all kinds of 'autonomy', 'independence', through partial concessions, the use of tactics of inciting national and religious discord among colonial peoples, as well as through economic and political pressure, and where all this does not help - through direct military suppression of the national liberation movement— the imperialists are doing their utmost to preserve their old colonial positions. The peoples of the colonial countries (India, Burma, Indonesia, Indochina, etc.) are increasingly deploying a struggle for their national independence, establishing ties with democratic, progressive forces throughout the capitalist world, including in the metropolitan countries.

11. After the First World War, as a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Russia broke the chains of imperialism, and the Soviet state and social system was established in it. After the Second World War, as a result of the unfolding national liberation struggle against the fascist oppression, thanks to the historical role in the defeat of German fascism, which the Soviet Union played - in a number of countries of eastern and southeastern Europe (Yugoslavia,

Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Poland) a new democracy has grown and strengthened.

The peoples of these countries, having freed themselves from Hitler's oppression with the help of the Soviet Army, began to build new democratic orders in themselves, abandoning old examples of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, such as the English or North American. New forms of state structure have emerged, ensuring the real attraction of workers, peasants, and working intelligentsia to state administration. In the countries of the new democracies, land reform has been carried out, large landowners have been abolished, large-scale industry has been nationalised, and the foundations have been laid for the planned development of the economy. A new path of economic and political development towards socialism has opened before the countries of the new democracies.

The peoples of these countries, having freed themselves from Hitler's oppression with the help of the Soviet Army, began to build new democratic orders in themselves, abandoning old examples of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, such as the English or North American. New forms of state structure have emerged, ensuring the real attraction of workers, peasants, and working intelligentsia to state administration. Land reform has been carried out in the countries of new democracies, large-scale landlordism was liquidated, large-scale industry was nationalised, and the foundations were laid for the planned development of the economy. A new path of economic and political development towards socialism has opened before the countries of the new democracies.

12. In the post-war period, the reactionary role of the modern right-wing social-democracy as the clerk and squire of imperialism is once again clearly revealed. After the First

World War, Social democracy, through its opportunistic and treacherous policies, saved capitalism; as a result of the split of the working-class movement, it paved the way for the victory of fascism in Germany, Italy, Spain and other countries. Now, after the Second World War, the right-wing socialists play an equally reactionary role, being direct accomplices of the imperialist aggressive forces; they are active assistants, propagandists and agents of the US policy of economic and political enslavement of a number of European countries, active preachers of the creation of a Western bloc of European states directed against the Soviet Union.

Exposing their policies and isolating them from the working class and the masses of the people is the urgent task of all truly democratic, progressive forces.

13. Two tendencies were clearly defined in the international situation—the tendency of imperialist reaction and aggression, provocation and preparation of a new war, denial of the national sovereignty of small countries, represented by reactionary imperialist circles—and another tendency represented by the Soviet Union—the spokesman for the true interests of the peoples, consistently fighting for a long-term democratic peace, defending the rights of peoples and the sovereignty of small states.

14. The development of the productive forces of the capitalist world, primarily in the United States, the concentration of huge wealth in the hands of a handful of monopolists and magnates of financial capital, and the ever-progressive impoverishment of the masses of the people, puts the capitalist system in front of new economic shocks and crises. The uneven developments of the capitalist countries, the imbalance within the bourgeois economic system are fraught with the danger of new military conflicts. The more the

progress of science goes forward, the more opportunities open up for the use of new sources of energy, new great technological discoveries-all the more strongly affects the main contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social nature of labour and the private capitalist form of appropriation. The higher the level of the latest technology, the more magnificent the productive forces of humanity become, the more inevitably the question of the necessity of replacing the old bourgeois system with a new socialist system becomes the order of the day. Imperialism is unable to cope with the modern productive forces societies. The only way to avoid new military clashes and crises is the transition to socialism.

III. Results of the Achievements of Soviet Society

1. Having won political power in Russia, the workers and peasants created the main conditions for the radical socialist transformation of the country.

After the defeat of foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution, the Communist Party directed all the forces of the Soviet people to restore the national economy and socialist reconstruction of the country's life along all lines. It was necessary to start creating our own industrial base for the national economy, it was necessary to prepare and carry out the transformation of agriculture on a socialist basis, a tremendous amount of work had to be done to comprehensively develop and strengthen the socialist state, it was necessary to launch a whole cultural revolution in the country.

2. The implementation of these tasks was associated with enormous difficulties arising from the age-old economic and cultural backwardness of old Russia. It is necessary was to overcome the desperate resistance of the exploiting classes,

defeat Trotskyite-Zinoviev-Bukharin traitors and traitors, to strengthen the country's defence in the face of the continuous attempts of the bourgeois states to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government rallied the Soviet people, directed his efforts towards a common goal, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties.

As a result of the titanic work of the Soviet people, a socialist society was built in the USSR.

3. Guided by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Party and the Soviet government developed a strictly scientific programme for the industrialisation of the country.

Unlike the capitalist method of industrialisation, the Soviet method of industrialisation is based on public ownership of the means of production, on the accumulation and conservation of wealth created by the labour of workers and peasants. The Soviet method of industrialisation assumed a steady increase in the material well-being of the masses. The clarity of the goal and the greatness of the prospects for socialist construction aroused the greatest labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people. The construction of socialist industry gave rise to new forms of communist construction—socialist competition and shock work.

All this led to an unprecedented increase in production. It was a leap with the help of which our homeland, in the shortest historical period, turned from a backward country to an advanced one, from an agrarian to an industrial one.

Soviet industry has grown into a tremendous force based on the new, advanced modern technology with a highly developed heavy industry and even more developed mechanical engineering.

4. Consistently and successfully solving the problem of creating a large modern mechanised industry, the Soviet state carried out the Leninist behest to transform our country into an economically independent and independent from the capitalist economy of the bourgeois countries.

As a result of industrialisation, a powerful and solid base for the country's defence was created, which made it possible to prepare for organising a rebuff in the event of a military attack from outside.

5. The most difficult task of the socialist revolution was the introduction to socialism of the multimillion Soviet peasantry. To put an end to the backwardness in the field of agriculture and put it on a socialist track, it was necessary to organise the transition from small-scale peasant farming to large-scale collective farming.

Large-scale socialist industry made it possible to provide the most advanced technical base for the reconstruction of agriculture. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government for a number of years created new productive forces in the countryside, equipped agriculture with new technology, was prepared a large army of people who have mastered new technology.

As a result of all this, a profound revolutionary upheaval took place in the Soviet countryside, a leap from the old qualitative state of society into a new qualitative state, equivalent in its consequences to the revolutionary coup in October 1917.

In the process of the transition of the peasantry to collective farms, the last exploiting class, the kulaks, was liquidated.

7. The creation of the foundation of the socialist economy in industry and agriculture was accompanied by the ousting of the bourgeoisie from the field of commodity circulation.

The Soviet state and cooperative trade was created, which provided supplying the working people of town and country with consumer goods, which established correct economic relations between various industries.

8. As a result of the victory of socialist industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture, the exploiting classes were eliminated and the exploitation of man by man was completely abolished. The class structure of Soviet society has radically changed. Only the working class and the peasant class remained in the USSR, as well as the Soviet intelligentsia. The working class and peasantry of the USSR are new classes that have changed their social nature. The intelligentsia of the USSR also changed. The alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia is strong and unshakable.

9. On the basis of the great historical victories of socialism, the Soviet socialist state was consolidated, the Soviet socialist democracy developed. The Soviet people have achieved unprecedented successes in all areas of economic, political and cultural life.

The Stalinist Constitution expressed and legally consolidated the victory of socialism in our country.

The introduction of the new Constitution of the USSR meant a turn in the entire political life of the country.

10. The construction of socialism in the USSR meant a modification of the old and the emergence of new laws of social development.

Instead of the antagonistic contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production that existed for centuries, which expressed the antagonism of the exploiting and exploited classes, in the USSR there is a complete

correspondence between the productive forces and the relations of production.

Instead of the anarchy of capitalist production, which gives rise to economic crises and unemployment, the USSR has a planned economy that ensures the rational use of all social and natural opportunities for the all-round development of productive forces.

The Soviet economy is developing on the basis of high rates of expanded socialist reproduction of industry and agriculture.

The high rates of development of the socialist economy ensure the continuous growth of the material and cultural well-being of the Soviet people.

In the USSR, the socialist principle has fully established itself and prevails: from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.

The development of production is based on such a combination of the personal and public interests of Soviet citizens, which ensures the development of the social national economy and creates a solid foundation for the ever-increasing satisfaction and personal needs of citizens.

11. The flourishing of the socialist system created new driving forces of Soviet society, which did not exist and could not have existed before socialism. These new driving forces are: moral and political unity of the Soviet people, friendship of peoples, Soviet patriotism. Socialism created not only new social conditions, but also a new, socialist man. In the USSR, the people and communism have merged into a single and indestructible force.

12. The Soviet social and political system was strengthened to such an extent and became such a vital need of the Soviet people that the entire people, as one person, rose to fight

against the fascist invasion and defended their conquests in an unprecedentedly difficult war against Nazi Germany. The heroism and courage displayed by the Soviet people in the Patriotic War were a vivid expression of the fact that the Soviet system is a truly people's system, close to every Soviet citizen.

13. In the process of socialist construction, the Leninist-Stalinist nationality policy won a complete victory. The former national inequality of the peoples of old Russia was completely destroyed and the Leninist-Stalinist idea of a state based on fraternal friendship and unity of all the nations and peoples of the USSR was implemented. The selfless participation of all the peoples of the Soviet socialist republics in the Patriotic War further strengthened the inviolable friendship and brotherhood of the multinational Soviet people.

In Soviet society, a new, socialist patriotism arose and developed, the essence of which lies in the combination of the national traditions of the peoples of the USSR with the common interests of the working masses.

14. The creative and constructive nature of Soviet society found its expression in the building of a new socialist culture.

In its ideological content, Soviet culture from beginning to end is permeated with the spirit of the great communist doctrine, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. National in its form, Soviet culture is socialist in its content. It is a new type of world culture, not reconciling with any oppression, with any belittling of human dignity and reason, or with any cultivation of animal instincts in man.

In its deep ideology, in its popular character, in its noble purpose to serve the interests of the working masses fighting for communist life, it rises immeasurably above bourgeois culture.

15. The greatest achievement of the Soviet revolution is the solution of the problem of cadres of state and economic leaders. Over 30 years of Soviet the authorities from among the people came out major statesmen who proved their ability to successfully lead a great socialist state. The Soviet people have created their own cadres of scientists, writers, artists, military leaders, engineers, technicians—the builders of a new society. A new, Soviet the intelligentsia, closely associated with the people, ready to serve them in their mass by faith and true.

16. The Soviet revolution created its own powerful armed forces, the historical victories of which in the civil war of 1917-1920 and especially in the Great Patriotic War were proved by the invincibility of the Soviet socialist system. The victory over the powerful military machine of Nazi Germany was a vivid demonstration of the superiority of Soviet military ideology and military art over the military strategy and tactics of the enemies of the Soviet state. The Soviet army was able to fulfil its historic mission of liberation in the war against the German imperialists and earned universal love and recognition of all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

17. A particularly outstanding role in the family of Soviet peoples was and is played by the great the Russian people, the first to raise the banner of the socialist revolution, rallying throughout the entire period of building socialism the peoples of the USSR and selfless and disinterested help to previously oppressed nations respect and love of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Russian people rightfully occupy leading position in the Soviet commonwealth of nations. The great advanced culture created by the Russian people and its highest achievement - Leninism - are the most important source of development of the culture of all other peoples of the USSR.

18. The Soviet people in thirty years of the October Socialist Revolution have achieved world-wide historical success. He is rightfully at the forefront of all modern progressive humanity.

The Soviet people have achieved all their victories and achievements under the leadership of the Communist Party. She inspired him to great historical daring and deeds. Its policy is the lifeblood of the Soviet system.

The Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the Lenin-Stalin party, is the vanguard of the working class, the vanguard of the Soviet people. She is the leading and organising force of the Soviet state. The outlook of the Communist Party has become the outlook of the Soviet people. This is the great invincible strength of Soviet society, the guarantee of further victories for the Soviet people on the path to building a complete communist society in the USSR.

IV. The Main Tasks of the Transition of Soviet Society from Socialism to Communism

1. Having achieved the victory of the lowest phase of communism—socialism, the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks sets as its task the completion of the construction of a socialist society and a gradual transition from socialism to communism, the construction of a complete communist society in our country.

The gradual transition from socialism to communism will be carried out through a series of stages as the national economy develops, labour productivity increases, communist consciousness of the masses and as the power of the Soviet state was further strengthened.

Communism is the highest stage in the development of a new system, in which not only social ownership of the

instruments and means of production dominates and is absent exploitation of man by man, but all remnants of old class differences, the remnants of capitalism in the economy and the consciousness of people are being overcome, the opposition between town and country is eliminated, the difference between people of mental and people of physical labour, and all citizens are workers of a single communist society.

Under communism, such a high productivity of the people's labour and such a powerful development of the productive forces of society are achieved, which ensure an abundance of all consumer goods and make it possible to implement the communist principle: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

2. Under communism, a higher type of social organisation is carried out labour based on the free and conscious discipline of the members of the communist society.

Labour ceases to be only a means of life and becomes a habit and a vital need of people.

Until labour becomes a matter of habit of every person and until all people begin to voluntarily work according to their abilities, the strictest accounting and control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption is the primary duty of society and the state.

3. On the basis of the planned development of the productive forces and the rational management of material resources, communism creates all the possibilities for an unprecedented, ever-progressive rise in the welfare of the masses and ensures full satisfaction of all the rapidly growing needs of society.

Implementation of the communist principle of distribution according to needs leads to the final elimination of any economic inequality between people.

Communism does not eliminate personal ownership of personal items and household items.

4. Communism means an unprecedented flowering of science and technology, flowering and abundance material and spiritual culture of society. In a communist society, people for the first time become the real masters of the forces of nature.

All the necessary conditions are created for a comprehensive, harmonious development of personality, for the development of all the abilities and talents inherent in a person. Everything miracles of technology, all the achievements of culture, all the fruits of the millennial development of civilisation go to all working people - members of communist society. The human mind and genius work for the benefit of the masses. The time is coming for a joyful and happy life for all the people.

5. The USSR has everything possible and necessary to build a complete communist society. Having fulfilled the testament of V. I. Lenin, having translated into reality under the leadership of I.V. Stalin, the doctrine of the possibility of the victory of socialism in the USSR, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet government set themselves the immediate practical task of completing the building of socialist society and organising a gradual transition from the lowest phase of the new order to its highest phase.

6. After the abolition of classes in general and any remnants of the old class distinctions, as people get used to voluntarily observing elementary conditions of human community and the need for any kind of violence against people will disappear, the state ceases to be necessary and dies out.

The withering away of the state is a long-term process and can begin in the second phase of communism only if the capitalist encirclement is eliminated and the danger of military attacks from outside is eliminated.[a]

As long as the communist society, victorious in one country, coexists with the world of capitalism and the danger of the forcible invasion of its external enemies in order to restore capitalism is not removed, the most important task of the Communist Party and the entire people is the all-round strengthening of the Soviet state, all its organs and, first of all, its standing armed force.

The implementation of communism in our country requires the following major transformations:

A. In the Field of General Political and State Building

1. In the transition from socialism to communism, further development is necessary Soviet democracy, the continuation and comprehensive expansion of measures that contribute to the maximum strengthening of the political activity of the masses, strengthening the control of the masses over the organs of the Soviet state, increasing the responsibility of the organs of Soviet power to the people.

2. In order to further strengthen the Soviet state, along with strengthening centralised management of state affairs and economy requires the maximum development of the initiative of all grassroots state, economic and public organisations, and

[a] In the lower left corner of the sheet in the margins in pencil opposite the paragraph “The withering away of the state is a long process ...” of the note: **The peculiarity of the change in the function of the state.**

the actual involvement in their work of the entire population of each district, city, village and village.

3. Attaching critical importance to criticism and self-criticism as one of the driving forces of Soviet socialist society, it is necessary to achieve such an organisation activities of party, Soviet, economic and public organisations, so that criticism and self-criticism become the main method of work, so that comprehensively criticism was carried out by broad masses of the activities of all organisations, both local and central, as well as individuals, regardless of their post and social status.

4. On the basis of the achieved complete moral and political unity of the Soviet society in the future will become possible (expedient) [competition] during elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies (top and bottom) of several candidates, put forward by the bloc of communists and non-party people in order to select the most worthy and most capable.

5. In order to further involve the broad masses in the active work of Soviet, economic and public organisations, in order to strengthen the struggle against the theft of socialist property and the negligent attitude of individual workers to the assigned task, to combat elements of bureaucracy in the organs of the state apparatus, to transform the State Audit Office into an organisation which would rely in its work on a broad active of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, attracting the masses to systematic participation in revision, control and verification work.[a]

[a] On the left margin, the paragraph is marked with a pencil with a vertical line, below the line of a note in pencil: **<Key> role of the party ... a**

6. As the construction of a socialist society is completed and the gradual the transition to communism [more and more direct state] functions will be transferred to [voluntary public] organisations on the basis of the growth of the culture of the masses and the growth of their communist consciousness.

7. In order to further develop Soviet people's democracy, it is necessary to consider:

a) a gradual transition to the organisation of popular vote on the most important issues of state life as a general political, economic order, and on issues of everyday life, housing and cultural construction[b];

b) the widespread deployment of legislative initiative from below by granting public organisations the right to submit proposals to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics on the issuance of new laws;

c) the right of citizens and public organisations to directly submit requests to Supreme Councils on the most important issues of international and domestic policy.

8. The transition to communism requires the further comprehensive strengthening of the Soviet multinational state, the expansion of the functions and rights of the Union republics and, at the same time, the strengthening of the centralised leadership of all-Union affairs; further strengthening of fraternal ties and cooperation of all the peoples of the USSR; the raising of the economy and culture of the national republics and regions to the level of the most advanced regions of the

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strengthening core and a cementing force. The text of the note is underlined, below the line: **Just a different policy, [**nrzb**] I will withdraw.**

[b] Along the right margin, the paragraph is marked with a vertical line in pencil.

USSR, and thus the final implementation of the complete elimination of the former economic, technical and cultural backwardness of the national borderlands.

9. In order to prepare the conditions for the future fusion of national cultures [in one common, both in] form and in [content, communist culture], it is necessary in every possible way [to promote][c] to ensure that all national cultures in conditions the Soviet system fully and to the end revealed all their internal capabilities and all your creative powers.

10. In order to more and more familiarise all the peoples of the USSR with the advanced socialist culture, it is necessary in every possible way to encourage the study of Russian culture and the Russian language by all peoples of the USSR. At the same time, the systematic study and development of the cultural achievements of all the peoples of the USSR should be considered the most important task of each republic[d].

11. In order to maintain the defensive capability of the socialist homeland needs a permanent army built on the basis of universal conscription. Military service in the Soviet Army is an honourable duty of the citizens of the USSR. The defence of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Along with the Soviet Army, it is necessary to develop the broadest and most widespread education of the population in modern military art, ensuring the proper level of teaching relevant subjects in higher and secondary schools, in every way deploying the activities in this direction of all kinds of amateur military and sports organisations that help prepare cadres for

[c] Along the left margin, underlined items are marked with two short vertical lines in pencil.

[d] On the right margin, the paragraph is marked with a pencil with a vertical line, behind it is not legible, presumably: **NB, below: solutions.**

the Soviet Army. It is a duty of honour, a duty of every citizen of the USSR, to be constantly ready, in case of need, to join the ranks of the Soviet Army and defend the gains of communism with arms in hand.

12. The all-round strengthening of the might of the Soviet Army is the most important task of the Soviet state and all working people of the USSR. In the construction of the Soviet Army, to achieve such technical equipment and combat qualities that are much will surpass the technical equipment and fighting qualities of the armies of any bourgeois state and any possible unification directed against communism.

13. [Red][a] The army is built on the basis of one-man command, strict military discipline, the authority of the command and political staff, [with the broadest development of public organisations in it].

14. Building a complete communist society presupposes the implementation of conscientious and conscientious observance of the rules of the communist community by all citizens of Soviet society.

15. While Soviet society is in a capitalist encirclement, while hostile and malicious acts of individuals or groups against the communist system or against individual members of the communist society, the Soviet state must resort to measures of suppression of criminal acts, to measures of severe punishment of persons harming society or its individual members.

[a] Circled in pencil, arrow on the top margin for note: Sovetskaya.

16. The Soviet judicial and punitive authorities are charged with the responsibility of protecting state, public property as sacred and inviolable of the basis of the Soviet system, as a source of wealth and power of the homeland, as a source prosperous and cultural life of all working people, as well as to protect the personal property of citizens; monitor the strict observance of state laws by all living on the territory of the USSR.

17. Along with severe punishments against the enemies of communism and to their accomplices, the Soviet court on an ever wider scale must apply conditional punishment, public censure, and the replacement of imprisonment by compulsory labour, a system of educational measures in relation to persons who commit crimes not from anti-state and anti-national motives, but due to old habits not yet outlived and insufficient communist consciousness.

18. While defending the further development of the court towards its greatest democratisation, we must strive to ensure that the broad masses of the people are more and more involved in the exercise of judicial duties.

19. Along with the state judiciary, the development of courts is necessary honour, elected in state and public central institutions, for enterprises, collective farms, institutions that should contribute to the education citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, to influence members of society, committing anti-patriotic and anti-state offenses, violating the rules of communist society and communist labour discipline.

20. Trade unions as a school of communism have trained many thousands of leaders in all areas of the national economy and government. With the transition from socialism to

communism, the role of trade unions as a school of communism becomes even more significant.

21. Trade unions have the following tasks:

a) fostering communist labour discipline among workers and employees. Trade unions are fighting against all kinds of violation of labour discipline, negligent attitude to work, they are striving for an all-round increase in labour productivity and, on this basis, an increase in real wages and an increase in the material standard of living of the working people, organise and encourage the initiative of the masses to develop all forms of communist emulation;

b) the trade unions, together with state and economic bodies, organise an extensive network of courses, schools, institutes and technical schools, covering all workers and employees;

c) further expansion of state functions performed by trade unions on cultural and everyday services for workers;

d) in order to train workers and employees in managing the economy, public and state affairs, trade unions are directly involved in the development of economic plans, technical and other measures to raise labour productivity and organisation of the economy, they widely practice the promotion of trade union members to responsible economic, public and state posts, providing all-round assistance in mastering the work entrusted to them.

22. The basis of all the work of the trade unions should be a widespread socialist democracy, the decisive expulsion of all elements of bureaucracy, bureaucracy and formal attitude to business.

23. As communism takes hold, trade unions will increasingly become amateur cultural and other associations of

workers, which will become one of the forms of communist management of public affairs.[a]

B. In the Economic Sphere

1. The decisive economic task of the USSR for the transition to communism is the task is to catch up and overtake economically the most developed capitalist countries of the world, including the United States.

The provision of this main task primarily depends on the further development of heavy industry and, above all, metallurgy, mechanical engineering, chemistry, fuel, and the energy base, without which the rapid development of the entire national economy is impossible.

2. Further development of socialist industry and technology will lead to the completion of the great technical revolution, the creation of the powerful technology of communism, the saving of an enormous mass of human labour and the abundance of material benefits of communist society.

3. The main way to solve these problems is the electrification of the whole country according to a single plan. Communism is, according to Lenin's teachings, Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country.

4. To carry out the electrification of the entire country, it is necessary:

a) deploy the construction of large power plants using local energy resources and, first of all, hydropower and local fuels;

[a] Along the left margin with a pencil, the paragraph is marked with two vertical lines. Below pencil note:?

b) use for electrification purposes, as well as for the development of chemical industry of underground coal gasification;

c) the unification of all large power plants by a single network of high-voltage transmissions, covering the whole country according to a general plan with ramifications in each region;

d) the use of electric energy for the gradual transfer of the national economy of the country, including agriculture, to a new technical base, directly or indirectly related to the electrification;

e) electricity lighting of every house in the Soviet Union, both in the city and in village; the introduction of all kinds of electrical household appliances that contribute to the final liberation of millions of women from heavy domestic work.

Electrifying the entire country, providing an unprecedented centralisation of government economy, at the same time opens up the possibility of dispersing and correctly locating industry, bringing it closer to sources of raw materials and areas of consumption.

It makes it possible in medium and small enterprises to ensure the use of a number of advantages of large-scale production and technological advances, and at the same time makes it possible to achieve the highest labour productivity.

5. It is necessary to develop in every possible way the mechanisation of production processes in all sectors of the national economy, especially in the auxiliary and most labour-intensive and heavy work, and, thus, to achieve the elimination of heavy and unproductive physical labour.

6. It is necessary to carry out a broad and planned development of production automation on an electrical basis, which opens up completely unlimited possibilities for increasing labour productivity and leading to a sharp change in

the nature labour, raising it to a higher level, eliminating unskilled labour. Automation is one of the main points in the development of the new technology of communism and one of the important technical levers for eliminating the opposition between physical and mental labour.

The most important task in creating the technical base of communism is the broadest development of all types of the latest technology and new types of energy sources, atomic energy, radar, photocells, jet technology, etc.

It is necessary to ensure on the broadest scale the development of invention and rationalisation, to involve in this work of broad masses of engineers and technicians, foremen and workers.

One of the central tasks, on the solution of which the further growth of the productive forces of Soviet society depends, is the all-round development of geological exploration work and the use of the inexhaustible wealth of the bowels of our homeland.

7. Modern chemistry is one of the main factors in the development of the productive forces of the national economy, a source of new means of material culture, as well as a powerful means of defending the country. The CPSU (B) sets the task of the all-round development of the chemical industry, especially the production of new synthetic materials, the production of numerous complex substances from the simplest materials, serving the diverse needs of industry and defence.

8. Mechanical engineering retains its leading role in the implementation of further technical development of the country. It must fully ensure the technical progress of all sectors of the national economy through the production of the most advanced and the constantly improving types of machines, apparatus, instruments and other equipment

necessary for the mechanisation, automation and chemicalisation of production processes.

9. Mass production of automobiles should be of particular importance in order to ensure free and unhindered use of automobile transport for every citizen.

10. To ensure the level of production of consumer goods necessary for the transition to communism, the CPSU (B) sets the task of ever accelerating development of light and food industries. All these industries must provide high quality products that meet the many needs of the communist society.

11.The USSR, as a great railway power, should take first place in the world in terms of length and density, freight turnover and technical equipment of railways.

12. It is necessary: a) to complete the technical reconstruction of the railway transport based on the introduction of locomotives and steam locomotives with steam condensation, the development of high-speed rail links and a number of other technical improvements;

b) to expand the extensive construction of new major railways, especially those serving the east and north of the country.

13. It is necessary to significantly enhance the role of water transport in servicing the national economy of the USSR, to raise the technical level of sea and river navigation, and to expand the further construction of large artificial waterways and canals. To expand in every way the use of the country's richest river systems for goods and passenger traffic.

14. There is a need for the broadest development of air transport in a size that will cover the entire country with a network of regular air lines, and constantly improve airplanes and equipment for air routes.

15. It is necessary to expand road construction on such a scale as to cover the whole country with a dense network of improved highways.

16. All-round development and improvement of all types of communications, especially radio communications. It is necessary to provide every apartment, both in the city and in the countryside, with a radio receiver. Much attention should be paid to the improvement and widespread dissemination of television.

17. The following tasks are in the field of agriculture:

a) further comprehensive strengthening of the artel form of collective farm production as the most appropriate to the given stage of development of socialism and as the only correct path to higher forms of organisation of agricultural production;

b) a further increase in the technical equipment of agriculture and the comprehensive mechanisation of all processes of agricultural production. Along with the development and improvement of existing agricultural technology based on a tractor and a combine, it is necessary to increasingly introduce electrification into all agricultural production processes;

c) the use of all the achievements of agricultural science and technology, the spread of grass crop rotations, selection and cultivation of new varieties, irrigation of the arid regions of the Volga region, the Centre and other regions of the country, land reclamation and drainage of swampy soils in order to

eliminate the dependence of agriculture from natural phenomena and ensuring a steady increase in productivity;

d) to achieve high productivity of agricultural labour, such a significant increase in crop yields, the development of grass cultivation and livestock productivity, which would provide a complete abundance of agricultural products.

18. It is necessary to expand on a large scale work on the improvement and cultural and public services of villages and villages: reorganisation of dwellings, construction of water pipes, construction of schools, childcare facilities, clubs, cinemas, canteens, laundries and the development of vehicles. All these measures should make the cultural and social conditions of life in the countryside no different from the urban ones, and thus, from this side, prepare for the elimination of the distinction between town and country.

19. The transition to the agricultural commune as the highest form of the collective farm movement will take place as the existing agricultural artel is further strengthened and the productivity of agricultural labour grows, when the fields and farms of the artel will have an abundance of grain, livestock, poultry, vegetables and all other products, when the village will receive the spread of mechanical laundries, modern kitchens, canteens, bakeries, etc. The process of growing an artel into a commune should take place gradually, as all collective farmers become convinced of the need for such an outgrowth. The commune, in turn, creates new opportunities for higher productivity and cultural life.

20. At the highest stage of communism, as the abundance of food increases, there will be the transition to the principle ‘from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs’.

The entire material and technical apparatus of Soviet trade (warehouses, shops and etc.), significantly strengthened and multiplied many times, will become the basis for the future organisation of communist distribution.

21. Until the principle of communist distribution is fully realised, the all-round development of Soviet trade both in the city and in the countryside is necessary; establishment of cultural services for the consumer; deployment of the construction of trading establishments, shops, warehouses, shops, taking into account the latest achievements of technology and sanitation; the creation of ideally organised Soviet trade that fully satisfies the most varied needs of the population of town and country.

22. The CPSU (b) sets as its task such an increase in the number of consumer goods produced and such a constant decline in prices with a corresponding increase in real wages that a situation will gradually be created in which every citizen of the USSR will be able to actually purchase all types of products for your needs.

Thus, the transition to communist distribution must be considered as a gradual process taking place on the basis of an increasing abundance of consumer goods and the policy of constant price reduction pursued by the Soviet state, on the basis of a steady increase in the productivity of social labour.

23. In order to further strengthen the economic might of the USSR, it is necessary to pursue a policy of strengthening the monetary system of the USSR, seeking to establish the Soviet

currency as the most durable and stable currency in the world, overtaking dollars and pounds in this respect.[a]

D. In the Culture and Education Sphere

1. In the field of urban development, the following programme should be adhered to:

a) restrict the further growth of the largest cities of the Soviet Union by stopping the construction of new industrial enterprises in these cities;

b) to carry out the reconstruction of cities according to scientifically developed plans. The layout of streets and squares, the placement of dwellings, industrial buildings and transport, greening and watering, the architectural design of cities must meet the high requirements for improvement;

c) the creation of cultural and everyday living conditions that meet the requirements of communism, involves the provision of all houses in cities with electricity, heating, water supply, sewerage, gas and all the achievements of advanced communal technology;

d) reconstruction and expansion of urban transport in order to completely to meet the needs of the population for fast and convenient movement.

2. The task of the transition to communism requires a radical solution of the housing problem. New housing construction needs to be expanded on a large scale, to provide each worker with a completely comfortable separate room and a separate apartment for each family.[a]

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[a] Along the right margin, paragraphs 22 and 23 are marked with a long vertical line in pencil.

[aa]In the left field, the sentence is marked with a short vertical line in pencil.

3. Further tasks in the field of public education are:

a) the strengthening and development of the Soviet school as a conductor of the ideological, organisational and educational influence of the Communist Party on all strata of the working people in order to build a complete communist society and eliminate differences between mental and physical labour;

b) coverage of all children with free education;

c) the implementation of the principles of the [political][b] school, preparing the all-round development of members of the communist society;

d) the introduction of compulsory secondary general and [polytechnic education] for the entire younger generation under 18;

e) the supply of all students in lower and secondary schools with food, clothing, shoes and teaching aids at the expense of the state;

f) further development of a network of higher education institutions that can cover all citizens wishing to get higher education;

g) development of a network of industrial technical and agronomic education, ensuring the cultural and technical upsurge of the working class and the peasantry.

To this end, it is necessary to organise polytechnic institutes for workers without higher education, to ensure wide access to the auditorium of higher education for all who wish to attend the appropriate lecture courses.

[bb]From the "political" pencil vertical line to the bottom field, there is a note:?

4. To expand a network of cinemas, theatres, clubs, museums, palaces of culture and recreation, stadiums, which will meet the growing cultural demands of the entire people.

5. One of the decisive conditions for wide coverage of communist education the whole people and the rapid growth of communist culture is the printed word.

It is necessary to achieve in the coming years such a development of the paper industry and printing equipment that would ensure the full satisfaction of the needs in all types of printing (newspapers, books, magazines) of all citizens of the Soviet Union.[c]

6. It is necessary to widely expand the network of research institutions in all fields of knowledge, to achieve in the near future the solution of the problem of surpassing the achievements of science outside our country.

7. The whole set of state measures for public education, cultural and educational work, the activities of all kinds of public educational and cultural organisations, the work of general and special schools and courses have their main goal—to solve the problem of raising the cultural and technical level of workers to the level of engineering and technical workers.

8. In the Field of Public Health Protection it is Necessary:

[cc]In the left field, a paragraph is highlighted with a short vertical line, followed by a note: What is there a complete need?

a) further implementation of extensive sanitary measures protecting the health of the people (improvement of all populated areas, purification of water, air, etc.);

b) health resort assistance for all those who need it; further development of a wide network of rest homes and sanatoriums;

c) provision of qualified medical care to the entire population;

d) complete elimination of conditions that give rise to infectious diseases;

e) complete elimination of social diseases (sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis, alcoholism).

9. It is necessary: a) to provide all citizens with at least an annual monthly leave at the expense of the state;

b) achieve the elimination of industrial accidents, the elimination of occupational diseases and the complete improvement of working conditions in hazardous industries;

c) full provision of all necessary disabled members of society (old people, disabled war veterans, disabled workers).

* * *

These are, in brief, the main measures in the field of state building, economies, cultures, which should ensure the completion of the construction of a socialist society and a gradual transition from socialism to communism.

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III— P. N. Pospelov, M. T. Iovchuk, D. T. Shepilov to A. A. Zhdanov. Materials For The Draft Programme Of The CPSU (B). 27 July, 1947

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (B)[a]

to comrade A. A. Zhdanov

We present to you the material for drafting a new programme of the All-Union Communist Party (B).

P. Pospelov[1]
M. Iovchuk[2]
D. Shepilov[3]

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[a] In the upper right corner with a pencil in a column: See 14, see 38, see 40, see 56, see 57, 60, 61, 63, 66. Below: 73 [unclear] 60.

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[3] Shepilov Dmitry Timofeevich (1905-1995), Soviet scientist and politician. In 1946-1947, He served as editor for the propaganda department of the newspaper “Pravda”, since 1947 - first deputy head, head of the department, inspector in the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the

July 27, 1947

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Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). In 1952-1956—editor of the Pravda newspaper.

I

1. Victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and Its Impact on the Historical Destiny of Mankind

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which overthrew the power of the imperialists in our country, marks a radical turning point in the world history of mankind. Under the leadership of the party of Lenin-Stalin, the socialist revolution for the first time in history ended with the complete victory of the exploited over the exploiters, the creation and consolidation of a new social system that forever abolished the exploitation of man by man.

In the shortest historical period, a socialist society has been built in our country, which knows no crises or unemployment, and continuously and with tremendous speed develops the productive forces. The experience of socialist construction in the USSR has personally proved that socialism is fraught with gigantic strength that from now on a new era has begun in the history of mankind.

As a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and successful construction of a socialist society in the USSR, capitalism ceased to be the only and all-encompassing system of the world economy. Along with the system of world capitalism, which since the First World War has been in a state of general crisis, eaten away by irreconcilable contradictions and incurable diseases, the system of socialist economy and the system of Soviet democracy have existed for three decades now, are developing and gaining strength. The experience of the USSR, the first socialist state in the world, proved the superiority of the Soviet social and state system over the capitalist system, the advantages of Soviet

democracy over bourgeois democracy, the strength and vitality of the fraternal union of workers (Peasants, working intelligentsia, the union of free, equal and friendly nations.

As an inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism, the desire of the imperialist states to seize the sources of raw materials and sales markets, to redistribute the world and 'spheres of influence' - the Second World War broke out. However, unlike the First World War, the Second World War against the states of the fascist 'axis' from the very beginning assumed the character of an anti-fascist, liberation war, one of the tasks of which was the elimination of fascist regimes, the restoration of democratic freedoms and national independence of peoples enslaved by the fascist aggressors. The Soviet Union played a decisive role in the struggle against fascist aggression, which threatened the enslavement of the peoples of Europe and the whole world, in the salvation of world civilisation. In the Great Patriotic War, the socialist system demonstrated its strength and superiority over the capitalist system, turned out to be more viable and stable than any non-Soviet social system, the best form of organising society both in peaceful development and in war. The ideology of equality of all races and nations, the ideology of friendship between peoples, which has taken root in the country of socialism, has won a complete victory over the fascist, imperialist ideology of bestial nationalism, racial hatred and national oppression. The Second World War, which led to the collapse of the fascist imperialist states - Germany, Japan, Italy—caused a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. As a result of the war of liberation against the fascist aggressors, the peoples of a number of countries of Eastern and Central Europe created new people's democratic states, eliminated the dominance of foreign capital, the

dominance of bourgeois landlord cliques, and are following the path of socialist development.

The victory over the fascist aggressors unleashed the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples and the peoples of dependent countries even more.

As a result of the Second World War, the position of socialism was further strengthened. Socialism has become the order of the day in the life of peoples. The foundations of world capitalism are increasingly shaken.

Modern monopoly capitalism has exacerbated to the limit all the contradictions of the capitalist economic system. The development of the productive forces of society imperiously requires the elimination of the heavy fetters of capitalist ownership of the means of production. The gulf between the boundless wealth of the ruling bourgeoisie and the ever-increasing impoverishment of the working masses has deepened even more.

Modern monopoly capitalism, which has the United States of America as its main citadel, seeks a way out of the general crisis of capitalism by enslaving the peoples of Europe and Asia, by capturing new sales markets, new sources of raw materials, by preparing new imperialist wars.

The imperialist expansion of the main capitalist powers is opposed now the forces of democracy and socialism, the forces of peoples who do not want war, striving for peace and security.[a] The existence and strengthening of the Soviet socialist states imposes a bridle on the black forces of imperialist reaction, facilitating the struggle of the peoples oppressed and suppressed by imperialism for their liberation, for their national independence and state sovereignty.

The most striking expression of this crisis was the First World War (1914-18 years) and the Great October Socialist

[a] and in the left field, in pencil, opposite the underlined note: Which ones?

Revolution, which showed with all its might that in the depths of the capitalist system the necessary material prerequisites for the transition to a higher social order— socialism has already been created.

With the victory of the Socialist Revolution in Russia, there was no longer a single system of world capitalism. The era of struggle between two opposing systems—capitalist and socialist—has come. For thirty years of this struggle, the socialist system won world-historical victories, which in turn led to greater deepening and aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism.

In these conditions, the anarchic nature of the capitalist economy manifests itself with all the brilliance in economic crises of unprecedented scale, which are acquiring, to a much greater extent than ever before, a sharply expressed global character. Their frequency is becoming more frequent, their devastating character is ever increasing, the monopoly capital is shifting the entire burden and all the costs of these crises onto the shoulders of the working class and the working people. Mass unemployment, which has become a chronic phenomenon, is reaching enormous proportions.

The historical doom of the capitalist system, its inability to progressively solve the fundamental problems of social development find their vivid expression in the fact that over the past decades, the only short-term period when unemployment was resolved and the more or less complete use of the available means of production of the capitalist economy was war.

In the arsenal of means by which monopoly capital tries cope with the general crisis of the capitalist system, a special place occupies, firstly, much more than ever before, the use of state power and, secondly, the especially intensive use of war as an instrument of imperialist policy.

At the same time, being no longer able to rule the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy,

monopoly capital implements terrorist methods of management in its domestic policy and relies on the most reactionary, openly fascist and semi-fascist parties.

The economic domination of the monopolies and the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary groups and parties constitute two sides of the domination of finance capital.

The epoch of imperialism is thus connected with a deep crisis of bourgeois democracy, when its curtailed, false, anti-popular character is clearly revealed.

Under the conditions of monopoly capitalism, when with unprecedented strength and acuteness the action of the law of uneven development of capitalism is manifested, the aggressive war becomes both the goal and the method of the policy of domination. The struggle for a new redistribution of the world, for markets for goods and capital exports, leads to clashes on a global scale.

Only during the last quarter of the 20th century, the capitalist world twice unleashed gigantic world conflicts.

The period between the first and second world wars was filled with numerous adventures of the great capitalist powers aimed at resolving their difficulties and contradictions at the expense of the Soviet Union. After them the stake on armed intervention against the young socialist country turned out to be a bat, the imperialist states were to carry out their anti-Soviet politicians began to resort to the methods of cordon sanitaire, economic blockade, to the use of espionage and sabotage gangs to disrupt and disorganise socialist construction, turned the League of Nations into a military-political bloc directed against the USSR, and finally took the path of creating the notorious Munich conspiracy, which had as its purpose to direct German aggression to the east—against the Soviet Union.

History has shown that this treacherous and anti-Soviet ‘strategy’ of the main imperialist states played a decisive role

in unleashing the fascist aggression that ultimately turned against them.

Throughout the entire period between the first and second world wars, the Soviet Union was the only and consistent fighter for peace, invariably exposed the warmongers and organisers of the war and united the forces of all true supporters of peace and democracy.

In World War II, the Soviet Union played a decisive role in the defeat armed forces of the Axis states and saved European civilisation from the fascist enslavement.

The international authority of the socialist power has never been as great as after the victory over the fascist aggressors. The Soviet Union became a stronghold world civilisation, the international centre of the struggle for progress and democracy, for peace among peoples based on the equality of peoples and respect for their sovereignty.

The Second World War brought about a radical change in the balance of power on the world stage. The capitalist world entered the war stronger than it emerged from it. Reflecting the general crisis of capitalism, the Second World War, even to a much greater extent than the First World War, exacerbated this crisis and weakened world capitalism. First, as a result of the war, the Soviet Union won a world-historic victory over the enemy, which greatly expanded the camp of friends of the USSR, increased its role and importance as a powerful bulwark against the black forces of aggression and international reaction, as the hope and support of all the oppressed and exploited. ...

Secondly, the war ended with the defeat of the three main capitalist aggressors - Germany, Japan and Italy, which weakened the camp of the world reactionary-imperialist forces.

Third, the war created gaping holes in the capitalist camp. The peoples of the countries of Eastern and South-eastern Europe, realising that the fate of their states should not be

entrusted to reactionary rulers, broke with imperialism, threw off anti-popular regimes from their shoulders and established people's democratic republics.

The historical significance of this experience of the peoples of a number of European states is the fact that as a result of the implementation of consistently democratic transformations, these states have opened up the prospect of development in a socialist direction. At the same time, the transition to the socialist rails of the people's democratic republics of eastern and south-eastern Europe can be carried out bypassing the stage of the proletarian dictatorship.

The prospect of development in a direct socialist direction takes on quite concrete outlines, primarily in the Slavic states of the European continent. The victory of the Soviet Union over the fascist aggressors put an end to the oppression of the Slavic peoples by various imperialist states and created all the necessary prerequisites for the historical revival of the Slavic peoples on the basis of democracy and socialism, on the basis of fraternal friendship and unity with the Soviet Union.

Fourth, the weakening of the world capitalist system is associated with a significant intensification of the labour movement, primarily in Europe, which is reflected in the unprecedented growth of communist parties, trade unions, mass organisations of women, youth, etc.

Fifth, never before has the struggle of colonial peoples and dependent countries against imperialist oppression for their freedom and independence assumed such a stubborn and broad character as it takes place after the end of the Second World War. The front of the national-colonial movements is increasingly being included as an integral part in the struggle of international democracy against imperialist aggression, for peace and security, freedom and independence of peoples.

During World War II, three empires collapsed—German, Japanese and the Italian, the French empire is sharply

weakened. In the post-war period, the deep crisis of the British Empire manifested itself with great sharpness. At the same time on against the background of the general weakening of world capitalism as a result of the Second World War, there was a significant strengthening of the United States, which has become the world creditor of the entire capitalist world.

The tremendous increase in the role and place of the United States in the world capitalist economy is a new expression of the operation of the law of uneven development of capitalism and the tendency inherent in the era of imperialism to reduce the number of the main imperialist powers. The monopoly capital of the United States has made the task of using the post-war international situation at the forefront in order to create a new world American empire that would subjugate Germany, Japan, Italy, France, China and, to a large extent, the British Empire. Anglo-American contradictions are the fundamental contradiction of the modern capitalist world. The US offensive on the position of England is clothed not only in the form of financial and trade expansion into the markets where England dominated before the war, but also in the form of expansion into the English colonial world and even into areas of the most important imperial communications. At the same time, the process of England's transformation into a second-rate power, which is in a dependent position on the United States, is actually accelerated by the entire policy of the ruling British circles, which put the tasks of a joint struggle with the United States against socialism and democracy above the national interests of their country.

Ideological cover for plans to create a new world empire are all kinds of theories and concepts that declare the 'obsolete' idea of national-state sovereignty and put on the order of the day the creation of a super-state in the form of a so-called 'world government' or the United States of Europe. In essence,

these theories and concepts, preaching the absorption of Europe by American imperialism, in fact reproduce the programmes of the defeated fascist pretenders to world domination.

Historical experience and actual consideration of the entire sum of international factors indicate that all kinds of plans for monopoly domination over the world are deliberately doomed to failure. The economic inconsistency of these plans lies in the fact that instead of cooperation between various components of the world economy, they place on the order of the day the forcible unification of the entire world economy from the point of view of satisfying the monopoly interests of the new empire. It is clear that such a transformation of the whole world into an economic protectorate is a reactionary utopia. On the other hand, the complete political inconsistency of such plans lies in the fact that any attempt to implement them will inevitably cause an explosion of national indignation among broad strata of democracy, and primarily of the working class.

As a result of the disorganising activities of the leaders of international reformism, the international proletariat still underestimates its real strength, while the bourgeoisie clearly overestimates its strength and capabilities.

The role of reformist leaders, as splitters of the labour movement, appears especially vividly in the light of the major events of the recent decades; nevertheless historical experience has taught nothing to the reactionary leaders of social democratic reformism. Their post-war theory and politics represent a return to the former rails of a split in the labour movement. Their ideological banner is still Bernsteinism[4], in full accordance with which they throw out overboard the

[4] Bernsteinism is a trend in social democracy. It begins with a series of articles by E. Bernstein, in which it was proved that the socialisation of the social system can be achieved in an evolutionary way.

revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels, preach the 'harmonisation' of the relationship between capital and labour and mending the gaping holes of capitalism with the help of programmes and recipes borrowed from bourgeois politicians.

In the field of foreign policy, they are entirely in the wake of the Anglo-American reaction, not only support, but also carry out its course aimed at forming blocs against the Soviet Union and threatening fundamental interests of socialism and democracy.

The historical task of consolidating the forces of democracy requires the exposure of the splitting, anti-proletarian policy of the reactionary reformist leaders, the lasting, organic unity of the working class in the struggle against reaction, for peace, for socialism, for friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

If, as a result of its thirty years of development, the Soviet Union became one of the powerful and decisive international factors, then this is a direct result of the steady implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist principles of foreign policy.

Stalin's diplomacy is a fundamentally new type of diplomacy. In the entire history of mankind, there is no other analogous example of such a consistent, principled struggle against warmongers, for peace and security, for democracy and progress. In waging this struggle, the diplomacy of the Soviet Union expressed and expresses not only the national interests of the Soviet country, but also the fundamental interests of hundreds of millions of ordinary people around the world.

The diplomacy of the Soviet Union showed unprecedented examples of a completely new type of international relations between a great power and small states.

This new type is based on respect for national sovereignty, freedom and independence of all peoples and states.

The Leninist-Stalinist foreign policy raised the international prestige of the Soviet Union to an unattainable

height. The moral and political ties of the great socialist power with freedom-loving peoples are strong and indestructible. They will develop and grow stronger in the future.

The radical political changes that took place in the eastern and southeastern Europe, led to the fact that the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union in the old sense of the word does not exist now. It was replaced by a new, friendly environment of the people's democratic republics. Capitalism has been pushed away from the borders of the Soviet Union.[a]

As a result of the Second World War, two main lines emerged in international relations. The first, presented by the USSR, is aimed at strengthening international cooperation, peace and security; the second line has as its goal the formation of anti-Soviet blocs, the suppression of national sovereignty, active support of the reactionary forces, and the replacement of international cooperation with a policy of expansion. This line expresses the policy of those imperialist circles that are trying to resolve the ever-increasing contradictions and crisis of the capitalist system on the path of new adventures. Pursuing its traditional policy of peace and international cooperation, the Soviet Union relies on its growing economic and political might, on the Soviet Army, which is ready to defend the country from attacks from outside, on the moral support of the millions of the working class and working people around the world, who are vitally interested in preserving peace, on the support of friendly countries, on the prudence of those powers that are not interested in breaking the peace and who want to develop trade relations with the USSR.

[a] On the left margin, the paragraph is marked with two vertical lines in pencil.

These principles, which have stood the test of time, will continue to determine the development of the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

The historical experience of the activities of the Soviet state allows us to conclude that the party of Lenin-Stalin chose the absolutely correct path to strengthen the position of socialism in the international arena and undermine the position of imperialism. This path is the building of socialism in the USSR and the all-round strengthening of the might of the Soviet socialist state.

On the experience of the victorious socialist revolution in the USSR, the building of socialism in the USSR, the victory of the Soviet people in the Patriotic War, the working people of all of the world are convinced of the profound vital truth of the Lenin-Stalin deed, of the strength and inviolability of socialism.

3. The results of the achievements of Soviet society over 30 years relying on the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Lenin-Stalin party in the past 30 years has carried out a profound transformation of the Soviet country on socialist foundations. The new Soviet state system won out in the USSR The new Soviet social system was created and proved its great vitality. Complete moral and political unity of the entire Soviet people has developed. A new socialist culture flourished. As a result of the victory of socialism in the USSR, all the necessary conditions have been created for a gradual transition from socialism to communism.

The world-historical victories of socialism over the past thirty years have been determined along the following main lines:

a) In the political field

The Soviet state system, created as a result of the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution in October 1917, has proved its

great strength and vitality over the 30 years of its existence. During this period, on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes inside the country was suppressed, society was transformed into a socialist society, the elimination of all capitalist classes was carried out of the exploitation of man by man was abolished forever.

The greatest test of the nationwide socialist state was the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany. The war showed that the Soviet state system is strong and unshakable, like the Soviet social system. The socialist state withstood the severe test of the war with honour and emerged from the war even stronger, stronger and more durable.

During the years of Soviet power, the USSR became a country of nationwide socialist democracy. For the first time in history, the people became the arbiter of their own destinies, the master of the state. Tens of millions of working people are involved in the administration of the Soviet state. The USSR Constitution not only proclaims democratic rights unprecedented in history, but also guarantees every Soviet person the actual opportunity to enjoy these rights.

30 years of historical experience of the existence of the Soviet state in the USSR convinces the workers of the whole world that:

1) the working class and the working people led by it can successfully govern the country without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie, successfully build industry without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie, to lead the entire national economy without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie, that they can successfully build and build socialism, despite the capitalist encirclement. Thus, a blow was struck at the reactionary and false bourgeois ‘theory’ that the

exploited cannot do without the exploiters and cannot manage the state without them;

2) The socialist democracy surpasses bourgeois democracy, because only in a socialist state, the working people enjoy truly democratic rights and can actually use them due to the fact that the exercise these rights are guaranteed by the socialist economic system;

3) For the first time in history, the state under socialism becomes the organiser and direct leader of the national economy, the organiser and educator of the masses; These distinctive features of the Soviet state, which are not inherent in any other state, make it the most durable, viable and authoritative state in the world, free from the influence of any accident and dependent only on the will and confidence of the Soviet people.

The Soviet multinational state, created on the ruins of a bourgeois landowner multinational state, which was a 'prison of peoples', gave mankind a classic example of the correct solution of the national question. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the first free Union of equal nations in history. The socialist state not only established the political equality of all nations and races inhabiting our country, but also ensured the actual economic and cultural equality of all the peoples of the USSR, put an end to the former economic and cultural backwardness of the nationalities that were oppressed under tsarism. The nations and races of the USSR enjoy the same rights in all spheres of economic, political, social and cultural life. For the first time, many peoples of the USSR acquired their national statehood under the Soviet system. From the depths of each nation, numerous national cadres have risen and grown in all areas of state, economic and cultural life. Each people of the USSR received an unlimited opportunity to build

and develop their culture, socialist in content, national in form. School, press, art, cultural and educational institutions in their native language made it possible to introduce workers of all nationalities to the rapidly developing general Soviet culture and to cultivate numerous folk talents.

The Soviet state showed the whole world an example of a combination of indigenous life of the interests of all workers with the best national traditions of each nation. The Soviet state eliminated all the reasons that gave rise to the former national strife and educated the working people of all nationalities in the spirit of mutual respect and friendship between peoples. Under socialism, the actual equality and friendship of peoples became the law of the development of society.

The Great Patriotic War was a great test of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, a test of the Soviet multinational state. If wars under capitalism often led to the liquidation of bourgeois multinational states (the collapse of Austria-Hungary, the falling away of Poland, Finland, the Baltic states from Russia), then the Patriotic War of the Soviet Union further strengthened the bonds that bind peoples of the USSR, revealed the inviolability of the Soviet multinational state, showed to the peoples of the USSR, temporarily falling under the rule of fascism, that only the Russian people could save them from enslavement, rallying the peoples of our country into the Union of Soviet Republics. The peoples of the USSR emerged from the war even more rallied around the great Russian people, even more loyal to the multinational Soviet state.

30 years of historical experience of the existence of a multinational Soviet state proves to workers of all nationalities and races that:

1) only the socialist system provides the correct key to the solution of the national question, creating a stable multinational

state on the basis of national equality and voluntariness, while no bourgeois state is able to solve this issue in the interests of the masses of the oppressed nationalities;

2) contrary to the false bourgeois-racist legend that nations and races are divided into 'higher' and 'lower', and the latter are allegedly incapable of independent state existence, under the socialist system, working people of all nationalities successfully create their own national statehood, economy, culture; the non-European peoples liberated by the socialist revolution have shown that in the conditions of Soviet development they are able to move forward really an advanced culture, a truly advanced civilisation, no less than the peoples of Europe;

3) contrary to the principle of 'divide and rule' generally accepted in exploiting societies, according to which a multinational state can be governed only by granting privileges to 'chosen' nationalities, separating one people from another, inciting national enmity between them, the socialist multinational state has in practice proved the possibility of a free union equal and friendly nations based on their fraternal mutual assistance and cooperation in transforming society and protecting it from external enemies;

4) in contrast to the bourgeois multinational states, the ruling classes of which, to justify their national and colonial oppression over foreign peoples, preach that the concepts of national and state sovereignty of small nations are outdated and allegedly incompatible with the modern level of economic and cultural development, the Soviet multinational state creates all the necessary conditions for the implementation by the peoples of the USSR of national and state sovereignty (the right to have statehood, schools, press, etc.) on native language, the right of

the union republics to establish foreign relations, create national military formations, etc.

The Soviet Union, which gave a classic example of the correct resolution of the national question, which could not be resolved under capitalism, won deep respect among the workers of various nationalities of the West and East, became for them a symbol of equality, friendship and prosperity of nations.

b) In the economic field

Relying on the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Lenin-Stalin party in the past 30 years has realised the deepest economic transformation of the country, affirming the undivided domination of the new socialist mode of production in the USSR.

1) The entire transitional period from capitalism to socialism was a period of fierce class struggle - bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society, for the victory of socialism. By systematically implanting and developing the socialist foundations of Soviet society, mobilising the working people to solve the fundamental tasks of building a new society, the party and the Soviet state in a capitalist encirclement successfully overcame the deepest contradictions of the transition period: the contradiction between the most advanced political system and the country's techno-economic backwardness; contradictions arising from the mixed structure of the economy; the contradictions between large-scale socialist industry, which destroyed capitalism, and small commodity production, which gave birth to capitalism; the contradictions associated with the presence of capitalist classes in the city and

countryside, etc. The great organising and transforming force of the Bolshevik policy - the most progressive and life-affirming policy of the modern era, received its living embodiment in the plans for the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of agriculture, the majestic plans of the Stalinist five-year plans, successfully completed by the Soviet people.

2) As a result of the victorious implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist programme of the socialist transformation of the country, the exploiting system, with its tyranny of private property, poverty and savagery of the working masses, was completely destroyed in the USSR. A new socialist economy took shape and consolidated in the Soviet Union.

The capitalist system of economy was abolished, private ownership of the tools and means of production was abolished, and undivided rule was established of the socialist system of economy and socialist property as the economic basis of the USSR. The Soviet people are the creator and administrator of all the material and spiritual wealth of their country. In the U.S.S.R., the fundamental contradiction of capitalist society—between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation-has been completely destroyed. A harmonious unity of the relations of production and the productive forces has been established and consolidated, for the social ownership of the means of production is in full accordance with the socialist character of the production process. Thus, in the Soviet country, the possibility of economic crises and the waste of social wealth, the exploitation of man by man, unemployment, parasitic appropriation, poverty and the ruin of the masses are forever eliminated.

The practice of socialist construction has completely debunked the lies of ideologists of exploiting classes about the inviolability and eternity of private property. The experience of

the greatest power in the world—the USSR—has proven the ability of the working class in an alliance with the peasantry to ensure the victory of the new socialist society, the indisputable advantages of the socialist society have been proved, the indisputable advantages of the socialist social and state system have been proved over any non-Soviet system.

3) It took the bourgeois world about two centuries for the methods of colonial plunder and bloody laws against the working people to reach the modern level of industrialisation. The industrial development of the capitalist
world, under the undivided domination of monopoly associations, is developing extremely unevenly, in acute conflicts and clashes of various monopoly groups, more and more often interrupted by deep economic crises, entailing colossal devastation and waste of public wealth.

Relying on the advantages of the Soviet social and state system, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state for 13 years at the expense of internal resources, without onerous loans from outside, have implemented a grandiose programme of socialist industrialisation. As a result of this [completely perished] the private industry[a] and socialist industry is advancing at a gigantic pace. The Soviet country ranked first in Europe in terms of industrial production, and surpassed the main capitalist countries in terms of the rate of industrial development and the saturation of industry with new technology. The solution to this problem meant a giant leap from backwardness to progress, as a result of which our country turned from backward to advanced, from agrarian to industrial.

[a] Above the line in pencil it is written: **it is gone.**

The colossal natural resources brought to life by the creative labour of the Soviet people, ensuring the country's complete economic independence, the developing socialist industry and transport, the new rational distribution of productive forces—constitute that solid material and technical basis of socialism, which makes it possible to successfully solve the main economic task of the USSR—to catch up and overtake the main capitalist countries in per capita output.

4) The whole history of the peasantry, tied to a load of private property, is the stunning tragedy of hopeless poverty and the devastation of the working masses of the countryside.

In the entire capitalist world in the modern era of highly developed technology, agriculture is a picture of dispersion, medieval backwardness and the painful process of decomposition of peasant farms. The agrarian crisis has become chronic. During its centuries-old domination, the bourgeoisie was unable to resolve the agrarian question.

Armed with the Leninist-Stalinist cooperative plan, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, following the first revolutionary step in the countryside (nationalisation of the land), relying on the power of socialist industry, within one decade prepared and carried out the deepest revolutionary upheaval in the countryside. The complete collectivisation and liquidation of the kulaks brought about a radical transformation of the mode of production, life and way of life of millions of peasant farms. The old, capitalist laws of rural development have been destroyed forever: absolute land rent, exploitation of man by man, stratification of the peasantry, agrarian overpopulation, crises and the ruin of the masses. To replace the ocean of private ownership farms, a new collective farm system of the USSR has been created, unprecedented in history—the system of the largest and most mechanised agriculture in the world, based on public property, collective labour and first-class equipment of machine and tractor

stations. This is a giant leap forward, a victory of world historical significance.

The agriculture of the USSR, freed from private ownership, is developing according to the laws of extended socialist reproduction. The growth rates of agricultural production and its marketability have increased many times over; in the shortest possible time, the grain problem was resolved and a domestic raw material base of the light industry was created. During the Stalinist five-year plans, the collective farm system of the USSR took shape, finally got stronger and turned into a mighty force of communism, proving its huge advantages over any private property system.

Fundamental transformation of productive forces and production relations in the Soviet countryside on socialist foundations (the comprehensive mechanisation of agriculture, the ever-increasing transformation of agricultural labour into a kind of industrial labour, the development of a cultural revolution in the countryside, etc.) has fundamentally undermined the former opposition between town and country, which is being erased at an accelerated pace.

5) In accordance with the profound transformation of the economy of the USSR, the class structure of Soviet society has also undergone radical changes. In a fierce political struggle, the proletarian dictatorship swept away and eliminated all exploiting classes.

The proletariat, which throughout the capitalist world is a class of hired, persecuted, oppressed and exploited capital slaves, has become a completely new class - the working class of the USSR, the leading force of Soviet society, directing its development along the path of communism.

The peasantry as a class of small private owners, which for centuries carried on the yoke of exploitation of feudal landlords, kulaks, merchants, financial capital, turned into a

qualitatively new—the Soviet peasantry, based on public property and collective labour. A completely new working Soviet intelligentsia was born, emerging from the depths of the working classes and serving its people with faith and truth.

On the basis of a single and monolithic socialist economy, the economic and political contradictions between these social groups are being overcome, and the old class exclusivity, the boundaries between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia are erased and disappear. In the Soviet country, a solid commonwealth of all social groups of Soviet society was established. The entire Soviet people are involved in active socialist construction. On the basis of the unity of the socialist economy, the complete moral and political unity of the Soviet people—the source of the unlimited development of the productive forces of the new society.

6) The October Revolution and the victory of socialism radically transformed the social nature and social organisation of labour in the USSR.

Throughout the capitalist world, the process of enslaving the working class, the undivided subordination of labour to monopoly capital is gaining momentum. With the accumulation of wealth, the increase in luxury, with the growth of parasitism at one pole—among the exploiting classes, the accumulation of poverty, ruin, slavery in the other pole—among the working class. Multi-million dollar unemployment, monstrous of the intensification of labour, with the transformation of the worker into a soulless appendage to the machine, pauperism, landlessness and the ruin of a wide layer of farming are immutable laws of the capitalist mode of production.

In contrast to these laws of the capitalist world, such real gains in the USSR as the abolition of the exploitation of man by man in all its forms and forms, the realisation of the

universality of labour, the transformation of labour from servitude burdens in the cause of honour and glory, the establishment of relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance between people are the greatest achievements of socialism.

Labour for oneself, for one's own Soviet state, is a tremendous driving force of the Soviet economy. The victory of the socialist mode of production, the organisational and educational activities of the Bolshevik Party among the masses have revealed inexhaustible springs of creativity, creativity and innovation in the depths of the working masses, a vivid embodiment of which is socialist competition and the national Stakhanov movement.

Increasing saturation of the national economy with first-class technology, mechanisation of production, continuous growth on this basis of labour productivity, strengthening of socialist labour discipline, the development of the cultural revolution, solving the programmatic task of the party to raise the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of workers in engineering and technical labour, to transform all workers and all peasants into cultured and educated people—gradually erodes the foundations of the opposition between physical and mental labour.

7) The Soviet revolution is the only one in the world that not only broke the shackles of capitalism and gave the people freedom, but also created the material conditions for a prosperous life.

Production activity and the distribution of the national income in the capitalist world are subordinated to the interests of ensuring the maximum profits of the exploiters. The ultimate goal of socialist production and the guiding principle of the distribution of the national income is, as social wealth grows

and labour productivity rises, a systematic rise in the material and cultural level of the working people.

Real provision in the USSR for all working people of the rights inaccessible in any country of the bourgeois world (the right to work, the right to rest, the right to material security in old age, the right to education); continuous growth in the number of workers and employees; an annual increase in the national income, a systematic increase in the average annual wage; securing land for collective farms forever; the settlement of the entire housing stock of the former exploiting classes by workers and extensive new housing construction; an increase, on the basis of a growing social economy, of the cash and in-kind incomes of collective farms and collective farmers; the systematic growth of trade turnover—all this has made a radical change in the foundations of life and everyday life of the millions of workers in the city and countryside.

8) With the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class for the first time in the history of mankind the possibility of conscious control of the laws of social development was created. The spontaneous process of social development has been replaced by the planned creativity of the masses, led by the party of Lenin-Stalin. The policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state is the lifeblood of the Soviet system[a], the national economic plan is the law of movement of the Soviet economy. The instruments of the bourgeois economy (money, credit, price, profit, etc.) radically changed their nature and became, in the hands of the socialist state, powerful levers for the development of the socialist mode of production.

[a] In the left field, item 8 is marked with a pencil to the end of the document sheet with a vertical line, followed by a note: **Civilization.**

In place of the destroyed old laws of development, new driving forces of the socialist system have been brought into being—the moral and political unity of Soviet society, friendship of peoples, Soviet patriotism.

The assertion of the undivided domination of the planning principle, new driving forces development—are the organising basis for the unlimited flowering of the country's productive forces. As a result, the rates of progressive development of Soviet society, its material and spiritual forces, have multiplied enormously.

The victory of the socialist mode of production in the USSR dispelled to the end the malicious anti-Soviet slander and restoration aspirations of the world imperialist forces. The socialist economy, which withstood the severe tests of the war, has personally proved its great strength and vitality. The victory of the socialist mode of production in the USSR was the triumph of the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

c) In the ideological field

As a result of the victory of socialism in the USSR, as a result of the many years of activity of the party and the Soviet state, there was a revolution in the minds of the working people of our country, a radical revolution in the consciousness of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, in their ideology. The working people of our country for the most part have freed themselves from spiritual dependence on capitalism. The psychology of the multimillion masses of the peasantry has been radically transformed. The Soviet peasantry, which now bases all its work and its wealth not on individual labour and backward technology, but on collective labour and modern technology, has broken with the petty-bourgeois psychology of sole proprietors and embarked on the path of a socialist attitude

toward social economy, labour and social property. The Soviet peasantry is increasingly imbued with a consciousness of national interests, which manifested itself with particular force during the Great Patriotic War, which demonstrated the strength and inviolability of the collective farm system, the selflessness of the collective farm peasantry in the name of victory over the enemies of the socialist homeland.

The Soviet intelligentsia, in contrast to the old hardened intelligentsia that served the exploiting classes and closed itself off from the people in a narrow, privileged caste, is now a truly popular intelligentsia, serving the people in the interests of the development and prosperity of socialist society. Significant strata of the old intelligentsia, having broken with their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, became active participants in socialist construction, bearers of the Soviet socialist ideology.

Party ideology, its worldview—Leninism is increasingly becoming an ideology of the entire Soviet people, their worldview.

The great victory of socialist ideology over the old bourgeois and petty bourgeois consciousness is:

1) the affirmation in the minds of the working people of our country of the ideas of Soviet patriotism, which means, first of all, the people's selfless devotion to the Soviet social and state system;

2) the establishment in the minds of all the peoples of our country of the ideas of equality and friendship of peoples and the successful overcoming of the former interethnic strife, national exclusivity and distrust of other nationalities;

3) the victory of the new socialist attitude to work; replacing the old view with work as a heavy burden with a new look at work as a matter of honour, glory, valour and heroism;

4) the spread of scientific views on the world among the broad masses of the people and their gradual departure from patriarchal morals and customs, superstitions, religious prejudices, etc.

5) the formation of a new, communist morality among the Soviet people.

Socialism in our country has become a symbol of faith for the entire Soviet people, its banner, and its ideology.

This does not mean, however, that among the citizens of Soviet society there is no longer any places for non-socialist consciousness. The remnants of the old system (capitalism, feudal system, patriarchal relations) are extremely tenacious and still persist in the minds of many workers of socialist society. The level of consciousness of many workers, collective farmers, and Soviet intellectuals often does not correspond to their actual position in socialist society, lags behind it. These remnants of capitalism in the minds of Soviet people are trying in every possible way to revive and rekindle the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents in our country (remnants of the defeated anti-Soviet parties, nationalists, etc.). They are trying to infect Soviet people, especially young people, with the morals and views of the Soviet people, alien to our people, they are trying to instill in our country servility before the bourgeois world and its culture, nationalism, lack of ideology, moral instability.

A particularly harmful and dangerous relic of the accursed past of tsarist Russia is in modern conditions a bad disease of servility before abroad, subservience to capitalism and its culture, which is manifested even among some of the least

stable representatives of the intelligentsia. The agents of imperialism are striving in every way to support and revive this most harmful remnant of capitalism in the minds of people in order to weaken the Soviet state and the ideological and political decay of individual Soviet citizens.

The party and the Soviet state have to do a lot of work to educate the Soviet intelligentsia and all our people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, Soviet national pride, devotion to the interests of the Soviet state, Bolshevik vigilance, the ability to resist any insidious reception of foreign intelligence services, readiness in any conditions and at any cost to protect the interests and honour of the Soviet state. It is necessary that every Soviet person clearly understands that 'the last Soviet citizen, free from the chains of capital, stands head and shoulders above any foreign high-ranking bureaucrat, dragging on his shoulders the yoke of capitalist slavery' (Stalin).

The victory of the Soviet socialist ideology, its affirmation in the minds of the Soviet people does not mean that our entire people have already mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory, the scientific worldview of the Communist Party. There is still a serious difference between the high level of consciousness of the bulk of the Soviet people, which is devoted to the Soviet system and is now inseparable from it, and the comparatively still low level of education and culture of significant strata of workers and peasants.

The party, the socialist state, the Soviet intelligentsia will a long period of ideological struggle for a lasting victory of communist consciousness in the psychology of all Soviet people, for overcoming and eliminating the remnants of the old system in their minds, a period of energetic and systematic work to improve the level of education and culture of the working people of our country, to educating them on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

d) In the field of Soviet culture

The Soviet society created not only a new material civilisation—the socialist economy, but also a new spiritual civilisation—the socialist culture.

Over the 30 years of the existence of the Soviet state, a whole cultural revolution was carried out, as a result of which in our country:

a) a harmonious and justified in the practice of life Soviet education system has been created, from primary to higher, with the help of which at least two generations of conscious builders of communism;

b) the cultural level of the people has risen immeasurably: a huge network of cultural and educational institutions has been created, the publication of newspapers, magazines, books for the people, etc. has been organised; cinema and radio became accessible not only to the urban, but also to the rural population;

c) Soviet science was created, critically using all the best achievements of domestic and world science, which put scientific thought at the service of transforming the world, enriched science and technology with new, first-class discoveries and inventions;

d) Soviet art flourished, which for the first time in history serves non-monetary bag, and to the people, art that praises the best views, feelings and actions of people in the era of socialism, freeing them from the filth of the old society;

e) a multimillion-strong Soviet intelligentsia has been created—the conscious and cultural stratum of Soviet society;

f) the socialist culture has grown and developed in national forms. Everything the peoples of the USSR, including those of them who were at a low stage of development before the socialist revolution, created a school, press, art, science, cultural and educational institutions in their native language,

raised their national intelligentsia, and became familiar with the achievements of social culture.

The Soviet socialist culture, created in an unprecedentedly short historical period, has tremendous superiority over the age-old culture of the bourgeoisie, which is in a state of decay and decay.

In contrast to bourgeois culture, the main principle of which is the praise of the animal customs and mores of capitalism, the justification of the social inequality, competition and exploitation of man by man, cultivation of acquisitiveness, selfishness, moral licentiousness and other base instincts, the most important principle of Soviet culture is the struggle to free man from the dirt of the old society, for the high consciousness and moral purity of Soviet people, for the subordination of interests to personal interests of the public, the interests of the struggle for communism.[a]

In contrast to bourgeois culture, based on the misanthropic principles of animal chauvinism and racial hatred, on the suppression of national traditions, culture and language of oppressed peoples, Soviet culture is based on the principles of equality and friendship of peoples, fights against racial discrimination and national exclusivity, educates Soviet people of any nationality in the spirit of respect for statehood, culture, language and the best national traditions of all other peoples.

In contrast to bourgeois culture, which perpetuates the opposition between mental and physical labour, crippling the people of bourgeois society, alienates workers from using the benefits of science and art, Soviet culture considers its main principle to be the elimination of the opposition between

[a] In the left margin, the paragraph is marked in pencil with a short line, roughly opposite the words "... and the mores of capitalism, the justification of social inequality, competition and the exploitation of man by man, the cultivation of greed, selfishness, moral promiscuity and other base instincts..."

mental and physical labour, the transformation of all workers and peasants into cultural and educated people, the inseparable connection of science, art, culture with the life of the masses and their interests.

In contrast to bourgeois culture, which instils false views about eternity and inviolability of private property, relations of exploitation, tries to turn the wheel of history back, fears the further progress of technology and science, Soviet socialist culture stands for the unlimited development of the productive forces of society, its scientific knowledge and art, for scientific and technical progress to accelerate the victory of communism.

The entire course of historical development in the modern era has proved that the future belongs not to a decaying and decaying bourgeois culture, but to the rising and flourishing Soviet socialist culture.

30 years of historical experience in the development of ideology and culture in the Soviet state irrefutably testifies that:

a) Leninism triumphed over Social Democracy, which argued that the working class should not take power into its own hands until it has mastered culture and created its own civilised cadres. The cultural revolution and the creation of a civilised cadre of the working class, which could not be realised under capitalism, became possible only as a result of the socialist revolution.

Thus, it has been historically proved that the working class and the working masses in order to master the heights of culture and prepare educated and cultural cadres from their midst to manage the state and the economy, they must first of all take power into their own hands;

b) Leninism won a victory over the Mensheviks and semi-Mensheviks, who considered that first it is necessary to completely re-educate the working class in the spirit of socialism and only then lead it to the socialist revolution. Leninism also won a victory over the Trotskyists and other

enemies of the working class, who denied the ability of the proletariat to re-educate the peasantry, to remake its consciousness and the socialist way. The experience of the Soviet state has proven that only in revolution, in the construction of a new social system, the working class is purified from the dirt of the old society, finally takes possession of the socialist consciousness and re-educates the peasantry and other non-proletarian masses of working people in a socialist spirit;

c) contrary to the false bourgeois theories that communism is reduced only to the destruction of old forms of life and allegedly is not capable of creating a new one, a truly advanced culture has been created in our country and is steadily moving forward, surpassing bourgeois culture, a culture that perceives and critically uses all the best what is given by world culture;

d) in the era of socialism, public consciousness acquires an exceptional role; the great ideas of Soviet society, taking possession of the consciousness of the masses, become powerful driving forces of social development. Soviet patriotism, ideology of equality and friendship of peoples, moral and political unity of Soviet society acquired in the era of socialism the significance of the driving forces of the development of society.

4. All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)—The Vanguard of the Soviet People

If any political party in a capitalist society, even the ruling parties defending the interests of capitalist entrepreneurs do not plan the economy, do not organise production, then the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the organiser and leader of the entire socialist economy of our country, its engine

towards communism.[a] Not a single party in the world has even a hundredth part of the rich and versatile experience in organising and managing the national economy that the Bolshevik party has accumulated. No other political party in the world has such a large, qualified and dedicated cadre of organisers and leaders of economic activities from above.

If any bourgeois political party, even the ruling one, directs a significant part of its efforts to the parliamentary struggle and is therefore forced to devote less time and energy to the cause of leadership of state institutions and public organisations, then the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, free from parliamentary hype and inter-party squabbles, is [truly ruling] and leading force of all state institutions and mass organisations of Soviet society. No other political party in the world possesses such a wealth of political and organisational ties with the masses, such a variety of forms of organisation and leadership in all sectors of the state, economic and cultural life of society, which our party has accumulated. No other political party in the world possesses such a wide layer of ideological, selfless, united by iron discipline, political organisers, state leaders and functionaries, leaders of mass organisations of working people, etc.

If any political party in the world of capitalism, even the ruling one, is unable to instil its own way of thinking and views, its ideology, to all members of society, belonging to opposite and fighting classes, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the ideological leader and political educator of the entire Soviet people, the exponent of the will, aspirations and way of thinking of all or almost all members of Soviet

[a] In the left margin, a short vertical line is drawn in pencil from the beginning of the text to “Communist Party of the Soviet Union...”. Below, in the left margin, a long vertical line is drawn in pencil from “No party in the world has experience...” to the end of the page “No political party in the world has such a wide layer of ideological, iron-disciplined policies...”.

society. No other political party in the world possesses such a force of spiritual and moral influence on the entire people, such a great experience of ideological and political work among the masses, as our party. Not a single political party, except for the Bolshevik Party, has such a large circle of ideological and theoretical cadres who know the last word in social science, who see the prospects for the development of society, who are able to rouse the people to fight for the cause of the party.

The Bolshevik Party is the mind, conscience and honour of the Soviet people, a living embodiment his organisation, ideology and discipline.

The historical experience of the 30-year party in power, like the entire historical path of the Bolshevik party, teaches that the Lenin-Stalin party is strong and invincible, for:

a) unlike the Social-Democrats parties of the Western European type, it is not a party of 'civil peace' with capitalism, but a party of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, irreconcilable against the compromisers and capitulators;

b) the Bolshevik party has always waged an irreconcilable struggle against all petty-bourgeois parties, thereby ensuring the unity of the working class, without which the victory of the socialist revolution would have been impossible;

c) it has always waged an irreconcilable struggle against opportunist groups within the party, cleansing itself of the filth of opportunism, without which it would have been impossible either to build a party and lead the working class to the proletarian revolution, nor to build socialism and strengthen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

d) the party possesses the Marxist-Leninist theory, knows how to enrich it with new experience of the revolutionary movement and develop it, by virtue of which it can move confidently forward and lead forward Soviet society;

e) [is not afraid of criticism and] self-criticism, does not gloss over the mistakes and shortcomings of his work, teaches

and educates party cadres on them, knows how to correct these errors;

f) constantly strengthens ties with the widest masses of working people who gave birth, nurtured and educated the party, with the people who are the mother party.

The Great Patriotic War was a real test of the strength of our party, its political and moral authority among the masses. During the Patriotic War, the Bolshevik Party appeared before the people as the inspirer and organiser of the nationwide struggle against the fascist invaders. During the war, the party became even closer to the people, and became even more closely connected with the broad masses of the working people.

The Bolshevik Party is the vanguard of the Soviet people, the soul and driving force of all of the beginnings, his great creative work. Created and ideologically tempered by the great leaders Lenin and Stalin, the Bolshevik Party is the organiser and inspires the people in their struggle for the gradual transformation of the socialist society into a communist one.

II

The Main Tasks of Building a Communist Society

The creation of a complete communist society is the programmatic task of scientific communism; the ultimate goal of the Communist Party. As a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the victory of socialism in the USSR, this task is carried out in the USSR through the conscious practical activity of all the Soviet people under the leadership of the party of Lenin-Stalin.

The victory of socialism (the lowest phase of communism) in the USSR; the experience of a complete revolutionary transformation in less than three decades of the entire material and production base of Soviet society and all its class relations on socialist foundations; the creation of a powerful socialist industry and large collectivised agriculture; consolidation on the granite foundation of socialist property of the complete moral and political unity of the Soviet people; elaboration—and development of the entire complex system of organisational and economic ties of the new society; the implementation of these gigantic historical tasks in conditions of a fierce struggle with external and internal enemies (victorious the defeat and elimination of the exploiting classes and their agents inside the country, the victorious conclusion of wars unprecedented in history, imposed on the socialist

state by imperialist forces)—all this revealed the unlimited powerful internal forces of the new society, freed from the chains of capitalist exploitation, revealed the superiority of the socialist social and state system over all pre-socialist forms of society.

[In terms of internal economic, class and political conditions in the USSR has everything it needs to build a complete communist society.] For the past 30 years, a powerful material and technical base of socialism has been created. The USSR possesses the richest natural resources. Soviet society as a whole, like all its social classes, strata and groups of the population, is vitally interested in creating communist relations.

The development of the socialist economy is based on the objective law of its consistent movement towards complete communism. Consequently, the internal material and technical capabilities and social relations in the USSR create all the necessary opportunities for victorious communist construction.

The task of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) is to make full use of these opportunities and bring the Soviet people to a historically the shortest possible time - in the next 20-30 years—to the victory of communism in the USSR, thereby showing all working mankind the way to create a bright society of the future, where the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all.

For the transition to a developed communist society, the Bolshevik Party as the vanguard of the Soviet people must solve the following main tasks:

a) In the economic field

1. a) To develop the material and technical base of socialism into a powerful material and technical base of communism, capable of using natural resources to such an extent that social wealth will flow in full flow;

b) To develop socialist property, which appears in the first phase of communism, in its two forms: in the form of state (national) property and in the form of collective-farm and cooperative property—into a single, highest form of communist ownership of the instruments and means of production;

c) completely erase the class distinctions and boundaries between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, raising all members of society to the level of free workers in industry, agriculture and other branches of social activity of a classless communist society;

d) to raise the entire national economy to the highest level of planned organisation and leadership, relocating all social production on the basis of the highest communist technology developed by socialist society in the process of the struggle to establish the undivided domination of communist relations;

e) to completely eliminate the antithesis between town and country, industry and agriculture on the basis of a truly communist development of the productive forces and their harmonious distribution and combination throughout the country, on the basis of raising the labour productivity of socialist society to a level unattainable under capitalism;

o) Based on new superior technology, huge performance improvement of social labour, the further development of the cultural revolution—to raise the cultural and technical level of workers in communist society to the level of workers in engineering and technical labour, to make all workers in communist society cultured and educated people and thereby completely eliminate the opposition between physical and mental labour;

g) create a communist abundance of products and, on this basis, gradually to move from distribution according to work to distribution according to the principle: 'from each according to his ability—to each according to his needs';

h) create a communist abundance of culture, in which science, literature, art is able to satisfy all the spiritual needs of members of society.

2. As a result of these socio-economic transformations, achieve full satisfying all the needs of a comprehensively developed cultured person: under such conditions, the creative possibilities inherent in each person will open up to the end, and he will become a truly free worker not out of necessity, not for the sake of remuneration for work, but out of an internal physical and moral need for creative work on the good of society.

3. The transition from the lowest phase of communism to its highest phase—the phase of developed communist relations—is possible in the process of the gradual

development of all material foundations and social relations of socialist society, its gradual transformation into a communist society.

The transition from capitalism to socialism took place in leaps and bounds, for it was the transition from private property to socialist property, from relations of exploitation to the establishment of relations of comradely cooperation and socialist mutual assistance of people free from exploitation. The transition from the lower phase of communism to its higher phase will take place gradually, since the socio-economic basis of the first and second phases of communism—public property—is qualitatively homogeneous. There are no sharp lines between socialism and communism; these are the stages of economic maturity within the same communist formation.

The communist society itself will also not be frozen, unchanging. It will also go through various stages of communist maturity.

4. The development of socialism on its own basis is unprecedentedly accelerating the pace of forward movement in comparison with previous stages. Therefore, the party, organising the gradual transition of Soviet society to the communist foundations of production and distribution, will fight for the shortest possible time for this transition. The party believes that a period of 20-30 years is sufficient for Soviet society to carry out this work of world-historical significance. But this requires the maximum mobilisation of all the material and technical resources of socialist society, the greatest exertion of the creative, constructive forces of the entire Soviet people. Only nationwide creativity can ensure the rapid creation in the USSR of the necessary material, production and social conditions for the complete victory of communism.

5. The creation of communist relations of production presupposes, first of all, the transformation of the productive forces of Soviet society—the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

The first phase of communism began to be created on the material and technical basis inherited from capitalism. The established and consolidated socialist economic system is developing towards communism on its own basis.

The material and technical base of a mature communist society is automatic machine system on an electrical basis. Guided by Lenin's instructions that 'Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country'—the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) sets itself the following main tasks in the field of technical policy:

a) carry out the electrification of the entire country according to a single plan with the widespread use of hydropower, peat, shale, coal, wind and other types of energy, which will give the ability to transfer industry, transport and individual branches of agricultural production to a higher technical basis. Connect large power plants with a single high-voltage transmission network. Expand the extensive construction of small power plants. These measures will ensure that industry is closer to the sources of raw materials and the rational distribution of all production;

b) to multiply the production capacity of the socialist economy and, first of all, heavy industry (cast iron, steel, coal, oil, nonferrous metallurgy, peat, gas, chemical industry, mechanical engineering) as the basis of the economy, while maintaining the leading role of mechanical engineering, transforming the country's productive forces in such in such a way as to significantly surpass the level of production per capita in the most developed capitalist countries in quantitative and qualitative terms and in the next 15-20 years to solve the main economic problem of the USSR;

c) on the basis of the new higher technology, complete the complete, all-round and comprehensive mechanisation of labour, primarily in industries with the most labour-intensive and difficult work, gradually freeing the worker from heavy and unproductive muscular labour. With the electrification of the country and the saturation of the national economy with an abundance of first-class technology, to introduce into all branches of production an automatic system of machines on an electrical basis, which opens up unlimited prospects for the growth of labour productivity, in terms of its level inaccessible to capitalist countries, will gradually erase the division of labour into skilled and unskilled and will serve a material basis for the complete elimination of the opposition between physical and mental labour;

d) on the basis of the latest technology, develop on a large scale the production of all branches of the textile, light, food industry, as well as raise the level and ensure the all-round development of agriculture within such limits that make it possible to create a truly communist abundance of objects in the country within 20-30 years consumption;

e) to widely implement in all branches of the developing communist economy the discoveries of science and technology, especially those related to the use of new types of energy;

f) to create a single integrated highly developed transport system, with the right combination of the railway network, water, road, air transport linking all economic regions and hotbeds, urban and rural settlements by high-speed transport.

The creation of a unified energy system of the USSR, the multiplication of production capacities, the creation of a single integrated highly developed transport system should ensure the production and economic power of the Soviet country, which overlaps the production and economic capacities of the most developed capitalist countries. It should open up space for a truly communist use of the immense natural resources of the

USSR, the involvement of all wealth in the economy of the building communism and their rational use, ensure the optimal distribution of productive forces both from the point of view of the highest productivity of production, the full flourishing of the economy of all regions and republics of the USSR, and from the point of view of in terms of strengthening the defence capability of the Soviet country.

6. The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) considers one of the fundamental tasks of the gradual transition from socialism to communism to completely eliminate opposites between city and country, complete elimination of the difference between industrial labour and agricultural labour, which can be achieved on the basis of the complete saturation of agricultural production with first-class machine technology, the transformation of machine-tractor stations into industrial-technical enterprises covering all aspects of agricultural production (field cultivation, animal husbandry, horticulture, horticulture, etc.), on the basis of comprehensive mechanisation of agricultural labour, which ensures the transformation of agricultural labour into a kind of industrial labour, as well as the completion of a comprehensive restructuring of agricultural production on the basis of scientific agronomy.

The energy basis for the all-round mechanisation of agricultural production, along with its tractors and combines, should gradually become the widespread electrification of agriculture.

The increasing introduction of modern industry and scientific methods of agriculture in agricultural production will be the material basis for blurring the contrast between town and country at an accelerated pace.

It should be borne in mind that agricultural production, in contrast to industry, is characterised by territorial decentralisation of the population.

Therefore, in order to solve the problem of completely overcoming the antithesis between city and country, it is necessary to implement a broad programme of radical restructuring of villages and villages, taking into account the achievements of modern housing, architectural and communal technology, as well as to ensure the connection of all agricultural centres with large urban centres with modern high-speed transport.

7. Gradual transition from socialism to communism, with a rapid pace of development of the material and technical base of communism, will determine the deepest revolution in the productive forces of society, which will require further changes and the main productive force—the man himself. The workers of a socialist society, while establishing new communist relations, will at the same time change their own nature.

The old division of labour, bearing traces of its origin from capitalist society and associated with the one-sided and incomplete development of the human personality, should gradually disappear.

As the transition from socialism to communism progresses, a new, communist division of labour based on an automatic system of machines, on the cultural and technical rise of manual workers to the level of engineering and technical workers, on a comprehensive special and socio-political education of members of society, which will allow everyone to perform work in accordance with the needs of society, the abilities and talents of a person. On this basis, the antithesis between mental and physical labour will be completely eliminated and all differences between people of physical and mental labour will be erased, for highly developed technology

will provide people employed in the sphere of material production with sufficient leisure for versatile intellectual activity.

Already in the lowest phase of communism, labour is transformed from a shameful burden into business honour, valour and heroism. But it has not yet become the first vital need for all members of society, and for a long time there remains the need for personal material incentives to ensure the highest productivity of labour of each member of society. As mature communist relations develop, labour will increasingly become a direct need for every healthy human body and be performed [without the influence of personal material incentives, in the name of the interests of the whole society], in which personal and public interests, their correct combination, will achieve their highest unity.

The development of the material and technical basis of communism and the establishment of a new communist attitude towards labour allows the Party to ensure a colossal rise in the productivity of social labour, which is inaccessible in terms of its level by the most developed capitalist countries, and this rise will not occur account of the intensification of labour and the predatory waste of labour, like this takes place under capitalism, but due to and on the basis of the all-round introduction of first-class machine technology, the use of which in the conditions of growing communism knows no other limits than those set at each given stage of production by the volume and level of the material and technical base itself.

While affirming the communist foundations of labour, the Party sets its task as the growth of the productivity of social labour and an increase in social wealth to move to a shorter working day: as the first step to a seven-hour working day, and then to a six-hour and five-hour working day with a five-day working week. This will create real opportunities for each

participant in material production for active and wide participation in cultural, scientific and other social activities.

8. Solving the problem of a gradual transition from socialism to communism requires from the party and the entire people a systematic and broad struggle to strengthen and further develop both forms of social property as the economic basis of communism.

The State (national) property, as the highest form in terms of its socialist maturity, has been and remains the leading form of property. Its guiding and organising role in relation to the entire national economy must be strengthened and developed.

The collective farm system of the USSR in its artel form has proved its great life strength and their inexhaustible opportunities for the growth of social wealth and reworks the consciousness of the peasantry in a socialist spirit. In the perspective of several five years of the task of the Party in collective farm construction is to complete production cooperation of individual peasant farms, to strengthen and develop the agricultural artel in every possible way; on the basis of strengthening and expanding the sphere of activity of the MTS, to transform all collective farms into diversified and rich farms: to strengthen the collective farms in every possible way in organisational and economic terms, strengthening the state and party leadership of all aspects of the life and activities of collective farms

When, on the basis of extensive electrification of agriculture and the higher MTS technology, the productive forces of the agricultural artel reach their full bloom, when the highly mechanised artel is able to satisfy all the social and personal needs of collective farmers at the expense of a comprehensively developed artel economy, the existence of a personal subsidiary farm of the collective farm yard will become unnecessary. A highly developed and wealthy artel

with an abundance of products, first-class canteens, bakeries, laundries, community farms and vegetable gardens, will be able to fully satisfy all the needs of the collective farmer. Under these conditions, the agricultural artel will grow into the highest form of collective farm economy - an agricultural commune, since the entire collective farm peasantry will become convinced of the need for such a transition.

In a mature communist society, the agricultural industry, like other branches of cooperative production and exchange, according to the degree of socialisation means of production will not differ from the national form of ownership. The distinction between the two forms of ownership will gradually fade; two forms socialist property will merge into a single higher form of communist property.

Together with the development of communist property and the introduction of the communist division of labour, together with the elimination of the opposition between town and country, between mental and physical labour, all boundaries between the classes of the USSR will disappear and Soviet society will turn into a classless communist society. The task of the party is to ensure by all measures this world-historical process of the transformation of the first phase of communism into its second phase.

9. Organising a gradual transition to communism, the CPSU (b) sets as its task full use of the economic laws of socialism and their conscious transformation into the laws of communist society. The economic policy of the Party must be directed first of all towards the all-round strengthening of planning in the national economy. The planned distribution of material means of production and labour forces, the planned management of production and distribution on an ever wider scale is the first unshakable economic law of a developing communist society. The further introduction of the planning

principle into social production means a correct and flexible combination of state centralisation with the broadest production initiative of the broad masses of the city and countryside. Only on this basis can the true flourishing of the USSR economy be ensured, the eradication of bureaucratic distortions in management, inertia and routine will be overcome and economic forms that meet the ever new maturing needs of society will be consolidated.

10. Over the next five years, the party must not weaken the struggle against elements of egalitarianism, depersonalisation, for the widespread use of all personal economic incentives for the development of socialism, based on the fact that distribution according to work is a powerful material factor in the movement towards communism.

With the development of the productive forces, the achievement of a truly communist labour productivity, creating an abundance in the production of consumer goods and strengthening the communist consciousness of people - the party organises a gradual transition from distribution according to work to distribution according to needs, with the general obligation to work for the good of society according to its abilities.

The Party will make the transition to the communist principle of distribution gradually to the extent of real economic possibilities. First of all, the party sets itself the task of providing social and cultural services according to needs (secondary and higher education, theatres, cinema, radio, health care, maternity and infant protection, etc.); further to provide, according to needs, the necessary foodstuffs and, above all, bread, meat, dairy products; further—by articles of clothing, housing, etc. A certain period in the development of Soviet society will combine the two principles of distribution according to work and according to needs, and the sphere of

distribution of the former will increasingly narrow and the latter will expand.

The ultimate goal of the Communist Party is to ensure the complete domination of the communist principle—'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs,' that is, overcoming the inequality in consumption that still persists under socialism and replacing it with the principle of communist equality. Accordingly, the principle of personal economic incentives, operating at the stage of socialism, will gradually exhaust itself.

11. For the next five years, the Party sets as its task the all-round strengthening of economic levers of socialism - cost accounting, money, credit, prices, profits, the expansion of Soviet trade and the use of the transformed law of value in order to develop the socialist economy along the path to communism.

One of the important tasks of the party's economic policy is to strengthen money circulation and the deployment of Soviet trade. Only ideally organised Soviet trade and the monetary system will prepare the conditions for direct product exchange in the highest phase of communism. Through the strengthening of Soviet trade, money, the state budget, socialist credit, only in a mature communist society, the transition to communist distribution system based on direct accounting of social labour, without the money and trade, and the transformation of the state bank into the central accounting department of the communist society.

Both in the sphere of production and in the distribution of the national income, the socialist state must have powerful all-round reserves and insurance funds that guarantee society against natural disasters, foreign policy complications and other unforeseen circumstances, which greatly enhances the power of society over its economy and natural factors.

12. Ensuring the creation of communist wealth and an abundance of material benefits for the needs of members of society, the Party sets as its task a complete communist restructuring of the working people's life.

In particular, the party sets as its tasks:

a) To fundamentally resolve the housing issue by providing each family, both in the city and in the countryside, with comfortable modern housing; to provide each house with electricity and to ensure that the household needs of the workers are serviced by all means of modern technology (sewerage, water supply, gasification, etc.); to widely introduce various electrical appliances into everyday life, which facilitates domestic work and helps to bring the living conditions of the city and the countryside[a] closer together;

b) Create the most favourable working conditions for a Soviet woman to fulfil both her social and production duties and the tasks of birth and raising children; to develop on a large scale public services—communal canteens, laundries and other branches of public services;

c) To widely develop sanitary and hygienic, medical, spa services for residents of the city and village, conducting widespread public events to further combat diseases, to prolong life, to provide for the disabled and the elderly.

13. The Party rejects the slanderous fabrications of the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, as if communism destroys personal property in housing, consumer goods and household goods, as if it presupposes a community of housing, clothing - a monotonous grey life, the kingdom of egalitarianism.

[a] On the left margin, in pencil, subparagraph "a" is highlighted with a vertical line.

Scientific communism assumes that people cannot have the same needs and tastes. The unlimited growth of the various personal needs of members of society and their ever fuller and more multifaceted satisfaction is the law of socialism. On the basis of the prosperity of public ownership of the means of production, more and more masses of the people's wealth will go into [personal][a] property, the personal consumption of workers, whose useful production and social activities will be rewarded by society more and more abundantly.

b) In the Field of Ideology and Culture

1. The Party sets as its main task to carry out the communist education of the Soviet people, to completely overcome the remnants of capitalism in the field of people's consciousness, to make all citizens of Soviet society communist-conscious, to achieve the complete victory of the communist world outlook.

To this end, the party:

a) fosters in Soviet people a communist attitude to work, i.e. view of work as the primary need in life, a matter of honour, glory, valour and heroism; organises and introduces into the everyday life of Soviet society socialist competition between members of socialist society for fulfilling and overfulfilling production targets, for improving, inventing and discovering new methods in socialist production, for increasing social wealth. The Soviet state decisively eradicates parasites and idlers who evade labour in the socialist economy, applies, along with methods of persuasion, the method of coercion against the negligent and backward members of society,

[a] In the right margin, in pencil, the underlined with a vertical line.

hindering the development and prosperity of the socialist economy;

b) Piously observes the laws of the Soviet state, educating all Soviet people in the spirit of the strictest observance of state, social and labour discipline. The Soviet state punishes citizens who encroach on socialist property, which is sacred and inviolable, violating the laws of the Soviet state, insulting the dignity and honour of Soviet people, betraying the interests of socialist society;

c) educates all citizens of socialist society in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, raises high the dignity of Soviet people, their legitimate pride in the great achievements of socialist society, cultivates among Soviet people the consciousness of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, fights against all manifestations of servility and servility to capitalism. The Party constantly explains to the working people the economic and political situation of foreign countries, reveals the laws of development of modern society, fosters hatred of capitalist exploitation and bourgeois reaction, of national and social oppression under capitalism, respect and sympathy for the working masses, who are fighting against capitalist and colonial oppression;

d) Strengthens the friendly alliance of free and equal Soviet nations, ensures the final elimination of all remnants of the former economic and cultural backwardness of nationalities subjected to the yoke of Russian tsarism, strictly protects and supports national sovereignty, culture and the best national traditions of all peoples of the country of socialism, fights against all manifestations of national and racial exclusivity and mistrust of other peoples, consistently implants in the consciousness of all members of Soviet society the ideology of equality and friendship of peoples;

e) Directs all the means of ideological and political influence on the masses at the disposal of the Soviet state

(school, press, cinema, radio, art, cultural and educational institutions, etc.) to promote the ideas of communism, to overcoming and rooting out all old bourgeois ideas and perceptions;

f) Organises and directs the activities of party, state and public organisations for the dissemination of political and scientific knowledge in all strata of the Soviet people, considering it their first priority to help all citizens of Soviet society master the scientific foundations of the communist worldview—the theory of Marx-Lenin-Stalin.

2. The most important task of the party in the next 25-30 years will be the further progress of socialist culture and the creation of conditions for its transformation into communist culture.

If at the stage of socialist culture, society still has and will deal with the remnants of the opposition between mental and physical labour, with a significant difference in the level of education and culture of members of society, then at the stage of communist culture there will be no opposition between mental and physical labour, because manual workers for the most part will have the same high level of culture and education, solid knowledge of science and technology, as well as mental workers in charge of the organisation, accounting and management in the social economy of communism.

If at the stage of socialist culture society has and will have dealing with the remnants of the opposition between town and country, with an uneven distribution of the benefits of culture and education, science and art between urban centres and countryside, then at the stage of communist culture similar to the contrast between town and country in the field of culture will no longer exist. The widespread development during the period of socialism of industry, communications, means of communication in rural areas, the introduction of advanced

modern technology into agriculture, the introduction of the rural population to the achievements of culture through the press, radio, cinema, etc., the implementation of universal education will make it possible to prepare for the final elimination of differences in the level of culture under communism education between urban and rural populations.

If at the stage of socialism the development of culture takes place in national forms, through various national languages, taking into account the historically formed characteristics of the mental make-up of each nation and its traditions in the field of culture, then the process of economic, political and cultural rapprochement of nationalities that begins under socialism will lead to the fact that at the stage of high maturity of communism, national forms of culture will die out, [a single language will be formed] and forms of culture that are uniform for all [nationalities].

In order for Soviet society in the next 25-30 years to reach the high flowering of Soviet socialist culture, made the achievements of general Soviet culture the property of the working people of all nationalities of our country, prepared the necessary conditions for the transition of socialist culture to a higher level, that is, for its transformation into a communist culture:

a) The party develops and implements a whole system of measures to raise the cultural level of the people, which will allow in 25-30 years to equip the bulk of the country's conscious population with knowledge in the amount of approximately an average general education and technical school, to raise the cultural and technical level of workers and peasants to the level of workers of an intelligent labour.

The solution to this problem is ensured by shortening the working day for workers and employees so that they devote at least 2 hours a day to general educational and technical training; the introduction of machines into agriculture, which

will facilitate the work of the peasants and free up time for acquiring knowledge; mass publication of scientific, political and fiction literature; wide involvement of the entire intelligentsia in the cause of universal education of the people; an increase in the allocation of public funds for this purpose;

b) The Party implants culture among the rural population, ensures an abundance of cultural benefits not only in the city, but also in the countryside, and thereby prepares the conditions for the final destruction of the opposition between town and country.

The solution to this problem is ensured by the development of communications (radio, telegraph, telephone), the implementation of secondary education for all rural youth through a significant expansion of the network of schools of all types, evening secondary schools, evening and Sunday universities, planting theatres, cinema, clubs, libraries and cultural and educational institutions (primarily in district and rural Soviet centres), systematic and systematic training of district and rural personnel in all areas of work, mobilisation of the city's cultural forces for the dissemination of scientific knowledge and culture in general in the countryside, cultural patronage of enterprises, scientific institutions, cultural educational institutions over districts and collective farms, etc.;

c) The party organises and directs the activities of state, public and party organisations to promote the scientific and materialist worldview, to overcome old unscientific ideas, including religious prejudices and superstitions.

The party proceeds from the fact that in the Soviet state, the separation of church from state and church from school has been implemented, and that every citizen is guaranteed freedom of conscience—the right to profess any religion or to be an atheist. At the same time, the party cannot stand on the position of non-interference in the ideological struggle waged by the church, trying to capture the minds and feelings of

millions of Soviet people, to instill in them a religious worldview. And now that there is no longer a direct link between religious cults and the exploiting classes that have been liquidated in our country, the Party views religion as an outdated, obsolete, unscientific form of worldview that no longer corresponds to the actual situation of believers, who are overwhelmingly active workers in socialist society. Without imposing its scientific worldview on any of the citizens of Soviet society, recognising the right of each of them to profess any religion, the party considers it its duty to systematically and patiently, without allowing any insult or infringement of the feelings of believers, to explain to all working people, especially young people, the fundamental difference between the scientific worldview of the party and the unscientific religious worldview, scientific and educational propaganda explaining the laws of nature, society and the ways of their transformation, to plant, especially in the countryside, cultural and educational and entertainment institutions that would spread among the working people, especially among the younger generation, a scientific view of the world, communist morality, healthy optimism and self-confidence, which is the direct opposite of religious views of the world.

The Party will not allow any administration in relation to religious cults, the forced closure of churches, mosques, synagogues, prayer houses, theological seminaries, etc., no harassment of believers and infringement of their legal rights.

At the same time, the Party proceeds from the fact that as the general rise of the culture of the people, the expansion of education and the all-round development of the propaganda of the scientific world outlook among the working people, especially among the youth, as the progress of the irreligious upbringing of children, etc., will gradually wither away. [The party holds the view that the highest phase of communism will

already be a society free from religious consciousness among the working masses];

d) Ensures the further development of national forms of socialist culture, takes measures to further expand and improve the level of work schools, press, literature, cultural and art institutions.

The party proceeds from the fact that the USSR has achieved actual economic and cultural equality of all nationalities, which in our country does not and cannot to be a return to the great-power policy of infringing on the culture, language, traditions of the oppressed nations, which was pursued by tsarism.

Considering this, as well as the enormous pull of workers of all nationalities of the USSR towards Russian culture and language, towards an even closer political and spiritual rapprochement of all the peoples of the USSR, the party considers it its task to organise a broad study of the working people of the union republics, autonomous republics and regions of the Russian language along with their native language, as well as the dissemination of the best achievements of general Soviet culture, and above all achievements of the culture of the Russian people.

At the same time, the party proceeds from the fundamental vital interests of non-Russian nationalities, for whom knowledge of the Russian language and culture will be a powerful means of communication and communication with other peoples of the USSR, will contribute to a faster economic and cultural growth of the union and autonomous republics, the improvement of their cadres, the successful implementation of various nationalities of service in the ranks of the Soviet Army.

The Party adheres to the view that the widespread introduction of the achievements of the Russian and all general Soviet culture in the everyday life of all peoples of the USSR not only will not weaken their national culture, but will enrich

it and raise its level, immeasurably increase the general cultural level of the national intelligentsia and the entire people, and thereby bring closer the merger [in the higher phases of communism] of all national cultures into a single common human communist culture.

c) In the field of public education

The party considers the main task in the field of public education to be to prepare and educate communist-conscious and active citizens in schools, firmly knowing the basics of science, fluent in both their native language and Russian language (in national schools), people who are comprehensively developed and capable of both mental and physical labour, who can master modern technology, are persistent, disciplined and enduring, who know the basics of military affairs and are ready, if need be, stand up for your socialist homeland.

a) The Party sets itself the task of implementing in the next 25-30 years universal compulsory education for children and youth in the volume of secondary schools, both in the city and in the countryside.

Given the shortage of teaching staff and material difficulties, this task should be carried out in the following order:

1) universal compulsory seven-year education is provided in the next 5 years in cities and workers' settlements;

2) over the next 10 years, universal compulsory seven-year education is provided everywhere;

3) over 25-30 years, universal compulsory education is gradually organised in the volume of a complete high school.

b) In order to improve the general education and cultural level of young cadres of the working class, it is necessary in the next 8-10 years to transfer all industrial (now craft) and

transport schools to the base of 7-year education, and in the next 10-15 years to gradually increase the level of general education training of persons admitted to these schools. In the future, it is necessary to ensure such a situation that qualified workers in industry, transport, leaving industrial and transport schools, have secondary technical and general education in the amount of a complete secondary school. It is also necessary to organise agricultural schools on the basis of the current seven-year schools in order to train skilled masters of socialist agriculture in them, who would have a secondary agronomic education and general education training in the volume of a secondary school, so that in 25

For 30 years, all rural youth have had a secondary education.

c) To train highly qualified and up-to-date science of cadres of the intelligentsia, the system of higher education should be expanded in every possible way and the quality of training of specialists should be raised by:

1) increasing the contingent of students of higher educational institutions, opening new universities, institutes and faculties in order to eliminate the shortage of highly qualified specialists in the next 8-10 years;

2) the gradual transfer of technical schools and colleges preparing secondary technical cadres, teachers, etc. on the position of higher educational institutions;

3) the all-round development of extramural higher education for persons with secondary and incomplete higher education—[so that in 25-30] years there will be no difference [between specialists of higher and intermediate qualifications, and all people of an intelligent labour had completed higher education].

d) The Party sets its task in the coming years to ensure [free education, both secondary and higher].[a]

In order to provide every Soviet citizen with a de facto opportunity to receive secondary education, and if he so wishes, higher education, it is necessary to gradually move [to providing all students] with food, [clothing, shoes], textbooks, a nursery school, and in [higher educational institutions] - state scholarships at the expense of the state.[b]

e) Taking into account the especially responsible role of the teacher as an educator of the growing up the generation that forms its worldview, spiritual and moral image, the party considers it its duty to employ the best Bolsheviks, both party and non-party, as teachers, to surround them with nationwide attention and care, to raise the material well-being of teachers, to radically improve the quality of teacher training, which, as a rule, will henceforth be spent in higher education.

d) In the field of science

The Party considers one of its important tasks to raise scientific work in the USSR in such a way that in the near future it will not only catch up with, but also surpass the achievements of science outside our country.

Contributing in every way to the progress of science and its success in Soviet society, the party sets as its task:

a) direct the efforts of Soviet scientists to improve existing and the creation of new types of material technology, the discovery of new sources of energy and methods of its use, on the development of effective means and methods for

[a] On the left margin, in pencil opposite the selected one, an elongated rectangle is drawn, followed by a label:?

[b] On the left margin, in pencil opposite to the mark highlighted in the text: **Cards?**

transforming nature, impact on the soil, climate, etc., means and methods for maintaining health and prolonging human life, etc. In the field of social sciences, direct the main efforts of scientists to the scientific development of methods socialist planning, ways and means of developing productive forces, history and theory of Soviet society, as well as criticising and exposing the reactionary socio-economic and philosophical theories of the modern bourgeoisie;

b) take the direct leadership of the party and its local organisations of the development of social sciences (economic, historical, philosophical,

legal, philological and pedagogical sciences), ensuring that the social sciences do not lag behind the practice of communist construction, but are ahead of practice, give practical workers of the Party and the Soviet state a clear orientation in guiding the life of society, armed with a deep knowledge of the laws of social development, ways and means the strengthening of the Soviet state, the flourishing of Soviet culture, the communist education of the people;

c) to ensure for Soviet scientists scientific[a] priority (primacy) in all branches of science in the international arena, creating for this purpose all the necessary material and technical prerequisites for scientific research. By providing the best scientists in the world, and above all, scientists from countries friendly to the USSR, the opportunity to work in scientific research institutions of our country, establishing international scientific prizes, convening international scientific congresses and conferences, publishing international scientific journals and other publications, the party and the Soviet state must make the USSR a true centre of international progressive scientific thought, a centre of attraction for all real scientists in

[a] The word is imprinted above the line.

the world who are capable of moving science forward in the interests of the people.

e) In the Field of Literature and Art

The Party considers it its task to ensure the rapid flowering of all types of art in the interests of the victory of communism, the creation of truly ideological and highly artistic works in which the paintings of creation and the development of Soviet society, the spiritual image and moral qualities of Soviet people, the decline of bourgeois society, the decay and decay of its culture and morality are shown, the glorious pages of the historical past of the peoples of the USSR and their heroic path to communism are captured.

Contributing in every way to the further progress of Soviet literature and art, the party considers it its duty:

a) discover, raise and educate folk talents in all areas of artistic creation, creating the most favourable conditions for their activities, ideologically guide their work, encouraging their achievements, criticising the shortcomings in the work of literary and artistic figures, and thereby contribute to their flourishing talent and improvement of their skills;

b) to make all the achievements of fiction, theatrical, musical, visual and other types of art the property of the broad masses, for which systematically expand the publication of literature, a network of theatres, philharmonic societies and concert halls, art exhibitions and art galleries, etc.;

c) organise the work of artistic education of the younger generation, instilling in him through schools, literature, cinema, children's theatres, etc., a love of art, good tastes and high exactingness to works of literature and art;

d) to ensure such a situation that the USSR becomes a real centre of progressive literature and arts, of the whole world. Gathering around the USSR the best progressive writers and

artists of foreign countries, and above all countries friendly to the USSR, establishing international prizes for the best works of literature and art, publishing international literary, theatre, art magazines, widely popularising the achievements of Soviet and foreign democratic and proletarian literature and art , the party and the Soviet state must turn our country into a citadel of world literature and art, an art of lofty socialist ideas and feelings, an art entirely in the service of working mankind.

c) In the political field

1. The Party proceeds from the premise that the historical tasks of building a complete communist society in our country and educating the entire people in the spirit of communist consciousness can be successfully accomplished provided that the and the rise of the socialist state.

The experience of the historical development of the Soviet state has shown that after the victory of the socialist economic system in one country, the socialist state does not die off at all. The Soviet state is not only preserved, but also develops under socialism, because only through higher development and strengthening of the state power under socialism, conditions can be prepared for the withering away of the state on higher phases of communism, when communism will win on an international scale.[a]

The Soviet socialist state entered after the victory of socialism in the USSR and the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR in a new phase of its development became a nationwide state, equally representing the interests of the friendly classes of Soviet society - the working class and the Soviet peasantry, as well as the intelligentsia. The need for

[a] On the left margin in pencil opposite the selected vertical line.

some functions inherent in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which presupposes the violent suppression of the exploiting classes, has disappeared, for exploitation has been abolished, there are no more exploiters and there is no one to suppress. As for the Soviet peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, they, like the working class of the USSR, honestly work in the socialist economy, are infinitely devoted to the Soviet system, actively participate in the management of the socialist state, and consider Soviet power to be their native power. The Communist Party—the guiding force of the Soviet state—has absorbed the best, progressive people of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, exercises its leading role in relation to all strata of Soviet society. In accordance with the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a nationwide Soviet socialist state, the functions of our state have also changed. Now its main functions within the country are and will continue to consist of peaceful economic-organisational and cultural-educational work. As for our army, punitive organs and intelligence, carrying out the function of protecting the security of the USSR, their edge is now turned not inside the country, but outside it, against external enemies and their agents.

These functions of the Soviet socialist state are fully preserved both during the period of the gradual transition from socialism to communism, and during the period of the establishment of communist social relations in our country. Soviet socialist state is called upon to provide an organising and guiding role in the development of the socialist economy, the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the rise of socialist culture, the strengthening of the military might of the USSR and its international authority.

At the same time, the Soviet socialist state is called upon to ensure the further flourishing of Soviet socialist democracy, the broadest involvement of all Soviet citizens in the active

management of the state, instilling in all working people responsibility for the fate of the Soviet state and conscious state discipline.

With a view to strengthening state power in every possible way under socialism, the further flourishing of Soviet socialist democracy and the rise of the nationwide Soviet state, the party:

a) directs, through its members, who are deputies of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, as well as state workers, the activities of all bodies of the Soviet state for the consistent implementation of the party's policy, its tasks of building communism;

b) ensures the strictest observance of the Constitution of the USSR, unremittingly monitors so that every Soviet citizen has the opportunity to exercise the rights granted to him by the Constitution of the USSR, educates in all working people a conscious attitude to the duties of a Soviet citizen provided for by the Constitution, as well as to the laws of the Soviet state;

c) in every way strengthens the security of the Soviet state from encroachments external enemies and their agents, provides a further strengthening of military power of the Soviet state, technical equipment and combat training of its Armed Forces; directs all work on political education and the education of communist consciousness among the soldiers and officers of the country's Armed Forces;

d) leads a tireless struggle to improve the state apparatus, seeking, so that it works clearly and harmoniously, like a good clockwork, provides the strictest observance of state discipline at all levels of the state apparatus; suppresses any manifestation of bureaucracy and inattention to the needs of the working people; Develops self-criticism and criticism of the work of the organs of Soviet power in every possible way as a faithful and reliable means of combating inertia and bureaucracy, a

guarantee of further strengthening the authority of the organs of Soviet power.

2. The Party considers it its sacred duty to preserve and strengthen the state union of free and equal Soviet nations created by Lenin and Stalin — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Based on the historical experience of the multinational Soviet state, the party believes that this state union of free and equal nations will continue to be an unshakable basis for friendly cooperation between the peoples of the USSR in their joint struggle to build and establish a complete communist society in our country.

The historical experience of the socialist multinational state allows the party to conclude that even during the period of gradual transition from socialism to communism, and during the period of the establishment of communist social relations in the USSR, the law of the development of Soviet society will be the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, their closest political, economic and cultural cooperation in a single Soviet Union State. During the period of transition from socialism to communism and after the building of communism in one country, nations do not [peace, but, on the contrary, develop and flourish], the Soviet multinational state will continue to remain a form of state organisation of the peoples of our country and unite their efforts for implementation of communism.

During the period of building communism, each Soviet people will have every opportunity to freely develop their Soviet statehood and socialist economy, to move forward their national in form, socialist in content, at the same time, in the course of the movement towards communism, the process of mutual rapprochement of the various peoples of the Soviet Union will develop. society.

The historical experience of the Soviet multinational state shows that the peoples of the Soviet republics voluntarily, without any compulsion, already now establish and apply forms of economic management and administration that are uniform for the entire Soviet Union, master the language and cultural achievements of other peoples of the USSR and, above all, the language and culture of the great Russian people. This ever-increasing process of economic, political and cultural rapprochement of the peoples of the USSR prepares the conditions for the complete elimination of differences in the language, culture and life of the Soviet nations, for the fusion of all nations into one, into one nation with a common language and culture, which will take place in the higher phases of communism, when it wins on a worldwide scale[a] In order to further strengthen the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, the development of their Soviet statehood, economy and culture, creating conditions for an ever-increasing economic, political and cultural rapprochement of the peoples of the USSR, the party:

a) directs the economic and cultural development of all union and autonomous republics, planting and developing in each republic industry, transport and communications, large-scale mechanised agriculture, science, art and culture; organises the training of national personnel in all sectors of work;

b) organises systematic political, economic and cultural assistance, as well as assistance with personnel to the union and autonomous republics in order to ensure a new flourishing of the economy and culture of all peoples of the USSR and

[a] In the left margin, in pencil, from "... to completely eliminate language differences ..." to the end of the paragraph, there are two vertical bars.

finally eliminate the remnants of the former economic and cultural inequality of nationalities inherited from tsarist Russia;

c) organises and directs the work on the mutual exchange of experience of the state and economic construction, as well as the achievements of science, art and culture between the union republics;

d) ensures the satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the masses of various nationalities of the USSR striving to master the Russian language and the achievements of Russian culture, striving for the working people of all nationalities, and first of all the party cadres and the intelligentsia, along with their native language, to have a good command of the Russian language, which now plays the role of the most important international language;

e) organises the education of national cadres in all branches of work in the spirit of Bolshevism, in the spirit of irreconcilability towards all and all manifestations of nationalism. At the same time, the party pays special attention to the cause of the Bolshevik scientific development of the history of the peoples of the USSR, their literature and social thought, directing fire against nationalist perversions in questions of ideology (idealisation of the past, servility to the foreign world and its culture, attempts to oppose the peoples of the USSR and their culture to each other, etc.);

f) conducts constant and systematic work on the ideological and political education of the working masses of all nationalities on the basis of the ideology of equality and friendship of peoples, fighting against any moods of national exclusivity and recurrences of former interethnic strife, tirelessly strengthens the fraternal bonds that bind the peoples of the USSR together, thereby preparing the final fusion of all nations into one under communism.

During the period of building communism, each Soviet people will have every opportunity to freely develop their

Soviet statehood and socialist economy, to move forward their national in form, socialist in content, at the same time, in the course of the movement towards communism, the process of mutual rapprochement of the various peoples of the Soviet Union will develop society.

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In order to further strengthen the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, the development of their Soviet statehood, economy and culture, creating conditions for an ever-increasing economic, political and cultural rapprochement of the peoples of the USSR, the Party:

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b) organises systematic political, economic and cultural assistance, as well as assistance with personnel to the union and autonomous republics in order to ensure a new flourishing of the economy and culture of all peoples of the USSR and finally eliminate the remnants of the former economic and cultural inequality of nationalities inherited from tsarist Russia;

c) organises and directs the work on the mutual exchange of experience of the state and economic construction, as well as the achievements of science, art and culture between the union republics;

d) ensures the satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the masses of various nationalities of the USSR striving to master the Russian language and the achievements of Russian culture, striving for the working people of all nationalities, and first of all the party cadres and the intelligentsia, along with their native language, to have a good command of the Russian language, which now plays the role of the most important international language;

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the USSR, thereby preparing the final merger of all nations into one under communism.

3. The decisive force in the struggle of Soviet society for the victory of communism was, and there will be an All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

The Lenin-Stalin Party as a vanguard of the Soviet people, as an organisation Communist-conscious, the most staunch and disciplined people of socialist society, as the leading force of the Soviet state, will live, develop and lead the struggle of all Soviet people for building a complete communist society. The party will survive, it will grow and grow stronger both during the period of building communism and after its victory in our country, it will live and develop until the time when communism finally triumphs on an international scale and enters the life of mankind.

The party is strong and invincible due to the fact that it has always been, is and will be flesh from the flesh, blood from the blood of the Soviet people. The party has never separated and does not separate myself from the people, from the non-party working masses. The bulk of non-party working people have no other views and goals than the views and goals of the Communist Party. The difference between communists and non-partisans lies in the degree of ideological and political consciousness, organisation and discipline. The Party unites in its ranks really advanced, the best people of Soviet society, the most organised and disciplined, ideological and stable, capable of leading the working people in the struggle for communism.

The party is strong and invincible due to the fact that it has always led, is leading and will continue to conduct an irreconcilable struggle against all forms alien to the people and obsolete social life and ideas, against routine and backwardness, against everything that pulls the party and

Soviet society back to the old, slows down its movement forward, to communism.

In a socialist society, when the social fertile soil for the emergence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends in the party has been eliminated communists of the Soviet Union and the moral and political unity of Soviet society was achieved, the party is guaranteed against the appearance of any anti-party in it, anti-Leninist currents and groups. In the future, as now, the party will be united and monolithic, free of all factions and trends.

The law of the development of the party is now and henceforth the Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. Through Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, the party will to reveal and consciously overcome internal contradictions in the development of socialist society, contradictions between the new, victorious along all lines the Soviet system - on the one hand - and the remnants of old dying out forms of social life, lagging behind the life, remnants of capitalism in consciousness and everyday life people-on the other.

This law of the development of Soviet society, the law of overcoming internal contradictions in the development of society through criticism and self-criticism will be a guarantee against stagnation and backwardness in any sector of social life, a constant engine of progressive development of Soviet society to the heights of communism.

The party is strong and invincible in that it is guided by creative Marxism, the teachings of Lenin-Stalin, which gives the party the opportunity to orient itself in international and domestic environment, to understand the internal connection of others events, foresee the course of events, recognise not only how and where events in the present, but also how and where they should develop in the future. Thanks to Leninism, the party can move forward confidently and lead the working class

forward. The Party will always retain its unshakable loyalty to the immortal teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin.

Proceeding from the fact that Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, about the workers' movement, about the proletarian revolution, about the construction of the communist society; the party cannot and does not consider the Marxist-Leninist theory as a dogma. Just as any science is improving in the practice of life, the Party considers it its duty to develop and improve the Marxist-Leninist theory, to enrich it with new experience and new knowledge, to replace its individual outdated provisions and conclusions with new conclusions and provisions corresponding to new historical conditions.

The party considers it the duty of party members to assimilate the essence of the Marxist-Leninist theory, to learn how to use it in solving practical questions of building a communist society, as well as for understanding the current international situation.

The party considers it the duty of the leading cadres of the party, especially theoretical cadres, to be able to enrich the Marxist-Leninist theory with new experience of the revolutionary movement and communist construction, to develop and move it forward and, proceeding from the essence of the theory, to replace some of its provisions and conclusions that are outdated in modern conditions - new scientifically grounded provisions and conclusions corresponding to new historical conditions.

This creative approach to Marxist-Leninist theory, examples of which were given by Lenin and Stalin—the guarantee of the further development of Marxism-Leninism, the further development of the Bolshevik Party, the guarantee of its success in the struggle for complete victory communism.

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IV— O. V. Kuusinen[1] L. A. Leontiev[2], - A. A. Zhdanov. Materials For The Draft Programme Of The CPSU(B). July 28, 1947

Kuusinen
Leontiev

ABSTRACTS TO THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE CPSU(B)

A. General theoretical part

I.

1. The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new era in the history of mankind, the era of transition from capitalism to communism, the first phase of which is the socialist society built in the USSR. This transition covers a whole historical period of class battles and national liberation struggles, revolutions and wars, during which the country of socialism—the Soviet Union—lives and develops in a capitalist environment.

2. The Great October Socialist Revolution was the natural result of the entire course of social development and, above all,

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[2] Leontyev Lev Abramovich (1901-1974), Soviet economist, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1939). From 1931 to 1957 he was engaged in scientific, teaching and journalistic work.

the development of capitalism in our country and throughout the world. The founders of scientific communism, Marx and Engels, discovered the laws of development and destruction of the capitalist mode of production, which is commodity production at its highest stage, when labour power is also a commodity. As a result of the development of capitalism, the productive forces of society entered into irreconcilable conflict with capitalist production relations based on the private property of the capitalists and landlords for tools and means of production. The main contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation— creates a destructive anarchy of production and leads to devastating economic crises. The conflict between the productive forces and the production relations of capitalism finds its expression in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This fight leads to socialist revolution, overthrowing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat is the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of a new socialist society[a].

Lenin and Stalin, relying on the analysis of the foundations of capitalism given by Marx and Engels, revealed the laws of the development and death of monopoly capitalism—imperialism. Imperialism is the last and highest stage in the development of capitalist society, the eve of the socialist revolution of the proletariat. Raising Marx's teaching to a higher level in a new historical era, Lenin and Stalin discovered and substantiated the impossibility of the simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries, the possibility of the victory of socialism initially in one, separately taken capitalist country.

[a] On the top margin with a pencil mark: **Characteristics of capitalism?**

3. The Great October Socialist Revolution marked a turning point in world history—the transition from the spontaneous development of society to the conscious creation of history by the masses, led by the party of Lenin-Stalin, armed with the advanced scientific worldview of Marxism-Leninism.

4. All previous revolutions destroyed one form of exploitation in order to replace with another form of exploitation. Great October Socialist Revolution for the first time in the history of mankind, it abolished all exploitation of man by man. She gave the people not only freedom, but also the material goods necessary in order to actually take advantage of the freedom you have won.

5. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of Socialism in the USSR, for the first time in history, they showed the practical feasibility of socialism as a higher social system in comparison with capitalism. Socialist society has immeasurable advantages over capitalism. These advantages in conditions of peaceful construction were revealed in the high rates of economic development of the USSR, the steady growth of the material well-being and cultural level of the working masses. In the conditions of military trials of 1941-1945, they ensured victory over a mortal enemy.

6. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR practically proved the ability of the working classes - the working class, the peasantry and the popular intelligentsia - to govern the state and direct all aspects of social life without and against the exploiting classes. Thus, the monopoly of the exploiting classes in the state leadership of society was undermined.

7. The building of socialism in the USSR practically proved the feasibility of socialist restructuring not only in industry, in which the development of capitalist large-scale production has brought the socialisation of labour to a high degree, but also in agriculture, which capitalism is doomed to lag behind and where the socialist revolution finds a sea of small and smallest individual peasant farms ... The socialist restructuring of agriculture, carried out in the USSR on the basis of the voluntary unification of peasant farms into collective farms, is of enormous world-historical significance. For the peasantry still constitutes the majority of the world's population, especially in the backward, dependent and colonial countries.

8. The Great October Socialist Revolution liberated the peoples of Russia from economic and spiritual enslavement by foreign capital. The Soviet government made our country for the first time a free and independent state.

In the shortest historical period, the Soviet people achieved the economic independence and independence of the country, broke the chains of material and spiritual dependence of the country on the bourgeois world, and successfully carried out preliminary preparation of the country for active defence. The far-sighted policy of the CPSU (b), aimed at creating a powerful socialist industry and advanced collective farm agriculture, saved our homeland from the treacherous attack of Hitler's Germany.

9. During the Second World War, the Soviet Union, being the only one in the world a socialist country, played a decisive role in the defeat of the main centres of world fascism and world aggression. The Soviet Union saved European civilisation from fascist pogromists and liberated the peoples of

the European continent from Hitler's enslavement. Having carried out the defeat of German imperialism, the Soviet Union liberated the Slavic countries and peoples from the centuries-old mortal danger from the German invaders.

10. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War was the victory of the Soviet social and state system, which proved not only its full vitality and stability, but also its superiority over other forms of society. The Soviet system turned out to be a better form of social organisation than any non-Soviet social system. The Soviet Union has become a bulwark of world civilisation and progress.

II.

1. The First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of the general crisis of the capitalist system. Capitalism has ceased to be a single and all-embracing system of the world economy. Alongside him, socialist society began to develop rapidly in the USSR. Splitting the world into two camps—capitalism and socialism—meant that capitalism has lost its former strength and sustainability. The flourishing of socialist society in the USSR along with the processes the decline, decay and decay of the capitalist system underlines the reactionary nature of modern capitalism, which has become a brake on the development of the productive forces of society, into the greatest obstacle to the progressive development of mankind.

2. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the USSR, while maintaining the capitalist system in the rest of the world, determined the inevitability of the coexistence during a certain era of two social systems: socialism and

capitalism. The coexistence of the two systems is characterised by:

1) economic competition between them, which more and more clearly reveals the advantages of socialism as the most progressive social system;

2) the possibility of peaceful cooperation between the two systems; the Soviet Union is committed to such cooperation with a view to social progress and the preservation of the longest possible peace between peoples;

3) the desire of the most aggressive imperialist powers and circles to hostile actions against the Soviet Union, fraught with the danger of aggression against the USSR, which persists as long as the capitalist encirclement exists.

3. In the era of the general crisis of capitalism, the implementation of the socialist system in each country depends primarily on a subjective factor, that is, on the solidarity and consciousness of the proletariat, the strength and efficiency of its party, the influence of the proletariat on its allies—the working masses of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, undermining the influence of the bourgeoisie of its reformist agents on the working class. The salvation of the capitalist system in a number of European countries in the period after the First World War was achieved by the bourgeoisie primarily with the help of the reformist Social Democratic parties of the Second International, which split the working class. This split of the working class cleared the way for the fascist terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in many countries of the European continent, where the bourgeoisie turned out to be too weak to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy.

4. The period of the general crisis of capitalism means an unprecedented exacerbation of all the contradictions of the bourgeois system:

a) contradictions between productive forces and production relations, which finds its expression in crises that have become more frequent, deeper and destructive enterprises;

b) the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which finds its expression, on the one hand, in the capital's offensive against the elementary rights of the workers, won by the struggle of many generations, in the progressive impoverishment of the proletariat along with the tremendous growth in wealth and profits of a small handful of monopolists; on the other hand, in the transition of the proletariat to more active and decisive forms of the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression;

c) contradictions between a handful of 'civilized' countries and the majority of humanity inhabiting colonial and dependent countries, this contradiction finds its expression in the growth of the national liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent countries, on the one hand, and in the increased efforts of the imperialist colonial powers, striving by means of violence and deceit to keep the colonial peoples under their yoke;

d) the contradictions between the imperialist powers and their groups, inevitably leading to an increase in rivalry between them on the basis of the struggle for spheres of influence, for markets for raw materials, for sales markets, for areas of capital investment;

e) contradictions between the most aggressive imperialist powers, striving for world domination, and other countries that turn out to be facing the threat of losing their national independence and sovereignty.

5. The law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism inevitably leads to a change in the balance of

power between individual imperialist powers, as a result of which the balance between economic powers of powers and the distribution of their spheres of influence, which in turn determines the inevitability of imperialist wars for the re-division of the world. The Second World War, which was a consequence of the uneven development of the imperialist powers, at the same time created the preconditions for new disturbances in the equilibrium and a new aggravation of the uneven development.

6. The danger of new imperialist wars persists as long as modern monopoly capitalism exists.

After the victorious end of the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet Union led the struggle for a democratic peace, for such a post-war system that would ensure the longest possible peace and lasting security of peoples. The Soviet country, free from the exploitation of man by man, speaks out for international arena, a consistent champion of democratic principles in relations between large and small states, honest international cooperation based on the recognition of the equality of peoples, their national freedom and independence.

7. The consistent policy of peace and friendship between peoples pursued by the Soviet Union and which at one time made it difficult to unleash a war for the fascist aggressors, is currently the most important factor in the security of peoples and in suppressing the intrigues of the instigators of a new war.

8. After the defeat of the fascist aggressors, the centre of world reaction moved to the United States of America and England, and the contradiction between these two strongest imperialist powers again became the main contradiction within the camp of the capitalist countries.

Within the framework of this contradiction, the current policy of the Anglo-American bloc should also be considered, [which][a] cannot be strong and stable. This policy is dictated by the temporary coincidence of the interests of British and American imperialism in the situation created after the end of the Second World War. The imperialist circles of both Anglo-Saxon countries are striving to jointly use for their own purposes the fruits of the victory over German and Japanese imperialism, which not only does not exclude the struggle for the division of the booty, but also presupposes this fight. British imperialism needs the help of a stronger American partner to maintain their colonial domination and their positions in the colonial world. On the other hand, American imperialism, competing with British in the arena of colonial policy, is interested in preserving and strengthening the foundations of imperialist rule over the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. The policy of the Anglo-American bloc, also dictated by the class solidarity of the imperialists of both countries, is at the same time a factor in the exacerbation of internal class contradictions in each of these countries.

The methods of the policy of force, threats, blackmail used by the Anglo-Saxon powers, especially the United States, the rampant reaction in the foreign and domestic policy of American imperialism, the theory and practice of racial discrimination and national oppression, the transition to the position of obscurantism in the field of culture and spiritual life—all this marks the depth of the fall of the formal, bourgeois democracy in the leading countries of modern imperialism.

[a] In the left margin in pencil opposite the underlined mark: **M. B. which the?**

9. The striving of the largest imperialist powers and their coalitions for world domination creates an acute danger to national freedom and the independence of all peoples, and above all to small and weakened countries. The struggle for world domination found its expression in the policy of Hitler's imperialism, which under the banner of a new order in Europe tried to deprive the European peoples of their national independence, to destroy their statehood and culture. After the defeat of Hitler's imperialism, the policy of struggle for world domination was inherited by the Anglo-American bloc. The struggle of the Anglo-Saxon powers for world domination is dictated primarily by the selfish interests of the monopolies, which have concentrated in their hands a significant share of the production of the entire capitalist world. The inevitability of the collapse of this policy is due to the growing resistance of peoples to attempts to enslave mankind.

The struggle of the most aggressive imperialist powers for world domination calls for the unification of the forces of peoples who value their national freedom and independence. All efficient democratic strata and elements are rallying their forces under the slogan of democracy and patriotism to defend national sovereignty and national freedom. In this situation, the slogan of defending the fatherland from the imperialist invaders, directed with its spearhead against the pretenders to world domination, trampling on the independence of small and medium-sized countries and undermining the basis of their independent existence, acquires a progressive character.

If Marx and Engels a hundred years ago could rightfully declare that the proletariat does not have a fatherland, now this no longer corresponds to reality, not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the countries of people's democracies, where the working class won a leading position in the government. In addition, democratic patriotism took deep roots in a number of other countries (France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, etc.),

where the advanced forces of the working class during the war fought a patriotic partisan struggle against the German invaders and their servants - traitors to their homeland.

10. The Soviet Union is the centre of attraction for the increased forces of democracy in international arena. The policy of the Soviet Union, based on honest and equal cooperation between large and small peoples, is unconditionally approved by all true supporters and defenders of democracy throughout the world. The attitude towards the Soviet Union is the decisive dividing line between the forces of democracy and the forces of reaction on the world stage.

Resistance of the peoples of most countries of the capitalist world to attempts enslavement of mankind gave birth to modern democracy, which has a militant anti-fascist, anti-imperialist character. The popular masses are striving for constitutional reforms that expand the framework of the democratic rights of peoples. Modern democracy acts on the world arena under the banner of the struggle against fascism and all manifestations of imperialist reaction, for democratic peace and honest international cooperation.

I. The existence of the Soviet Union and its authority and prestige in international affairs opened the possibility of new ways of transition to socialism for modern peoples. This is the path of the new people's democracy, born in the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of the masses and established in a number of countries liberated from the fascist yoke by the Soviet army. The path of the new democracy is characterised by:

1) fundamental economic transformations, meaning both the elimination of feudal remnants through agrarian reforms and the transfer of land to the landowners and capitalists to the peasantry, and the elimination of the rule of big capital and

foreign monopolies through the nationalisation of the main industry, transport and banks;

2) the preservation of the parliamentary form of the state under a coalition government of democratic parties that united the working class, the working masses of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. The path of the countries of the new democracies to socialism presupposes the growth and strengthening of the public sector of the national economy, the widespread use of cooperation to establish an ever closer connection between public industry and small peasant farming. The path of the new democracy is in the modern [era] the only path that provides the people [am small and] the dependent countries of the capitalist world the possibility of maintaining and strengthening their [national freedom], economic and political independence, on which is encroached upon by the imperialist [pretenders for world] domination.

12. Unable to maintain their dominance over the colonies by the old methods of naked violence, the imperialist powers use a rich arsenal of means deception, creating the appearance of granting independence to individual colonial countries while maintaining their economic, military and political domination, concluding agreements in order to then treacherously violate them. The main country of capitalism - the United States, during the war, vocalized for the liberation of the colonies, after the war exposed itself as the most expansionist power modernity, as a bulwark of colonial oppression, helping with weapons and armed forces of the most reactionary elements in all colonial and dependent countries (assistance to the Dutch colonialists in the war against the Indonesian Republic, assistance to the reactionary Kuomintang clique in its anti-popular war, etc.). The United States claims to be the heir to the colonial powers in the comprehensive exploitation of the colonies as markets for raw materials, reservoirs of cheap

labour forces, fields of profitable capital investment for monopolies.

13. The national liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples undermines the foundations of imperialist oppression and undermines the foundations of the existence of colonial empires based on the many-sided exploitation of dependent countries and squeezing out of them monopoly super-profits on a gigantic scale.

III.

1. During its tenure in power, the VKP (b) built and strengthened the Soviet socialist state - a state of a new type. Unlike state power, which before the advent of Soviet power was always an instrument of oppression and subjugation of the exploited popular masses by the exploiting minority, the Soviet state from its very inception was an organ of domination the majority of the working population, led by the working class, led by the party of Lenin-Stalin.

2. The Soviet state, led by the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), carried out an enormous transformational work, as a result of which our country turned into a mighty socialist power. The revolutionary leap from backwardness to a high level of economic development demanded:

1) creating new technology,

2) building cadres, the ability to ride new technology and move it forward,

3) the creation of an apparatus for the management of industry and planned management of the entire national economy,

4) the development of methods and tools for socialist management.

The gigantic transformational tasks could be carried out by the Soviet state only because it revealed the inexhaustible sources of creative energy and labour heroism of the millions of working people.

3. Soviet society has achieved the elimination of the exploiting classes and the elimination of the causes that give rise to the exploitation of man by man. As a result of this, Soviet society consists of toilers of the city and countryside, freed from the yoke of exploitation; it is based on a solid alliance and friendly cooperation of the working class, peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia, jointly building a socialist economy and culture. Creation of the foundation of a socialist economy in the form of a large socialist industry and a large collective farm and state farm agriculture forever freed the working population of the USSR from poverty and threats of unemployment, insecurity and provided all honest workers a real opportunity for a prosperous and cultural life. The all growing transformation of this possibility into reality depends solely on the working people themselves—on their conscientious attitude towards labour, their unswerving struggle to increase labour productivity, etc.

4. As a result of the abolition of private ownership of instruments and means of production and the establishment of public socialist property, a solid economic foundation of Soviet society has been created in the form of a socialist system of the people farms. The socialist economy is free from such ulcers of capitalism as economic crises of overproduction, unemployment of millions of masses, parasitism and parasitism of the exploiting classes, their servants, the destructive capitalist competition, anarchy of production, which excludes the possibility of rational use of the productive forces of society.

5. The socialist system, for the first time in the history of mankind, provided the working people with not only formal democratic rights, but also a real opportunity to exercise them. Only in the Soviet country are the working people free from the pressure exerted on them by the exploiting minority, which has concentrated in its hands all the means of propaganda (press, radio), influencing public opinion and outright falsifying it.

The Soviet state is the most democratic state in the world—the highest form of democracy. It first implemented the principle of attracting the most the broad working masses to governing the state, to state activity in all its branches and forms. The basic foundations of the Soviet state and social system, the political and economic basis of Soviet society received their legislative confirmation in the Stalinist Constitution of the USSR.

6. The Soviet system for the first time freed women from the oppressed, unequal position and provided conditions for de facto equality between the sexes in all spheres of social life.

7. Having liquidated the exploiting classes, acting as instigators and provocateurs of ethnic hatred, the Soviet system destroyed the roots of the national oppression and national inequality. Fraternal friendship of peoples, which are one of the driving springs of its development, has been realised in Soviet society. The great Russian people rendered decisive assistance to other peoples of the USSR in the elimination of their former economic backwardness and the flourishing of their culture—socialist in content and national in form.

8. As a result of profound socio-economic and political transformations, Soviet society has achieved complete moral

and political unity, unthinkable in a society divided into antagonistic classes. This moral and political unity is the basis of Soviet patriotism—the love and devotion of Soviet citizens to their socialist homeland, their readiness for the greatest sacrifices and mass heroism in the name of defending the great achievements of socialism.

9. Having destroyed the monopoly of education enjoyed by the possessing classes, the Soviet state carried out a genuine cultural revolution in our country.

In Soviet society, all the achievements of science and art, all the cultural achievements of mankind for the first time became available to the masses of the people.

10. Developing in a hostile capitalist encirclement, the Soviet state has created powerful armed forces that are a reliable protector of the Soviet people. The Soviet army is strong by the unity between the front and rear, military skill and massive heroism of soldiers and officers, the superiority of Stalin's strategy.

11. As a result of the gigantic successes achieved by the CPSU (b) in the conditions of peaceful construction and during military trials, the Lenin-Stalin party won for itself the undivided authority and support of the entire Soviet people. It is the vanguard of the working people in the struggle to complete the building of socialist society and the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

B. Practical-Political Part

1. For the next 20-30 years, the CPSU (B) considers its main task to be the implementation ofthe gradual transition of

Soviet society from socialism to the highest phase of communism.

2. The highest phase of communism is a social system in which on the basis of eliminating the exploitation of man by man, the level of development the productive forces of society, sufficient to implement the principle: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs. Implementation of this the communist principle presupposes not only the full flowering of social wealth, but also the universal spread of the new socialist attitude towards labour as the main social duty of every able-bodied member of society, the transformation of labour for the good of the whole society into the primary vital need of a person.

The highest phase of communism is a classless society, that is, such a stage in the development of society, on which the opposites between town and country, between physical and mental labour, have been eliminated, and on this basis a complete elimination of class boundaries has been achieved.

3. The transition from socialism to the highest phase of communism is carried out by strengthening and further developing the basic foundations of socialist society: society, socialist ownership of the means of production, planned management of the national economy, the universal obligation of labour and the socialist principle of remuneration for labour in accordance with its quantity and quality. The decisive condition for the implementation of the transition to communism in the Soviet Union is the further strengthening of the socialist state, leading the defence of our homeland from external enemies and their agents, directing all branches of economic and cultural development in the interests of building complete communism in our country.

4. The transition from socialism to communism is inevitably gradual.

As the productive forces develop and social wealth grows, socialist society gains the opportunity to more and more fully and comprehensively meet the needs of the working people. At certain stages of the movement towards communism, the production of some of the most essential consumer goods will reach a level that opens the possibility of a transition to their distribution according to needs. At the same time, differentiated remuneration for labour, depending on its quantity and quality, retains its greatest stimulating value, moving workers forward to improve skills and labour productivity.

5. The gradual transition from socialism to communism requires a successful solution to the main economic task of the USSR—to catch up and overtake the most developed capitalist countries economically, that is, in terms of size industrial production per capita. Solving this problem within the next 15-20 years will create that abundance of products and material goods, which is necessary for the transition to communism.

At the same time, the solution of the main economic problem is necessary in order toto guarantee our homeland from any accidents arising from the presence of a capitalist encirclement. Concrete ways and methods of solving the main economic problem are outlined in the General Plan of the Economic Development of the USSR.

6. Based on Lenin's instructions that communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country, the VKP (b) implements a technical policy aimed at the creation and general dissemination of the most advanced production methods based on the widest introduction of electric energy in all production

processes. The technique of communism is created by the most complete replacement of manual labour by machine, mechanisation of labour-intensive work, bringing machine production before the introduction of an automatic machine system based on electricity, the electrification of agriculture, the steady growth of power and labour power. This technical policy is designed toto ensure a steady growth in labour productivity and an abundance of its products, an increase in the attractive power of labour, an increase in the cultural and technical level of the working masses. Hence follow the immense tasks of independent scientific creativity facing Soviet science and technology.

7. The transition to communism means the disappearance of the opposition between town and country. The foundations of this opposition have already been undermined at the stage of socialism. For its complete destruction, it is necessary: a further change in the nature of agricultural labour and its transformation into a kind of industrial labour, a further rise in the material well-being of the rural population, the strengthening and development of the collective farm system, leading to the growth and improvement of the social economy of the collective farms, the consolidation of socialist relations in the collective farms, and an ever closer connection between collective farm agriculture and socialist industry.

8. The transition to communism requires the elimination of the opposition between mental and physical labour and the gradual blurring of the lines between them. The way to achieve this goal lies through raising the cultural and technical level of the working class, and then the collective farm peasantry, to the level of workers in engineering and technical labour. The implementation of this task is achieved through the spread of universal education and raising its level, the development of a

network of public education and cultural and educational institutions, and advanced training of workers in production.

9. During the period of gradual transition from socialism to communism, the CPSU (b) conducts a policy of all-round strengthening of the Soviet state, of involving ever wider sections of the working people in state building. At the same time, the CPSU (B)expands its ties with the non-party masses on the basis of strengthening the bloc of communists and non-party people, the vitality of which has been proven in practice.

O. Kuusinen

Leontiev

28.VII.47

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V— Materials For The Draft Programme Of The CPSU(B) With Marks Of J. V. Stalin[1]

ABSTRACTS FOR THE COMPILATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE CPSU(B)

1. The Significance of the October Revolution in the Historical Development of Mankind

The Great October Socialist Revolution November 7 (October 25) 1917 in Russia carried out the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, with the support of the bulk of the peasantry, began to build the foundations of a communist society.

This revolution was the inevitable result of the development of international capitalism. Russia was the weakest link and the focal point of all the contradictions of imperialism.

The Russian working class was the first to enter a decisive struggle against capitalism and won a complete victory over the Russian bourgeoisie and the landowners[a].

The October Revolution ushered in a new era in world history. She came the beginning of a radical turn in the

[1] A. L. Zhdanov July 29, 1947 all materials of the working groups submitted to the Commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), sent for consideration to I.V. Stalin, L. P. Beria, G.M. Malenkov, N. A. Voznesensky. The largest number of Stalin's droppings contains a draft compiled by MB Mitin and P. F. Yudin. On the cover of the programme theses of L. A. Leontyev and O, V. Kuusinen of Stalin's note: Not that.

[aa]On the left margin in red pencil opposite: P; the words "and the landowners" are in brackets in red pencil.

development of mankind from the old capitalist peace to a new socialist world.

2. [For the first time][a] in history, workers and peasants deprived the bourgeoisie [and the landlords][b] of political power, destroyed the old bourgeois state apparatus to the ground and created a new type of state—the Soviet state.

The creation of the Soviet state was a world-historical step forward in the struggle of the working class for its liberation. The Soviet state has realised genuine freedom for the working people, a new, people's, socialist democracy. The state of workers was opposed to the bourgeois state, and Soviet socialist democracy was opposed to capitalist democracy.

3. The October Revolution dealt a mortal blow to the exploitative theories that the working class is incapable of running the state.

The thirty-year existence of the Soviet state has proved conclusively that the people themselves, without capitalists and landlords[c], can not only successfully manage the state, build industry, and manage the economy, but are also able to create the most strongest and most powerful state that has ever existed in history.

4. The entire experience of historical development over the past decades shows that the bourgeois form of ownership of the instruments and means of production has outlived its usefulness, that the transformation of the means of production into social, socialist property is a historical necessity, a condition for the further progress of mankind.

[aa]Underlined in red pencil. Opposite in the left field is a red pencil mark: **For the first time? And the French revolution?**

[bb]The words "and landlords" are underlined and in brackets in red pencil.

[c] The words "and landlords" are taken in brackets in red pencil.

The Soviet revolution abolished bourgeois and landowners'[d] ownership of the means of production and established the rule of socialist ownership in our country, which was a decisive condition for the unprecedented scale and pace of growth of the productive forces of Soviet society.

For the first time in history, the economy of a huge country was organised on scientific, planned basis. The domination of socialist property made possible a reasonable combination of science and economy. [New patterns of social development have emerged][e].

The victorious development of the socialist economy of the U.S.S.R. led to the complete displacement of the capitalist elements from all spheres of economic and social life, to the elimination of the exploiting classes, to the destruction of the exploitation of man by man. The Soviet people are now forever spared from economic crises, unemployment, poverty and ruin[f].

The socialist form of economy has shown its greatest advantages over capitalism as the highest historical stage in the organisation and development of production.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Victory of Socialism in the USSR confirmed the ~~great~~[a] truth of Marxism-Leninism that capitalism is a transitory mode of production and that, by virtue of the laws of historical development, it will inevitably be replaced by socialism.

5. The victory of the socialist revolution in the USSR liberated the peoples of Russia from economic and spiritual enslavement by foreign capital and provided them state

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[d] The words "bourgeois form" are crossed out, the word "**private**" is written on top; the word "property" is corrected to "property" in red pencil.

[e] The words "and the landowner" are taken in brackets in red pencil.

[f] After the word "poverty" above the line in red pencil is written: **people;** after "**ruin**": **the peasantry.**

[a] Strikethrough with a pencil.

independence and national independence. The October Revolution raised the broad masses of the country to conscious historical creativity. The people became the true creator of a new social and state system, a new socialist culture[b].

6. The October socialist revolution has completely broken the chains of national oppression in Russia, and has established the Soviet multinational state, built on the basis of the brotherhood of peoples. The Soviet state ensured economic and cultural prosperity for all the peoples of Russia. It raised the previously oppressed peoples to the position of truly free and truly equal[c].

The October Revolution dealt a crushing blow to the bourgeois racial theory, showing that the most backward peoples, drawn into the mainstream of Soviet development, are capable of moving forward a truly advanced culture and a truly advanced civilisation. She exposed the centuries-widespread lie about the inequality of peoples, about the superiority of some races and nations[d] over others.

7. The October Revolution served as a signal and example for the working people of the whole world in their liberation struggle, infusing them with confidence in their strength and hope for liberation from oppression and exploitation.

In the broad popular masses of the capitalist countries, in the colonies and dependent countries, the belief in the inviolability and eternity of capitalism was shaken. Under the influence of the October Revolution, a powerful wave of ~~revolutionary uprisings~~[e] swept around the world national liberation movements. Workers' struggle against capitalist

[b] On the left margin, in red pencil, a note: About the people wider.
[c] In the left margin opposite point 6 with a red pencil, a vertical line.
[d] After "and nations" in red pencil there is a dot, from it there is an arrow to the top margin to the label: "eternal".
[e] Strikethrough in pencil.

oppression after the October Revolution rose to a [more][f] high historical level[g].

8. The October Revolution dealt a fatal blow to the social democratic reformist ideology. It proved that [only the Communist Party][h],~~only Bolshevism~~[k] is the true representative of revolutionary Marxism. The October Revolution showed the working class of the whole world that social democratic reformism is the ideological pillar of capitalism, a loyal defender and servant of imperialism.

9. The leader and organiser of the masses who carried out the socialist revolution and the victorious building of socialism in the USSR is the All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the party of Lenin-Stalin.

Bolshevik Party armed with the theory of scientific communism, theory of Marxism-Leninism, educated the working class and working people in the spirit of the ideas of the socialist revolution and showed them the right path to victory.

10. World War II, which ended with the complete victory of the Soviet Union over ~~German~~[a] fascism and ~~Japanese imperialism~~[b], proved to the whole world that only thanks to the Soviet state and the selfless struggle of the peoples of the USSR, who bore the brunt of this war on their shoulders, humanity was saved from the danger of fascist enslavement.

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[f] Strikethrough in pencil.

[g] On the left margin of the pencil Note: P.

[h] On the left margin, in red pencil, there is a Note: P.

[k] Crossed out in red pencil.

[a] Crossed out in red pencil, above the line is written: **and Japanese.**

[b] Is crossed out in red pencil.

The USSR acted as the saviour of world culture and civilisation from fascist barbarism.

The Soviet state in new, post-war conditions continues to lead to the end of the consistent struggle for the complete eradication of the ideology of fascism throughout the world, for a lasting democratic peace, for the freedom and independence of peoples, tirelessly exposing the instigators and provocateurs of a new world war.

11. The Great October Socialist Revolution put the working people of the USSR is at the head of all the advanced and progressive humanity.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the stronghold of the culture and civilisation of modern mankind. On the basis of victorious socialism in the USSR, a new world culture, the culture of communism is being built.

II. Contemporary International Environment

1. The Second World War Brought About Significant Changes in the Current International Situation.

As a result of the defeat of German fascism and ~~Japan~~[c] imperialism, the two most aggressive imperialist powers—Germany and Japan—were out of action from the world capitalist system. There was a serious weakening of the British Empire, which lost part of its economic and political positions and turned into a junior partner of the United States.

The centre of gravity of world reaction has shifted to the United States. The economic, financial and military strengthening of the United States is pushing the American

[c] is crossed out in red pencil, after "German" above the line is written in red pencil: **and Japanese.**

monopoly and financial oligarchy to fight for the establishment of world domination, to abandon traditional isolationism and move to an unrestrained ~~expansionist~~[d] foreign policy[e]. The failed German-fascist imperialism, which was striving to conquer world domination, was replaced by American imperialism with its aspirations to establish the world domination of the USA. After the failure of the fascist German racial theory, the Anglo-Saxon racial theory was brought to light as the new ideological weapon of American and British imperialism.

2. British imperialism does not have the strength and the means to keep its old positions in the capitalist world, with the result that the British ousted[f] by the American imperialists from China, ousted from Canada, lost their position in Greece and Turkey, etc. The United States is betting on the economic conquest of foreign colonies, [on overcoming the colonial monopoly][a] of European powers and the mastery of foreign markets and sources of raw materials. With false-demagogic declarations against colonial oppression, the American imperialists cover up their desire for a general re-division of the colonial world in their favour.

3. The modern imperialist reaction does not want and [cannot get rid of fascism][b], because it needs fascism as a

[d] Is crossed out with a red pencil, an arrow on the upper field, there is a red pencil of droppings: **invading.**

[e] On the upper field of the arrow in red pencil, there is a note: **and liberalism.**

[f] On the upper field of the arrow in red pencil, there is a note: **and liberalism.**

[a] in the left field of the pencil note: **P.**

[b] "to the end" is crossed out in blue pencil, in the left field of the litter in pencil: Not that.

counter-balance to the growth of the workers' and people's democratic movement. The ruling circles of the United States and Britain are everywhere conniving at the fascists. The governments of the imperialist states (Britain and the USA) are pursuing a policy of supporting reactionary elements throughout the world (in China, Greece, Italy, France, Iran, Germany, Austria, etc.), a policy of suppressing the national liberation movement in the colonial countries[c].

4. In the post-war [US domestic policy, the process of militarisation of the country and the bureaucratisation of the state apparatus][d], the strengthening of the military, the transition to methods of direct violence against progressive organisations was sharply defined.

Extreme reactionary circles in the United States are openly pushing the country towards fascism. Enforcement of laws against trade unions, screening of US government employees and dismissal of all 'disloyal', cleaning the state apparatus of communist and democratic elements, racial discrimination, a widespread political and ideological campaign against the labour movement, trade unions, the communist party testify to the serious danger of the fascisation of the USA[e].

5. One of the manifestations of the US struggle for world domination is the trampling on national sovereignty of many European countries. Relying on the strength of the dollar, taking advantage of the poverty and distress of the population of many European countries after the Second World War,

[c] In the left field, in blue pencil, there is a note: **In South America**.

[d] Underlined in red pencil, "militarization", "bureaucratization of the state apparatus" is circled. In the left field, two crosses are drawn in red pencil.

[e] In the left field, in blue pencil, opposite the paragraph of the note: **Not that.**

seeking to unite a number of European states under their auspices, reactionary US circles are trying to arbitrarily interfere in their economic and political life. The reactionary elements[f] of these countries openly betray the national interests of their peoples for the sake of the rich and overweight masters from the United States[g].

6. As a reflection of the growth of the forces of imperialist reaction, there is a further decline and decay of modern bourgeois culture and ideology. In the camps of the bourgeois world, primarily in the USA and England, new variations of the old racial theories are widely preached. Once again, imperialist reaction is raising the weapon of zoological nationalism to the shield. The preaching of 'powerlessness of reason', individualism of the 'proud personality', intellectual anarchy, philosophical idealism and mysticism intensified greatly in the post-war period.

7. The growth of reaction, the intensifying processes of militarisation and fascisation of the countries of the old bourgeois democracy, and the reactionary course in their domestic and foreign policies exacerbate class contradictions and intensify the struggle of progressive and reactionary elements in these countries. There is a growing process of the forces of progress, democracy; ever broader masses of the people are being drawn into the struggle against reaction[a].

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[f] Above the line in blue pencil is inserted: bourgeoisie.

[g] In the left field opposite the first sentence of paragraph 5, in blue pencil, write: **About world government,** continued in the upper field of L. 11 in red pencil: **The theory of "kosmopolitism" and education with oe d. States of Europe** with a single pr-vom. Next, in blue pencil: **world government.**

[a] in the left field, two vertical short lines are drawn in pencil.

8. After the Second World War, an upsurge in the labour movement was clearly visible in all capitalist countries. The working class of the capitalist countries during the liberation war against fascism acted as the most consistent fighter for the defeat of fascism, as the most patriotic force in the struggle against fascist aggressors and oppressors. Today the working class of the capitalist countries is fighting against international and national reaction and is acting as the true bearer of the national and national interests. The working class of the capitalist countries more and more unites all democratic elements around itself[b].

9. One of the patterns of the current stage of historical development is the growth of the forces of communism in all countries. During the Second World War, the communist parties played the main organising role in the creation of the resistance movement and the unification of the masses in the countries under the German and Japanese occupation. As a result, the communist parties have grown in number, have become stronger politically and ideologically, have won great prestige among the masses and are now a powerful force opposing internal and external reaction.

10. As a result[c] of the defeat of German fascism and Japanese imperialism, the crisis of the entire colonial system of the capitalist world intensified. Is happening the rise of the national-colonial liberation movement unprecedented before in history. It is not only colonial peoples who do not want to live anymore in the old way, but the ruling classes of the metropolises can no longer in the old way manage the

[b] On the left margin, two vertical lines are drawn in blue pencil.
[c] Above the line in blue pencil is written: **military.**

colonies[d].The colonial peoples oppose the attempts of imperialist reaction to find a way out of the crisis of the colonial system through reforms and concessions—their own path, the path of the revolutionary, national liberation struggle[e].Under the flag of granting all kinds of 'autonomy', 'independence', through partial concessions, the use of tactics of inciting national and religious discord among colonial peoples, as well as through economic and political pressure, and where all this does not help—through direct military suppression of the national liberation movement—the imperialists are doing their utmost to preserve their old colonial positions. The peoples of the colonial countries in (India], Burma, Indonesia, Indochina, etc.)[f]are increasingly deploying a struggle for their national independence, establishing ties with democratic, progressive forces throughout the capitalist world, including the metropolitan countries.

11. After the First World War, as a result of the victory of the Great October socialist revolution, Russia broke the chains of imperialism, and the Soviet state and social system was established in it. After World War II war, as a result of the unfolding national liberation struggle against fascist oppression, thanks to the historical role played by the Soviet Union in the defeat of German fascism, in a number of countries of eastern and southeastern Europe (Yugoslavia[a], Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Poland) and the new democracy was strengthened.

The peoples of these countries, freed with the help of the Soviet Army from Hitler's oppression, began to build new

[d] There is a vertical line in the left field with a pencil, followed by a note: **P.**
[e] On the left field with a pencil is a short vertical line, followed by a note: **P.**
[f] On the left field with a pencil of a note: P.
[a] A crossed out in pencil, opposite in the left field of the note: **P.**

democratic orders, abandoning the old models of bourgeois-parliamentary democracy, such as English or North American. New forms of State structure have emerged that ensure the effective involvement of workers, peasants, and labour intelligentsia in State administration. In the countries of the new democracy, land reform has been carried out, large-scale landowners ‘ land ownership is being liquidated, large-scale industry is being nationalised, and the foundations for the planned development of the economy are being laid. A new path of economic and political development towards socialism has opened up for the countries of the new democracy.

12. In the post-war period, the reactionary role of the modern right-wing Social Democracy as the clerk and squire of imperialism is once again revealed with all clarity. The Social Democracy [after World War I] saved capitalism with its opportunistic and treacherous policies; the split of the labour movement paved the way for the victory of fascism in Germany, Italy, Spain and other countries. Now, after the second war, the right-wing socialists are playing an equally reactionary the role of being direct accomplices of the imperialist aggressive forces; they are active assistants, propagandists and conductors of the US policy of economic and political enslavement of a number of European countries, active preachers of the creation of a Western bloc of European states [directed against the Soviet Union][b].

Exposing their policies and isolating them from the working class and the popular masses is an urgent task for all truly democratic, progressive forces.

[b] On the left margin, in blue pencil, from the beginning of paragraph 12 to the last underscore, two vertical lines. Next to the last underscore on the field with a pencil mark: **P.**

12. Two tendencies were clearly defined in the international situation—the tendency of imperialist reaction and aggression, provocation and preparation of a new war, denial of the national sovereignty of small countries, represented by reactionary imperialist circles—and another tendency represented by the Soviet Union—the spokesman for the true interests of the peoples, consistently fighting for a long-term democratic peace, defending the rights of peoples and the sovereignty of small states.

13. Development of the productive forces of the capitalist world, first of all in the USA, the concentration of huge wealth in the hands of a handful of monopolists and tycoons of finance capital and the ever-growing impoverishment of the masses confronts the capitalist system with new economic upheavals and crises. The uneven development of the capitalist countries, [imbalance within the bourgeois economic system][c]—fraught with the danger of new military clashes. The more progress of science goes forward, the more opportunities open up for the use of new energy sources, new great technical discoveries—the stronger is the effect of the main contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of labour and the private capitalist form of appropriation. The higher the level of modern technology, the more majestic the productive forces of mankind become, more inevitably the question of the need to replace the old bourgeois system with a new socialist system is put on the order of the day. Imperialism is unable to cope with the modern productive forces of society. [The only way to avoid new military clashes and crises is the transition to socialism][a].

[c] On the left margin of the pencil mark: **P.** This is not the case. The underlined text is placed in parentheses in pencil.

[a] In the left field, the underlined sentence is marked with two vertical and two horizontal lines.

III. The Results of the Incumbent of Soviet Society

1. Having won political power in Russia, the workers and peasants created the main conditions for the radical socialist transformation of the country.

After the defeat of foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution, the Communist Party directed all the forces of the Soviet people to restore the national economy and socialist reconstruction of the country's life along all lines. It was necessary to start creating our own industrial base for the national economy, it was necessary to prepare and carry out the transformation of agriculture on a socialist basis, a tremendous amount of work had to be done to comprehensively develop and strengthen the socialist state, it was necessary to launch a whole cultural revolution in the country.

2. The implementation of these tasks was associated with enormous difficulties arising from the age-old economic and cultural backwardness of old Russia. It is necessary to overcome the desperate resistance of the exploiting classes, defeat the Trotskyite-Zinoviev-Bukharin traitors and traitors, to strengthen the country's defence in the face of the continuous attempts of the bourgeois states to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government rallied the Soviet people, directed his efforts towards a common goal, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties.

As a result of the titanic work of the Soviet people, a socialist society was built in the USSR.

3. Guided by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Party and the Soviet government developed a strictly scientific programme for the industrialisation of the country.

Unlike the capitalist method of industrialisation, the Soviet method of industrialisation is based on public ownership of the means of production, on the accumulation and conservation of wealth created by the labour of workers and peasants. The Soviet method of industrialisation assumed a steady increase in the material well-being of the masses. The clarity of the goal and the greatness of the prospects for socialist construction aroused the greatest labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people. The construction of socialist industry gave rise to new forms of communist construction—socialist competition and shock work.

All this led to an unprecedented increase in production. It was a leap with the help of which our homeland, in the shortest historical period, turned from a backward country to an advanced one, from an agrarian to an industrial one.

The Soviet industry has grown into a tremendous force based on the new, advanced modern technology with a highly developed heavy industry and even more developed mechanical engineering.

4. Consistently and successfully solving the problem of creating a large modern machine-driven industry, the Soviet state carried out Lenin's covenant to transform our country into an economically independent and independent of the capitalist economy of the bourgeois countries.

As a result of industrialisation, a powerful and solid base of defence of the country was created, which made it possible to prepare for the organisation of a repulse in the event of a military attack from outside.

5. The most difficult task of the socialist revolution was the introduction to socialism of the multi-million Soviet peasantry. To put an end to the backwardness in the field of agriculture and put it on a socialist track, it was necessary to organise the

transition from small-scale peasant farming to large-scale collective farming.

The large-scale socialist industry made it possible to bring the most advanced technical base under the reconstruction of agriculture. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government for a number of years created new productive forces in the countryside, equipped agriculture with new equipment. A large army of people who had mastered the new technology was prepared.

As a result of all this, a profound revolutionary upheaval took place in the Soviet countryside, a leap from the old qualitative state of society into a new qualitative state, equivalent in its consequences to the revolutionary coup in October 1917.[a]

In the process of the transition of the peasantry to collective farms, the last exploiting class, the kulaks, was liquidated.

7. The creation of the foundation of the socialist economy in industry and agriculture was accompanied by the ousting of the bourgeoisie from the field of commodity circulation. The Soviet state and cooperative trade was created, which provided supplying the working people of town and country with consumer goods, which established correct economic relations between various industries.

8. As a result of the victory of socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, the exploiting classes were eliminated and the exploitation of man by man has been abolished. The class structure of Soviet society has radically changed. Only the working class and the peasants' class, as well as the Soviet intelligentsia remained in the USSR. The

[a] In the left field of the pencil note: **P.**

working class and peasantry of the USSR are new classes that have changed their social nature. The intelligentsia of the USSR also changed. The alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia is strong and unshakable.

9. On the basis of the great historical victories of socialism, the Soviet socialist state was consolidated, the Soviet socialist democracy developed. The Soviet people have achieved unprecedented successes in all areas of economic, political and cultural life.

The Stalinist Constitution expressed and legally consolidated the victory of socialism in our country.

The introduction of the new Constitution of the USSR meant a turn in the entire political life of the country.

10. The construction of socialism in the USSR meant a modification of the old and the emergence of [new laws of social development].

Instead of the antagonistic contradiction that existed for centuries between productive forces and production relations, which expressed antagonism of exploiting and exploited classes, in the USSR there is a complete correspondence between the productive forces and production relations.

Instead of the anarchy of capitalist production, which gives rise to economic crises and unemployment, in the USSR there is a planned economy that ensures the rational use of all social and natural opportunities for the all-round development of the productive forces.

The Soviet economy is developing on the basis of high rates of expanded socialist reproduction of industry and agriculture.

The high rates of development of the socialist economy ensure the continuous growth of the material and cultural well-being of the Soviet people.

In the USSR, the socialist principle has fully established itself and prevails: from each according to his ability, from each according to his work.

The development of production is based on such a combination of personal and public interests of Soviet citizens, which ensures the development of the public economy and creates a solid foundation for ever-increasing satisfaction and personal needs of citizens.

11. The flourishing of the socialist system created new dynamic forces of Soviet society, which did not exist and could not have existed before socialism. These new driving forces: moral and political unity of the Soviet people, friendship of peoples, Soviet patriotism. Socialism created not only new social conditions, but also a new one, socialist man. In the USSR, the people and communism have merged into a single and indestructible force.

12. The Soviet social and political system was strengthened to such an extent and became such a vital need of the Soviet people that the whole people, as one person, rose to fight against the fascist invasion and defended their gains in an unprecedentedly difficult war against Nazi Germany. The heroism and courage shown by the Soviet people in the Patriotic War were a vivid expression of the Soviet system is a genuinely popular system, close to every Soviet citizen.

13. In the process of socialist construction, the Leninist-Stalinist nationality policy won a complete victory. The former national inequality of the peoples of old Russia was completely destroyed and the Leninist-Stalinist idea of a state based on

fraternal co-rule and unity of all the nations and peoples of the USSR was implemented. The self-confident participation of all the peoples of the Soviet socialist republics in the Patriotic War even more consolidated the inviolable friendship and brotherhood of the multinational Soviet people.

A new, socialist patriotism arose and developed in Soviet society, the essence of which lies in the combination of national traditions of the peoples of the USSR with the common interests of the working masses.

14. The creative and constructive nature of Soviet society found its expression in the building of a new socialist culture[a].

According to [its ideological content], Soviet culture from beginning to end is permeated with the spirit of the great communist doctrine, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. National in its form, Soviet culture is socialist in its content[b]. It is a new type of world culture, not conciliatory[with no oppression], with no [belittling] of human dignity and reason, [with no cultivation of animal instincts in man][a].

In its deep ideology, in its popular character, in its noble purpose to serve the interests of the working masses fighting for communist life, it rises immeasurably above bourgeois culture.

In its deep ideology, in its popular character, in its noble purpose to serve the interests of the working masses fighting for communist life, it rises immeasurably above bourgeois culture.

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[a] In the left field, in pencil, opposite item 14 of the note: **On Socialist Nations.**

[b] On the left margin, draw two short vertical lines in pencil opposite the sentence.

[a] On the left margin, drawn two short vertical lines in pencil opposite the sentence. In the upper margin, in pencil above the "...abasement of human dignity..." of the note: **On morality.**

15. The greatest achievement of the Soviet revolution is the solution of the problem of cadres of state and economic leaders. Over 30 years of the Soviet authorities from among the people came out major statesmen who proved their ability to successfully lead a great socialist state. The Soviet people have created their own cadres of scientists, writers, artists, military leaders, engineers, technicians—the builders of a new society. A new, Soviet intelligentsia closely associated with the people, ready to serve them in their mass by faith and true[b] .

16. The Soviet revolution created its own powerful armed forces, the historical victories of which in the civil war of 1917-1920, and especially in the Great Patriotic War proved the invincibility of the Soviet socialist system. The victory over the powerful war machine of Nazi Germany was a vivid demonstration of the superiority of Soviet military [ideology] and [military art over military strategy] and tactics of the enemies of the Soviet state. The Soviet army was able to fulfill its historic mission of liberation in the war against the German[c] imperialists and earned universal love and recognition of all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

17. A particularly outstanding role in the family of Soviet peoples was and is played by the great Russian people, the first to raise the banner of the socialist revolution, rallying throughout the entire period of building socialism the peoples of the USSR and selfless and disinterested help to previously oppressed nations respect and love of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Russian people rightfully occupy leading

[b] On the left margin, in pencil opposite to point 15, a vertical line, behind it on the margin in pencil: **Not that.**
[c] Above the line in pencil is written: **and Japanese.**

position in the Soviet commonwealth of nations. The great progressive culture created by the Russian people and its highest achievement - Leninism - are the most important source of development of the culture of all other peoples of the USSR[d].

18. The Soviet people in thirty years of the October Socialist Revolution have achieved world-wide historical success. He is rightfully at the forefront of all modern progressive humanity.

The Soviet people have achieved all their victories and achievements under the leadership of the Communist Party. She inspired him to great historical daring and deeds. Its policy is the lifeblood of the Soviet system.

The Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the Lenin-Stalin party, is the vanguard of the working class, the vanguard of the Soviet people. She is leading and the organising force of the Soviet state.

The outlook of the Communist Party has become the outlook of the Soviet people. This is the great invincible strength of Soviet society, the guarantee of further victories of the Soviet people on the way to building a [complete] communist society in the USSR.

IV. The Main Tasks of the Transition of Soviet Society from Socialism to Communism

1. Having achieved the victory of the lowest phase of communism—socialism, the CPSU (B) sets as its task the completion of the construction of a socialist society and a

[d] On the top margin, point 17 is marked with a vertical line in pencil, followed by a line in pencil on the margin: **Not that.**

gradual transition from socialism to communism, the construction of a complete communist society in our country.

The gradual transition from socialism to communism will be carried out through a series of stages as the national economy develops, labour productivity increases, communist consciousness of the masses and as the power of the Soviet state was further strengthened.

Communism is the highest stage in the development of a new system, in which not only social ownership of the instruments and means of production dominates and is absent exploitation of man by man, but all remnants of oldclass differences, the remnants of capitalism in the economy and the consciousness of people are being overcome, the opposition between town and country is eliminated, the difference between people of mental and people of physical labour, and all citizens are workers of a single communist society[a].

Under communism, such a high productivity of the people's labour and such a powerful development of the productive forces of society are achieved, which ensure an abundance of all consumer goods and make it possible to implement communist principle: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to hisneeds'.

2. Under communism, a higher type of [social organisation of labour] is realised, based on the free and conscious discipline of the members of communist society.

Labour ceases to be only a means of life and becomes a habit and a vital need of people.

Until labour becomes a matter of habit for every person and until all people voluntarily work according to their

[a] On the left margin in pencil opposite the paragraph of the note: **Subjective attitudes of victory.**

abilities, the strictest [accounting and control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption is the primary responsibility of society and the state].

3. On the basis of the planned development of the productive forces and the rational management of material resources, communism creates all the possibilities for an unprecedented, ever-progressive rise in the well-being of the masses and ensures full satisfaction of all the rapidly growing needs of society.

Implementation of the communist principle [distribution according to needs] leads to the final destruction of any kind of economic [inequality] between people[b].

Communism does not eliminate personal ownership of personal items and household items.

4. Communism means an unprecedented flowering of science and technology, flowering and abundance material and spiritual culture of society. In a communist society, peoplefor the first time become the real masters of the forces of nature.

All the necessary conditions are created for a comprehensive, harmonious development personality, for the development of all abilities and talents in a person. All the miracles of technology, all the achievements of culture, all the fruits of the millennial development of civilisation go to all working people-members of communist society. Human intelligence and genius work for the benefit of the masses. The time is coming for a joyful and happy life for all the people.

5. The USSR has everything possible and necessary to build a complete communist society. Having fulfilled the testament of V.I. Lenin, having translated into reality under the leadership of J.V. Stalin the doctrine of the

[b] On the left zero in pencil opposite the paragraph of the note: **Not that.**

[possibility][a]victories of socialism in the USSR, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet government set themselves as an immediate practical task to complete the construction of socialist society and the organisation of a gradual transition from the lower phase of a new system to its highest phase.

6. After the abolition of classes in general and all remnants of the old class distinctions, as people get used to voluntary [observance of the elementary conditions of human society] and the need [for any kind of violence against people] disappears, the state ceases to be necessary and dies off].

The withering away of the state is a long-term process and can begin in the second phase of communism only if the capitalist encirclement is eliminated and the danger of military attacks from outside is eliminated.

As long as the communist society, victorious in one country, coexists with the world of capitalism and the danger of the forcible invasion of its external enemies in order to restore capitalism is not removed, the most important task of the Communist Party and the entire people is the all-round strengthening of the Soviet state, all its organs and, first of all, its standing armed force.

The implementation of communism in our country requires the following major transformations:

A. In the Field of General Political and State Building

1. In the transition from socialism to communism, further development of Soviet democracy is necessary, the

[a] In the left field, in pencil, opposite the litter underlined in the text: **This is not enough.**

continuation and comprehensive expansion of measures that contribute to the maximum strengthening of the political activity of the masses, strengthening the control of the masses over the organs of the Soviet state, increasing the responsibility of the organs of Soviet power to the people.

2. In order to further strengthen the Soviet state, along with strengthening of the centralised management of state affairs and economy, the maximum development of the initiative of all lower state, economic and public organisations is required, the actual involvement in their work of the entire population of each district, city, village and village.

3. Attaching critical importance to criticism and self-criticism as one of the driving forces of Soviet ~~socialist society~~[b], it is necessary to achieve such an organisation of the activities of party, Soviet, economic and public organisations, so that criticism and self-criticism become the main method of work, so that comprehensively criticism was carried out by broad masses of the activities of all organisations, both local and central, as well as individuals, regardless of their post and social status.

4. On the basis of the achieved complete moral and political unity of the Soviet society in the future it will become possible (expedient) competition during elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies (from bottom to top) of several candidates nominated by the bloc of communists and non-party people in order to select the most worthy and most capable.

5. In order to further involve the broad masses in active work of Soviet, economic and public organisations, in order to

[b] Crossed out, above the line written in pencil note: **democracy.**

strengthen the fight against embezzlement of socialist property and the negligent attitude of individual workers to the assigned task, the fight against elements of bureaucracy in the organs of the state apparatus—to turn the State Audit Office into an organisation that would rely in its work on a broad active of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, attracting the masses to systematic participation in work on audits, controls and audits.

6. As the building of socialist society is completed and the gradual transition to communism, more and more direct state functions will be transferred to voluntary public organisations based on the growth of the culture of the masses and the growth of their communist consciousness.

7. In order to further develop Soviet people's democracy, it is necessary to consider:

a) a gradual transition to the organisation of popular vote on the most important issues of state life as a general political, economic order, and on issues of everyday life, housing and cultural construction;

b) the widespread deployment of legislative initiative from below by granting public organisations the right to submit proposals to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics on the issuance of new laws;

c) the right of citizens and public organisations to directly submit inquiries to the Supreme Councils on the most important issues of international and domestic policy.

8. The transition to communism requires the further comprehensive strengthening of the Soviet multinational state, the expansion of the functions and rights of the Union republics and, at the same time, the strengthening of the centralised leadership of all-Union affairs; further strengthening of fraternal ties and cooperation of all the peoples of the USSR;

the raising of the economy and culture of the national republics and regions to the level of the most advanced regions of the USSR, and thus the final implementation of the complete elimination of the former economic, technical and cultural backwardness of the national borderlands.

9. In order to prepare the conditions for the future fusion of national cultures into one common, both in form and content, communist culture, it is necessary to do everything possible to ensure that all national cultures under the conditions of the Soviet system fully and completely reveal all their internal potentialities and all their creative powers.

10. In order to more and more familiarise all the peoples of the USSR with the advanced socialist culture, it is necessary in every possible way to encourage the study of Russian culture and the Russian language by all peoples of the USSR. At the same time, the systematic study and development of the cultural achievements of all the peoples of the USSR should be considered the most important task of each republic.[a]

11. In order to maintain the defensive capability of the socialist the homeland needs a permanent army built on the basis of universal conscription. Military service in the Soviet Army is an honourable duty of the citizens of the USSR. Defence of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Along with the Soviet Army, it is necessary to develop the broadest and most widespread education of the population in modern military art, ensuring the proper level of teaching relevant subjects in higher and secondary schools, in every way deploying the activities in this direction of all kinds

[a] In the left field, in pencil, opposite item 10 of the litter: **Not that.**

of amateur military and sports organisations that help prepare cadres for the Soviet Army. It is a duty of honour, the duty of every citizen of the USSR to be constantly ready, in case of need, to join the ranks of the Soviet Army and defend the gains of communism with arms in hand.

12. The all-round strengthening of the might of the Soviet Army is the most important task of the Soviet state and all working people of the USSR. In the construction of the Soviet Army, to achieve such technical equipment and combat qualities that will far exceed the technical equipment and combat qualities of the armies of any bourgeois state and any possible unification directed against communism.

13. The Red Army is built on the basis of one-man command, strict military discipline, the authority of the command and political personnel, with the broadest development in her public organisations.

14. Building a complete communist society presupposes the implementation of conscientious and conscientious observance of the rules of the communist community by all citizens of Soviet society.

15. While Soviet society is in a capitalist encirclement, while hostile and malicious actions of individuals or groups directed against the communist system or against individual members of the communist society, the Soviet state must resort to measures to suppress criminal acts, to measures of severe punishment for persons harming society or its individual members.

16. The Soviet judicial and punitive authorities are charged with the responsibility of protecting state, public property, as the sacred and inviolable basis of the Soviet system, as a source

of wealth and might of the homeland, as a source of prosperous and cultural life of all working people, as well as to protect the personal property of citizens; monitor the strict observance of state laws by all living on the territory of the USSR.

17. Along with severe punishments against the enemies of communism and their accomplices, the Soviet court on an ever wider scale must apply conditional punishment, public censure, the replacement of imprisonment with compulsory labour, a system of educational measures in relation to persons who commit crimes not out of anti-state and anti-national motives, but due to old skills that have not yet been outlived and insufficient communist consciousness.

18. While defending the further development of the court towards its greatest democratisation, we must strive to ensure that the broad masses of the people are more and more involved in the exercise of judicial duties.

19. Along with the state judiciary, the development of courts is necessary honour, elected in state and public central institutions, for enterprises, collective farms, institutions that should contribute to the education citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, to influence members of society, committing anti-patriotic and anti-state offenses, violating the rules of communist society and communist labour discipline.

20. Trade unions as a school of communism have trained many thousands of leaders in all areas of the national economy and government. With the transition from socialism to communism, the role of trade unions as a school of communism becomes even more significant.

21. Trade unions have the following tasks:

a) fostering communist labour discipline among workers and employees.

Trade unions are fighting against all types of violations of labour discipline, negligent attitude to work, they are striving to increase productivity in every possible way labour and on this basis—an increase in real wages and an increase in the material level of life of the working people, organise and encourage the initiative of the masses to develop all forms of communist emulation;

b) the trade unions, together with state and economic bodies, organise an extensive network of courses, schools, institutes and technical schools, covering all workers and employees;

c) further expansion of government functions performed by trade unions on cultural and everyday services for workers;

d) in order to train workers and employees in managing the economy, public and state affairs, trade unions are directly involved in the development of economic plans, technical and other measures to raise labour productivity and organisation of the economy, they widely practice the promotion of trade union members to responsible economic, public and state posts, providing all-round assistance in mastering the work entrusted to them.

22. The basis of all the work of the trade unions should be a widespread socialist democracy, the decisive expulsion of all elements of bureaucracy, bureaucracy and formal attitude to business.

23. As communism takes hold, trade unions will increasingly become amateur cultural and other associations of workers, which will become one of the forms of communist management of public affairs.

~~B~~[a]. In the Economic Field

1. The decisive economic task of the USSR for the transition to communism is the task to catch up and overtake economically the most developed capitalist countries of the world, including the United States[b].

The provision of this main task primarily depends on the further development of heavy industry, and above all metallurgy, machine building, chemistry, fuel, and the energy base, without which the rapid development of the entire national economy is impossible.

2. Further development of socialist industry and technology will lead to the completion of the great technical revolution, the creation of the powerful technology of communism, the saving of an enormous mass of human labour and the abundance of material benefits of communist society.

3. The main way to solve these problems is the electrification of the whole country according to a single plan. Communism is, according to Lenin's teachings, Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country.

4. To carry out the electrification of the entire country, it is necessary:

a) deploy the construction of large power plants using local energy resources and primarily hydropower and local fuels;

b) use for electrification purposes, as well as for the development of chemical industry of underground coal gasification;

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[a] "B" is crossed out with a pencil, to the left with a pencil it is written: B.

[b] On the right margin, in pencil, there is a vertical line opposite the paragraph, followed by a pencil mark: **Not that.**

c) the unification of all large power plants by a single network of high-voltage transmissions, covering the whole country according to a general plan with ramifications in each region; d) the use of electric energy for the gradual transfer of the national economy of the country, including agriculture, to a new technical base, directly or indirectly related to the electrification;

e) electricity lighting of every house in the Soviet Union, both in the city and in the village; the introduction of all kinds of electrical household appliances that contribute to the final liberation of millions of women from heavy domestic labour.

Electrifying the entire country, providing an unprecedented centralisation of government economy, at the same time opens up the possibility of dispersal and correct placement of industry, bringing it closer to the sources of raw materials and areas of consumption.

It makes it possible in medium and small enterprises to ensure the use of a number of advantages of large-scale production and technological advances, and at the same time makes it possible to achieve the highest labour productivity.

5. It is necessary to develop in every possible way the mechanisation of production processes in all sectors of the national economy, especially in the auxiliary and most labour-intensive and heavy work, and, thus, to achieve the elimination of heavy and unproductive physical labour.

6. It is necessary to carry out a broad and planned development of production automation on an electrical basis, which opens up completely unlimited possibilities for increasing labour productivity and leading to a sharp change in the nature of labour, raising it to a higher level, eliminating unskilled labour. Automation is one of the main points in the development of the new technology of communism and one of

the important technical levers for eliminating the opposition between physical and mental labour.

The most important task in creating the technical basis of communism is the most extensive development of all types of the latest technology and new types of energy sources, nuclear energy, radar, photocells, jet technology, etc.

It is necessary to ensure the development of invention and rationalisation on the broadest scale, to involve in this work a wide range of engineers and technicians, foremen and workers.

One of the central tasks, on the solution of which the further growth of the productive forces of Soviet society depends, is the all-round development of geological exploration work and the use of the inexhaustible wealth of the bowels of our homeland.

7. Modern chemistry is one of the main factors in the development of the productive forces of the national economy, a source of new means of material culture, as well as a powerful means of defending the country. The CPSU (b) sets the task of the all-round development of the chemical industry, especially the production of new synthetic materials, the production of numerous complex substances from the simplest materials, serving the diverse needs of industry and defence.

8. Mechanical engineering retains its leading role in the implementation of further technical development of the country. It must fully ensure the technical progress of all sectors of the national economy through the production of the most advanced and constantly improving types of machines, apparatus, instruments and other equipment necessary for mechanisation, automation and chemicalisation of production processes.

9. Mass production of automobiles should be of particular importance in order to ensure free and unhindered use of automobile transport for every citizen.

10. In order to ensure the level of production of consumer goods necessary for the transition to communism, the CPSU (B) sets the task of the ever-accelerating development of the light and food industries. All these branches of production must ensure high quality products that satisfy the diverse needs of a communist society.

11. The USSR, as a great railway power, should take first place in the world in terms of length and density, freight turnover and technical equipment of railways.

12. It is necessary: a) to complete the technical reconstruction of railway transport on the basis of the introduction of diesel and steam locomotives with steam condensation, the development of high-speed railway communication and a number of other technical improvements[a]; b) to expand the extensive construction of new major railways, especially those serving the east and north of the country.

13. It is necessary to significantly enhance the role of water transport in servicing the national economy of the USSR, to raise the technical level of sea and river navigation, and to expand the further construction of large artificial waterways and canals. To expand in every way the use of the country's richest river systems for goods and passenger traffic.

[a] On the left margin, in pencil, point 12 is highlighted with a vertical line, on the line and to the left of the note: **electrification of the railroad, roads.**

14. There is a need for the broadest development of air transport in a size that will cover the entire country with a network of regular air lines, and constantly improve airplanes and equipment for air routes.

15. It is necessary to expand road construction on such a scale to cover the whole country with a dense network of improved highways.

16. All-round development and improvement of all types of communications, especially radio communications. It is necessary to provide every apartment, both in the city and in the countryside, with a radio receiver. Much attention should be paid to the improvement and widespread dissemination of television.

17. The following tasks are in the field of agriculture:

a) further comprehensive strengthening of the artel form of collective farm production as the most appropriate to the given stage of development of socialism and as the only correct path to higher forms of organisation of agricultural production;

b) a further increase in the technical equipment of agriculture and the comprehensive mechanisation of all processes of agricultural production. Along with the development and improvement of existing agricultural technology based on a tractor and a combine, it is necessary to increasingly introduce electrification into all agricultural production processes;

c) the use of all the achievements of agricultural science and technology, the spread of grass crop rotations, selection and cultivation of new varieties, irrigation of the arid regions of the Volga region, the Centre and other regions of the country, reclamation and drainage of swampy soils in order to eliminate

the dependence of agriculture on natural phenomena and ensure steady growth yield;

d) to achieve high productivity of agricultural labour, such a significant rise in crop yields, the development of grass cultivation and livestock productivity, which would provide a complete abundance of agricultural products.

18. It is necessary to expand on a large scale work on the improvement and cultural and public services of villages and villages: reorganisation of dwellings, construction of water pipelines, construction of schools, childcare facilities, clubs, cinemas, canteens, laundries and the development of vehicles. All these measures should make the cultural and social conditions of life in the countryside no different from the urban ones, and thus, from this side, prepare for the elimination of the distinction between town and country.

19. The transition to the agricultural commune, as the highest form of the collective farm movement, will take place as the existing agricultural artel is further strengthened and the productivity of agricultural labour grows, when the fields and farms of the artel will have an abundance of grain, livestock, poultry, vegetables and all other products, when in mechanical laundries, modern kitchens, canteens, bakeries, etc. will become widespread in the countryside. The process of growing an artel into a commune should take place gradually, as all collective farmers become convinced of the need for such an outgrowth. The commune, in turn, will create new opportunities for higher productivity and cultural life.

20. At the highest stage of communism, as the abundance of food increases, there will be the transition to the principle ‘from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs’.

The entire material and technical apparatus of Soviet trade (warehouses, shops and etc.), significantly strengthened and multiplied many times, will become the basis for the future organisation of communist distribution.

21. Until the principle of communist distribution is fully realised, the all-round development of Soviet trade both in the city and in the countryside is necessary; establishment of cultural services for the consumer; deployment of the construction of trading establishments, shops, warehouses, shops, taking into account the latest achievements in technology and sanitation; the creation of ideally organised Soviet trade that fully satisfies the most varied needs of the population of town and country.

22. The CPSU (b) sets as its task such an increase in the number of consumer goods produced and such a constant decline in prices with a corresponding increase in real wages that a situation will gradually be created in which every citizen of the USSR will be able to actually purchase all types of products for their needs. Thus, the transition to communist distribution should be viewed as a gradual process taking place on the basis of an increasing abundance of consumer goods and the policy of constant price reduction pursued by the Soviet state, on the basis of a steady increase in the productivity of social labour.

23. In order to further strengthen the economic might of the USSR, it is necessary to pursue a policy of strengthening the monetary system of the USSR, seeking the approval of the Soviet currency as the most durable and stable currency in the world, overtaking dollars and pounds in this respect.

~~Ð~~. In the field of culture and education[a]

1. In the field of urban development, the following programme should be adhered to:

a) restrict the further growth of the largest cities of the Soviet Union by stopping the construction of new industrial enterprises in these cities;

b) to carry out the reconstruction of cities according to scientifically developed plans. Layout of the streets and squares, placement of dwellings, industrial buildings and transport, landscaping and watering, architectural design of cities must meet high requirements for improvement;

c) the creation of cultural and everyday living conditions that meet the requirements of communism, involves the provision of all houses in cities with electricity, heating, water supply, sewerage, gas and all the achievements of advanced communal technology;

d) reconstruction and expansion of urban transport in order to completely to meet the needs of the population for fast and convenient movement.

2. The task of the transition to communism requires a radical solution of the housing problem. New housing construction needs to be expanded on a large scale, to provide each worker with a completely comfortable separate room and a separate apartment for each family.

3. Further tasks in the field of public education are:

a) the strengthening and development of the Soviet school as a conductor of the ideological, organisational and

[a] "Г" is crossed out with a pencil, to the left with a pencil it is written: B; in the heading in red pencil, crossed out "and", after the word "enlightenment" in red pencil added: **and public health.**

educational influence of the Communist Party on all strata of the working people in order to build a complete communist society and eliminate differences between mental and physical labour;

b) coverage of all children with free education;

c) the implementation of the principles of the political school, preparing comprehensively developed members of the communist society;

d) the introduction of compulsory secondary general and polytechnic education in total the younger generation under 18;

e) the supply of all students in lower and secondary schools with food, clothing, shoes and teaching aids at the expense of the state;

f) further development of a network of higher education institutions that can cover all citizens wishing to get higher education;

g) development of a network of industrial technical and agronomic education, ensuring the cultural and technical upsurge of the working class and the peasantry.

To this end, it is necessary to organise polytechnic institutes for workers without higher education, to ensure wide access to the auditorium of higher education for all who wish to attend the appropriate lecture courses.

4. To expand a network of cinemas, theatres, clubs, museums, palaces of culture and recreation, stadiums, which will meet the growing cultural demands of the entire people?

5. One of the decisive conditions for wide coverage of communist education of the whole people and the rapid growth of communist culture is the printed word.

It is necessary to achieve in the coming years such a development of the paper industry and printing equipment that would ensure the full satisfaction of the needs of all types of

printing (newspapers, books, magazines) of all citizens of the Soviet Union.

6. It is necessary to widely expand the network of research institutions in all fields of knowledge, to achieve in the near future the solution of the problem of surpassing the achievements of science outside our country.

7. The whole set of state measures for public education, cultural and educational work, the activities of all kinds of public educational and cultural organisations, the work of general educational and special schools and courses have their main purpose—solving the problem of raising the cultural and technical level of workers to the level of engineering and technical workers.

8. In the field of public health protection it is necessary:

a) further implementation of extensive sanitary measures protecting the health of the people (improvement of all populated areas, purification of water, air, etc.);

b) health resort assistance for all those who need it; further development of a wide network of rest homes and sanatoriums;

c) provision of qualified medical care to the entire population;

d) complete elimination of conditions that give rise to infectious diseases;

e) complete elimination of social diseases (venereal, tuberculosis, alcoholism).

9. It is necessary: a) to provide all citizens with at least an annual monthly leave at the expense of the state;

b) achieve the elimination of industrial accidents, the elimination of occupational diseases and the complete improvement of working conditions in hazardous industries;

c) full provision of all necessary disabled members of society (old people, disabled people of war, disabled workers).

* * *

These are, in brief, the main measures in the field of state building, economies, cultures, which should ensure the completion of the construction of a socialist society and a gradual transition from socialism to communism.

RGASPI. F. 558. Op. 11.D. 123. L. 4-43. Typescript.

VI— Transcript Of The Meeting Of The Commission Of The Central Committee Of The All-Union Communist Party On The Draft Of The New Programme Of The CPSU(B)[a] . 8 August, 1947

Present:

com. Zhdanov, Voznesensky[1], Suslov[2], Alexandrov, Kuusinen, Mitin, Yudin, Pospelov, Shepilov, Islander, Leontiev, Fedoseev[3], Iovchuk.

ZHADANOV. We will have to exchange views on the presented drafts of the new programme in order to then establish what to do next.

Has everyone read the handed out draft? Read, of course, and more than once, I hope that there are comments. Let's discuss, direct criticism to all drafts, self-criticism is not

[a] Title of the document.

[1] Voznesensky Nikolai Alekseevich (1903-1950), Soviet politician and statesman, Doctor of Economic Sciences. From 1946 to 1949, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

[2] Mikhail Andreevich Suslov (1902-1982), Soviet party and statesman. In 1947, he was Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), and from 1947 to 1948, he was head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B).

[3] Fedoseev Petr Nikolaevich (1908-1990), philosopher and public figure, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1946), academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1960). In 1941-1955.worked in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) / CPSU.

forbidden, but encouraged, because in the light of the drafts presented, our own gaps are more visible, and those who come to a universal draft, we will to greet.

YUDIN. First general remark. The drafts do not clearly express those measures that should ensure the transition to communism. In a number of drafts there are such formulations that already speak of measures and the solution of such issues that can be resolved only for some subsequent high stages of development of communism. For example, in the draft of Pospelov, Shepilov and Iovchuk says about the communist culture, that there will be such a culture in which there will be a common language, a single language of the communist society. It is clear that this task cannot be solved within 20-30 years.

In the draft of Alexandrov, Fedoseev and Ostrovityanov it is said that during the next 5-10 years, the issue of meeting the needs according to the principle of communism in relation to bread, meat, vegetables, consumer goods, and in the enumeration gives the name of all major consumer goods.

The draft of Pospelov, Shepilov and Iovchuk indicates that there will be the distinction between mental and physical labour has been eliminated. Lenin repeatedly argued that this is the elimination of the difference between mental and physical labour is the task of a very distant future and will be solved only at the highest stage of the development of a complete communist society.

I think that our party will work out yet another programme—this is a programme—for building communism throughout the world and for the further development of communist society.

ZHADANOV. Why do you think that this programme will be worked out by the CPSU (B)? Maybe other parties will work out.

YUDIN. I think the party will take the lead in developing this programme.

In the draft of Aleksandrov, Fedoseev and Ostrovityanov there is a provision stating that the party will soon begin to switch to direct product exchange. It is not entirely clear to me, in any case, this issue is subject to discussion, what is meant by direct product exchange. When Marx spoke about direct product exchange, he apparently had in mind the following circumstance that money would be destroyed, in this connection trade would die out and there would be a distribution of products to meet the needs of members of a communist society without these elements. If this statement is understood in this sense—and I think that only in this respect it should be understood—then, it seems to me, it is not entirely correct in the following sense.

Apparently, the money will be saved not only during the transition from socialism to communism, and for a certain time they can persist even under communism, at the first stage of its development. Thus, I am putting the question of the fact that at some higher phase of communism the distribution apparatus will remain, which now dominates, that is, through money.

On p. 32,33 of the draft of Aleksandrov, Fedoseev and Ostrovityanov it is said (paragraph3): 'The flourishing of the technology and culture of the socialist countryside and the elimination on this basis of the opposition between town and country, between industry and agriculture.' Clause 5 states: '... the erasure of the boundaries between the working class and the peasantry and the creation of a classless society.'

It seems to me that the elimination of the antithesis between town and country and the blurring of the lines between the working class and the peasantry is a simultaneous process and should be united into one point.

The next remark is about the method of presentation. In paragraph 3 on page 35there are seven independent important problems: increasing the production of metal, further development of mechanical engineering, ensuring high rates of growth of productive forces and strengthening the technical and economic independence of the country, all-round development of light industry, textile and food industries. Each of these theses could constitute a huge independent task.

On page 41 it says: 'Proceeding from the fact that the needs of the citizens of the USSR in subjects of the essentials will be satisfied in the coming years, the CPSU (B) in order to more versatile satisfaction by the state of the personal needs of workers will do everything possible to promote the production of cars, musical instruments, art and jewellery, high quality clothing, footwear, all kinds of porcelain and crystal dishes, furniture made of valuable varieties of wood...'

I think that this proposal is inspired by the thoughtfulness of the question. Hardly needed in the programme write about satisfaction with jewellery, porcelain and crystal dishes. It seems to me that this item should not be included.

In connection with the draft of Pospelov, Shepilov and Iovchuk, I would like to stage question about structure. They have economic issues in the foreground in the draft and at the end general political issues. It seems to me that it would still be more correct to start with questions of general political, with questions about the Soviet state. If we were to write a textbook, then there we would begin to expound questions of economics, economic basis, and then add-on questions. Here we are talking about the programme, therefore, we are about creative work, we are talking about indicating those tools, those funds, with the help of which communism will be built, and such a decisive means, such a decisive instrument, of course, is the Soviet state, is the solution of questions of a general political nature.

The policy of the Communist Party is the lifeblood of all our activities, of our entire social system. Lenin pointed out that politics cannot fail to take precedence, advantages over economics. When the current programme was drawn up and general political issues were brought to the fore in this programme, then, I think, they proceeded from the same fundamental grounds. I would like to put this question up for discussion, because it is fundamental and important.

In all drafts, including ours, the question of the village in all respects is not sufficiently thought out in detail. It is quite obvious that every collective farmer in individually, it is not within the power to rebuild the countryside, and it is necessary to formulate the task that the collective farm is rebuilding the countryside with the help of the state according to the national plan.

Then this idea would be more real.

According to the draft of Leontiev and Kuusinen, such a remark. On page 12 it says: 'The path of the new democracy is, in the modern era, the only path that ensures

to the peoples of small and dependent countries of the capitalist world the possibility of preserving and strengthening their national freedom, economic and political independence ... 'It would hardly be correct to restrict all other ways of peoples in this way.

SHEPILOV. I would like to dwell mainly on the economic issues of the practical part. As for the final part, I have a comment on the draft of the Alexandrov group.

The draft presented by the Aleksandrov group, from the point of view of the external form, was made much better than our draft and the draft of the Leontiev group, it is more polished, finished. In the final part, there are two, from my point of view, drawbacks that are of fundamental importance.

In the entire analysis of the main results of the path travelled over 30 years in the group's draft Aleksandrov does not show at all the difficulties and contradictions that the Soviet people managed to overcome under the leadership of the party. There is a mention of civil war, there is a mention of the class struggle, but we also need for our people, and for young people, and for millions of party members to show that great results of the victories won by the party, they were won in a hard struggle, that the party, thanks to the correct leadership succeeded in overcoming the contradictions that arose from the multi form: our economy, from the presence of classes, etc. This is the first remark.

Second remark. It would seem to me that it is correct to go by the method of opposing two worlds, two systems. In our draft-I can well imagine its looseness, its lack of polish - we tried, speaking of the capitalist world, to show that the law of capitalist accumulation operates there, the Soviet economy is opposed to this, there is decaying capitalism, we have a flourishing socialist economy. Here is the opposition of decaying capitalism and the socialist economic system—it is necessary, the more it is necessary that the international department has remained somehow sticky.

ZHADANOV. This section may die out in two years, but we need it for 20 years[a].

SHEPILOV. It seems to me that it is necessary to build from the point of view of showing two worlds, two systems—the world of decaying capitalism and the world of a flourishing socialist economy.

[a] in the left field, in pencil, there is a vertical line opposite Zhdanov's remark.

The greatest difficulty is presented by the second part, which deals with practical and political issues of the problems of the future. Here, the basis is made up of economic problems. The fact that the transition from the first to the second phase is not a giant leap, but a gradual development of all the foundations, material foundations of social relations in a socialist society, is indisputable. The gradualness is indisputable because both socialism and communism have a qualitatively homogeneous social basis, a social basis; therefore there is no sharp line between the first and second phases. Here is an organic interweaving of socialist and emerging communist relationship. This is a stage of maturity, as Lenin said, although over time the difference will be enormous. Therefore, the position in Alexandrov's draft on page 33 is wrong, that the transition from socialism to communism represents the greatest leap in the history of mankind. Of course, there will be leaps in the transition from one phase to another, say, in the transition from the principle of labour to the principle of need, but it would be wrong to call it a giant leap. A giant leap is the transition from one social formation to another, from a capitalist formation to a socialist one, and here the gradual transformation of a socialist society into a communist one.

It seems to me that first of all it is necessary to formulate the main provisions, speaking about the economic section of the programme concerning the sphere of production, because then the main distributional problems logically follow. Specifically, I think that it is necessary, first of all, to define what the material and technical basis of communism is, which makes it possible to create an abundance of products for the transition from the principle according to LABOUR to the principle according to need. The draft of Aleksandrov's group does not give this definition, Mitin's draft concerns briefly, but there is no complete definition.

It could be formulated in such a way that the material and technical the basis of a developed communist society— and a communist society will have stages of maturity—is an automatic system of machines on an electrical basis. If we take the practice of socialist construction, we will see that the elements of the embryo of this advanced technique of communism are quite tangible in the socialist economy. If we have enterprises such as automatic hydroelectric or production cyclical, continuous flow, mining harvester,

conveyor, individual electric drive—these are all elements preparing the transition—I am talking about the distant future—to an automatic system of machines on electrical basis. For example, in the directives of the post-war five-year plan, this task of gradual mechanisation, gradual electrification of the national economy, automation of production processes, introduction of production lines, automatic production lines, this task is set.

It is clear that the transition to an automatic system of machines on the most first-class energy basis is a means of finally eliminating the difference between hard labour, unskilled labour and skilled labour, for with automatic machine flow, the worker turns into a supervisor insenerno-technical type and is an employee who combines the elements physical and intellectual labour, that is, this technique makes it possible to eliminate the opposition between mental and physical labour.

Hence, it is incorrect to state that the technique of socialism is one thing, and the technique of communism is another, they oppose, say, the electrification of heavy industry, machine building, the fuel industry, etc., that a new unknown technique will come. This is wrong, because in order to carry out the electrification of the entire country according to a single plan, to connect our large power plants with one network of high-voltage transmissions, to mechanise all branches of

industry as much as possible, this requires a huge saturation of the national economy with machines, machine tools, first-class mechanisms, and this requires 10-15 years of tripling of industry—steel, cast iron, oil, that is, for the next 15-20 years we must preserve and strengthen the leading role of heavy industry, primarily mechanical engineering.

Thus, it is not unclear to invent the material and technical basis of communism, and its foundations are being created, laid and will develop further in ever greater proportions, for the electrification of the national economy, the gradual automation of production will grow more and more. These questions are fragmentary in the draft, but in general they are not formulated.

The next question is about the nature of labour. In the draft Mitin and Yudinis given pages 38 and 39 criticize the capitalist nature of labour and propose a system of polytechnic education for Soviet people, Soviet youth in order to make the person of the future fully developed. It is known that there is numerous statements both in the 'Principles of Communism' by Engels and in 'German Ideology' by Marx, where they depicted the matter in such a way that in the future society it would be possible to hunt in the morning, fish on the same day, and study in the evening a completely different matter. This is widely commented on and on this basis it is said that professions and specialization are excluded in the future society. When this is also referred to Lenin, who in one place in the 'Childhood Disease of Leftism' says that we will educate comprehensively developed people who will be able to do everything, but miss another place where Lenin says that this is a very distant the prospect that this is a matter of the distant future. Statements of Marx and Engels in such a spirit that further socialism means the end of the profession, the end of specialization, they are not confirmed by the practice of our life. The entire experience of our construction shows that we are moving towards greater granularity of specialization.

Is it necessary to pursue a course towards polytechnicism, as suggested by Mitin and Yudin? It seems to me that this is unrealistic. We must give a cultured, educated, comprehensively developed person in the volume of secondary school, and then deepen his knowledge. It seems to me that the man of the future will be, above all, an excellent geologist, it is good to know literature and other branches of public knowledge.

Ascension. Are there such productions that specialties will die out?

SHEPILOV. There are such performances at the same Institute of Philosophy. This raises the question of the type, nature of the organisation of our education.

The question of the struggle for the abundance of food. I do not know why Yudin, if he read carefully the draft, says that the various stages are not outlined. On all issues we say that communist principles will develop, mature gradually, on a number of issues we set different time frames, we say that the main economic task in the next five years is to strengthen the agricultural cartel, and not to lead a course towards its development into a commune, in the field of culture we establish 15-20 years old. The same is true in the field of money, credit, in matters of labour, when we say that for the next five years it is necessary to strengthen the principle of personal interest. We tried to formulate tasks in relation to different periods of maturity of the communist society.

Another question, which Yudin touched upon, that for the transition to the communist principle of distribution, a powerful, highly developed material and technical base of communism is needed. Therefore, I was surprised by the place on page 40-41 of the draft Aleksandrov's group, which says that the party pursues the task of creating abundance industrial

products, to ensure the transition to consumption on demand in the next 5-10 years. And then (on page 41) it is said that this task almost solved. It follows from the draft that we will come to meet the needs in food after 10 years. This, of course, would be great happiness, but when such things are written, then you need to rely on a real economic calculation. If proceed from the fact that the enemy inflicted gigantic destruction on us, inflicted losses in the amount of 679 billion rubles and that by the end of the five-year the level of industrial production by 47 percent, then even under these conditions we in 1950 we will be able to produce less than one meter of woollen fabric per capita, one kilogram of sugar per month together with industrial production, a little more one kilogram of oil. It is enough to make this estimate to imagine that this task, which is mentioned in the draft of the Aleksandrov group, that we will go over to satisfy the need for food, completely unrealizable for 5-10 years old. As for the abundance of agricultural products, it is well known that the process of agricultural reproduction is associated with natural conditions. All this takes time.

In addition, the question in a principled formulation was resolved by Comrade Stalin still at the 18th Party Congress, when he said that the question of communist abundance can be solved if we overtake the main capitalist countries.

The scale, the amount of gigantic work that needs to be resolved is also clear, if in 1950 we will produce 19.5 million tonnes of pig iron, 25.4 million tonnes of steel. If we focus on the United States in terms of the production level of 1944, then here a very huge task will have to be solved in order to overtake the main capitalist countries. Therefore, it is wrong to speak about 5-10 years.

It is also discounted that the transition to the principle of satisfaction according to need presupposes communist

maturity, the consciousness of people. Before game one hundred

This is a colossal task in the field of the communist education of our people, and this task cannot be solved in 5-10 years.

In this regard, one more remark. Usually in literature and it has become unshakable rule, when it is said about the transition to the communist principle of distribution, then approximately such a scheme is outlined that we will first provide according to need bread, then meat, then sugar, manufactured goods. I am sorry that the experience of socialist construction, our practice tells us that, first of all, we will go along the line of meeting the needs of the social, social, cultural needs of our people, that is, the needs of education, health care, cinema, resorts, and then as communist abundance ripens...

Ascension. First movies, sanatoriums, and then bread?

SHEPILOV. What I mean by this is that socio-economic and cultural needs should not be discounted.

ZHADANOV. High spiritual needs are born on the basis of bread.

SHEPILOV. One more remark concerning the forms of ownership. Mitin's draft does not touch upon the question of forms of property, Aleksandrov's draft dully reminds of this that the development of an artel into a commune is a transition that cannot be formulated as a complete elimination of the differences between the working class and the peasantry, if we do not pay attention to the question of forms of property. Therefore, the question of the basic provision concerning the ripening and erasure of the differences between the two forms must be posed. Now the main difference is that the

socialization of the basic means of production has not been fully completed on the collective farms, there are remnants of a personal collective farm yard, and most importantly, that socialization does not have the character of national ownership. Along with this, the state retained in its hands ownership of land and ownership of the main means of production. I mean machine and tractor stations, already in 1932, in agriculture, the share of state ownership accounted for 78% of fixed assets. MTS does not put up with the narrow framework of individual teams. When we go practically to the task of electrifying our agriculture, then the processes of a much greater organic fusion of the national economy and collective farms, these processes will proceed according to the well-known instructions of Lenin, when he outlined how the main step for small farms and collective farms is electrification.

Ascension. But what about 100 kW stations?

SHEPILOV. In the coming years, we must also develop small hydroelectric power stations based on the use of local resources, but speaking of long-term prospects, we mean a powerful unified energy system.

Thus, the task for the next five years is to strengthen the agricultural artel.

OSTROVITYANOV. I think that we should focus today not as much on individual details and on individual formulations as on some initial positions, which may not be fully reflected in the programme, but on which we must agree in order to proceed from them when developing a programme.

When we were working on these draft theses, we did not set out to give a ready-made programme for the dacha, and we were somewhat unpleasantly surprised when we read about the

first recipient to whom these raw materials were sent. Most of us do not consider these drafts as something final.

I would like to dwell on some fundamental issues. First of all, regarding the development of the productive forces. I believe that in general, in the drafts before us, the main lines of electrification, mechanisation, automation, etc. are correctly outlined. But it seems to me that in the draft programmes we cannot bypass such new phenomena in the field of technological development that can radically overturn our technology and become a factor in the excessive acceleration of our entire development—I mean atomic energy—of course, if we set the task of orienting ourselves towards a revolution in the field of technology in terms of the use of atomic energy in industry. Meanwhile, in all drafts, we touch upon this issue. It would be important to emphasise that the use of atomic energy and other newest inventions in the field of technology opens up the prospects for a complete revolutionary revolution in production technology and that, in contrast to the imperialists who seek to turn atomic energy into a weapon of death and destruction, our party will fight against such use of atomic energy and will contribute to the scientific development of problems that are associated with industrial use of intra-nuclear energy in order to further meet the needs of the people and the transition from socialism to communism. We cannot ignore this invention, which holds great promise.

The second question is about the problem of the division of labour and the elimination of the opposition between mental and physical labour. I think that in our drafts, which are presented, in general, the correct answer to this question is given. It must be said with all strength and with a full voice that we are not moving towards the abolition of the division of labour, but are moving towards the elimination of the old system of division of labour, which was associated with exploitation, and we are moving towards the development of

the division of labour on a new basis. It seems to me that it is worth emphasising this precisely because it reflects the real tendencies of our development, as there is a huge process of differentiation in the field of production, and this process is reflected in the enormous differentiation that occurs in the field of scientific knowledge. This requires appropriate specialisation. And the way the utopians thought of the elimination of the division of labour and the way Engels showed the division of labour are naive reasoning that was inspired by a different level of development of technology, a different level of development of the productive forces. In this respect, I agree with the remarks made by Shepilov.

Now the question of distribution according to needs and the question of turning labour into first vital need. We intercepted in the theses when we said about 5-10 years. We didn't write what we wanted.

We wanted to write that this process does not begin with spiritual food, we are not talking about spiritual food, as it is said in the theses of Pospelov's group, but we are talking about bodily food. We believed that, first of all, the necessities should be distributed according to need. This item is primarily bread. I agree that the preconditions for the transition to distribution on demand will be created as a result of solving the main economic problem, but this does not exclude that bread and other products may be distributed on demand somewhat earlier.

As far as education and healthcare are concerned, I would not attribute this to products that are distributed according to need. I have doubts when they say that there will be an abundance of culture. In general, there can never be an abundance of culture.

Ascension. It's about the distribution of products, that's understandable. But how can you distribute culture according to need? This is the first time such a problem has been posed.

OSTROVITYANOV. Let's say the programme goes abroad. How will they understand it? They will understand this in such a way that we will distribute communist propaganda according to need, and as for bread and meat, we will distribute it according to work, and it will be used against us.

I think this approach is wrong. I think we need to give perspective to the working people. I must say that this is not about what we limit our task in communist society is that we will distribute basic necessities, and that we want to make all the goods the property of all working people. Maybe we should not give a list of those products that will be distributed, but such a perspective should be given that we will strive to make life beautiful, to live in a good environment, to have good things. Such a perspective should be given in the programme, without insisting on the wording that is in the draft.

Regarding distribution according to need, it must nevertheless be emphasised that the principle of distribution according to need hardly eliminates the principle of distribution according to work[a]. We proceeded from the premise that an extremely progressive factor that will drive the development of the productive forces under communism is the growth of demand. The growth of new branches of production will cause an increase in demand; there will always be new needs that cannot be immediately satisfied, since the material prerequisites are not ripe for this. Therefore, even at the highest phase of communism, there will be a certain combination of the socialist principle of payment according to work with the principle of distribution according to need. Proceeding from

[a] The word "needs" in pencil is corrected to "needs".

this, I would emphasise in the draft to a large extent the enormous significance of the socialist principle of distribution according to work, which will not lose its significance even in the highest phase of communism. This raises the question of personal material interest.

In the drafts presented here, in a number of cases there is such a tendency that personal material interest is something that exists only at the stage of socialism and must be cancelled at the stage of communism. Communism does not eliminate personal interest, but provides the satisfaction of personal interests. Therefore, we can talk about greater unity, about a combination, but this moment cannot be ruled out. This moment is playing a huge role now and will play a huge role in the future.

Today I read an article about the state under communism, in which it is written that work will turn not even into pleasure, but into a game, contrary to Marx's statement that the work of a composer, even at the highest stage of communism, will be devilishly difficult work. Therefore, such a contemptuous attitude towards physical labour is created. We need to raise personal interest and emphasise that we are not going to turn into people who will work little, but into people who will devote all their strength to their favourite pastime in order to bring humanity as much benefit as possible.

Concerning the elimination of the opposition between town and country. In all Theses, with the exception of Leontiev's theses, raise the question of the development of an agricultural artel into a commune. I believe that we must raise the question of developing an agricultural artel into a commune. But the fact is that when an agricultural artel grows into a commune, this will not yet mean the merger of the two forms of ownership, but will only mean a new stage in this direction. When we put forward this thesis that the transition from an agricultural cartel to a commune will be a very important stage in our movement

to communism, then we proceeded from the fact that in the foreseeable period, obviously, there will not be a merger of two forms of ownership and the difference will not be completely eliminated between the working class and the peasantry. It could be realised only at the next stage, when the merger or elimination of this difference on the basis of communist property can take place.

On the other hand, in all our theses, the question of the fate of cities is completely bypassed. Taking into account the practice of socialist construction, we must say that not we are going to liquidate the cities, as Engels assumed, and we expect to rebuild the cities, perhaps turn them into garden cities, but cities, as huge cultural and industrial centres, will receive their development and play an enormous progressive role. Therefore, it must be said that cities will find their proper place in the period of movement towards communism and in the highest phase of communism.

One of the major shortcomings is that the question of the state was not raised quite right. Still, we mainly celebrate those moments that lead to the withering away of the state. Everywhere it is said that the state will play a big role, but this problem is not in the centre, but in the centre are the ways of withering away, by which this withering away will occur. We must emphasise that the state and the withering away of class differences will occur when communism is built in all over the world, or at least in most countries.

Then we must emphasise the fact that they will gradually wither away functions of coercion and to an enormous extent will receive the development of economic and organisational functions, what Lenin said about the apparatus of the Council of People's Commissars, about the apparatus of the State Planning Commission. Economic and organisational functions at the highest stage of communism will become even more important. In particular, it seems to me incorrect to raise the

question that it is necessary to revise the position that was in the old programme, that the economic and organisational functions will be gradually transferred to the trade union organisations. It seems to me that this will not happen in the highest phase of communism either. Obviously, functions like SNK[a], like State Planning Commission, those functions that are performed by our ministries, these functions will be retained. The fact is that production requires one will, one control, subordination of all to the will of one, and these functions will retain their significance. For this period, it is necessary to raise the question of the all-round strengthening of the Soviet state and prospects, such we will probably have after the development is completed, within 20-30 years we will build communism in the main. What does this mean? This will mean that the artel will be turned into a commune, but the difference between the two forms of ownership will not be eliminated. Perhaps we will move on to distribution according to need, but along with this, the principle of distribution according to work will be applied to a great extent. And in these conditions it will be necessary to preserve the state. Obviously, the phase that we will enter after 30 years will be the phase of developed communism. Hence the conclusion that we must give a more detailed description of the role that the state will play during the period of building communism, within 20-30 years.

My next remark refers to the theses of Pospelov, Shepilov and Iovchuk. It seems to me that these theses somewhat prematurely set the task of merging all nations into one nation with a common language, a common culture, which will take place at some higher phase of communism (pp. 24-27, 74-75).

It seems to me that this question should not be raised. This is a matter of the distant future which is beyond real perspectives. In this case, we can talk about the development of

[a] Above the line is written in pencil: **Sovnarkhoz.**

national culture, about its flourishing, the convergence of the culture of different nationalities. This is the maximum that we can set for this period, as a task, and the very process of unification will take place in such a way that in different parts of the world unions will be created around some established culture. Thus, it is necessary to confine ourselves to raising the question of the flourishing of national culture and the convergence of the culture of different nationalities.

One last remark. Comrade Yudin said that we are raising the question of the withering away of money or trade. If we proceed from the premise that we will build communism in the main and class distinction will be preserved, then, obviously, commodity-money relations will remain, and in the future 20-30 years we will not be able to do away with commodity-money relations. Our theses say: only at the highest phase of communism. Therefore, we did not think to raise the issue of liquidating commodity-money relations; on the contrary, in the future 20-30 years we need to talk about using and strengthening them.

MITIN. When I looked through all the drafts, then the shortcomings became clear to me all drafts, including ours. If we talk about the general shortcomings of these drafts, then, it seems to me that they are somewhat academic and theoretical; there is no transitional stage in the development of communism. There is socialism and there is a characteristic of communism in its highest, mature form, but how the transition to this highest stage of communism will take place has not been sufficiently developed. Meanwhile, there is no need to guess a lot here. There are materials in life that make it possible even now to summarise and show a lot of interesting things.

Take, for example, a question like the question of labour incentives. Absolutely clear, that in order to build communism

it is necessary to work very thoroughly, and the whole people will have to work hard. What will be the incentives to build communism? Life shows how the socialist principle is developing in our country distribution according to work. Take the decision of the February plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B). There are a number of very important and fundamental provisions that develop the issue of distribution according to work, because it raises the question not only of the number of workdays, but also of the quality of the harvest, etc., that is, it specifies the requirements that are imposed on relation to collective farmers. That is, life itself shows how the process of further deepening and expanding development issues is going on the socialist principle of distribution according to work.

Thus, if these issues are thoroughly thought over both in the field of industry and in the field of agriculture, then it seem to me that with further work on the programme, one can give some reflection of practical life and establish a transitional stage that will show how the development towards communism will proceed. ...

The second section is related to the international part. The international part in all drafts, with some exceptions, turned out to be opportunistic. In working out this part, the task before us was the following: first, about the peculiarities of the development of imperialism after the Second World War, and, secondly, the question of the relationship between capitalism and socialism. Moreover, this question is further complicated by the fact that, in addition to capitalism and socialism, there are countries of new democracy in which a special process of development is taking place. It is necessary to give a deep description of these processes, showing in what direction the socialist economic system will develop there, showing how the internal contradictions of the capitalist world will develop there, how the process of development of the new democracy

will proceed. These points are not sufficiently reflected in the theses. To some extent, this is the case in the theses, but if we talk about further work on this issue, then these points still need to be worked out very thoroughly and to generalise the new questions that arose after the second imperialist war.

It seems to me that it is completely wrong, and running ahead is the position, which is available in the draft vols. Pospelov, Iovchuk and Shepilov. On page 14 of this draft it is characterised that: 'The radical political changes that have taken place in eastern and southeastern Europe, led to the fact that the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union, in the old sense of the word, does not exist now. It was replaced by a new, friendly environment of the people's democratic republics.'

ZHADANOV. It was not considered only territorial; it was not a geographic concept.

MITIN. This is actually not true. There are borders with Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, USA, China, and Japan. These are still quite capitalist borders. And, secondly, Comrade Zhdanov is right when he says that we are not talking about a geographical concept, but about the relationship between the capitalist world and the world of socialism. Therefore, it seems to me that such characteristics; they often do not give correct understanding of the future. And the central question that stands isthe question of giving a free description of the problems that will arise, the processes that will take place in a complex international situation, when there is a world of capitalism, a world of socialism, and countries of new democracy that will develop towards socialism? In general, it is correctly said that the countries of the new democracy will develop towards socialism. But it cannot be considered that this

is the only way for the development of socialism in other countries.

How will the process of falling away from the capitalist world take place, how will relations between the Soviet Union and other countries that will develop along the socialist path take shape, what are the possibilities, stages and stages, these are questions that need to be thoroughly thought out. Not everything can be given here in complete formulations, but the development trend must be given.

Thus, in the international part, it is necessary to thoroughly work on the characteristics of the peculiarities of the development of imperialism—the last period of capitalism and those moments that have been created in connection with the formation of the countries of new democracies.

The next note is on this question. There are several theoretical and practical questions related to our movement forward to communism, which, it seems to me, require a clear answer in the programme. And then, apparently, it will be necessary to clarify something in comparison with what is in the works of Marx and Engels. A life shows that something is now out of date. Take the question discussed here, the question of distribution according to work. In German Ideology, an early work Marx and Engels, there is a provision that under communism there is an opportunity for day to engage in fishing, and criticism, and whatever. This is of course utopian representation, it in the most general form gives an idea of what will happen under communism. But for us it is perfectly clear that this state of affairs under communism is not will be.

Here Comrade...[a], speaking about our draft, he said that we did not give such wording that is available in other drafts. It says that the old division of labour, trade unions, etc., it withers away and fades into the past, and a new one is created in the

[a] So in the original.

distribution of labour. This is how the question was formulated. We posed this question somewhat differently. We have raised the question of polytechnic education as a more distant prospect. But for us it is absolutely clear that the path to polytechnic education and the all-round cultural development of a person will go through specialisation. This path goes through maximum specialisation in work. Under communism, labour can occur in society only when there is a difference in labour and when there is a division of labour, without this it is impossible to show the production process. These points, both from the theoretical side and from the practical side, should be clearly stated in the programme.

Another question that I had to think about a lot is the question regarding transition to communist distribution according to needs. It seems to me that we have given an interesting solution to this issue here. The solution to the question proceeds from the fact that exists in life comes from the processes that have been outlined in our economic development. It is important in the programme to say how the transition to communism is going on distribution according to work[a].

How do we resolve this issue? We approach this issue as follows.

On page 37 it says: 'The CPSU (b) sets as its task such an increase in the number of produced consumer products and such a constant decline in prices with a corresponding increase in real wages that gradually a situation will be created in which every citizen of the USSR can actually acquire every types of products according to their needs'.

[a] The words "according to work" are in brackets in pencil, to the right of the label: **?**

Thus, the transition should be viewed as a gradual process based on the increase[b] of consumer goods and the policy of price reduction produced by the Soviet state on the basis of labour productivity growth.

It will work in this way, and it will express the work of our industry, its improvement in work, and, in addition, there will be a process of price reduction, on the other hand, labour productivity will develop, the abundance of products will increase, and then practically everyone will be completely clear about the question of what he can get from production at such reduced prices. But this will be a gradual process.

Communist distribution is a question that needs to be pondered over, because there is another solution to the question, a solution that Comrade Islanders. That there will be two accompanying principles—one principle according to work, and the other—distribution according to need. This is rather unclear.

The next question is theoretical and practical. This is a question about personal property under communism. A number of drafts are addressing this issue.

It goes without saying that under communism there remains ownership of items of personal consumption, personal use, etc. This is perfectly clear. This is also emphasised in our draft. But in some drafts, and comrade Alexandrov and Comrade Pospelov, there is a not quite correct wording of this question. We should dwell on them.

In the draft comrade Pospelov on page 57 it is said that: 'On the basis of the prosperity of public ownership of the means of production, more and more masses of the people's wealth will go into personal property, the personal consumption of workers ...' That is, personal property will grow more and more, and there is no limit here. not indicated.

[b] Above the line in pencil it is written: **Pr.—va.**

Thus, communism will turn into a kind of society of wealthy personal owners.

VOICE FROM THE PLACE. But what to do with personal items?

MITIN. It seems to me that this issue requires clarification and clarification.

In the draft comrade Alexandrov and other comrades, there this question is posed in such a way that on the basis of the growth of public property (p. 41), the personal property of the working people in consumer goods will grow. I think that when under communism the principle to each according to his needs prevails, then it seems to me that it will not be entirely correct to talk about some kind of boundless growth of personal ownership of household items. In any case, this issue requires consideration.

VOICE FROM THE PLACE. What should be done with commodities?

MITIN. Consume.

ZHADANOV. Who else wants to take the floor?

FEDOSEEV. It is obvious that all our drafts have common disadvantages and spaces. You can talk about separate formulations, about individual provisions, which are incorrectly stated, but still in the foreground are some general shortcomings and gaps.

A few comments on the sections of all drafts, since there are common shortcomings in the programme theses, including ours.

ZHADANOV. Microbes of common imperfections were hovering between you.

FEDOSEEV. Was worn by[a] in some less, in others more.

For the first section. The first section deals with the meaning of the October Revolution in the development of mankind. What is the point of this section? When we discussed this issue in our troika, we came to the conclusion that the main meaning of this section should consist in opposing the October Revolution and the socialist system to all societies based on the exploitation of man by man, on private ownership of the means of production. This provision is found in the theses of Comrade Leontyev; this provision is also touched upon in the theses of Comrade Leontyev. Pospelov, we singled it out a little more sharply. This makes a certain sense, since there is not just a change from one social formation to another, as it was when capitalism replaced feudalism. We are talking about a radical reorganisation of society; we are talking about a new society, a communist society that rejects all exploitation. This position was developed in detail in the Communist Manifesto, in the works of Comrade Stalin, when he talks about the difference between the October Revolution and other revolutions. This, apparently, must be preserved.

But what did not work out in the theses, including ours, is an explanation of the world-wide historical turn, an explanation of the transition from the prehistory of mankind to the true history of mankind. It was necessary in the theses to show the world-historical role of the working class, that the new class took up the reorganisation of society, that the classes that in the past made a revolution could not turn history in this way, and then there were no conditions for this. In our time, conditions have been created, and a new class has taken up the

[a] A comma is placed in pencil.

reorganisation of society, a class that turned out to be the only one capable of alliance with other workers to ensure a new type of social relations, planned construction on the basis of public property.

Secondly, it was not possible to show, including in our draft, in the theses that all the working masses are vitally interested in this world-historical turn. The vital interests of the popular masses coincide with this progressive role of the working class in the radical reorganisation of society, and not in the usual replacement of one formation by another.

In some theses, the question of the material prerequisites for the socialist revolution is set forth in more detail. In our country, this question is less developed, and yet the first section must necessarily contain the question that the need, from the point of view of the development of material conditions for the life of society, is ripe and that the socialist revolution is realising this need from the point of view of the development of material conditions for the development of society.

In our draft, in the first section, it is insufficiently shown that the new society has its own history, has been tested for more than 30 years. Learn more about this said in the theses of Comrades Pospelov, Iovchuk and Shepilov. In the first section on the significance of the October Revolution, this will have to be brought up and it will be said without fail that history has already been tested, which has shown the invincibility of the new socialist society.

The second section—the international situation—has already been discussed here. This section is largely current. And in our theses there is something about the current situation in the international section, but there is a general question that needs to be further elaborated. It seems to me that in all drafts of theses, the further decay of capitalism is insufficiently shown and underdeveloped (and this should, apparently, occupy one of the most important places). In a general

formulation, all theses begin with the fact that during these 30 years capitalism has been on the decline. But the decay of capitalism, the economic decline of a concrete demonstration was not found in any of the theses.

ZHADANOV. In general, there is no criticism of capitalism in the second section. Abnormal this is. Moreover, as Lenin said, is it necessary at all to give in our programme a general characteristic not only of the highest stage of capitalism, but of capitalism in general—this side of the matter was taken simply and thrown out. And it turned out that, in fact, all this section of criticism of capitalism, an all-encompassing criticism of the capitalist order in the economic field, in the political field, in the ideological field, in any field, were reduced to the fact that we turned to the current moment and began with an assessment of that the current situation was created from the Anglo-American bloc, the new democracy and etc[a]. Moreover, one can immediately see the lack of this section, when they say: here is the concentration of capitalism, here all the contradictions have developed to the extreme, here is unemployment and all such a thing, here is women's and children's labour, while none of the members of our party, none of our brothers abroad will understand where all this is coming from, what all these contradictions are, all criticism of capitalism and bourgeois democracy is not shown, while this question is very acute, because there is a debate about democracy.

All these are politically sensitive issues and they dealt with this, in my opinion, rather well.

[a] In the left margin with a pencil opposite the paragraph, there is a thin vertical line.

FEDOSEEV. After your remarks, I have nothing to say.

ZHADANOV. You must point out why criticism of capitalism dropped out of you, did this question disappear, is Lenin's argumentation not outdated?[b]

Sokolnikov and Bukharin, when the draft of the old programme was being considered, proposed to assess only imperialism. This is not very clear. In general, if our programme does not have international significance, propaganda value, then, of course, it is easy to start with the conjuncture, and if it presents a document on the basis of which people will learn and listen to the voice of the CPSU (B), as we criticise capitalism, some its ulcers and contradictions, then the answer itself suggests itself, what should be our programme—narrowly opportunistic or broadly political, principled, having the meaning arising from the first section.[c]

In the first section, the comrades apparently wanted to talk about the international significance of our revolution, and not only about the national one. If this is so, if there is a unity of ideas that permeates the entire introductory part, then the second part should represent, to a certain extent, the development of the first. And here I must say that if the first part stands like that, then the second part stands at some angle and is not organically connected.

FEDOSEEV. In connection with this section, I just wanted to make one comment. When characterising capitalism, it would be necessary to show in detail the entire process of further decay, decomposition of capitalism and the economic

[b] In the left margin, in pencil opposite the paragraph, there is a dull vertical line.

[c] Along the left margin, in pencil, from the words "represents a document ..." to the end of the paragraph, there is a thin vertical line.

decline of capitalist countries on this basis. Among some economists, and in particular at the Institute of World Economy, there is such a point of view that the unification[a] of the capitalist countries occurred solely as a result of the war, that, say, Britain allegedly suffered huge losses in the war and therefore the economy was weakening. Here the question is incomplete. As a result of the war, the capitalist economy was only pushed to decline and impoverishment, in particular in England, that the decay of British imperialism led to economic decline.

Ascension. With us, Marxist-Leninists, decline and impoverishment is usually called a crisis, while in your country it is called 'decline', 'impoverishment'. When such terminology is slipped, it is not Marxist terminology.

FEDOSEEV. I mean that the Institute of World Economy explains in this way that the capitalist countries, in particular England, have become impoverished as a result of the war, and the economy is declining.

In the draft theses there is another shortcoming in the international section, that the question of the class struggle in modern conditions has not been properly elaborated and properly reflected. The fact that, along with the usual forms of class struggle—strikes, strikes, parliamentary struggle, etc., new forms of class struggle have emerged under new slogans, this fact has not found sufficient reflection in the draft theses. In particular, the fact that the class struggle in the countries of the new democracy proceeded in a peculiar way, that the elimination of capitalists and landlords in the course of the class struggle was inextricably linked with the struggle for national liberation and that the class struggle in other capitalist

[a] The word "unification" is corrected in pencil to "impoverishment"

countries threatened by Anglo-American expansion, that this class struggle cannot ignore the national question - this also did not find sufficient reflection in the theses. The question of the class struggle in the capitalist world, of the forms of this class struggle, must be shown in more detail.

On the question of the results of socialist construction. In different drafts of theses there is a different number of materials in terms of volume, but the questions in all drafts are taken the same, however, there is a drawback concerning all drafts and ours in that number. This disadvantage lies in the fact that the results are given in the form of a description of what happened and no explanation is given why it happened, no impression is created, that the internal laws of socialism determined the great successes of socialism for 30 years. In our previous programme, a characteristic of capitalism was given and this characteristic made it possible for everyone to clearly imagine that capitalism is moving towards death. Apparently, when it comes to socialism, we must show that socialism is steadily on the rise, that socialism is all-conquering. The question of the victory of socialism must be finalised in all theses.

A few remarks about the section that the comrades spoke about here, and which is the main one—the task for the next 20-30 years.

First, I will make one comment. Somehow it did not work out in the theses, neither we, nor other comrades, that the most accelerated development of society begins with socialism, and the question of the pace, the acceleration of development, that the processes in the economic and cultural fields will improve much faster than they have been going so far, this question has not received due reflections.

Now about some questions. Here we discussed in detail our thesis that within 5-10 years the need for the necessary basic necessities will be provided. Here we have a really bad shot,

hastily. The three of us wrote this paragraph together and edited it at the very last moment. Here, different meanings can be expressed and formulated, and since we ourselves did not understand the question properly, we can have different interpretations of it. For example, I imagined the matter in such a way that it does not mean that in 5-10 years already bread, fats and meat will be distributed without taking into account the measure of labour and the measure of consumption, but, in my opinion, it was about , in order to provide the population with basic necessities for 5 or 10 years, so that the population's need for basic necessities is satisfied. Here it is possible to interpret in different ways and there may be some confusion of the question of the communist principle of distribution according to needs without taking into account the measure of labour and the issue of meeting the needs of the population in basic necessities.

We discussed this issue and believed that if the programme said that for 20-30 years people can meet the need for bread, dairy products, and other necessities, then this would be a programme that people would understand very little, what they need 20-30 years to pass, so that bread, fats and sugar were in such quantities that it was possible to satisfy the normal needs of people.

What kind of calculations were there? The calculations were such that Comrade Stalin cited about having 7-8 billion poods of grain annually. If you have 8-9 or 10 billion poods of grain annually, then the need for bread can be satisfied, and bread is immediately meat and other necessities, then is it possible to supply such task to solve these problems within 10 years.

Here is Comrade. Mitin is right when he says that we have just the disadvantage that the task is posed very abstractly, theoretically, abstractly, that there is no stage. We tried in this case to outline some stages in this issue, although on all other

issues I agree with Comrade. Mitin that our common defect is to outline some staging in order to make it clear that the need for basic necessities that the population lives on will be satisfied not in 30 years, but within the next ten years. We were wrong in our calculations.

Ascension. The bread problem must be resolved in this five-year plan.

FEDOSEEV. We thought that we should provide it within 5-10 years.

Ascension. We will solve the problem with bread earlier.

FEDOSEEV. We have taken bread, fats and sugar.

ZHADANOV. Bread and fats are two different things.

FEDOSEEV[a]. The question is where to start, or from politics, or from the economy that part, which interprets the task. The part that deals with the task should start with general tasks of building communism. Then what goes on with us and with other comrades. The majority, apparently, was inclined to raise the question of creating an economic basis for communism. I think that in this case it is impossible to oppose, since economics—this is the party's policy in the field of economic construction.

And the question of creating the economic base of communism, as well as the question of communist consciousness, which is needed for the transition to communism, these are the main questions. It cannot be said

[a] In the left margin, in pencil, from Voznesensky's remark to the beginning of Fedoseev's remarks, a vertical line.

that we are now being held back by the political form of our state system in the transition to communism, but this, apparently, is the main programmatic issue in order to build a communist society.

ZHADANOV. The next meeting of the commission is convened on Tuesday at 2 pm.

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VII— P. F. Yudin, D. T. Shepilov, K. V. Ostrovityanov, M. B. Mitin, P. N. Fedoseev— Comments on the Draft Programme of the CPSU(B)

CONSOLIDATED NOTES ON THE PROGRAMME'S FEATURES OF THE CPSU(B)

YUDIN

1) The drafts do not clearly express the measures that should ensure the transition to communism. Many formulations speak of activities that can be resolved only at the higher stages of the development of communism. For example, the draft of Pospelov, Shepilov and Iovchuk speaks of a single common language communist society.

In the draft of Aleksandrov, Fedoseev and Ostrovityanov, it is said about the transition in the near future to direct product exchange. This is wrong, because money will last for a very long time even under communism.

2) The method of presenting drafts and the structure of the programme are in many cases insufficient. For example, for Pospelov, economic issues are in the foreground, and general political issues at the end. It would be better to start with general political questions, that is, with questions about the Soviet state. Aleksandrov lists too many details, each of which can be an independent topic. For example, in paragraph 3 on page 35, where there is an increase in metal production, and the further development of mechanical engineering, and the all-

round development of light industry, etc. If only to list, then this is not enough, and it is impossible to develop each separate topic. We need to put it in a different way. Speaking about satisfying the needs of the citizens of the USSR, Aleksandrov immediately wrote about porcelain and crystal dishes, furniture made of precious woods, jewellery, etc. This is inspired by the ill-considered question.

3) The draft of Leontyev and Kuusinen incorrectly indicates that the path of new democracy is the only way for the peoples of the small and dependent countries of the capitalist world to preserve and strengthen their national freedom, economic and political independence. You can't limit it like that.

SHEPILOV

1) The draft of Aleksandrov's group does not show at all the difficulties and contradictions that the Soviet people managed to overcome under the leadership of the party in 30 years.

2) In the programme, one must follow the method of opposing two worlds, two systems.

This failed to the fullest extent in all drafts. There are many opportunistic drafts in drafts of moments that characterise the current international situation.

3) It is wrong to speak, as it is said in Aleksandrov's draft, about the leap from the first to the second phase of communism. This is only a stage of maturity of one and the same formation, and not a transition from one to another formation.

4) In the economic section of the programme, it is necessary first of all to formulate the main provisions concerning the sphere of production, from which the main distributional problems logically follow. This means that, first

of all, it is necessary to determine what the material and technical base of communism will be, which will allow creating an abundance of products for the transition from distribution according to work to distribution according to needs. This was not clearly defined in the drafts.

It must be said that the material and technical basis of a developed communist society will be an automatic system of machines on an electrical basis. This will be a means for the final elimination of the distinction between hard work, unskilled work and skilled labour and to eliminate the opposition between mental and physical labour.

The foundations of the material and technical base of communism are created and laid already now and will develop further.

5) On the nature of work: the draft of Mitin and Yudin proposes a system of polytechnic education for young people in order to make the person of the future comprehensively developed. This is a tribute to the old, not justified in practice, ideas of Marxism. The entire experience of our construction shows that we are moving towards fractional specialisation and division of labour and cannot keep a course towards polytechnics and towards universally developed workers who can do everything.

6) On the struggle for an abundance of products: the drafts do not formulate that the communist principles of distribution will develop gradually. In Pospelov's draft, we tried to formulate this, but this was not entirely successful. We do not have enough real economic calculations in order to say clearly in what time frame and in what way we will be silent on the tasks of communist distribution. Aleksandrov's draft speaks of the next 5-10 years, which is clearly unrealistic.

It seems to me that our practice tells us that first of all we pray follow the line of meeting the needs of the social, social and cultural needs of our people, that is, the needs of education,

health care, cinema, resorts, and then, as socialist abundance matures, and material needs.

7) Not all drafts clearly raise the question of forms of ownership. I think that the merger of the two forms of ownership will take place on the basis of the electrification of our agriculture, which does not tolerate the narrow framework of individual collectives.

A powerful unified energy system will be the basis for a unified public form of ownership and the development of an agricultural artel into a commune.

OSTROVITYANOV

1) Today you cannot focus your attention on individual details and individual formulations, it is necessary to agree on some fundamental issues. On the development of productive forces: in general, the drafts correctly outlined the main lines of electrification, mechanisation, automation, etc. But we cannot bypass the issues of using new discoveries in the field of atomic energy. These discoveries promise a complete revolutionary revolution in production technology. And in our programme it would be advisable to say that, in contrast to the imperialists who seek to use atomic energy as a weapon of death and destruction, we will fight against such use of atomic energy and will contribute to the scientific development of problems associated with the industrial use of intra-atomic energy in to further meet the needs of the people and the transition from socialism to communism.

2) On the problem of the division of labour and the elimination of the polarity between mental and physical labour: in the drafts, in general, the correct answer to this question is given, but it is necessary to say with all strength and full voice that we are not going towards the elimination of the division of labour, but are going towards elimination of the old system of

division of labour, which was associated with exploitation, we are moving towards the development of the division of labour on a new basis. There is an enormous process of differentiation in the field of production, and it is reflected in a huge differentiation in the field of scientific knowledge. All this requires an appropriate specialisation of labour. Under these conditions, some of Engels' old arguments about the division of labour, inspired by a different level of development of technology, a different level of development of the productive forces, became utopian and naive.

3) About the distribution according to needs: this process does not begin with spiritual food, as it is said in the theses of Pospelov's group, it is about bodily food. First of all, basic necessities should be distributed according to needs. This item is primarily bread. We can set the task of distributing bread according to needs much earlier than in relation to other products. In any case, one cannot replace the theme of the distribution of material wealth according to needs with the theme of the abundance of culture. If we agree with Shepilov, it will turn out that we will distribute communist propaganda according to our needs, and as for bread, meat, etc., we will distribute it according to work. It is not right. Perhaps it is not necessary to give a list of those products that will be distributed according to needs, but a clear perspective needs to be given. The draft of the Alexandrov group unnecessarily lists some types of needs. The wording can be changed, but the general task must be set.

In addition, it must be emphasised that the principle of distribution according to needs is hardly whether it will eliminate the principle of distribution according to work. The highly progressive factor that will drive the development of the productive forces under communism is the growth of needs, which will cause the growth of new branches of production.

Needs cannot be met completely and permanently at once. Therefore, even at the highest stage of communism, there will be a certain combination of the socialist principle of payment according to work with the principle of distribution according to needs.

In this regard, the question of personal material interest arises. Communism does not eliminate personal interest, but gives the highest satisfaction of personal interests, and we cannot ignore the role of personal material interest in the development of a communist society. Some people still imagine the matter in such a way that under communism labour will turn into a game that you can or may not do. This is a misconception.

4) On the elimination of opposites between city and country: overgrowing agricultural artel into a commune will not yet mean the merger of the two forms of property, but only a new stage in this direction. In the formed period, obviously, there will not be a merger of the two forms of ownership and will not be eliminated to the end the difference between the working class and the peasantry.

5) In all theses, the question of the fate of cities is bypassed. It must be made clear that we are not going to liquidate the cities, as Engels assumed, and we expect to rebuild, improve and use them as cultural and industrial centres that will play their enormous progressive role in the further development of communism.

6) One of the major shortcomings is the not quite correct formulation of the question of the state. In the drafts, no matter how hard we tried to avoid it, we mainly note those moments that lead to the withering away of the state. We must further emphasise that I will gradually die off the functions of coercion, but on the other hand, economic and organisational functions will be greatly developed the state. Imagine that under communism these functions will be transferred to the

union organisations or something like that, absolutely wrong. Functions like The Economic Council, such as the State Planning Commission, the functions of our ministries will be preserved and developed. What will happen to the state next, when communism is built all over the world, we do not have to say now, but now we must give a more detailed description of the role that the state will play during the period of building communism for 20-30 years.

7) The theses of Pospelov's group prematurely set the task of merging all nations into one nation with a common language and common culture. We must confine ourselves to raising the question of the flourishing of national culture and the rapprochement on this basis of the cultures of different nationalities, that is, strengthening the friendship of peoples.

8) It must be clearly formulated that commodity-money relations are preserved and in the nearest future of 20-30 years it is necessary to talk about strengthening these relations and their best use in the interests of communism.

MITIN

1) All drafts are somewhat academic and theoretical, they do not indicate transitional stages in the development of communism.

2) The question of labour incentives: to build communism, all the people will have to work hard. What will be the incentives to build communism?—On this question the drafts of the programme answer vaguely. We must clearly say how we can use the socialist principle of labour in order to interest everyone in the development of labour productivity, in the building of communism.

3) The international part in all the drafts turned out to be opportunistic, it did not come up with a real analysis of modern capitalism and the question of the relationship between

capitalism and socialism was not clearly resolved. This question, moreover, is further dimmed by the fact that, in addition to capitalism and socialism, there are countries of the new democracy in which a special process of development of socialism is taking place.

4) The draft of Pospelov's group incorrectly states that the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union in the old sense of the word does not exist now and that as if it had been replaced by a new friendly circle of the people's democratic republics in Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

5) The question of polytechnic education. In our theses, Yudin and I put it as a more distant perspective, to which we will move through the specialisation of labour. Under communism, labour can only occur in society when there is a difference in labour, a division of labour—without this, the production process is impossible. Apparently, in the programme these moments both from the theoretical and from the practical point of view should be expressed more clearly.

6) The transition to communist distribution according to needs should be viewed as a gradual process taking place on the basis of an increase in the production of consumer goods and a price reduction policy pursued by the Soviet state based on an increase in labour productivity. As the abundance of products increases, it will be possible to practically expand the satisfaction of the needs of the population by lowering the prices of goods. Comrade Ostrovityanov's assumption about the combination of two principles of distribution—according to work and according to needs— seems unclear to me.

7) The question of personal property under communism is not quite correctly formulated in both Comrade Aleksandrov's draft and in Comrade Pospelov's draft. Comrade Pospelov's draft says that ever greater masses of the people's wealth will become the personal property of the working people. Thus,

communism will turn into a kind of society of wealthy personal owners. This issue requires clarification and clarification.

Comrade Aleksandrov's draft states that on the basis of the growth of public property, the personal property of the working people in consumer goods will grow. I think that under the conditions of communist distribution according to needs, it will not be entirely correct to talk about some kind of unlimited growth of personal ownership of household items. Consumption will grow, but not ownership of consumer goods.

FEDOSEEV

1) The first section on the significance of the October Revolution in the development of mankind in all drafts failed, because the meaning of the world-historical revolution, the meaning of the transition from the prehistory of mankind to the true history of mankind. The theses do not sufficiently show the world-historical role of the working class, which was led for the reorganisation of society, it is insufficiently shown that all the working masses are interested in this world-historical revolution in life. This is not an ordinary change from one social formation to another.

In the first section, the question of the material prerequisites for the socialist revolution must be developed. It is also insufficiently shown that the new society already has its own history, has passed a thirty-year test.

2) The second section, concerning the international situation, is largely current in nature. All drafts suffer from this. In all drafts, the further decay of capitalism is insufficiently shown and not developed.

The question of the class struggle in modern conditions has not been properly elabourated and reflected in the dollar. In particular, the originality of the class struggle in the countries

of new democracies, where the struggle for national liberation led to the elimination of capitalists and landowners.

3) The results of socialist construction in the USSR are given in the form of a description of what happened, and no explanation is given as to why it happened, that is, they are not revealed internal laws of the development of socialism. In our old programme, a characteristic of capitalism was given, which made it possible for everyone to clearly imagine that capitalism was heading for ruin. Now, apparently, when it comes to socialism, we must show why socialism is steadily advancing and why it is all-conquering system.

4) Neither we nor other comrades got a clear idea in the theses, why the most accelerated development of society begins with socialism. This is a question about the pace of development both in the economic and cultural fields.

5) In the theses of Aleksandrov's group, the question is really poorly framed on meeting the needs for basic necessities for 5-10 years.

We wanted to say that the tasks of meeting the needs for bread, fats and other basic necessities are not expected to be applied for a period of 20-30 years.

Such a programme would be very little comprehensible to the people. The most elementary economic calculations make it possible to think that in the blissful years the need for bread and some other essentials can be completely satisfied. We tried to outline here some stages of development, but, apparently, we made a mistake in the calculations.

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VIII— P. N. Fedoseev, M. B. Mitin, L. A. Leontyev, D. T. Shepilov—Revised Draft Of The Programme Of The Central Committee Of The CPSU(B)[1]

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHERVIKS)

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANITY

The Great October Socialist Revolution (November 7, 1917) in Russia abolished the rule of the capitalists and landlords and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. The October Revolution was the natural result of the entire course of social development, the growth of the irreconcilable contradictions of the capitalist system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new era in world history. Since classes appeared, society has been based on the exploitation of man by man. The masses of the people bore the yoke of political and economic oppression and spiritual enslavement. Over the centuries, the working masses have repeatedly rebelled against the exploiters, trying to throw off the yoke of oppressors and become masters of their position. But in the revolutions of the past, the working people

[1] 1 The draft was sent to Voznesensky N. D., Suslov M. D., Alexandrov G. F., Kuusinen O. V., Mitina M. B., Yudina P. F., Pospelov P. M., Shepilov D. T., Ostrovityanov K. V., Leontiev L. A., Fedoseeva P. N.

did not manage to take advantage of the results of their struggle and free themselves from exploitation. Some exploiting classes replaced others, one form of exploitation was replaced by another, but exploitation itself and its basis - the private ownership of the means of production by the exploiting classes—remained.

The Great October Socialist Revolution led to the destruction of the rule of all and all exploiting classes and groups, to the elimination of all oppression of man.

The entire centuries-old development of society in the past was essentially only the prehistory of mankind. The October Revolution marked the beginning of the true history of mankind. It signified the transition to the conscious creation of history by the masses and marked the beginning of the communist era in the development of society.

For the first time in history, the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and landowners, destroyed the old bourgeois state apparatus to the ground and created a state of a new type - the Soviet state. The Soviet socialist state has realised true freedom for the working people. Thus, the bourgeois state was opposed by the state of the working people, and the bourgeois, parliamentary democracy was opposed by the Soviet, socialist democracy, which is the highest form of democracy. The creation of the Soviet state meant a world-historic step forward in the liberation struggle of the working class.

The Soviet power not only abolished the political domination of the exploiting classes, but also abolished the economic basis on which the exploitation of man by man was based. Soviet power abolished the landlord's property land, transferred the land for use by the peasantry, nationalised industry, transport, banks. The working people won both political power and material resources for building a new, socialist life.

The national economy of a huge country was organised on the basis of the domination of socialist ownership of the means of production, on the basis of planning, which forever saved the Soviet people from the anarchy of production, from economic crises, unemployment and associated poverty and ruin. For the first time in the history of class society, for many millennia in the development of society, the working people finally put an end to the social system based on the oppression of the masses by the propertied classes, and created solid preconditions for a truly free, prosperous and cultural life of the working people.

The victory of socialism in the USSR confirmed the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, that capitalism is a historically transitory mode of production, that it is already has outlived its age, and that, by virtue of the laws of historical development, it will inevitably be replaced by socialism. The thirty-year existence of the Soviet state with all convincingly proved that the working people of town and country, without capitalists landowners, not only capable of creating their own, new, socialist state, but with immense success to rule the state, build industry, manage agriculture, develop culture, successfully defend our gains against enemies, and steadily move forward towards the complete victory of communism. The Soviet state was the most powerful state that ever existed in history, the best form of state structure of all existing. The socialist system of the national economy of the USSR has shown its greatest advantages over capitalism before the whole world.

The victory of the socialist revolution freed the peoples of Russia from economic and spiritual enslavement by foreign capital and ensured their national independence. For the first time, Soviet power made our country a free and independent state.

The October Socialist Revolution broke the chains of national oppression in Russia, approved a powerful

multinational socialist state, built on the basis of the fraternal community of peoples. The October Revolution raised the previously oppressed peoples to the position of truly free and truly equal. The Soviet state and social system provided to all the peoples of Russia economic and cultural flourishing. The October Revolution thereby exposed to the end the lie about the superiority of some nations and races over others. She also dealt a crushing blow to the bourgeois racial theories, according to which humanity is divided into higher and lower races, of which the lower races are not capable of civilisation, and the higher ones are called to play the role of the only carriers of civilisation and oppress the lower ones. The October Revolution showed that even previously backward peoples, drawn into the mainstream of Soviet development, quickly moved forward and were able to create and develop an advanced culture.

The Great October Socialist Revolution broke through the front of world imperialism, destroyed the capitalist system in one of the largest countries in the world and thus shook the foundations of bourgeois rule throughout the world. As a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the world was split into two opposite systems - socialism and capitalism.

Numerous attempts of capitalist reaction to undermine socialist construction and destroy the Soviet state by armed intervention, war and blockade, economic and ideological struggle ended in complete failure. The Soviet people emerged from all these trials even stronger and more united.

The October Revolution served as a signal and an example for the working people of all peace in their liberation struggle. It has shattered in the broad masses of the people of the capitalist countries, in the oppressed peoples of the colonies and dependent countries, faith in the inviolability and eternity of capitalism. Under the influence of the October Revolution, a

powerful wave of revolutionary uprisings and national liberation movements swept across the world.

The October Revolution shattered the false socialist dogmas about the impossibility of victory labour on capital, the need to come to terms with the omnipotence of imperialism and be content with partial concessions from the ruling classes. The October Revolution and the victory of socialism in the USSR exposed the social reformist ideology as the ideology of saving capitalism; it showed the working class of the whole world that social democratic reformism is the ideological pillar of capitalism, its loyal defender and servant.

The Second World War, which ended with the defeat of German fascism and Japanese imperialism, proved to the whole world that only thanks to the Soviet state, emerged as a result of the October Revolution, only thanks to the selfless struggle of the peoples of the USSR, who bore the brunt of this war on their shoulders, mankind was saved from the danger of fascist enslavement. The USSR acted as the saviour of world culture and civilisation from fascist barbarism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution put the USSR at the head of all progressive mankind. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the stronghold of the progressive development of society, culture and civilisation of peoples.

The leader, inspirer and organiser of the masses, who brought about the great socialist revolution and the victorious building of socialism in the USSR, there was the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the party of Lenin-Stalin. Armed with the theory of scientific communism, knowledge of the laws of social development, creatively moving forward Marxist-Leninist science, the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks educates the working class and all working people in the spirit of Leninism, shows them the right path and leads to the complete victory of communism.

II. MODERN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

The current era in the life of mankind is an era of steady growth and prosperity of the socialist society in the USSR, on the one hand, a general crisis and decay of the capitalist system on the other hand.

The general crisis of capitalism was prepared by the entire course of its development. Under the capitalist system, the most important and decisive means of production and exchange—land, factories and plants, railways, trade enterprises and banks—constitute private property of a small class of capitalists, which exploits wage workers, deprived of the means of production and forced by this to sell his labour. Small-scale producers are peasants who make up the most numerous class of the population, artisans, handicraftsmen, small traders—are subjected to merciless exploitation by the capitalists and landlords.

Having developed the productive forces of society to a previously unprecedented scale, capitalism has become entangled in contradictions insoluble for it. Along with the increase social wealth in bourgeois society social inequality inevitably grows, there is a deepening of the gap between the haves and have-nots. The development of capitalism leads to the displacement of small production by large and large the ruin of many previously independent small producers and their transformation into proletarians and semi-proletarians, to the impoverishment of the proletariat, doomed to intensifying exploitation, to the growing insecurity of existence, to slave conditions of work and life. Expanding production and collecting on huge factories and factories millions of workers, capitalism gives the production process a social character that conflicts with the private capitalist form of appropriation. This basic contradiction of capitalism generates destructive anarchy of production and periodically causes devastating economic

crises of overproduction. During crises, millions of people are forced to endure unemployment and hunger not because there are not enough goods, but because there are too many of them produced: the capitalists do not find effective demand for goods due to the ruin of the masses of the population.

With the growth of contradictions in bourgeois society, the indignation of the working and exploited masses also grows, and the struggle of the proletariat for liberation from the yoke of capitalism unfolds. At the same time, the productive forces developed by the capitalists in the pursuit of profit, the socialisation of labour and an increase in labour productivity have long created the necessary material prerequisites for replacing capitalism with a higher social system - socialism. The historical mission of the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of a new, socialist society belongs to the working class as the most advanced class of modern society. With the development of capitalism, the proletariat grows in numbers, rallies, passing through the harsh but tempering school of labour and struggle, becomes the recognised leader of all the exploited and oppressed masses in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the socialist transformation of society.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the pre-monopoly phase of capitalism, in which free competition between many independent enterprises prevailed, was replaced by a new phase of capitalism—imperialism, when the dominance of monopolies, finance capital and financial oligarchy took shape, the export of capital acquired outstanding importance, the division of the world by international cartels began and the division ended the entire territory of the earth by the largest capitalist countries.

Imperialism is decaying, parasitic, dying capitalism. He brings to the last line, to the extreme limits of the contradictions of capitalism, and above all: 1) the contradiction between labour and capital; 2) contradiction between a handful

of the dominant economically highly developed countries and hundreds of millions of the population of the colonial and dependent countries of the world; 3) the contradiction between various financial groups and the imperialist powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, sales markets, areas of capital investment. Former comparatively the smooth development and spread of capitalist relations gave way to an abrupt and catastrophic development of capitalism. The law of uneven economic and political development of capitalist countries in the era of imperialism is expressed in the fact that some countries are leaping ahead of others and are quickly pushing them out of the world market. Due to this uneven development, periodic redistributions of an already divided world are inevitable in the form of military clashes and military catastrophes, as a result of which the front of world imperialism is weakening. The possibility of breaking through this front and, therefore, the victory of socialism in individual countries was created, while the simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries became impossible.

Already the first world imperialist war of 1914-1918, meant joining capitalism during its general crisis. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia tore out a sixth part of the world capitalist system land.

Capitalism has ceased to be a single and all-embracing system of the world economy; it has lost its former strength and stability.

During the period of the general crisis of capitalism, the bourgeois system is no longer able to use the productive forces developed by it, which is reflected in the underload of the production apparatus caused by the contraction of domestic and foreign markets due to the catastrophic impoverishment of the masses, in the frequency of periodic economic crises and the growth of their destructive force. The bourgeois system is already unable to provide even a slave existence for their wage

slaves, about which testifies to the presence of multimillion-dollar chronic unemployment, which does not dissolve further in short-term periods by crises. The bourgeois system has become a clear obstacle to the development of the material and spiritual culture of mankind, as evidenced by the sharp increase in the tendency inherent in monopolies to push for peaceful technical progress with the gigantic possibilities of science and technology; unprecedented growth of all types of parasitism and decay; the transition of the dominant monopolies to extreme forms of reaction in political life; the decline, decay and moral disintegration of bourgeois culture. The bourgeois system has become a mortal threat to the existence of mankind, as evidenced by the devastating wars waged by the imperialists, the general growth of militarism and the frantic arms race. All this characterises the general crisis of capitalism as a historical period of the collapse of the bourgeois system.

In the context of the general crisis of capitalism, the dominant financial oligarchy in a number of countries, being unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, goes over to fascism. The establishment of the fascist regime in Italy, Germany and some other countries did not testify to the strength and the strength of the bourgeois system, but about its weakness and precariousness. The elimination of the last remnants of democratic freedoms and the rights of the people; unrestrained terror against the labour movement; the course for the physical extermination of all any progressive elements; searching for a way out of the growing internal difficulties on the paths of the treacherous aggression, predatory wars and the struggle for world domination; the politics of corruption and the moral decay of a significant part of the population, the curbing of all animal instincts in a person with the whole purpose of preparing millions of obedient performers of adventurous plans to seize foreign lands, enslave and exterminate other peoples - such is

the face of fascism as an open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary and chauvinistic elements of finance capital.

The Second World War, prepared by the forces of international reaction and unleashed by the fascist aggressors, served as a major turning point in the development of the general crisis of capitalism, leading to its sharp deepening and aggravation. Like the First World War, it had as its main result an unconditional weakening of capitalism.

The defeat of the main centres of world fascism and world aggression deprived the international reaction of such outposts in the struggle against the Soviet Union and socialism, against the workers' and national liberation movement, which were the main fascist countries— Germany, Japan, Italy.

The international authority and power of the impregnable fortress of socialism-the Soviet Union, which by its heroic struggle not only defended its freedom and independence, but also liberated the peoples of Europe from enslavement, grew immeasurably. The Soviet people, who played a decisive role in achieving victory over the aggressors and saved human civilisation from the fascist pogromists, showed the whole world that the forces of socialism and democracy are invincible. As an insurmountable obstacle to the implementation of the black designs of international reaction, a powerful bulwark of peace and security of peoples, their free development along the path of social progress and genuine democracy, the Soviet Union has rightfully become a decisive factor in world politics. A positive solution to not a single international problem is unthinkable without the participation of the USSR.

The capitalist camp suffered further damage: just as the First World War ended with the fall of Russia from the world system of capitalism, the Second World War and the defeat of fascism led to the fall out of the imperialist system of a number of countries in eastern and southeastern Europe, liberated from

fascism by the Soviet Army, thanks to this the opportunity to determine their fate by the free choice of peoples and relying on disinterested support of the Soviet Union. The new democracy that emerged in these countries, born of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of the masses, broke with the anti-popular traditions of bourgeois democracy. In these countries, state power passed from the hands of the exploiting classes to the hands of the working majority of the population. The people's power realises the national and social emancipation of peoples from the oppression of foreign imperialism, capitalist monopolies and feudal landlords, carries out radical democratic transformations and creates conditions for the transition to socialism.

The crisis of the colonial system aggravated by the Second World War, expressed in the mighty rise of the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, threatened the rear of the imperialist system. A crisis of the colonial system is manifested in the fact that the peoples of the colonies do not want to live anymore in the old way and took the path of a decisive struggle for the creation of independent, independent states. In order to maintain power over the colonial and dependent countries, the imperialist predators resort to all kinds of manoeuvres, acting both by force and deception, trying to split the forces of the national-colonial movement.

Finally, being generated by the uneven development of the capitalist countries, the war led to a further exacerbation of this unevenness. The swelling of the production apparatus of the United States, along with the economic ruin of the bourgeois countries of Europe and a large part of Asia, is fraught with the inevitability especially sharp conflicts, an unprecedented exacerbation of the struggle for sales markets, new deep economic crises and shocks. Throughout the capitalist world, the war has led to an unprecedented decline in the living

standards of the masses, an increase in unemployment, poverty and hunger, and an increase in class contradictions due to the bourgeoisie to shift onto the shoulders of the working people the main burden of the war and post-war hardships, to the upsurge of the labour movement.

After the defeat of the fascist aggressors, the centre of world reaction moved to the United States of America, and the failed Hitlerite plans of enslavement of the world was replaced by the American plans for world domination, in which the role of the junior partner is assigned to England. These adventurous economic plans, political and ideological enslavement of Europe and the whole world, irreconcilably hostile to the fundamental national interests of the overwhelming majority of countries and peoples, are dictated, on the one hand, by the greedy imperialist desires of the financial oligarchy, and, on the other hand, by its fear of the growth of socialism and people's democracy.

American imperialism uses dollar diplomacy everywhere, politics force, atomic blackmail and threats to intimidate the faint of heart; seeks to enslave small and temporarily weakened peoples and put together an imperialist bloc against the USSR; under the flag of 'Western democracy' is trying to impose on European countries have their own political regime, based on the omnipotence of the dollar and the domination of an insignificant handful of monopolists. American imperialism aims to turn the United Nations Organisation into an instrument of its expansionist policy, undermining the principle of sovereignty and equality of the member countries; stakes on the preservation and revival of imperialist Germany and Japan as their vassals; pursues an aggressive arms policy. The ruling classes of the Anglo-Saxon powers unceremoniously interfere in the internal affairs of foreign countries, everywhere supporting reactionary and openly fascist elements, and plant the cannibalistic ideology of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority.

The Anglo-American bloc formed after the end of the Second World War cannot be strong and lasting; the contradiction between its participants —the two main powers of modern imperialism—which is the main contradiction within the imperialist camp, inevitably intensifies in the course of the struggle for sales markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of influence, for the distribution of hardships caused by the post-war economic devastation.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism as a result of the Second World War led to the decline and crisis of bourgeois democracy. This crisis manifests itself with the greatest force in the main country of modern capitalism - the United States of America, where the elementary principles of democracy are increasingly openly and grossly trampled by the true masters of the country—a small handful of capital magnates who have enriched themselves enormously during the first and especially the Second World War.

As long as private capitalist ownership of the means of production prevails, democracy always remains in practice the democracy of the exploiting minority, directed against the exploited majority. The state under capitalism, whatever its form, serves as a machine for the suppression of workers and the exploited masses by a handful of capitalists. With the growth and aggravation of the contradictions of capitalism, the class essence of bourgeois democracy is increasingly exposed as a screen that hides the omnipotence of the magnates of capital, who held in their hands all the threads of economic and political life.

Speaking under the slogan of freedom, bourgeois democracy is in fact the democracy of modern slave owners. The overwhelming majority of the population of bourgeois-democratic countries is in economic slavery, experiencing fear before tomorrow, want and poverty, excluding any manifestation of individual freedom. Bourgeois democracy

rests on the deprivation of the elementary human rights of hundreds of millions of people in colonial and dependent countries, which are under the yoke of a handful of colonial powers. Freedom under capitalism cannot be anything other than freedom of exploitation for the capitalists, freedom of starvation for the proletarians, colonial slavery for the majority of the world's population.

Speaking under the slogan of equality, bourgeois democracy actually supports and perpetuates the most monstrous forms of inequality. It follows the path of open curtailment and infringement of the political, economic and civil rights of workers, the masses through the issuance of laws against the labour movement, judicial and administrative prosecution of democratic and progressive organisations. It sanctions the unequal position of the female half of the population, which, as a rule, is denied access to government and public positions and to more qualified branches of labour; lower wages for women compared to men of the same qualifications; all kinds of restrictions on the political and civil rights of women; laws that are humiliating for them in the field of family relations. Legalising the powerlessness of the population that does not belong to the ruling nation, it is moving further along the path of national oppression and shameful racial discrimination. Equality under capitalism inevitably turns out to be a flagrant inequality between the exploiters and the exploited in all areas of social and political life.

Acting under the guise of the embodiment of the will of the people, bourgeois democracy has in fact become a decisive obstacle to the realisation of the real aspirations of the people, for in the field of domestic and foreign policy it sacrifices its fundamental interests to the selfish desires of the financial oligarchy, whose oppression is hated by the majority of the population. The merging of the state machine with capitalist

monopolies is manifested in such forms as the formation of governments from the trustees of the largest trusts, concerns and banks, obediently carrying out their will and orders; open bribery of parliamentarians and high-ranking officials by monopolies; saturation of the monopoly clerks of all the most important links of the state apparatus, which acts in relation to the working masses as an apparatus of violence and suppression; the growth of militarism and the dominance of the military, designed to protect the domination of monopoly capital within the country and serve as a means of achieving its foreign policy goals; the use of the police and troops for bloody massacres of striking workers, with demonstrations of workers; the organisation by the capitalists for the same purposes of terrorist fascist gangs under the wing of the bourgeois-democratic authorities. In the present era of aggravated struggle of the popular masses against the oppression of the monopolies, bourgeois democracy by all means of deception and violence defends the inviolability of capitalist property, the omnipotence of the financial oligarchy.

The growing crisis of bourgeois democracy and all its institutions finds its expression in such phenomena as the bankruptcy of the bourgeois parliamentary system, in which the so-called popular representation is increasingly turning into an empty talking shop, while the most significant political issues are the general direction of domestic and foreign policy, changes as part of the government, the issuance of the most important laws - are increasingly being decided behind the backs of parliaments; the growth of corruption and corruption among bourgeois politicians who resort to sophisticated deceitful manoeuvres, especially during election campaigns; the establishment of the so-called governments of a strong hand, free from any responsibility to parliamentary representation.

Bourgeois democracy is increasingly turning workers' rights into fiction. Since the material means for the exercise of democratic rights are buildings for meetings, paper and printing house for publishing newspapers, radio broadcasting stations—are monopolised by the capitalists, the possessing top of society is ever wider uses these means to falsify public opinion, to sow ignorance among the masses and poison their consciousness, to distract them from the struggle for their real interests. At the same time, the ruling classes go further and further towards restricting workers' rights through the deterioration of electoral systems rights, through the introduction of all kinds of qualifications (property, educational, settledness, age, etc.); violation of the secrecy of voting; de facto prevention of the formation of new progressive parties; the illegal prohibition of working class parties; and the persecution of members and supporters of those parties.

The gravest crime of bourgeois democracy against humanity is that it gave birth to fascism and cleared the way for it. In countries like Italy and Germany, the bourgeois democratic regimes nurtured fascism and served for him a bridge to power. At the same time, bourgeois democratic governments other countries (England, France, USA) so-called laissez-faire policy and the course towards appeasement of the fascist aggressors helped them to unleash the Second World War. After the defeat of the main centres of world fascism, the ruling circles of the bourgeois-democratic countries took a course not to eradicate the remnants of fascism in former enemy states and at home, and vice versa—to grant wide freedom of action to the fascist elements, which they see as their allies in the struggle against the growing forces of socialism. Thus, in the modern era, bourgeois democracy as a state form, serving anti-popular reaction, directs its main blows against the forces of social progress and genuine democracy.

Bourgeois democracy, which at one time proclaimed the slogan of patriotism and national independence is increasingly becoming incapable of effectively defending national freedom and the sovereignty of peoples. In a number of states on the European continent, bourgeois democracy treacherously capitulated to the fascist invaders during the Second World War. In the period after the Second World War, the bourgeois democracy of a number of European countries again takes the path of betraying national interests—this time in front of the Anglo-American contenders for world domination, openly encroaching on the sovereignty of peoples. Thus, in the modern era, the struggle for national freedom and independence inevitably goes beyond the framework of bourgeois democracy and becomes an anti-imperialist struggle. This struggle requires the elimination of the economic power of monopoly capital and landlord ownership, decisive intervention in economic (property) relations, without which formal democratic freedoms and rights turn into an empty phrase, into an illusion, into a deception of the masses.

In modern conditions, when capitalism has long been ripe for replacing it with socialism, the bourgeois system is holding on only because the working class of the capitalist countries still underestimates its strength, does not possess the necessary cohesion and does not display the necessary determination in the struggle against the onset of imperialist reaction. The bourgeoisie more clearly overestimates its strength and, in domestic and foreign policy, follows the path of reaction and adventures, which, while inflicting untold suffering on the masses, at the same time further undermine the foundations of capitalism.

In this historical context, the role of social-democratic reformism[2], which helps the bourgeoisie spread disbelief in the working class and splits the working class, is particularly pernicious. The split of the working class, carried out by the reformist elite of the socialist parties of the Second International, made it possible for the bourgeoisie after the First World War to save the capitalist system in many European countries, and then cleared the way for fascism. After the Second World War, social-democratic reformism in a number of countries, acting on the directives of the top of the British Labour Party, acts as a direct agent of the Anglo-American applicants for the guardianship of the peoples. It aims to perpetuate the bourgeois system, spreading illusions about the supra-class character of bourgeois democracy, subordinating the working class to bourgeois ideology and politics, undermining its influence on the working masses of the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia. The social-democratic reformists prevent the consolidation of the forces of the working class to fight against the imperialist reaction, and they persecute the communist parties and other progressive workers 'organisations.

In the era of the general crisis of capitalism, hatred grows and grows among the masses to the domination of the financial oligarchy, unleashing on the working people innumerable deprivation: bloody wars, devastating crises, massive unemployment, zero and poverty. Liberation from imperialist slavery, socialist transformation of society—these are the tasks on the order of the day in the life of peoples.

The struggle to resolve these urgent tasks is led by the communist parties, which unite in their ranks the class-conscious vanguard of the working class. The Second World

[2] Social reformism—a political ideology that advocated an evolutionary transition to democratic socialism by reforming capitalist society.

War and the defeat of fascism naturally led to an increase in combat-ready democratic forces around the world, the trade union movement of the working class and, above all, to the growth of communist parties, their influence and importance. In the difficult years of the domination of fascism in Europe, the communist parties withstood trial by fire, leading and selflessly leading the struggle for national freedom and the independence of peoples loyal to the enemy by the ruling classes. Thus, having won the confidence of the peoples, the communist parties are increasingly rallying around themselves all progressive and democratic forces, all supporters of peace and the independence of peoples, patriotic elements of all countries whose sovereignty is threatened by imperialist plans for world domination. Developing within the national framework of individual countries, the communist parties also have common tasks, which are to fight against imperialist reaction, instigators and provocateurs of new wars, to organise and strengthen resistance to attempts by imperialists to impose their will on other peoples, to rally and unite all who are able to defend the cause of peace, freedom and independence of peoples, their independent national and state development, in the struggle to defend the USSR as the bulwark and hope of all the exploited and oppressed.

The democratic forces of the capitalist countries, led by the working class, see their support in the Soviet Union - the great power of victorious socialism, whose existence and politics are the most important factor in the peace and security of peoples, suppressing the plans of new aggressors. The attitude towards the Soviet Union is a decisive dividing line between the camp of democracy and the camp of reaction in the world arena, in view of which the defence of the Soviet Union as the most reliable bulwark of freedom and independence of peoples is the most important task of true democrats throughout the world.

The policy of the Soviet Union in the field of international relations is based on the fact of the coexistence and struggle of two systems-socialism and capitalism; and from the practically proven possibility of cooperation between states with different social systems. The Soviet Union decisively rebuffs the dangerous intrigues of the instigators of a new world war, the blackmail attempts to intimidate the peoples, undertaken by American atomic diplomacy and its accomplices and assistants.

The Soviet Union, free from the exploitation of man by man and from interethnic strife, acts consistently and resolutely in the international arena, a champion of democratic principles in relations with peoples, large and small, honest international cooperation based on the recognition of the sovereign equality of peoples, respect for their legitimate rights and interests. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is aimed at developing and strengthening ties with all peace-loving states, to further strengthening friendship with the countries of new democracy and the fraternal union of Slavic peoples, which arose in the course of a joint struggle against a common enemy and is designed to serve as an effective tool for ensuring universal peace and, above all, the security of peoples. eastern and southeastern Europe.

Pursuing its tried-and-true policy of peace and friendly cooperation between peoples, the Soviet Union relies on its growing economic and political might, on the Soviet Army, which is ready to defend the country from any aggressor, on the undivided support of the broadest masses of the working class and working people throughout the world, who are vitally interested in the preservation of peace, the support of friendly countries and, above all, the countries of the new democracy, the prudence of those circles among the ruling classes of the capitalist world who are not interested in aggressive plans and who want to develop normal economic relations with the Soviet Union.

In modern conditions, plans directed against the Soviet Union threaten the existence of most peoples. This is the weak side and the inevitable failure of these plans, which are fraught with the danger of aggression against the Soviet Union, which persists as long as there is a hostile capitalist encirclement.

The growth of the forces of communism in the Soviet Union and throughout the world is the surest guarantee of strengthening peace and security, freedom and independence of peoples, and progressive development of mankind.

III. RESULTS OF ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOVIET SOCIETY

As a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution at the head the state arose the communist party, fighting for the implementation of indigenous interests of the masses, directing the development of society towards communism. CPSU (B), expressing the will of the workers and peasants who triumphed over the bourgeoisie and landowners, she took responsibility for the historical fate of the country, for the fate of the young Soviet state.

Leading the Soviet state, the Communist Party achieved world-wide victories and organised the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society. Implementing the policy of alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, the Communist Party and the Soviet government raised the broadest masses of the people to historical creativity and involved in the construction of socialism. The Soviet state overcame enormous difficulties on the path of socialist construction. These difficulties were caused by the desperate resistance of the exploiting classes defeated during the October Revolution and the Civil War and the age-old economic backwardness of the country. The difficulties of the socialist

transformation of society were aggravated by the fact that socialism had to be built in a hostile capitalist encirclement that used all means—military, economic, political—to fight against the Soviet state, and in every possible way supported and inspired the anti-Soviet forces inside the country.

Armed with the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, the Communist Party led the struggle of the working people to eliminate the economic devastation caused by the imperialist war and foreign intervention, for creating the foundation of a socialist economy, for building socialist society.

Under the leadership of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, a great plan for the socialist industrialisation of the country was developed and implemented. Unlike the capitalist countries, which carried out industrialisation by robbing colonies and with the help of foreign loans and which began industrialisation with the development of light industry, the Soviet government, relying on internal forces and sources, on the nationalisation of industry and banks, without any outside help, began the industrialisation of the country with the deployment of heavy industry, which served as the basis for the reconstruction of the entire national economy. Having implemented the plan in an unprecedentedly fast time socialist industrialisation, the Soviet Union eliminated the age-old economic backwardness of the country, created a first-class modern industry equipped with the latest technology, caught up with and surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries in terms of production technology and the rate of industrial growth. In terms of industrial production, the Soviet country ranked first in Europe and second in the world. The Soviet Union achieved complete economic independence from the capitalist states. Thus, all the prerequisites were created in order to catch up and overtake the most developed capitalist

countries economically, that is, in terms of production per capita.

One of the most difficult tasks of the socialist revolution after the conquest power by the proletariat was the socialist remaking of small-property the way of life of the village. The Soviet government rejected the capitalist way of creating large-scale production in agriculture, based on the ruin and impoverishment of the bulk of the peasantry, and opened a new way of creating a large, socialist agriculture by uniting peasant farms into collective farms, implemented the Leninist-Stalinist plan for the socialist reorganisation of the countryside. It was the greatest revolutionary coup, equivalent in its consequences to the revolutionary coup in October 1917. On the basis of the collectivisation of agriculture, the last exploiting class, the kulaks, was liquidated and the kulak bondage, poverty and misery in the countryside were destroyed forever. Strengthening the position of socialism in the countryside, the Soviet state developed an extensive network of state farms and machine and tractor stations, which played a major role in the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. Socialist agriculture was abundantly supplied with advanced machinery. As a result of socialist reconstruction, the growth rates and marketability of agriculture increased many times over. In a short time, the grain problem was resolved and a powerful raw material base for light industry was created.

The socialist reorganisation of agriculture undermined the foundations of the age-old antagonism between town and country. Large socialist farms—collective farms, machine and tractor stations, state farms—began to play the same role in the cultural and technical development of the countryside as factories and factories in the city. Large-scale socialist economy has opened up ample opportunities for the use of modern technology in all branches of agricultural production, for the comprehensive mechanisation of agriculture.

Agricultural labour is increasingly becoming a kind of industrial labour. Numerous industrial professions arose in the countryside—tractor drivers, combine operators, mechanics, etc. If in small peasant farms there was no place for the division of labour and specialisation of workers, which was one of the reasons for the cultural and technical backwardness of the peasantry, then in large-scale socialist agriculture the division of labour and the specialisation of workers has become a necessary and progressive phenomenon, providing a rise in the cultural and technical level of rural workers. The planned distribution of productive forces has led to the elimination of the former gap between agrarian and industrial areas. In areas that were previously purely agrarian, large-scale industry has been created, which in turn accelerates the cultural and technical growth of the countryside. The relationship between the city and the countryside has radically changed, since, unlike bourgeois society, where the city exploits the countryside, in Soviet society the city provides the countryside with all-round assistance in its technical, economic and cultural development. As a result, the Soviet countryside in terms of production technique and cultural level is increasingly approaching the level of a socialist city.

Based on the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture, it was an unprecedented increase in production has been achieved. This was not the usual development of the country from backwardness to progress; it was a leap with the help of which the country turned from backward and agrarian to advanced and industrial.

The victory of the socialist economy in town and country was accompanied by the development of trade, which became an integral part of the socialist economic system. State, cooperative and collective farm trade was created - trade without capitalists, without speculators. The development of socialism proceeded not along the line of the abolition of trade

and money, but along the line of the development of Soviet trade and the strengthening of monetary systems.

As a result of the socialist industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of rural economy and the development of Soviet trade, the exploiting classes were eliminated; the reasons giving rise to the exploitation of man by man were eliminated. Socialism in the USSR has won a complete victory over capitalism. Implementing the policy of socialist construction, the party broke the fierce resistance of the capitalist elements and their Trotskyite-Bukharin henchmen, who, having turned into agents of the fascist states, tried in every possible way to harm socialist construction, disrupt the collectivisation and industrialisation of the country, undermine the defensive capacity of the Soviet state and make it unarmed in the face of enemies. ...

As a result of the elimination of private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of public socialist property both in the city and in the countryside, a solid economic foundation of Soviet society has been created in the form of a socialist system of the national economy. The contradiction inherent in capitalism has been eliminated by the social nature of production and the private capitalist form appropriation, since under socialism the social nature of the production process supported by public ownership of the means of production. A systematically developing socialist economy is free from such incurable ulcers of capitalism, as economic crises, unemployment and poverty of the millions, parasitism and parasitism of the exploiting classes, destructive capitalist competition, anarchy of production, excluding the possibility of rational use of the productive forces of society.

The socialist economy has revealed unprecedented sources for the accelerated rates of economic development—socialist accumulation, economic calculation, economy mode, growth of social labour productivity. In connection with the elimination

of unemployment in the city and the elimination of poverty in the countryside, which in bourgeois society they say it is a spontaneous reserve of replenishment of the labour force, in socialist society new sources have been discovered to satisfy the growing the needs of industry in manpower: the training of qualified workers through the system of labour reserves was organised, the practice of organised recruitment of labour was introduced through contracts of industrial enterprises with collective farms and collective farmers.

With the victory of the socialist ownership of the means of production, people's attitude to work changed radically, for the working people of the USSR do not work for the exploiters, not for the enrichment of parasites, but for themselves, for their class, to their socialist society. Labour from the shameful burden that he was under capitalism, has become an honourable public cause. He became a matter of honour, a matter glory, a deed of valour and heroism. In Soviet society, the basic principle of socialism was implemented 'from each according to his ability, according to his work.' The meaning of this principle is that it creates a personal material interest employee in his work, provides the best combination of personal and social interests and is a powerful stimulus for increasing labour productivity, growth productive forces. On the basis of comradely cooperation and socialist mutual assistance of free from exploitation labourers, the greatest the movement of modernity is a socialist competition that opened up a wide scope for innovators in production, breaking old technical norms and creating and applying new methods of increasing labour productivity. Socialist competition results in the encouragement of the foremost workers and the lagging behind.

In Soviet society, the class foundations of the age-old opposition between mental and physical labour were eliminated, when mental labour was monopolised by the ruling

classes and their educated servants, and physical labour was viewed as a low and unworthy occupation and was considered the lot of slaves, serfs and proletarians. In Soviet society, the place of every worker in society is determined not by origin, not by class position, but by its labour, his cultural and technical background. Every worker received opportunities to improve his qualifications. The Soviet intelligentsia has been formed and is being replenished from workers and peasants. She is a truly popular intelligentsia. Thus, the age-old barrier to the labour market was eliminated by mental workers and manual workers, and an accelerated rapprochement between them occurs not by cultural and technical equalisation of mental and manual workers, but by raising the level of workers to the level of workers in engineering and technical labour, on the basis of the development of modern technology by the masses of workers, enhancing their technical education and general culture. The advanced workers and peasants, who have mastered modern technology, in their cultural level approach the intellectual workers.

The class structure has radically changed on the basis of the victory of socialism of Soviet society. For the first time in history, a society has been created, consisting of friendly classes of workers and peasants, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, whose union supported by their collaboration with the intelligentsia. After the elimination of the fundamental difference between the working class and the peasantry in their attitude to the main means of production, as a result of the transformation of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry into collective farm peasantry, the remnants of the former contradictions between these classes are erased. The vestiges of private ownership are being overcome among the peasantry, which is more and more imbued with the consciousness of the interests of the whole people. The USSR has achieved complete moral and political unity of the entire Soviet people.

In the struggle for the victory of socialism, the socialist state was strengthened and developed, its social base expanded immeasurably. The construction of a socialist society turned out to be possible not by the weakening and withering away of the state, but by its all-round strengthening. After the victory of the October Revolution, the most important tasks of the Soviet state were to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes and to defend the Soviet country from the furious attacks of foreign imperialists. Restoring industry and agriculture, creating a socialist economy, involving the broad masses of the working peasantry in the construction of socialism, the Soviet state carried out the suppression of the resistance of the class enemy within the country. After the elimination of the capitalist elements of town and country, the organs of suppression turned their spearheads not inside the country, but outside it, against external enemies. The Communist Party and the Soviet state, reckoning with the danger of a military attack on our country, tirelessly strengthened the country's armed forces, equipping the army with modern military equipment. Within the country, the main task of the Soviet state was economic, organisational and cultural and educational work. To carry out the tasks of planning, control and accounting in the entire national economy, to organise the coordinated work of the growing industry, transport, agriculture, to ensure the protection of public property and public order, a harmonious, ramified state apparatus was created.

As the Soviet state strengthened, the Soviet democracy. The most important step on this path was the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR, the most democratic in the world. The Constitution was a legislative consolidation of the fact that socialism in the USSR won, that the socialist system economy and socialist ownership of instruments and means of production constitute the economic basis of the Soviet state. The restriction has been cancelled the suffrage, which existed

during the struggle for the elimination of the exploiting classes, and introduced universal equal direct suffrage by secret ballot. The Constitution enshrines the rights and democratic freedoms of workers won by the revolution: the right to work, to rest, to education, to material provision in old age, freedom of speech, press, assembly, rallies, the right of association in public organisations, personal inviolability, freedom of conscience. The Soviet Constitution is not limited to the formal proclamation of the rights of citizens, but shifts the centre of gravity to the means of exercising these rights. This is manifested the socialist character of Soviet democracy.

Soviet democracy is the highest form of democracy. It ensured the equal emancipation of all workers from exploitation, the equal abolition for all of private ownership of the means of production, the equal obligation for all to work according to their abilities and the equal right of all working people to receive for it according to their work.

Soviet democracy is manifested in the active and conscious participation of citizens in social and political life, in all areas of economic and cultural development, in the development of socialist emulation, in the activities of Soviets of Working People's Deputies, party, trade union, Komsomol and other public organisations.

In the struggle to establish the socialist foundations of life against the remnants of capitalism, the Communist Party uses the tried and tested method of criticism and self-criticism in every possible way. The Party proceeds from the premise that the struggle between the old and the new, between the withering away and the nascent, constitutes the basis of our development. Criticism and self-criticism were the surest and most acute weapon in the struggle against backwardness and stagnation in the field of economic and cultural development, against elements of bureaucracy in the state apparatus, against

bureaucratic methods of leadership, against the remnants of capitalism in the minds of people and in everyday life.

The greatest achievement of Soviet democracy is the resolution of the national question in the USSR. The Soviet government proclaimed and implemented in practice the principle of equality of all nations and nationalities. Soviet power created a strong centralised multinational state, while ensuring all-round development of economic, political and cultural life of all peoples of the USSR. Previously backward economically and culturally backward peoples created and developed their own industry and advanced agriculture, rich national culture, their national statehood. On the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist nationality policy of the Soviet state, the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR was formed and strengthened. The Russian people, with their disinterested fraternal help to the previously oppressed nations has earned the respect and trust of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and rightfully occupies a leading position in the family of the peoples of the USSR. A major achievement of the Soviet Union was the reunification of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Moldavian peoples in the unified Soviet republics, the reunification of the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia with all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

For the first time in history, the Soviet system emancipated a woman. Soviet power is not only proclaimed the equality of women, but also provided them with real opportunities to take a worthy place in all areas of social, political and cultural life and ensured equal pay with men for equal work. Soviet authority created all the conditions for the fruitful work of women in the national economy, in the state apparatus, in cultural institutions by improving the production skills, cultural and political level of women. Numerous cadres of engineering and technical workers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, etc. have grown from among women.

The Soviet system ensured a steady rise in material well-being the millions of working people in town and country. Eliminating unemployment and poverty in town and country; continuous growth in the number of workers pi employees; annual an increase in the national income; systematic increase in average annual wages; the settlement of the entire strength of the former exploiting classes by working people and extensive new housing construction; an increase, on the basis of a growing social economy, of the cash and in-kind incomes of collective farms and collective farmers; rapid growth in turnover; the development of Soviet health care—all this led to a radical improvement in the living standards of the working people.

A profound cultural revolution unfolded in the USSR. In the shortest possible time, the illiteracy of the population, inherited from the tsarist regime, was eliminated; universal compulsory primary education was carried out. The most important result of the cultural revolution in the USSR was the creation of its own Soviet intelligentsia, from among the workers and peasants many thousands of engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, scientists, literature and art grew up.

Worldwide supporting and encouraging the development of Soviet science, literature and art, the Soviet state achieved a genuine flourishing of an advanced culture, national in form and socialist in content, and introduced the broad masses of the people to culture; people from the people became creators of high cultural values. In contrast to modern bourgeois culture, the main principle of which is the praise of the bestial customs and mores of capitalism, chauvinism and racial hatred, the justification of social inequality, the exploitation of man by man, Soviet culture is based on the principle of irreconcilable struggle against all kinds of oppression and bestial morals of the exploiters, the struggle for relationships worthy of man,

with people— relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, on the principle of equality and friendship of peoples.

As a result of the educational work of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the victory of socialism in the USSR, major successes were achieved in overcoming bourgeois and petty-bourgeois vestiges in the minds of people, the socialist consciousness of the working people grew, and Soviet patriotism was strengthened. The Soviet people broke the chains of not only material, but also spiritual dependence of the country on the bourgeois West. The former interethnic strife, national exclusivity and distrust of other nationalities have been successfully overcome. Scientific views of the world have become widespread, and superstitions and religious prejudices are being gradually overcome.

The achievements of Soviet society in all areas of state, economic and cultural development were tested in the fire of the Great Patriotic War. The victory of the Soviet people in the struggle against the fascist aggressors showed that the socialism built in the USSR gave our people invincible strength, that the Soviet system turned out to be not only the best form of organising the country's economic and cultural advancement during the years of peaceful construction, but also the best form of mobilising all the forces of the people to repulse the enemy in wartime. Soviet military science, developed by Comrade Stalin, overturned the military doctrines of enemy states. The Great Patriotic War showed the increased power of the Soviet state, the ardent patriotism of the Soviet people, its solidarity around the Communist Party, and its exceptional devotion to the Soviet homeland and the Soviet government.

As a result of thirty years of development, the Soviet state grew into a gigantic strength; it disposes of a powerful socialist economy, is the organiser of the country's economic life and

the sovereign manager of all the material wealth of socialist society. The indestructible fortress of the Soviet state is based on the fact that it rests on the complete moral and political unity of the people, on the friendly cooperation of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, on the fraternal community of the peoples of the USSR. In socialist society, the unity of the state and the people, impossible under the conditions of the exploiting system, has been achieved. The Soviet state is the expression of the strength, will and reason of the people. With the elimination of the exploiting classes, the victory of socialism and the establishment of complete moral and political unity of the entire people, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its great historical mission. The Soviet state has become a truly nation-wide state.

The Soviet people achieved all their victories and achievements under the leadership of the Communist Party. She inspired him to great socialist transformations; her policy is the lifeblood of the Soviet system.

During the years of Soviet power, the CPSU (B) immeasurably strengthened its ties with the masses, became akin to the people and grew into a multimillion-strong organisation. The CPSU (B) represents the leading core of all organisations of workers, both public and state. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the Soviet people. She is the spokesman for the national interests of the Soviet Union, the leading and organising force of the Soviet state, ensuring its unity, growth and strengthening.

The Communist Party is the ideological leader and political educator of the Soviet people. The outlook of the Communist Party has become the outlook and banner of the entire Soviet people.

The Communist Party, having ensured the building of socialism, inspires, unites and directs the efforts of the Soviet people, the activities of all organisations of the Soviet Union

towards a single goal - the complete victory of communism in our country.

IV. THE MAIN TASKS OF CPSU (B) FOR CONSTRUCTION COMMUNIST SOCIETY

The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) aims to build a communist society in the USSR within the next 20-30 years.

Communism is such a society:

a) where, based on the growth of production, it has been achieved an abundance of products and the equal obligation of all to work according to their abilities prevails and the equal right of all working people to receive for this according to their needs, and all workers of society are people leading a completely prosperous and cultural life;

b) where the entire national economy is based on public ownership of the means of production, is equipped with highly developed technology and is managed according to a single

plan; c) where there are no classes and class differences, and all workers in industry, agriculture and other branches of social activity are workers of a single classless society; d) where, on the basis of a tremendous increase in the technical base of agriculture and the raising of the cultural level of the countryside to the level of an advanced city, the opposition between town and country has been eliminated; e) where, on the basis of the growth of qualifications, professional skills and the cultural level of workers in industry and agriculture, the opposition between physical and mental labour; f) where all the conditions have been created to satisfy discontinuously growing material and spiritual needs of people and all-round development of their abilities and talents.

The transition from socialism to communism can be carried out only through a series of transitional stages, in the order of the further development of the material foundations and social relations of socialist society. Only the full and all-round implementation of the socialist principle of the equal obligation of all to work according to their own the ability and the equal right of all working people to receive for it according to their labour will allow for a gradual transition to the communist principle of receiving products for labour according to needs. Only the all-round strengthening and development of the socialist state as the main instrument for building a communist society ensures a gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Fulfilment of the world historic task of building a communist society requires a powerful development of the material and technical base of socialism, the high growth rates of production, the full use of reserves, an increase in labour productivity and all material resources, the selfless creative labour of Soviet people.

To build a communist society, the CPSU(B) sets the following main tasks:

In the Field of Economy

1. On the basis of the further rapid development of the country's productive forces in the next 15-20 years, to solve the main economic task of the USSR, that is, to surpass the level of production per capita in the main capitalist countries, including number in the United States. To this end, to significantly increase the production capacity of the socialist economy and, above all, heavy industry (the production of cast iron, steel, coal, oil, non-ferrous metals, peat, gas, chemical industry, mechanical engineering) as the basis of the economy, with the leading role of mechanical engineering. This will

require in the next three or four five years to triple the volume of industrial production and bring the annual smelting of pig iron to 50 million tonnes, steel—up to 60 million tonnes, coal mining—up to 500 million tonnes, oil—up to 60 million tonnes.

The solution to the main economic problem will create that abundance of products that necessary for the transition to communism, will further strengthen the economic independence of the USSR, ensure a further increase in its defence capacity and guarantee the Soviet country from any accidents associated with the presence of a capitalist encirclement.

2. To carry out the electrification of the whole country according to a single plan with the widespread use of hydropower, peat, shale, coal, wind, gas and other sources of energy. Connect large power plants with a single network of high-voltage transmissions with branches in each district. To expand the extensive construction of small power plants using local energy resources. The electrification of the country will make it possible: to gradually transfer the entire industry, transport and a number of branches of agricultural production to a higher technical basis; to develop the technique of communism, which is an automatic system of machines on an electrical basis; to bring industry as close as possible to the sources of raw materials and to locate all social production in the most rational way. Communism, according to Lenin's teachings, is Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country.

3. To ensure continuous technical progress, the all-round development of invention and rationalisation in all sectors of the national economy and to surpass the achievements of foreign science in the shortest possible time. To widely

introduce into production the latest discoveries of science and advanced technical methods that increase labour productivity and multiply social wealth: the use of automatic production lines and modular machine tools, telemechanics, jet technology, radar, and especially discoveries related to the industrial use of intra-atomic energy.

4. To develop widely the chemical industry: gasification and energy-chemical use of solid fuels; production of artificial liquid fuels, synthetic rubber and plastics; chemicalisation of agriculture.

5. Complete all-round and comprehensive mechanisation of labour, first of all in the most labour-intensive industries and industries with heavy physical work. With the electrification of the country and the saturation of the national economy with first-class technology, to introduce in all branches of industry an automatic system of machines on an electrical basis, which opens up broad prospects for the growth of labour productivity, eliminates unskilled labour and serves as a material basis for the gradual elimination of the opposition between physical and mental labour.

6. To develop on a large scale industries producing consumer goods. Now that a powerful socialist industry has been created and the basis is a heavy industry developing at an accelerated pace, the CPSU (B) considers possible and necessary, while maintaining the leading role of industries producing funds production, to dramatically increase the volume and increase the share in the national economy industries producing consumer goods.

7. On the basis of extensive development and technical reconstruction of railway, water, road, air transport and the

correct combination of its individual types—to create a single integrated highly developed transport system of the USSR, linking all economic regions and centres, urban and rural settlements by high-speed transport. To expand road construction on a wide scale, to link the main economic regions of the country with an extensive network of improved roads and waterways. To create powerful telephone, telegraph and radio communications on the latest technical basis.

8. To ensure the all-round development of socialist agriculture (state farms, collective farms, machine and tractor stations) on such a scale that will make it possible in the shortest possible time to create an abundance of food products in the country, to have a powerful raw material base for the socialist industry and constant reserves of raw materials and food in the hands of the socialist state. For these purposes, it is necessary to saturate the agricultural production of first-class machine technology, widely expand the training of machine operators, gradually transform machine and tractor stations, as the main lever for transferring all agriculture to a higher technical base, into powerful industrial enterprises covering all aspects of agricultural production (field cultivation, animal husbandry, horticulture, horticulture, building). On the basis of all-round and comprehensive mechanisation of agriculture and the improvement of the production and technical qualifications of rural workers, complete the transformation of agricultural labour into a kind of industrial labour. The energy base for the mechanisation of agriculture, along with its tractors and combines, should gradually become the widespread electrification of agriculture.

9. To carry out, according to a single plan, the construction of an extensive network of canals and reservoirs, irrigation of arid regions of the Volga region, the Centre and other regions

of the country, reclamation and drainage of swampy soils. Complete the restructuring of agricultural-industrial production on the basis of scientific agronomy. Through the widespread introduction of correct crop rotations, the widespread use of organic and mineral fertilisation, breeding and introduction of high-yielding varieties of agricultural crops and highly productive breeds of livestock to ensure a continuous increase in crop yields and herd productivity, eliminating the dependence of agriculture on the randomness of nature.

10. To strengthen in every way the collective farm system of the USSR, which has proved its vitality and its great potential for the continuous growth of social wealth and the remaking of the consciousness of the peasantry in the socialist spirit. On the basis of the latest MTS technology, full and highly productive use of the production, land, and labour resources of the cooperatives, further organisational and economic strengthening, bringing all collective farms to the level of advanced ones - to transform all collective farms into diversified and rich farms capable of fully satisfying the needs of the state, collective farms and collective farmers in agricultural products.

11. To carry out a radical transformation of the cultural and living conditions of the Soviet villages by rebuilding dwellings taking into account modern architecture and communal technology, building power plants, schools, childcare facilities, clubs, cinemas, public canteens, laundries, linking agricultural centres with large urban centres with modern transport. Based on mechanisation and electrification of agriculture, linking industry and agriculture within the whole economic region into a single economic complex, on the basis of housing and communal improvement of villages, as well as the further deployment of the cultural revolution in the coming decades to

complete the elimination of the opposition between town and country.

12. To ensure the most rational distribution of the country's productive forces, bringing industry closer to the sources of raw materials and the elimination of irrational and excessively long distance transportation; widespread deployment of geological exploration work in order to maximize the use of the natural resources of the USSR for the economy of communism under construction; all-round development of the main economic regions, the republican economy, local industry and industrial cooperation; further growth of the industry in the East, especially in the regions of Siberia and the Far East.

13. Consistently and persistently introduce and develop socialist principles of wages based on the quantity and quality of labour; to resolutely eradicate all remnants of petty-bourgeois egalitarianism and depersonalisation; to improve the system of piece-rate progressive wages and bonuses to engineering and economic workers for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans, to widely introduce and develop additional wages for collective farmers for high labour indicators in the public economy; to use the principle of personal material interest, material and moral encouragement of workers for dedication and achievements in labour as a powerful factor in the further development of socialist production.

14. In every way to cultivate and encourage the communist attitude to work as a matter of honour, glory, valour and heroism. To develop socialist emulation as the main method of building communism, as a powerful means of increasing labour productivity and mobilising internal reserves, pulling up

lagging workers and collective farmers, enterprises and collective farms to the level of advanced, asa tried and tested method of fast forward movement in all sectors of the national economy.

15. As technical progress and the elimination of unskilled, heavy muscular labour, to steadily improve the production skills of all workers of mass trades in town and country through the system of technical schools, schools for factory training, state labour reserves and industrial training. Continuously improve existing and develop new professions that require a combination of high professional skills with broad technical and socio-political knowledge. Thus, to raise the cultural and technical level of workers and peasants to the level of workers in engineering, technical and agronomic labour, consistently overcoming the opposition between physical and mental labour.

16. On the basis of all-round mechanisation of labour and full utilisation of the worker day in all sectors of the economy to achieve the level of productivity of social labour inaccessible to the most developed capitalist countries. With the growth of labour productivity and an increase in social wealth, make the transition to shortened working day: as a first step—to a seven-hour day, and then to a six-hour working day.

17. Protect and augment the state (national) and collective-farm-cooperative forms of ownership, strengthening and developing the leading and guiding role in the entire national economy of the national form of ownership as an economic foundations of communism. With the completion of the electrification of the entire country, the transformation of agricultural labour into a kind of industrial, and agricultural artels into comprehensively developed and rich farms -

agricultural, like other branches of cooperative production and exchange, due to their socialist maturity differ from the national form of ownership; differences between the two forms of socialist property will be gradually erased; the two forms of socialist property will merge into a single form of communist property. On this basis, along with the elimination of the opposition between town and country, between physical and mental labour, the distinctions and boundaries between classes will gradually disappear and disappear, and Soviet society will turn into a classless communist society.

18. With the development of the material and technical base of communism, the achievement of high labour productivity, the creation of an abundance of consumer goods and the growth of the communist consciousness of the entire mass of workers, to organise a gradual transition from the distribution of products according to labour to the distribution of products according to needs, with the general obligation to work for the good of society according to your abilities. The transition to the communist principle of distribution should be carried out gradually, to the extent of real economic opportunities. The steady growth of the real wages of workers and employees and the payment for the workday of collective farmers, as labour productivity increases, as well as the policy of systematic reduction prices for consumer goods should become the most important levers for the transition to the communist principle of distribution.

First of all, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) aims to ensure the distribution of basic food items (bread, meat, sugar, vegetables, fats) according to needs, then— industrial essential goods and mass demand, in order to move gradually to the distribution according to needs of all commodities.

By preserving personal ownership of consumer goods and household items, communism provides more and more

complete and multifaceted satisfaction of the continuously growing diverse personal needs of members of society, and the growth of needs, in turn, is the driving force behind the growth of production.

19. Strengthen and develop planned methods of conducting the national economy, correctly and flexibly combining strict state centralisation with production initiative and initiative of the broad masses of the working people of the city and countryside, which is a reliable means of eradicating bureaucratic perversions, inertia and housekeeping routines. To steadily enhance the role and importance of economic calculation, state budget money, credit, price, profit, The Soviet trade as the most important economic levers for the transformation of socialist society into the communist. Strengthen and develop the monopoly of foreign trade with a whole further strengthening the country's economic independence and expanding trade relations with foreign countries, especially with the countries of the new democracy.

To develop state and cooperative trade in town and country, encouraging competition between these two types of Soviet trade for the most perfect and cultural service to the various needs of the consumer. Strengthen the monetary system by making the Soviet ruble the hardest currency in the world.

20. To create a powerful variety of material state reserves and insurance funds, guaranteeing society in the event of natural disasters, foreign policy complications and other unforeseen circumstances and ensuring the planned and accelerated development of the economy of Soviet society.

In the Field of Culture and Everyday Life of Workers

1. On the basis of a steady increase in the level of material well-being of the people, the deployment of the entire system of cultural and educational work, the expansion of the network of educational institutions, industrial training, broad development of the printed word, cinema, radio, literature, art to make all workers and all peasants cultured and educated people.

2. To expand extensive school construction and the training of pedagogical personnel in order to introduce universally compulsory seven-year education for children, and in further gradually implement universal compulsory education for children and youth in the volume of a complete secondary school, both in the city and in the countryside. Provide schools with high quality textbooks, the latest teaching equipment and visual aids.

In accordance with the needs of the national economy, develop a network of industrial (craft), agricultural, transport schools, providing training they have workers with a qualified profession and broad general educational training.

Expand the network and contingents of university students in order to satisfy fully the growing needs of the national economy and cultural development in qualified specialists in all branches of knowledge.

3. To expand on a large scale the construction of research institutes and systematic training of personnel in all fields of science and technology. Make full use of the latest discoveries and achievements of science and technology in all areas of national economy in order to surpass the achievements of science in the near future outside the USSR. Provide supply for research institutes and higher educational institutions with the most advanced laboratory equipment.

4. To promote the full flowering of Soviet literature and art, the creation of highly artistic works reflecting the greatness of the Soviet era, the heroism and noble traits of Soviet people, to enhance the role of Soviet literature and art in the communist education of workers.

5. To create a powerful film industry, to dramatically increase the production of films, providing permanent service of films to all settlements of the country.

6. To create a powerful industry for the production of radio equipment, to provide radio equipment in every house, both in the city and in the countryside, and to develop television in every possible way.

7. To establish on a large scale the production of printing equipment, to expand the construction of printing houses, to develop the paper industry and printing business in order to meet all the needs of the population for newspapers, magazines and books.

8. To carry out systematically the extensive construction of clubs, houses of culture, theatres, museums, libraries, reading rooms for the most versatile satisfaction of all the spiritual needs of the people.

9. While maintaining the inviolability of freedom of conscience, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) considers it its duty systematically and patiently, not allowing any administration, offending and infringing on the feelings of believers, to achieve the liberation of workers from religious prejudices, through a wide and systematic propaganda of the scientific materialist worldview.

10. To fundamentally solve the housing problem, which is the most important national economic importance and affects the most vital interests of the working people. Create a powerful housing industry. By wide the deployment of new housing construction in cities, state and collective farms, encouragement and material support for cooperative and individual housing construction, to provide every family, both in the city and in the countryside, with comfortable housing. Provide all houses with electricity and widely develop servicing the everyday needs of workers by all means of the latest communal equipment: sewerage, water supply, gas, heating, etc. Widely introduce various electrical appliances into everyday life, which will facilitate domestic work and help bring the living conditions of the city and village closer together. Systematically carry out the reconstruction of cities, their greening, watering and architectural design. Limit the further growth of the largest cities in the USSR by stopping the construction of new industrial enterprises in these cities.

11. To provide Soviet women with favourable working and living conditions, both for fulfilment of her social and production duties, and for motherhood, expanding the construction of public canteens, mechanised laundries, and children's institutions on a large scale.

12. Strengthen the Soviet family and educate Soviet people in the spirit of high moral principles in the field of family relations.

13. In order to educate a physically healthy and vigorous generation of builders of communism, defenders of the Motherland, to widely develop all kinds of sports, the construction of stadiums, water stations, playgrounds, gymnasiums and other sports facilities, providing general physical training for the citizens of the USSR.

14. To carry out a wide system of measures for the protection of public health: the elimination of occupational diseases and the complete improvement of labour in production, the further deployment of a network of hospitals, outpatient clinics, maternity hospitals, rest homes and sanatoriums, the provision of qualified medical care for the entire population, the complete elimination of social diseases and conditions, giving rise to various diseases.

15. Provide material prosperity for large families, the elderly, war invalids and disabled workers, surrounding them with attention and care.

In the Political Field

1. The All-round strengthening and further development of the Soviet socialist state as the main lever of successful communist construction, as the main transforming force capable of ensuring the implementation of a gradual transition from socialism to communism, is considered the decisive condition for building communism.

2. To strengthen and develop in every way the economic, organisational and cultural and educational role of the Soviet state, which, in the interests of increasing social wealth, raising the welfare and cultural level of the working people, is called upon to improve the planning of the entire national economy, ensure steady technical progress, strengthen the leadership of socialist agriculture, and develop the consciousness of the people national interests as the highest law of life in Soviet society.

3. To consistently develop Soviet democracy as the highest form of democracy. On the basis of involving the broad masses of the people in the direct management of the state, to raise even higher the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies as organs of people's power, responsible to the people, as guides and carriers of national interests, as the focus of the social and political activity of Soviet citizens.

4. Constantly improve the state apparatus, improve its work, seeking to improve his business skills and political preparedness personnel so that all employees of the apparatus deeply understand the duties and deliberately pursued the policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet states; ensure the strictest discipline at all levels of the state apparatus, the eradication of all manifestations of bureaucracy and inattention to the needs of the masses.

5. Encourage and develop criticism and self-criticism of all shortcomings in the activity state institutions, public organisations and individuals as a powerful driving force of Soviet society, as a sharp weapon against stagnation, inertia and backwardness, as a reliable means of overcoming contradictions in the development of Soviet society.

6. To raise the role and importance of voluntary public organisations (industrial, scientific, cultural, sports, etc.) designed to develop the communist consciousness, initiative and creativity of Soviet people in the most diverse areas of social, political and cultural life.

7. Consistently carry out the further development of the economy and culture of the Soviet Union republics and autonomous regions; completely complete the transformation of the formerly backward national borderlands into advanced and cultural republics and autonomous regions. To expand the

rights and functions of the Union republics, the sphere of their activities in the field of economics, finance, and culture, and at the same time to strengthen the centralised management of public affairs, to strengthen the unified Soviet Union state in every way.

8. To develop the culture of all the peoples of the Soviet country, national in form and socialist in content; to strive to ensure that the best achievements of the national culture of each people, and above all of the great Russian culture, become the property of all the peoples of the USSR. With a view to further rapprochement of the peoples of the USSR, faster economic and cultural growth of the union and autonomous republics, improvement of personnel and the possibility of successful service by workers of various nationalities in the ranks of the Soviet Army - to ensure the study of the Russian language by broad masses of non-Russian nationalities.

9. Strengthen the Soviet Army in every possible way as a reliable guard of state interests of the Soviet Union, the security of the peoples of the Soviet country, and how durable the bulwark of state independence and security of all other peace-loving peoples; continuously equip the Soviet Army with the latest military equipment and increase her fighting and moral qualities, educating the entire personnel of the army in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, in the spirit of the conscious fulfilment of military duty and the personal responsibility of each soldier for the cause of defending the Motherland; to increase military and general political training of the officers of the Soviet Army, to develop Soviet military science, summarising the experience of the Great Patriotic War; develop broad and widespread training of the population in modern military art; develop the activities of all kinds of

military and sports organisations that help train personnel for the Soviet Army.

10. To strengthen the intelligence agencies of the Soviet state, capable of withstanding all sabotage, espionage and sabotage intrigues of the intelligence agencies of the bourgeois states.

11. In the field of foreign policy, unswervingly fight for lasting democratic peace and the security of peoples against all types of imperialist expansion and aggression; maintain good-neighbourly relations with other states based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of large and small countries; expand economic and business ties with all peace-loving countries; to strengthen and develop friendly ties with the countries of the new democracy; to cherish like the apple of an eye the friendship and fraternal cooperation of the Slavic peoples; systematically expose arsonists new wars, to rally the forces of democracy in the international arena for an organised rebuff to the intrigues of the reactionary imperialist circles of the bourgeois states.

12. Consistently carry out further democratisation and improvement of the Soviet judicial bodies, designed to protect state and public property, as well as the personal property of citizens, to monitor strict observance of state laws. Along with the harsh penalties in relation to the enemies of communism and their accomplices, in the Soviet court, conditional punishment, public censure, replacement of imprisonment with labour service, a system of educational measures in relation to persons who commit crimes not from the anti-state and anti-people motives, but due to the still unexplored old skills and irresponsibility.

To develop, along with the state judicial bodies, the organisation of public courts of honour in state institutions, in

enterprises, on collective farms in order to promote the education of citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, influence members of society committing anti-patriotic and anti-state offenses, violating the rules of communist society and communist labour discipline.

13. To enhance the role of trade unions as a school of communism, as the most massive organisations of the working class, providing communication between the CPSU (b) and the broad masses of workers and employees, designed to systematically educate workers in the spirit of communism, more and more widely involving them in the construction of communist economy and in every possible way helping to raise the cultural and technical level of workers to the level of workers in engineering and technical labour.

To develop in every possible way the activity of the trade unions for the further rise of socialist competition among workers, the production initiative and activity of workers, foremen, workers in engineering and technical labour, for strengthening labour discipline, achieving ever higher production standards, mastering new and newest technology by workers, securing cadres of specialists and workers for leading sectors of the national economy; to ensure broad promotion to managerial work in all sectors of social and state life of advanced workers who have shown examples of mastering new technology, high labour productivity, who are innovators of production.

Strengthen the work of trade unions to improve the material situation of workers and employees and the cultural and everyday level of their life and work, involving workers and employees to active participation in public control and verification of the work of canteens, rest homes, sanatoriums and other institutions serving material and cultural and everyday needs of the working masses.

Build the entire work of the trade unions on the basis of a broad deployment of trade union democracy, resolutely expelling from their activities all elements of bureaucracy, careless, inattentive and formal attitude to the needs and interests of the working people.

To strengthen the international ties of the Soviet trade unions with the trade union organisations of the working class of all countries.

14. To increase in every possible way the role and importance of the Komsomol as a mass organisation of youth, designed to help the Bolshevik Party to educate the young generation of the USSR in the spirit of communism, selfless devotion to the ideas of Leninism, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism. Strengthen the activities of the Komsomol to educate communist consciousness and communist morality among young people, to form a cheerful, self-confident, able to overcome the difficulties and obstacles of the younger generation of the Soviet people, who are historically destined to be an active builder of communism. To ensure the expansion of the ideological and organisational influence of the Komsomol on the entire youth of the city and village; to strengthen the ties of Soviet youth with democratic youth organisations throughout the world.

15. Conduct systematic work on the communist education of the Soviet people; to overcome to the end the remnants of capitalism in the minds of people; systematically expose bourgeois ideology; to wage a decisive struggle against all elements of nationalism and chauvinism; consistently introduce the ideology of equality and friendship of peoples into the consciousness of all members of Soviet society.

One of the most important tasks is to educate all citizens of the USSR of Soviet patriotism, a sense of the dignity of a

Soviet citizen, loyalty to the interests of the Soviet state, a sense of pride in the country of the Soviets, where socialism has won and a communist society is being built; educating citizens of the Soviet Union in the spirit of consciousness of the superiority of Soviet society and Soviet culture over bourgeois society and bourgeois culture, overcoming all vestiges of servility towards bourgeois culture.

16. Bearing in mind that during the transition from socialism to communism in a huge role of the Communist Party as the leading force of the Soviet people grows and the further strengthening of its inextricable ties with the masses for the victorious solution of the tasks of communist construction is acquiring special significance—tirelessly strengthen the organisational power of the party, raise the ideological level and political training of party members and candidates, educate the entire mass Communists in the spirit of Leninism, to raise the activity and vanguard role of communists in all areas of social and political life, economic and cultural development.

17. The CPSU (b), faithful to the principles of international solidarity of the working class, realising the vanguard role of the USSR in the progressive development of mankind, sets as its task to strengthen fraternal ties with the communist parties of all countries of the world, fighting against capitalist slavery for the triumph of true democracy, for the victory of socialism.

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IX. Resolution on the revision of the Party Programme of CPSU. [1]

"XIX съезд ВКП(б) - КПСС (5 - 14 октября 1952 г.). Документы и материалы "

19th Congress of the VKP(b) - CPSU (October 5 - 14, 1952). Documents and Materials

L.M. Kaganovich

Comrades! The Party Central Committee instructed me to submit to the Nineteenth Congress a proposal to revise our Party's program. At the 18th Congress, a commission was elected to change the program of the CPSU (b). As you know, the party has lost prominent comrades who were members of the commission - comrades Kalinin, Zhdanov, Shcherbakov, Yaroslavsky. The commission was deprived of the opportunity to fulfil the instructions given to it. The Great Patriotic War and work to eliminate the consequences of the war, a lot of work to restore the national economy prevented the commission from completing its work.

At the present time, after the 19th Party Congress, conditions will be more favourable for the accomplishment of this difficult task. We have been enriched by the experience gained during the years of the Great Patriotic War, in which our Soviet social and state system, our socialist economic system, and our valiant Soviet Army won. We have been enriched by the experience of post-war reconstruction and further development of the national economy.

[1] **Source: "**XIX съезд ВКП(б) — КПСС (5—14 октября 1952 г.). Документы и материалы "

19th Congress of the VKP(b) - CPSU (October 5 - 14, 1952). Documents and Materials

The present period of our Party's work is fundamentally different from the period of 1919, when our Party's program was adopted. Since the VIII Congress, when the current program was adopted, there have been fundamental changes in the field of international relations and in the field of building socialism in the USSR.

During the years separating us from the VIII Party Congress, our country has turned from a backward agrarian into a mighty industrial-collective farm socialist power. The existing multi-structured economy has been eliminated, and the socialist economic system and socialist

property in two of its forms - national and collective-farm - dominate. Our country has become unrecognizable. Socialism has been built in our country under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

Over the past thirty years, especially as a result of the historic victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War, the power and authority of the Soviet state has grown immeasurably. The results of the struggle and victories of our Party and the Soviet people, our achievements were

clearly shown in the reports and speeches at the 19th Party Congress. In connection with all these changes, a number of provisions of the program of our party and the tasks set out in it, since they have already been carried out during this period, no longer correspond to the current conditions and new tasks of the party. That is why it is imperative to revise the program of our party.

For more than thirty years after the adoption of the program, the party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, guided by creative Marxism-Leninism, moved the party theory forward, developed and enriched the theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin with new scientific discoveries. In his brilliant works, Comrade Stalin worked out all the most important programmatic questions: on the construction of socialism and communism in one country, on the two sides of the question of building socialism and communism in our country in a capitalist encirclement, on the socialist industrialization of the country, on the

collectivization of agriculture, on the socialist the state, about socialist nations, about the Marxist theory of linguistics and a number of other major theoretical and practical problems.

The revised program should embody everything new that our leader and teacher, the great Stalin, brought to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. (*Stormy applause.*) The new revised party program should generalize the world-historical experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the experience of building socialism in the USSR and determine further ways to fulfil the main task of the party - building a communist society through a gradual transition from socialism to communism.

For the revision of the program and determination of the further path of building communism, it is of decisive importance that by its 19th Congress our party had received a new classic work by Comrade Stalin, ″Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR.″ This brilliant work is a major event in the ideological and theoretical life of our party, all the peoples of the Soviet Union and all fraternal communist parties.

It is our great happiness that our party, our people, who are building communism, are constantly, incessantly enriched, arm themselves with the brilliant theoretical creativity of the great Stalin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause*.)

In ″Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR,″ Comrade Stalin posed and solved the main questions: about the nature of economic laws under socialism, about commodity production under socialism, about the law of value under socialism, about measures to raise collective farm property to the level of public property, about the basic economic laws of modern capitalism and socialism, the three basic preconditions for the transition from socialism to communism, the elimination of significant differences between town and country, between mental and physical labour, the collapse of the single world market and the deepening crisis of the world capitalist system, the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries. The historical significance of Comrade Stalin’s new work is determined

by the fact that the task of building socialism has been completed in the Soviet Union, and now the party faces new tasks of ensuring the gradual transition from socialism to communism. Comrade Stalin's new work provides a theoretical and practical solution to the most important problems confronting the Party in the new historical conditions. When revising the party program, it is necessary to be guided by the basic provisions of Comrade Stalin's work ″Economic

Problems of Socialism in the USSR.″ Comrade Stalin's brilliant work is of tremendous international significance. He illuminates the Soviet people, led by our party, with the searchlight of Stalin's genius on the way to further strengthening our state and to the fastest building of communism in our country. (*Applause*.)

Having revised the party program, guided by the basic provisions of Comrade Stalin's work ″Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR,″ our great party will lead the Soviet people even faster forward to the complete victory of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

I announce the following draft resolution of the 19th Congress on revising the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

The XIX Party Congress establishes that during the period since the VIII Party Congress (1919), when the existing party program was adopted, there have been fundamental changes both in the field of international relations and in the field of building socialism in the USSR, in connection with which a number of provisions of the program and the tasks of the party set forth in it, since they have already been accomplished during this period, no longer correspond to modern conditions and the new tasks of the party.

On this basis, the congress decides:

1. To consider it necessary and timely to revise the existing party program.

2. When revising the program, be guided by the main provisions of the work of Comrade Stalin ″Economic problems of socialism in the USSR.″

3. The implementation of the revision of the party program shall be entrusted to the Commission in the following composition: Comrade Stalin - Chairman of the Commission. (Stormy applause turning into a standing ovation). Members of the Commission: Beria, Kaganovich, Kuusinen, Malenkov, Molotov, Pospelov, Rumyantsev, Saburov, Chesnokov, Yudin.

4. The draft of the revised program of the party shall be submitted for consideration at the next congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (*Loud applause, everyone stands up*).

Organizational matters

The floor is presented to Comrade Andrianov. In view of this, he declares that the issue of revising the program is not new, that it has already been considered at the 18th Party Congress and is completely clear to the delegates of the Congress, on behalf of the Leningrad and Moscow delegations, I propose that the debate on this issue should not be opened and the draft resolution submitted by Comrade Kaganovich. (*Applause.*)

Comrade Andrianov′s proposal was accepted.

The resolution on the revision of the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was approved unanimously.

APPENDIX

RESOLUTION OF THE 18TH CONGRESS OF THE RCP(B), *March 21, 1939*

On the Commission for the Revision of the Program of the VKP(b)

(Adopted unanimously on March 21, 1939)

A. Considering that since the 8th Party Congress (1919), when the current Party Program was adopted, immense changes have occurred both in the field of the economy and in the class structure of the USSR, and the current Party Program no longer reflects the shifts that have taken place and completely fails to correspond to the new stage of development of the USSR—the period of completing the construction of socialist society and the gradual transition from a socialist society to a communist one—be it resolved that the revision of the Program of the VKP(b) is deemed necessary.

B. To establish a Commission to draft the new Party Program consisting of Comrades:

I. V. Stalin (Chairman)
A. A. Andreyev
L. P. Beria
K. E. Voroshilov
A. A. Zhdanov
M. I. Kalinin
L. M. Kaganovich
A. I. Mikoyan
V. M. Molotov
N. S. Khrushchev
N. M. Shvernik
M. F. Shkiryatov
Ye. M. Yaroslavsky

P. N. Pospelov
L. Z. Mekhlis
N. A. Bulganin
N. A. Voznesensky
A. Ya. Vyshinsky
G. M. Malenkov
P. A. Belov
P. F. Yudin
P. K. Ponomarenko
V. A. Donskoy
M. B. Mitin

C. To instruct the Commission to draft a project for the new Party Program and submit it for consideration at the next Party Congress.