

**N. S. KHRUSHCHOV**

**CONTROL FIGURES**  
**FOR THE**  
**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**  
**OF THE U.S.S.R.**  
**FOR 1959-1965**

*Report Delivered*  
*at the 21st Extraordinary Congress*  
*of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*  
*January 27, 1959*



N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

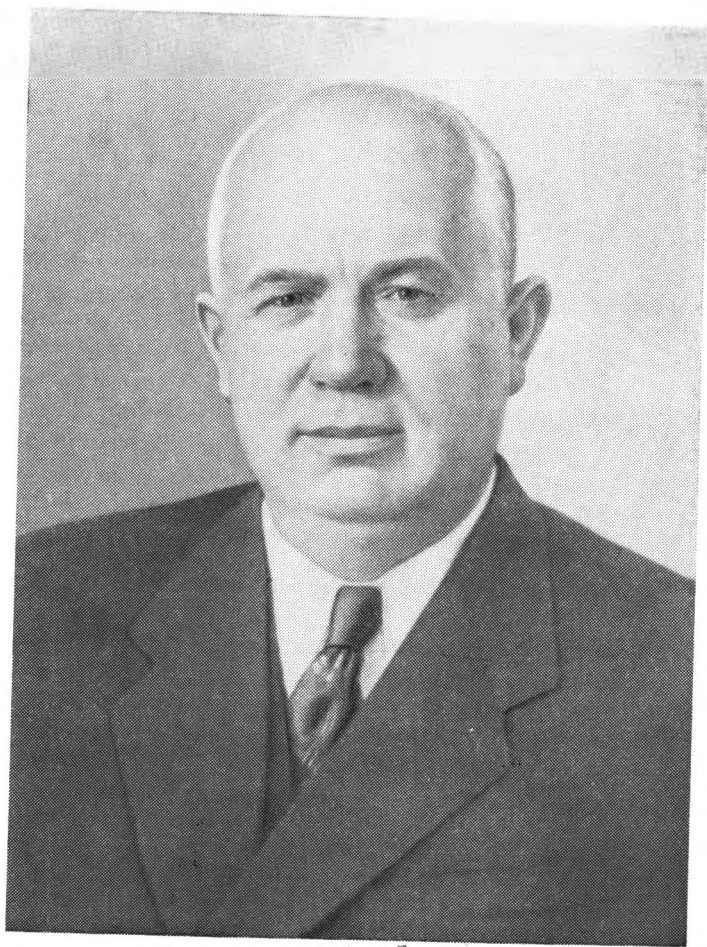
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Н. С. ХРУЩЁВ

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Comrades,

The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has assembled to examine the control figures for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965. Our Congress will study the programme of further communist construction in the Soviet Union, of a fresh upswing in the economy, culture, and living standard of the people. It is a great programme. It has no precedent in history for its magnitude. The September (1958) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee found it necessary to convene this extraordinary Congress to discuss the seven-year plan of economic development in view of its tremendous importance.

Three years have elapsed since the 20th Party Congress. In the course of these years our Soviet Motherland continued to advance confidently forward along Lenin's path to communism, strengthened its might still further, and in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and friendship among the peoples its international prestige rose to new heights. In acting upon the decisions of the 20th Party Congress and the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee, the Soviet people have scored outstanding successes in industry, agriculture, science and culture. The living standard in town and countryside has risen considerably.

This period showed the historic importance of the 20th Party Congress decisions both for the building of communism in the U.S.S.R. and the entire international communist

and working-class movement. The socialist world is now stronger, more united and indestructible than ever before. It is exerting a decisive influence on the entire course of world development. There is every reason to state that the socialist countries stand at the head of all progress. The imposing successes of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all the countries of the socialist camp show what can be accomplished by working people who have become complete masters of their life, their destiny.

The great revolutionizing force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism illuminating the road to peace, democracy and progress, to man's happy future, is embodied in the epoch-making gains of the socialist countries.

Comrades, we have at our Congress delegations from the Communist and Workers' Parties of 70 countries. Allow me, on behalf of our Congress, of the whole Party and of the entire Soviet people, to extend a hearty welcome to our dear guests, the leaders of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

## THE GREAT GAINS OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Comrades, soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed, V. I. Lenin wrote, substantiating the programme of our Party: "In launching out upon socialist reconstruction, we must set ourselves the goal to which it is, in the final analysis, directed, namely the creation of a communist society. . . ." (V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 27, p.103.)

This great goal of building communism in our country has always inspired the Soviet people to ever greater feats.

In carrying out the policy of industrializing the country and collectivizing agriculture our people have, under the leadership of the Party and its Central Committee, headed for many years by J. V. Stalin, effected deep-going changes. Surmounting all difficulties and breaking the resistance of the class enemies and their agents—Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists, bourgeois nationalists and others—our Party and the entire Soviet people have scored historic victories and established a new, socialist society. Backward in the past, our country has become a great industrial and collective-farm socialist power. At the moment, it is first in Europe and second in the world for industrial output.

Our economic plans are being successfully fulfilled year after year. Compared with 1913, gross industrial output has

grown 36-fold; output of means of production has increased 83-fold and of the engineering and metal-working industries, 240-fold.

The plan for 1958 has been successfully fulfilled in all branches of the national economy. Last year, industrial output increased by 10 per cent instead of the 7.6 per cent set down in the plan. The production plan has been fulfilled and overfulfilled by all the Union Republics and all the economic councils. Major successes have been achieved in agriculture. The over-all building and assembly plan and the housing development plan have been overfulfilled.

In 1958, the U.S.S.R. produced nearly 55 million tons of steel, 113 million tons of oil and 233,000 million kilowatt-hours of electric power. We now produce more steel and oil in a single month than Russia produced in the whole of 1913. Every three days as much electric power is generated as was generated in pre-revolutionary Russia in a year.

All of us are gladdened by so impressive an index of economic development as the growth of capital investments in the national economy. Post-war investments by the state in present-day prices totalled more than 1,600,000 million rubles. In 1958 alone, investments amounted to 235,000 million rubles, which is more than was invested in the entire first and second five-year plan periods.

Bourgeois economists and politicians have often augured that the Soviet Union would be compelled to slow down its economic development when it rehabilitates its national economy after the war. But their auguries have burst like soap bubbles. The Soviet economy continues to develop at a rapid pace.

The tremendous scale of industrial production and its high rates of growth have been reached through a broad use of the latest achievements of science and engineering. Steady technical progress in all spheres of the national economy is being ensured chiefly by the development of electrification and the engineering industry, especially ma-



chine-tool building and instrument making, radio electronics, electrical engineering and the building of machines providing for comprehensive mechanization and automation. More than 4,500 new types of machines and apparatus have been designed and placed in production in the last three years alone.

Labour productivity is rising continuously on the basis of technical progress and the nation-wide socialist emulation movement. In spite of the considerably shorter working day, labour productivity in industry was about 10 times higher last year than in 1913. Compared with 1940, productivity of labour per worker was last year 2.6 times higher in industry and 2.4 times higher in construction.

The reorganization of management in industry and construction was a major factor that accelerated economic development. The considerable advantages of the new form of industrial management became evident relatively soon after the establishment of the economic councils. Management of production became more efficient. Industrial output grew at a faster rate, better use was made of the potentialities of industry and of the country's natural resources, workers, technicians and engineers showed greater initiative and activity and socialist emulation proceeded on a bigger scale than before. Better opportunities were created for further developing specialization and co-operation. Within this time, the number of enterprises failing to fulfil the plan shrank by more than a third.

During the first year of work of the economic councils the increase in industrial output was 17,000 million rubles greater than in the preceding year. In 1957 and 1958, the targets set for greater labour productivity and lower production costs were exceeded. In the course of 1958, the saving yielded by the reduction in costs over and above the plan amounted to more than 10,000 million rubles. However, it must be noted that we still have factories that lag behind, that do not fulfil the plan assigned to them. We

must tirelessly continue to improve the management of industry, to reveal and eliminate shortcomings in the work of industry and to make fuller use of its potentialities.

Our country has made remarkable progress in socialist agriculture. Last December's Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U. summed up the results achieved in agriculture in the past five years, criticized the shortcomings and outlined the basic tasks of further increasing the output of farm produce. In effect, this plenary meeting was the Party's political report to the people on the fulfilment of measures aimed at effecting a steep rise in agriculture in the past five years.

You may recall that there were grave shortcomings and mistakes in the way agriculture was managed in the past. Many collective farms remained economically weak for years, output of agricultural produce made little headway and its level did not satisfy the country's growing need for food and agricultural raw materials. At that time our agriculture was in a critical state fraught with dangerous consequences which could have held up the Soviet Union's advance towards communism. At the plenary meeting held in September 1953, at subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee and at the 20th Congress, our Party sharply criticized the mistakes made in managing agriculture, cast off everything that hindered the development of the collective and state farms and outlined a programme for a steep rise in agricultural production.

The Party, the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia had to make a great effort to overcome the lag in agriculture and to ensure its further development. The Party started out on extensive organizational and political work among the masses. Many cardinal economic problems of the development of socialist agriculture were solved and the principle of affording all farmers a material incentive to raise agricultural output was restored. The collective and state farms were strengthened with specialists, machine operators and managers.

Hundreds of thousands of tractors and grain combines and millions of machines and implements of different kinds were sent to the countryside. In the past five years, state capital investments in agriculture totalled about 100,000 million rubles.

In response to the call of the Central Committee, the Soviet people developed tens of millions of hectares of new land. This was a heroic exploit. At the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, it was noted that in the past five years the virgin land development gave the country additionally thousands of millions of poods of grain and not only recovered all the money originally invested in the undertaking but, according to the Central Statistical Board and the Ministry of Finance, yielded a net income of more than 18,000 million rubles.

Successful implementation of the measures planned by the Party and approved and supported by the entire Soviet people made it possible to eliminate the lag in agriculture and to strengthen the collective and state farms within a short period, to reorganize the machine-and-tractor stations and to revise the system and conditions for the procurement of agricultural products.

As the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee pointed out, the steep rise in agriculture, planned and carried out by the Party, is of truly revolutionary importance and is bearing remarkable fruit. In 1958, the state procured 3,500 million poods of grain, or 1,600 million poods more than in 1953. In the last five-year period, the grain output has increased by an annual average of 39 per cent compared with the preceding five-year period. This, Comrades, is a great victory.

Substantial successes have also been achieved in the output of other crops, particularly sugar-beet and cotton. More than 54 million tons of sugar-beet were harvested in 1958, which is over 100 per cent more than in 1953. Last year, cotton-growers collected and sold to the state

4,400,000 tons of cotton. Never before has so much cotton been produced in our country.

The successes scored in socialized livestock-breeding are especially conspicuous. You know that the targets set by the January (1955) Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U. to raise the collective-farm milk yield to 1,700 kilograms per cow and milk procurements by 80 per cent in 1960 were exceeded in 1957, i.e., in three years instead of six. In 1958, the procurements of animal products showed the following increases over 1953: milk—more than 100 per cent; meat—56 per cent; and wool—60 per cent. The growth of social production and adjustment of the system of procurement prices has led to a considerable rise in collective-farm incomes.

Today, the Soviet Union has a powerful, versatile industry and transport and a highly-mechanized socialist agriculture. Our social wealth and the national income are growing continuously. Since the establishment of Soviet power, the national income has increased 15-fold per head of population.

The material welfare of the Soviet people is steadily rising on the basis of the general upsurge of socialist economy and the growth of labour productivity. In 1958, the real incomes of factory and office workers were almost double the 1940 figure, while the real income in agriculture per farmer increased by more than 100 per cent. Every year sees a larger sum of money allotted to satisfy the material and spiritual requirements of the people. The important measures the Party and the Government carried out in recent years, especially after the 20th Congress of our Party, to raise the material welfare of the Soviet people are known to all.

Comrades, the cultures of all the nations and nationalities in our country are thriving as never before. In the national economy there are now nearly seven and a half million specialists with college or special secondary school training, i.e., 39 times more than in 1913. The enrolment

at Soviet institutions of higher learning is approximately four times greater than in Britain, France, Western Germany and Italy taken together. Our institutions of higher learning are training nearly three times more engineers than the higher schools of the U.S.A. Soviet art and literature are playing an increasing role in educating the people in the communist spirit.

Unlimited possibilities have been opened in the Soviet Union for the creative development of science and engineering, for discoveries and inventions. Nearly 10 million inventions and improvements helping to develop engineering, reduce production costs and improve the labour conditions of millions of people have been introduced into the national economy between 1950 and 1958. In the past three years, these improvements yielded a saving of almost 24,000 million rubles.

Soviet scientists, designers and engineers have rendered their country great services and are making a worthy contribution to the nation-wide cause of building communism. The whole world is aware of the successes of Soviet science in nuclear physics and nuclear power, jet aviation and rocket engineering. Notable achievements have been made in solving the problem of using thermonuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The Soviet Union has started the serial production of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The successful launching of the world's first earth satellites in 1957 was an outstanding triumph of our scientists and our people and was a vivid demonstration of the high industrial and technical level achieved by the Soviet Union. The whole world enthusiastically hailed it as the beginning of a new era in the history of nature's subjugation by man, an era of conquering outer space. The momentous importance of this victory was that it showed the whole world the mighty creative power of the socialist system.

Early in the new year, the first year of the seven-year plan, Soviet scientists, designers, engineers and workers performed another exploit of world importance by success-

fully launching a multi-stage space rocket in the direction of the moon. Soviet people are filled with patriotic pride in their beloved Motherland, which is heading modern scientific and technical progress and blazing the trail into the future. All progressive mankind shares our joy over this great scientific feat. Now, in the face of irrefutable facts, even the enemies of socialism are forced to acknowledge this tremendous achievement of the cosmic age, this new triumph of the Soviet Union. (*Stormy applause.*)

The launching of the first Soviet earth satellites and of the Soviet space rocket, which became the first artificial planet of the solar system, makes up an epoch in the advance of scientific knowledge. It is an impressive event in the epoch of communist development. (*Applause.*)

We Soviet people cannot but rejoice in successes such as these. *The world's first earth satellite was the Soviet sputnik. The first artificial planet of the solar system was made in the Soviet Union.* (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) In the boundless expanses of the universe it is proudly carrying a pennant with the coat of arms of the Soviet Union and the inscription, "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. January, 1959." (*Applause.*)

Comrades, our Party, the entire Soviet people set great store by the fact that the launching of the multi-stage space rocket in the direction of the moon by a group of workers from research institutes, designing offices, factories and testing organizations was dedicated to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*) Allow me on your behalf, on behalf of the entire Party and the whole Soviet people, to convey from this lofty rostrum of the Congress our congratulations to the creators of the new interplanetary rocket on their great victory and to express to them profound gratitude and appreciation, and heartfelt wishes for their health and further creative successes to the glory of the Soviet Union, in the name of the triumph of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

We have achieved immense successes in developing the socialist economy and culture, in the struggle to improve the living conditions of the working people. These successes have been achieved because the building of communism has become the cherished goal of the entire people, of every politically-conscious Soviet citizen. The recent measures of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government ensuring a further economic advance have engendered a fresh political and labour effort of the masses and have further consolidated the alliance of the working class and the peasantry which is the solid basis of the Soviet state. They have led to a further strengthening of the fraternal friendship between the free, equal and independent peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is a multi-national state of working people, a voluntary union of socialist nations, is growing stronger with each passing year. The result of the consistent implementation of Lenin's national policy and of fraternal mutual aid is that the once economically and culturally backward national republics now have big modern industries, large-scale mechanized agriculture, a broad network of educational, scientific and cultural establishments and numerous highly-trained personnel. Lately, the rights of the Union Republics have been considerably extended. This marks a further development of Soviet democracy and enables each republic to promote its economy and culture at a still faster rate.

Comrades, the Communist Party has come to its 21st Congress monolithic and united as never before and full of creative energy. The domestic and international position of the Soviet Union has never been as stable as it is today. Engaged in constructive labour, the peoples of our country are carrying on a persevering and consistent struggle to preserve peace, to consolidate and expand friendly co-operation and mutual understanding among all countries. This struggle has the heart-felt approval and backing of

all peace-loving peoples. The Soviet Union, the invincible camp of socialism, which has everything necessary to bridle the forces of aggression, is a mighty bulwark of peace and international security.

We have made great progress in building communism and in the struggle for peace among peoples. But we remember Lenin's behest that we should never rest content with what has been achieved, that we must march forward towards fresh successes, fresh triumphs.



II  
PRINCIPAL TASKS  
OF THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN  
OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
IN THE U.S.S.R.

Comrades, under the leadership of the Party, the Soviet people have reached such summits and have carried out such far-reaching changes in all spheres of economic, public and political life that our country now has the opportunity of entering a new, important period of its development, *the period of extensive building of communist society.*

The principal tasks of this period are to establish the material and technical base of communism, to further strengthen the economic and defensive might of the U.S.S.R. and, at the same time, to provide for the fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of the people. The historic task of overtaking and surpassing the leading capitalist countries in per capita output must be carried out. Implementation of these tasks will require a time span that goes beyond the bounds of the seven-year plan.

The main directions in which the Soviet Union's productive forces will develop within the next 15 years were outlined at the Jubilee Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in November 1957. The seven-year plan is an important part of this long-term economic and cultural programme.

What are our principal tasks in the coming seven years?

*In the economic field*—all-round development of the productive forces and, on the basis of priority expansion of the heavy industry, the achievement of a level of production in all branches of economy which would enable us to take a decisive step towards the establishment of a material and technical base for communism and to ensure the Soviet Union's triumph in the peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries. The increase of the country's economic potential, the further technical progress in all economic spheres and the continuous growth of the productivity of social labour must bring about a substantial rise in the living standard.

*In the political field*—further consolidation of the Soviet socialist system, the unity and solidarity of the Soviet people, development of Soviet democracy, the activity and initiative of the broad masses in the building of communism, extension of the functions of public bodies in matters of state importance, increase in the organizational and educational role of the Party and the socialist state, and all-round consolidation of the alliance between the workers and the peasants and of the friendship of the peoples of our country.

*In the ideological field*—intensifying the ideological and educational work of the Party, raising the level of communist consciousness, particularly among the rising generation, instilling a communist approach to labour and developing the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, eliminating the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people, and combating bourgeois ideology.

*In international relations*—consistent pursuance of a foreign policy aimed at preserving and consolidating international peace and security on the basis of Lenin's principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems. It is necessary to put an end to the cold

war and to lessen international tension. Every effort must be made to strengthen the world socialist system and the community of fraternal peoples.

The fundamental problem of the coming seven years is to make the most of the time factor in socialism's peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

The programme of economic development is further striking evidence of the fact that in the coming seven years, as in all the preceding years, Soviet economy will develop along peaceful lines. We shall steadfastly continue to pursue Lenin's policy of peace.

\* \* \*

Comrades, the great vital force and invincibility of our Party lies in its indivisible ties with the masses. In past years the Party has systematically submitted all major problems of communist construction for nation-wide discussion.

A broad pre-Congress discussion of the economic development targets for 1959-1965 was conducted after the November Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. At factories, construction sites, collective and state farms, scientific and educational establishments and in the Army and Navy more than 968,000 meetings attended by over 70 million people were held to discuss these targets. All in all, 4,672,000 comrades spoke at these meetings, tabling criticisms, additions and suggestions. Moreover, central and local Party and government bodies, newspapers and magazines, and radio and TV broadcasting stations received more than 650,000 letters containing suggestions and criticisms on different aspects concerning the targets. Over 300,000 of them were published.

The control figures were discussed very actively and in a business-like manner at regional and territorial Party conferences and at congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics.

These meetings of working people, and the Party conferences and congresses showed that our Party, the entire Soviet people, have unanimously approved the control figures and have enthusiastically welcomed the seven-year plan as a grandiose programme of communist construction. (*Stormy applause.*) The people have voiced their determination to fulfil and surpass the targets of the seven-year plan. After a fine Soviet tradition, the preparations for the Party Congress and the nation-wide discussion of the control figures were accompanied by large-scale socialist emulation and by fulfilment of state plans and assignments ahead of schedule.

In my report I do not have the opportunity of examining in detail the numerous suggestions that were advanced during the discussion. All of them express the concern of the Soviet people for our country to continue developing its economy and culture and for the life of our people progressing from good to better. (*Applause.*)

Many of the suggestions raise important questions linked with our country's economic development. They touch upon the distribution of the productive forces, the best fields for capital investment in the various branches of the national economy, and other questions. The most valuable of these suggestions were broadly discussed at Party conferences and congresses and were found to merit serious attention. They are being taken into account in the economic plans of the republics and regions, while some of them will be incorporated in the country's seven-year plan.

Allow me to dwell on some of the suggestions advanced during the discussion of the theses.

As they examined their prospects for the coming seven years, the permanently functioning production conference of the Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works put forward a number of noteworthy suggestions concerning the draft plan for the development of their works.

The seven-year target provided for a 17 per cent increase of the Works' steel output, while the draft plan for

the extension of the rolled stock plant showed that it was possible to raise the output of steel by approximately 42 per cent. Thus, in the draft plan there was a disparity between the growth of steel and rolled stock production capacity.

The production conference suggested that the plan should provide for the building of a converter shop at the Kuznetsk Works, since that would enable it to make full use of the rolled stock output capacity and annually produce additional hundreds of thousands of tons of steel and rolled stock. It will be approximately three times cheaper and will take less time to build a converter shop, rather than an open-hearth shop of the same capacity.

This proposal, which is of great national-economic importance, was examined and accepted by the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. The Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works is to build a converter shop with an annual capacity of 1,200,000 tons of steel and a large oxygen station. As a result, in the coming seven years the Works' steel output will increase by 48 per cent instead of the originally planned 17 per cent.

Comrade Lomako, Chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Economic Council, Comrade Kokarev, Secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Territorial Party Committee, and Comrade Zubkov, head of the Krasnoyarsk Comprehensive Expedition organized by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science's Council for the Study of the Productive Forces, tabled a proposal that the rich Angara-Pit iron-ore basin should be developed in the next seven years. The iron-ore deposits of this basin are favourably bedded for open-cast mining, which is the most economical method, because it requires smaller investments than other methods. According to their estimates, the cost per ton of its raw ore will be lower than the cost of the ore in Khakassia, Kemerovo Region and Altai Territory, which is earmarked for the West-Siberian Iron and Steel Works now under construction, while the pig-

iron smelted from Angara-Pit ore will be the cheapest in the country.

The proposal of the Krasnoyarsk comrades is extremely interesting. The State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. has been instructed to look into the advisability of expediting the development of the iron-ore deposits in Krasnoyarsk Territory and to report to the government.

Comrade Kunayev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh S.S.R., and some other comrades from that republic suggested solving Central Kazakhstan's water supply problem by building a 450-kilometre-long Irtysh-Karaganda Canal. This merits serious attention and the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. jointly with the Council of Ministers of Kazakhstan must closely examine it, estimate the cost of this project and give their views.

An interesting question was raised by Professor V. Uvarov in an article published in *Pravda*. Citing facts to show the great efficacy of gas turbines in various branches of the national economy, he speaks of the necessity of speeding up designing and of organizing the production of powerful gas turbines for large thermal electric stations and gas turbine installations for the railway transport, gas pipelines and other purposes.

A large number of very interesting questions raised during the discussion touch upon the engineering, metallurgical, fuel, chemical, light and food industries, land-cultivation, livestock-breeding and other branches of the national economy. The State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. and other central bodies must give careful consideration to all these proposals, determine their economic efficacy, and apply all that is useful in them in the final working up of the seven-year plan.

The second group of proposals concerns questions of a local character. They can, and must, be implemented by local bodies. Many suggestions have been made by the working people concerning the organization and technology of production at enterprises, the utilization of ma-

chinery, the more economical expenditure of raw materials. They criticized shortcomings and made concrete proposals aimed at improving work at factories, construction sites and collective and state farms.

The number of useful suggestions was very large. The task of local bodies is closely to examine these suggestions and to plan how all that is rational in them can be most speedily implemented.

The third group consists of suggestions about the construction of mines, factories, plants and other enterprises not provided for by the control figures. Most suggestions of this kind are correct in principle, but they cannot be carried out in the coming seven years as that would require additional large capital investments. However, the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R., the state planning committees of the Union Republics, and the economic councils and local bodies must examine all these suggestions and take them into account when they draw up their long-term plans going beyond the bounds of the seven-year plan.

Allow me, Comrades, on behalf of the C.C. C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., to express deep satisfaction with the nation-wide discussion of the theses of the report on the control figures for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965 and to convey thanks to all the comrades who took part in it. It has yielded extremely abundant material which will help to specify a number of the projects of the seven-year plan and to work out subsequent long-term economic development plans. (*Prolonged applause.*)

#### DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORT

Comrades, the control figures envisage a high rate of development and a large absolute increase in production in all spheres of industry, particularly the heavy industry,

As you see, the moment we started to speak of heavy industry the sun began shining brightly. This is symbolic, for nature itself seems to hail our achievements. The sun lights up the way for our seven-year plan. Let the foreign journalists present here register that. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

It is planned that in 1965 gross industrial output should be about 80 per cent greater than in 1958. In group "A" (output of means of production) there is to be an increase of 85-88 per cent, and in group "B" (output of consumer goods)—62-65 per cent. This is a very big increase. The growth of the volume of industrial output in the next seven years will be equal to the increase in output achieved in the past 20 years.

The theses gave detailed figures for the seven-year plan. Allow me to dwell only on the basic trends in the development of the key industries and on their qualitative changes.

The *ferrous and non-ferrous metals industry* must be mentioned first. The 1965 target is to produce up to 65-70 million tons of pig-iron, up to 86-91 million tons of steel and up to 65-70 million tons of rolled stock. Output of non-ferrous and rare metals is to rise several-fold.

A larger sum of money than was spent in the past 30 years has been earmarked for the construction and reconstruction of ferrous and non-ferrous metals enterprises. No less than 67 per cent of the capital investments in the iron and steel industry and about 60 per cent of the appropriations for the non-ferrous metals industry will be used to extend or reconstruct existing enterprises which must produce more than three-fourths of the planned increase in pig-iron, steel and rolled stock. The Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works alone will step up its output of rolled stock from 5.2 to 8.5 million tons a year by 1965.

In this way the money will be used to the best advantage. For example, in building the Karaganda Iron



and Steel Works, the capital investments per ton of pig-iron will amount to 2,347 rubles, while in extending the Magnitogorsk plant this involves an outlay of 1,947 rubles. At the new or reconstructed iron and steel plants, the unit capacity of the machinery will be considerably increased. Provision is made for the construction of the world's biggest blast-furnaces with a volume of 2,000 and 2,286 cubic metres, open-hearth furnaces with a capacity exceeding 500 tons, 80- and 180-ton electric furnaces, continuous automated rolling mills with an annual capacity of 3-4 million tons, and other units.

New, highly-effective technological processes will be broadly applied in the next seven years. For example, more than 50 blast-furnaces and a large number of open-hearth and heating furnaces will go over to a new technology, in which natural gas and oxygen will be utilized. Oxygen will be used on a considerably bigger scale in the nickel, copper and lead-and-zinc industries. This will allow increasing the productivity of blast-furnaces by 8-10 per cent and of open-hearth furnaces by 20-30 per cent. The quality of the output will be improved by greater utilization of vacuum installations in metallurgical processes, thermal treatment of steel rolled stock and other means.

The speed with which the national economy is expanding will bring about changes in the structure of the metallurgical industry. Development of power engineering, and the chemical, oil and gas industries will require an increase in the output of steel pipes. For this reason, while there will be a total increase of 53-63 per cent in the output of rolled stock in the next seven years, the output of pipes will be more than doubled and production of sheet steel will be substantially increased.

In order to raise the technical level of the engineering industry, to promote automation and, accordingly, to increase the output of special steels and alloys, the electro-metallurgical and ferro-alloy industries and the output of

a number of non-ferrous and rare metals will be considerably expanded primarily through comprehensive processing of ores.

Lately, aluminium has been acquiring increasing importance as a metal that is finding many-sided application in industry and construction. For that reason, the aluminium output will be increased by 2.8-3 times in the next seven years. We have the power resources and raw materials to ensure such a growth. The output of copper will also be almost doubled.

An extremely important factor making for the growth of the metallurgical industry is to accelerate the development of mining. Output of iron-ore is to be increased by approximately 100 per cent and that will make our country the biggest iron-ore producer in the world. A rise in the content of iron in marketable ores will be achieved by building big ore-concentrating plants and by introducing improved methods of dressing and roasting. New iron-ore deposits will be developed chiefly by open-cast mining, especially in Kazakhstan and in the region of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly.

In the forthcoming seven years special importance will be attached to the *chemical industry*. An extensive programme for accelerated development of this key branch of heavy industry was mapped out by the May (1958) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. Promotion of the chemical industry allows making the most effective use of the country's natural wealth and is a necessary condition for further technical progress in every branch of the national economy. Plastics and other synthetic materials will find broad application in the engineering, construction and other industries.

The chemical industry will put out inexpensive, high-grade raw materials for the manufacture of consumer goods and, with considerably smaller labour outlays, it will produce entirely new materials with properties superior to those of natural materials.

The total output of chemical products must increase almost three times in the next seven years while the output of artificial fibres will grow nearly four times and of plastics and resins more than seven times.

Special mention must be made of the output of mineral fertilizers. In 1965 it will rise to 35 million tons as against 12 million tons in 1958. This is imperative for the accomplishment of the prime task of raising the yield of all crops.

The chemical industry will develop on an absolutely new basis, utilizing the cheapest raw material (natural gas and the gas from oil refineries) and applying modern technologies and high-efficiency equipment. This will allow for a large cut in the expenses involved in building chemical factories and for a reduction in costs.

*In the fuel industry* we have adopted the line of giving priority to the development of oil and gas extraction and refining. In 1965, the production of oil will rise to 230-240 million tons, or more than double, and the output of gas will increase approximately five times and reach 150,000 million cubic metres annually. The share of oil and gas in the total output of fuel will grow from 31 to 51 per cent, while that of coal will correspondingly shrink from 60 to 43 per cent.

This trend in the fuel industry will yield a great economic advantage. To meet the fuel requirements of the Urals, for example, the plan calls for building gas pipelines from Uzbekistan, the Komi Autonomous Republic and the Volga area. By the close of the seven-year period, the Urals will be consuming 25,000 to 27,000 million cubic metres of gas a year. As a result, the Urals' demand for power coals from distant areas will drop to less than 50 per cent of what it is now. By using gas, the Urals industry will save about 1,400 million rubles in 1965. Here is another example. At present, Moscow consumes 4,000 million cubic metres of gas and about 6 million tons of coal annually. Towards the end of the seven-year period, the supply of

gas to the capital will be raised to over 13,000 million cubic metres, while coal consumption will fall to 700,000 tons a year, with a resultant saving of about 5,000 million rubles over this period.

The replacement of coal by natural gas and oil will save the country more than 125,000 million rubles in seven years, or as much as is appropriated for the construction of all the power stations and power and thermal grids.

Extensive work will have to be done in the oil and gas industries to develop new fuel deposits and to build oil and gas trunk pipelines, oil refineries and gas-benzene plants.

While developing the oil and gas industries we must not lose sight of the coal industry. Although the rate of growth in coal production will be much slower than in the preceding seven years, output will nevertheless rise 21 to 23 per cent, mainly by increasing the extraction of coking coals in the Donbas, Kuzbas and Karaganda coal-fields and also the cheap power coals in the Eastern areas.

The urgent task in the coal industry is to raise labour productivity and reduce costs. Attention must be given to the further development of open-cast and hydraulic methods of coal extraction and to the reconstruction of collieries, especially in the Donbas.

*Electrification of the national economy* is, as you all know, the basis of all technical progress and greater technical facilities per worker, and its rapid promotion has always been regarded as the cardinal task by our Party. To-day we are entering the decisive stage of implementing great Lenin's idea of the country's complete electrification. Towards the close of the coming seven-year period, electric power output must rise to 500,000-520,000 million kilowatt-hours a year, while the rated capacity of the power stations will be more than doubled. With an 80 per cent rise in industrial output, power consumption by industry will increase 120 per cent and electric power per worker will nearly double.

In what way do we intend to develop the power industry so as to carry out the electrification programme in a short period and with the least expense?

When a power station is built the power resources should be chosen on the basis of technical and economic calculations that take into account the concrete production and transport conditions in a given area, the cost and the schedule of construction, the saving of capital investments per unit of capacity and the saving in running the station.

To win time and to use capital investments most effectively, the seven-year plan calls for the priority construction of thermal power stations operating on natural gas, mazout and cheap coals. If we were to maintain the present ratio between the capital investments in thermal and hydropower stations we would either have to cut the power capacities planned to be commissioned or to increase capital investments for our power programme by more than 20,000 million rubles.

Parallel with the commissioning of thermal power stations, provision is made for the construction of hydropower stations: Bratsk with a capacity of 3,600,000 kilowatts, Stalingrad—2,530,000 kilowatts, Krasnoyarsk—4,200,000 kilowatts, Kremenchug—625,000 kilowatts, Bukhtarma—525,000 kilowatts, Votkinsk—1,000,000 kilowatts, and several others.

The building of large power stations necessitates the extension of the power grids. To give all the regions a stable supply of electric power and to make rational use of power capacities, the seven-year plan envisages the further unification of power stations into large power systems with a view to establishing a single power system in the Soviet Union. Several nuclear power stations with different kinds of reactors will be put in operation.

Speaking of the prospects of developing the key industries and electrifying the national economy, we must dwell

on the *engineering industry*, which, as in previous years, will continue to expand rapidly.

Under the seven-year plan, all modern branches of the engineering industry, primarily heavy machine building, instrument making and the production of automatic and electronic devices, will develop at an accelerated pace. Special attention is being paid to the designing and production of new machines with due regard to the achievements and discoveries of science and engineering, particularly radioelectronics, semi-conductors, ultra-sound, and radioactive isotopes.

More than 50 powerful, high-capacity rolling mills, extensively incorporating in their designs the principle of continuous rolling and automation, will be built for the iron and steel industry and commissioned. One of the primary tasks is to develop a wide range of up-to-date chemical equipment.

To accomplish the far-reaching tasks facing the engineering industry, we must re-equip all the engineering factories by replacing or modernizing obsolete machine tools, forges, presses and foundry machines in the immediate future. Machine-tool plants must sharply increase their output of the latest kinds of special and aggregate machine tools, machine tools with pre-set programme control, stamping and caulking presses, forging machines, automatic forge presses and automatic and semi-automatic machine-tool lines.

Careful attention must be given to the further development of the electrical engineering industry as the major technical basis of the country's electrification. We must raise the technical level and quality of electric machines, cables and electric insulating materials and take steps to speed up the expansion of capacities in the electrical engineering industry.

As was pointed out in the theses, the *timber, paper and wood-working industry* will be further expanded.

The high level attained by heavy industry and realization of the measures to promote agriculture will allow us to bring about a substantial increase in the *output of food-stuffs and consumers' goods*.

In the course of the next seven years, gross output of the light industry will grow by approximately 50 per cent and of the food industry by 70 per cent. The production of cotton fabrics will rise 33 to 38 per cent, woollen fabrics—65 per cent, silks—76 per cent, leather footwear—45 per cent, meat—110 per cent, butter—58 per cent, milk—120 per cent, sugar—76 to 90 per cent, and fish—60 per cent.

Besides increasing output, the light and food industries must considerably extend the assortment and improve the quality of their products, a task now being moved into the foreground. Consumers' goods must be of good quality, handsomely finished and neatly packed, while foodstuffs must be packaged. More than 1,600 food and light industry factories will be built to cope with the assignments for producing more and better consumers' goods and foodstuffs. Moreover, a large number of existing factories will be reconstructed.

A considerable part of the agricultural raw materials is to be processed at non-state enterprises. For this purpose collective and state farms and consumers' co-operatives will have to build bakeries, and factories producing sausages and half-finished meat products, butter, cheese, cottage cheese, vegetable and fruit preserves, starch and other foods. With the marketable output and incomes of the collective farms growing, the practice should be extended of several collective farms pooling their resources to build bigger and better-equipped inter-collective-farm canneries, bakeries, sausage and other factories.

Fish are an important source for increasing the country's food resources. Alongside the further development of fishing in the open sea, judicious use must be made of the

inland reservoirs, from which at least 6-8 million centners of fish could be obtained annually.

Special mention should be made of sugar production. As you remember, at the Jubilee Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the task was set of increasing the annual sugar production to 9-10 million tons by 1972. A closer examination of our possibilities and the initiative shown by agricultural workers in raising the output of sugar-beet have prompted the Central Committee and the Government to revise this target. The task being set now is to increase the output of sugar to 10 million tons not later than 1965, i.e., seven years earlier. The per capita sugar output will rise from the present level of 26 kilograms to 41-44 kilograms in 1965. (*Applause.*)

The planned growth in the output of sugar will enable us not only to improve the supply to the population but also to increase budget revenues and to compensate for the reduction in the income from the sale of alcoholic beverages. Last year, 113 million litres less alcoholic beverages were bought by the population than in 1957 and still less will undoubtedly be bought in the future as a result of further cultural advance and greater educational work. (*Applause.*) Elimination of a survival of the past like hard drinking will help improve the people's health, strengthen the family and make for a high standard of behaviour in public. This will benefit both the state and the people, who will consume more sweets and less bitters. (*Animation. Applause.*)

Parallel with large-scale development of the light industry, the seven-year plan envisages doubling the output of household goods, machines and appliances at engineering plants and wood-working factories as well as at consumers' goods departments in other industries.

The rapid growth of the national economy will require a big increase in freight carriage. In 1965, the freight turnover of the *railways* will be 39 to 43 per cent higher than in 1958. There will be a fundamental technical recon-



struction of the basic modes of transport, particularly the railways, where steam-engines will be replaced by economical electric and diesel locomotives.

All the trunk lines, totalling nearly 100,000 kilometres in length, will be switched over to electric and diesel traction towards the end of the coming seven-year period. The traffic capacity of these lines will be nearly doubled. In seven years, the introduction of electric and diesel locomotives will save approximately 400 million tons of coal and cut operational costs by 45,000 million rubles.

All other modes of transport will also be promoted; freight carriage by the sea, river, air, and motor transport and the use of pipelines will be increased. Construction of motor roads will be extended. All motor roads of state importance will be built with a durable cement and concrete surface. Collective and state farms and industrial, transport, building and other enterprises and economic organizations must be widely drawn into the construction of local roads.

It is planned to provide the national economy, and the urban and rural population with all the means of communication they need. The laying of radio-relay and cable lines will be pushed ahead at a rapid rate. The network of radio and TV broadcasting stations will be considerably enlarged.

Comrades, the seven-year targets can only be achieved on the basis of a broad application of new technique, *comprehensive mechanization and automation* of production processes and *specialization and co-operation* in all branches of the national economy.)

The seven-year plan calls for the elimination of arduous manual labour by completing the comprehensive mechanization of production processes in industry, agriculture, construction, transport, in loading and unloading work, and in public utilities. The output of the machines needed for this must be considerably increased in the immediate future.

Comprehensive mechanization will be accompanied by broader automation, which must fundamentally lighten and improve working conditions and steeply raise labour productivity. In socialist society, automation has not only economic but also great social significance. It radically changes the character of labour, raises the cultural and technical level of workers and creates the conditions for obliterating the difference between mental and physical labour; man's role is reduced to controlling automatic machines and instruments, adjusting them, and working out the programmes and regimes of technological processes.

Our country has already scored some successes in this field. For example, we have built completely automated hydropower stations and shops at engineering and iron and steel works, and have automated certain chemical processes. However, it must be said that automation is not yet widespread. To cope with this task highly-specialized mass production of modern automation devices must be organized in the next few years so as to achieve comprehensive automation in all branches of the national economy in the future. The transition to the over-all automation of shops and whole undertakings must be effected now in some industries such as the chemical, oil-refining and food industries, at power stations, at blast-furnace, open-hearth and rolling-mill departments, and in some branches of the engineering industry.

To improve specialization and co-operation of industries and enterprises, the seven-year plan provides for further concentration of the output of products of the same type at a minimum number of plants. Specialization of the output of metal ware, blast-furnace and steel-melting equipment, as well as castings, forgings, stampings and other half-finished products of the engineering industry, will be further developed on a big scale. In this way, we shall be able to achieve a considerable increase in the output of turbines, generators, steam boilers, tractors and other machines without building new plants.

Such are the principal indices showing the development of industry and transport in the next seven years. As you see, Comrades, the tasks are enormous. There is much to be done to consolidate the industrial might of the Soviet state still further and to raise industry to a much higher technical level. There can be no doubt that displaying creative initiative and developing socialist emulation on a still broader scale, the heroic working class and the scientists, technicians, and engineers will successfully reach and go beyond the targets of the seven-year plan. (*Prolonged applause.*)

### DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

Comrades, a further steep rise in socialist agriculture will be a tremendous contribution towards communist construction and the people's living standard.

As stated in the decision of the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, the cardinal target in agriculture during the next seven years is to reach a level of production which will enable us *to satisfy to the full the food requirements of the population and the raw material requirements of industry, and to meet all of the state's other demands for agricultural produce.*

In 1959-1965, the gross output of agriculture will rise by 70 per cent. The mean annual increase in output will amount to 8 per cent. It may be noted that in the United States of America the mean rate of growth in agricultural output was less than 2 per cent in the past seven years.

Output of various products is to be increased as follows by 1965:

grain	— to 10,000-11,000 million poods (164-180 million tons) against 8,500 million poods in 1958;
raw cotton	— to 5,700,000-6,100,000 tons, or 30-39 per cent more than in 1958;
sugar-beet	— to 76-84 million tons, or 40-55 per cent more than in 1958;

oil-bearing seeds	- to 5,500,000 tons, or 10 per cent more than in 1958;
flax fibre	- to 580,000 tons, or 31 per cent more than in 1958;
potatoes	- to 147 million tons against 86 million tons in 1958;
other vegetables	- in quantities fully meeting the requirements of the population;
hard and soft fruits	- at least 100 per cent more; grapes -at least 300 per cent more than in 1958;
meat (dead weight)	- not less than to 16 million tons, or 100 per cent more than in 1958;
milk	- to 100-105 million tons, or 70-80 per cent more than in 1958;
wool	- approximately to 548,000 tons, or 70 per cent more than in 1958;
eggs	- to 37,000 million, or 60 per cent more than in 1958.

*For the next few years the main line in crop farming will continue to be the utmost expansion of grain-growing as the basis of all agricultural production. In recent years, the grain output was increased chiefly by extending the crop areas. We shall continue to develop new land, but the scale will be smaller than hitherto and it will not bring about a large increase in the gross grain yield as considerable areas will be sown to industrial crops or allowed to lie fallow.*

Today, when the collective and state farms have skilled personnel and modern machinery they are in a position to do all agricultural work efficiently and in time, to use more organic and mineral fertilizers and to sow selected seed. In other words, there is every requisite *for increasing the yield of grain crops by an average of three to four centners per hectare* throughout the country and thereby reaching and surpassing the target figure for the gross grain output.

*In animal husbandry, the chief task in the coming seven years is to expand the output of meat, milk, wool and eggs. This must be achieved through a sharp increase in the number of all kinds of livestock, poultry and rabbits*

at collective and state farms, and by raising the productivity of animal husbandry.

Fodder resources must be increased even more perseveringly than before mainly by cultivating more maize, potatoes and sugar-beet, and growing protein feeds such as clover, alfalfa, vetch-and-oats, peas, lupine and other crops, depending on the features of one zone or another. We must get down seriously to growing soya beans, which are extremely valuable as a food, industrial and fodder crop.

Our country has advanced to first place in the world in total output of milk and butter. Within the next few years we shall not only overtake but considerably surpass the United States of America in the per capita output of these products. At the same time much work will have to be done to utilize all potentialities and possibilities so as to increase meat production 2.5-3-fold, to top the seven-year plan assignment considerably and implement the call of the country's leading collective and state farms to overtake the United States in per capita output of livestock products.

High rates of growth in agricultural production such as these are based on the tremendous advantages of the socialist system of economy, and the increased might of our industry, which is supplying all the necessary material and technical facilities for large-scale mechanized agriculture.

Within the next seven years, agriculture must be supplied with more than a million tractors, about 400,000 grain combines, numerous other machines and a large quantity of equipment. Electric power capacities at the disposal of collective and state farms will be almost doubled.

The electrification of all collective farms will be completed in the main by 1965, while the electrification of the state farms will be completed much earlier. Almost four times more electric power will be consumed in the countryside, and that will help cut down the cost of agricultural

produce by more than 19,000 million rubles and to take another stride forward in further raising the culture and improving the life of the collective-farm village.

*One of the most important tasks in agriculture is to raise labour productivity and reduce the cost of agricultural produce.* We must ensure a considerable growth in total output side by side with a sharp reduction in the outlay of labour and money.

Today, when the collective farms have grown strong, are technically better equipped and have trained personnel, all the conditions are on hand for sharply raising labour productivity and cutting costs in the course of the next seven years.

Our engineering industry will continue to supply agriculture with better machines than before and that will enable the collective and state farms to produce more with less expenditure of labour and money. For this purpose we must speed up the designing and manufacture of systems of machines which will completely mechanize the cultivation of cotton, sugar-beet, vegetables, including potatoes, and other crops.

We must do away with the lag in the mechanization of labour-consuming work in animal husbandry, considerably expand the transport facilities and produce powerful haulage machines, fast tractors and various trailers and tip-carts. The time has come to solve the problem of producing mixed feeds by building state and inter-collective-farm mixed feed factories. We must put out more land-reclamation machinery, equipment for mechanizing loading and unloading work and machines for the extraction of peat, lime and other local fertilizers.

At the same time, the machines and tractors at the collective and state farms must be used more efficiently, the output of spare parts must be increased to satisfy the demand of the collective and state farms, and the quality of machine repairs must be improved in every possible way.

Comrades, the discussion of agricultural problems at the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, with the participation of collective-farm chairmen, state-farm managers, machine operators, specialists and scientists and leading personnel of Party and local government bodies showed with striking clarity that each republic, territory, region and district, each collective and state farm has every opportunity of increasing the output of agricultural products.

The resolution of the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee was widely discussed at plenary meetings of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, of territorial and regional Party committees, and at meetings of the Party and farming *active*, where the adopted decisions were approved and, moreover, on the basis of calculations and an account of available potentialities, commitments were undertaken especially to increase the output of livestock products.

At the discussions of the plenary meeting's decisions, collective farmers, state-farm workers and agricultural specialists are bringing to light potentialities, which, if they are ably utilized, will help achieve and surpass the targets for grain, meat and other products both as regards schedule and volume.

We already have the first promising signs. For example, the collective and state farms of Ryazan Region have pledged that already this year they will produce 3.8 times more meat than in 1958, while Stavropol Territory and Rostov Region committed themselves to step up meat output 2.5 and 2 times respectively. Throughout Moscow Region the commitment for 1959 is to increase meat output to 70 centners per 100 hectares of farmland and sell the state twice as much meat as in 1958. Krasnodar Territory undertook to produce 84 centners of meat per 100 hectares of farmland this year and to increase the output of meat in the collective and state farms by more than 150 per cent.

Concrete measures aimed at sharply increasing the output of agricultural produce within the next few years were mapped out by the congresses of the Communist Parties of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan and other republics and the territorial and regional Party conferences when they discussed the control figures and the decisions of the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. The Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine enthusiastically backed up the initiative of the republic's leading collective and state farms and regions to bring up the output of meat (in dead weight) to at least 100 centners per 100 hectares of farmland in the next five years and thereby make a worthy contribution in response to the call of some of the leading collective farms to overtake the U.S.A. in meat output. The Congress of the Communist Party of Byelorussia adopted a decision to double meat output at the collective and state farms this year.

We may rest assured that the people making such pledges know how to count and to keep their word. The duty of Party organizations is to rally the people to work for the set targets.

I must stress that the pledges to increase output several-fold by no means reflect all our potentialities. The contribution of each republic, territory, region, district, and collective and state farm to the effort to implement the call issued by leading collective and state farms to overtake the U.S.A. in the output of meat and other agricultural produce must be evaluated in terms of production per 100 hectares of farmland.

The decisive condition for utilizing the potentialities for a further advance in all branches of agriculture is able selection and correct placing of personnel, primarily collective-farm chairmen, state-farm managers, brigade leaders, and managers of farm departments, who are capable of rallying and organizing the masses and leading them.



Collective and state farms, brigades and farm departments are at present working out specific plans for increasing the output of agricultural produce in 1959-1965. The Communist Party has always regarded the elaboration of plans as the creative endeavour of the masses. The collective and state farms must be helped to work out plans which would take full account of all the potentialities for a further rise of socialized economy and an increase in agricultural production.

We may be sure that our glorious collective-farm peasantry, state-farm workers and specialists will make every effort not only to fulfil but also to overfulfil the seven-year plan in agriculture. (*Prolonged applause.*)

#### CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES

Comrades, capital investments in new building and the reconstruction of enterprises are the basis for the high rates of extended socialist reproduction. In the next seven years, state capital investments will be close to 2,000,000 million rubles. If we add to this the construction financed by non-centralized funds, the capital investments of the collective farms and also the housing construction by the people themselves, the total capital investments will run into 3,000,000 million rubles. *This means that in seven years as much money will be invested as in all preceding Soviet years.* (*Stormy applause.*)

Capital construction in industry will proceed at a high rate. With capital investments in the national economy as a whole rising by 80 per cent, investments in industry will approximately double as compared with the preceding seven years.

Capital investments in separate industries, the building industry, and in the transport are shown by the following indices (in 1,000 million rubles in comparable prices):

	1925- 1958	1959-1965	in percentages of 1952-1958
Iron and steel industry	40.8	100	245
Chemical industry	19.9	100-105	502-528
Oil and gas industries	72.2	170-173	235-240
Coal industry	61.2	75-78	122-127
Power stations, electric grids and heating systems	75.1	125-129	166-172
Engineering industry	65.5	118	180
Timber, paper and wood-working industry	25.3	58-60	229-237
Light and food industries	40	80-85	200-212
Building industry and building materials industry	61.5	110-112	179-182
Transport and communications rail transport	107.4 59.3	209-214 110-115	195-199 185-194

Investments in agriculture by the state and by the collective farms will amount to about 500,000 million rubles, i.e., nearly double the investments in the preceding seven years.

The plan calls for a radical reconstruction, expansion and technical reconditioning of existing establishments, renewal and modernization of equipment, which in many cases will make it possible to expand production faster and with considerably smaller outlays of money and material than by building new plants.

To make fuller use of the natural resources of the eastern areas it is envisaged to channel over 40 per cent of all capital investments into these areas in the next seven years.

Huge funds are allocated to build houses, cultural institutions and establishments providing general amenities. From 375,000 million to 380,000 million rubles of state funds alone will be invested in housing and public building as against 214,000 million rubles in the preceding seven years; more than 80,000 million rubles will go for building schools, hospitals and other cultural and medi-

cal establishments as against 46,000 million rubles. Large funds will be invested in the building of boarding-schools and child welfare establishments.

To cope successfully with the planned volume of capital development in all branches of the economy we must ensure the further extensive application of industrial methods to building, to convert building work into a mechanized process of assembling and erecting buildings and structures from large pre-cast blocks, parts and elements.

To expedite the change-over to industrial methods of building it is necessary widely to introduce such highly-efficient processes as making reinforced concrete panels by vibration rolling or by vertical casting in special static moulds. Houses assembled from large panels offer undoubted advantages. Two-thirds less labour outlay per thousand square metres of floor space is required to produce structural elements in building large-panel houses assembled from parts cast in static moulds as compared with houses having brick walls. In construction the labour outlay is cut by half.

It is important to note that the expenditure of cement in large-panel houses does not exceed the amount of cement needed for houses with brick walls, while the expenditure of metal is even somewhat smaller. Houses assembled from such panels are 50 per cent lighter than brick houses.

Extensive construction of large-panel houses not only yields fine technical and economic results in the building of dwellings, but also reduces by half the outlays involved in setting up production facilities. Full use of the advantages offered by large-panel building can be made only when parts are pre-fabricated on a mass scale at plants and the continuous flow method is utilized at building sites. That is why the plan calls for bringing the annual volume of large-panel housing construction up to 25 million square metres of floor space in 1965.

At present the building materials industry also contin-

ues tests of equipment, improving technologies, experimenting with and projecting various rolling methods for the production of pre-stressed thin-wall panels. The use of such panels makes it possible to apply large-panel structural elements in industrial, hydro-engineering, and other building work, where large bays and loads are required.

Together with an increase in the production of reinforced concrete elements, it is necessary to introduce widely the most economical pre-stressed and thin-walls structural elements and also articles made from light concrete. Such elements take from 40 to 50 per cent less metal and cut the weight of buildings considerably. The use of asbestos-cement elements and parts is also a highly advanced method in building.

Large-scale development of reinforced concrete production and precasting of new building parts from it, and the availability of powerful hoisting facilities make it possible to solve now the problem of roof design in an entirely new way, i.e., to stop the present practice of using special roofing and combine the roof with the reinforced concrete ceiling. This has already been tested in practice and quite a few houses now have a combination ceiling and roof. New methods of building roofs, which allow saving metal and getting along without repairs, should be introduced more widely. Perhaps it will be necessary to adopt a special decision in which the dates for carrying out this measure ought to be stipulated, having in view the need to compel conservative-minded people, at long last, to work in a new way.

Further industrialization of construction demands a steep increase in the output of cement and an improvement of its quality. In the next seven years, cement production will grow by about 50 million tons, which is almost the present output level in the United States. The plan also provides for stepping up the production of other building materials, particularly heat insulating materials, articles

and materials made from plastics and synthetic resins, and of sanitary equipment.

To satisfy the need for building materials and structural elements it is necessary first to develop the building and the building materials industries. The wrong practices of setting up what are frequently primitive construction facilities at each building site must be stopped, and a system of building industry establishments on a scale to satisfy the needs of an economic area or a locality where construction is concentrated must be organized.

The merger of small building organizations and their further specialization should be continued as that will permit accelerating construction and cutting costs. Costs and the quality of building and assembly work are still problems of prime importance. The plan provides for reducing the cost of building as a whole by not less than six per cent in the next seven years and by 14 per cent in housing as compared with 1958.

An end should be put, Comrades, to the deleterious system of diffusing funds over numerous construction projects; capital investments and material and labour resources should be concentrated on the major projects and on projects scheduled for early commissioning. We must not begin new construction projects without sufficient preparation, without complete designs, the necessary building facilities and other conditions guaranteeing rapid building. It is very important for our planning and economic bodies to be careful and thrifty when making investments in the national economy.

The unparalleled scale of construction in the next seven years demands special attention to the *distribution of the productive forces*.

The 20th Congress of the Party pointed to the need for energetically enlisting the huge raw material and power resources of the eastern areas into the country's economy. This directive is being successfully implemented. The country's third iron and steel centre is being built in Si-

beria and Kazakhstan, and the world's largest hydropower stations are going up on the Angara and the Yenisei. The successes in developing virgin and disused land are being consolidated.

The target figures call for another step forward in accomplishing these tasks. In 1965, the share of the eastern areas in the output of coal will rise to 50 per cent, steel—48 per cent, refined copper—88 per cent, aluminium—71 per cent, cement—42 per cent, electric power—46 per cent, paper—32 per cent, while the amount of timber brought from the felling sites will increase to 52 per cent. The chemical, oil-refining and non-ferrous metals industries are being developed.

The gigantic scale of the new development will bring about notable changes in the economic map of the eastern areas. The building up of large industrial areas—Kustanai, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Achinsk-Krasnoyarsk, Bratsk-Taishet and others—will give great impetus to the development of the productive forces in the Soviet East.

The creation of a new grain-growing centre in the East has made it possible to start a radical reconstruction of agriculture in a number of republics and regions, and to make more rational use of the rich natural and economic resources for expanding the output of field crops and livestock products.

While formerly we had, for example, to procure grain throughout the country, we now have the possibility of stopping grain procurements in the north-western regions of the Russian Federation, the Baltic republics and in many districts of Byelorussia and the Ukrainian part of Polesye. These regions will now specialize in milk, bacon and industrial crops for which they have very favourable conditions. Of course, in future, when these regions will receive mineral fertilizers in the quantities necessary for grain crops, raise the yield and increase grain production, grain will be even cheaper there than in the other regions

and republics. It will then be advantageous to purchase grain in these regions as well.

We are now able to reduce, and as grain production expands in other areas, subsequently to dispense completely with grain purchases in the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics, so as to develop there at a much faster pace such valuable crops as cotton, tea, tobacco, grapes, fruit, including citrus, and so forth.

The Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, and the central black-earth regions have been the main granary of our country for a long time. Now, by somewhat reducing grain cultivation, they have received the opportunity of specializing collective farms and state farms in animal husbandry and the production of industrial crops, sugar-beet in particular.

While developing the productive forces of our country's Eastern areas to the utmost, we must utilize in full measure the potentialities for increasing production in the European part of the U.S.S.R. Here special emphasis is laid on better use and expansion of capacities at operating industrial establishments, better use of the land, tapping of reserves, development of specialization of areas and rationalization of economic ties.

The raw material and power resources of the European part of the Soviet Union will be considerably reinforced in the coming seven years. Very rich oil and gas deposits make it possible to change the fuel pattern and discontinue the delivery of Kuzbas and Karaganda coal, which is hauled over thousands of kilometres.

A powerful organic chemical industry, using oil and gas as raw materials, will be built in many regions, especially in the Volga area. An oil-refining industry is growing in all the main economic areas of the European part of the U.S.S.R. It is planned to make extensive use of the iron ores of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly and the Krivoi Rog Basin for the further development of the iron and steel industry in the central and southern areas. The

water power resources of the Volga, Dnieper and other rivers will be utilized to a much greater extent in view of the commissioning of the Stalingrad, Kremenchug and other hydropower stations.

It is also envisaged to make fuller use of the natural and labour resources in agriculture by improving specialization of agricultural production by zones, more intensive farming, substantial increases in the yields of all crops and the productivity of animal husbandry. Big suburban farms will be set up near large industrial centres to supply vegetables, dairy and other products to the population of these centres.

The tasks of the country's development in the coming seven years make imperative an improvement in national economic planning. Our planning must envisage the further specialization and over-all economic development of republics and large economic areas.

The establishment of economic administration areas has made for more rational economic ties both within the areas themselves and between the areas and has given the country a substantial economic effect. But there is also an incorrect, narrowly local conception of an integrated economy as a closed-in economy. It is necessary energetically to combat such tendencies directed against the interests of the state.

The Soviet Union is a multi-national socialist state, founded on the friendship of peoples enjoying equal rights, united by a common will and striving to march steadfastly forward along the path of communist construction. *The Leninist national policy which ensures broad opportunities for the all-round economic and cultural progress of all the peoples, is strikingly expressed in our plans. (Applause.)* This is also confirmed once again in the target figures for economic development in 1959-1965, which provide for a huge economic growth of all the Soviet republics. Each republic will first develop the



branches for which it has the most favourable natural and economic conditions.

The theses on the control figures gave the main indices of economic development in all the Union Republics. They have been fully supported and approved by the working people of these republics.

The seven-year plan provides, on the one hand, for the most efficient use of the resources of each republic and, on the other, ensures the proper combination of the interests of the separate republics and the Soviet Union as a whole. The plan calls for strengthening inter-republican economic ties and extending the socialist division of labour. The community of socialist nations is the source of the growing forces and might of the multi-national socialist state. Our Party, educating the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, has always waged an implacable struggle both against great-power chauvinism and against local nationalism.

The task is to develop still wider the education of the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. The Communist Party sees its sacred duty in tirelessly strengthening the friendship of the peoples, which is the corner-stone of the Soviet Union's might and invincible strength. (*Prolonged applause.*)

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Comrades, the fulfilment of the industrial, agricultural and transport plans, and the fulfilment of the building programme in the next seven years will only be possible if there is a considerable rise in the level of technology and higher *productivity of social labour*—the prime source of extended socialist reproduction and accumulation, the basis for an advance in living standards.

In the seven-year period labour productivity per worker should rise 45 to 50 per cent in industry, 60 to 65 per cent in construction, 34 to 37 per cent in railway transport,

60 to 65 per cent in state farms, and it should approximately double in the collective farms. In view of the reduction of the working day, hourly output will rise even more. In 1965 higher labour productivity will account for three-quarters of the increment in industrial output.

The importance of economizing on material and labour will rise still more with the expansion of social production. What we need is to mobilize all our internal economic reserves. In seven years production expenses in industry, construction, transport, and state farms should be cut by approximately 850,000 million rubles. What does this amount to? It amounts to almost half the capital investments to be made by the state in the seven-year period.

Successful fulfilment of planned assignments compellingly calls for a marked improvement of work in all economic spheres.

The drive for utmost thrift is of special importance in our country, where intra-mural accumulation at the various enterprises is the main source of extended socialist reproduction. The Party has always emphasized the need to operate the economy in the most rational manner. *Today, when a one per cent reduction in production expenses stands for a colossal figure exceeding 12,000 million rubles—and at the end of the seven-year period it is going to be 21,000 million rubles annually—the effort to cut production costs, to be thrifty in everything, is of the greatest importance.*

Therefore, it is a matter of organizing a truly all-out drive against all kinds of mismanagement, extravagance, and neglect with regard to public property. We must make the managers bear more responsibility for improving efficiency indices of industrial establishments and construction projects, particularly for reducing production costs and improving the quality of what they produce. Operation on a self-supporting basis should be further

consolidated in industry, construction, transport, and agriculture.

The seven-year plan is so drawn up that it can be carried out without overstrain. Why was this done? Because if we have a very strained plan there is always the chance that some of its assignments may not be fulfilled, some branches of the economy may not get all they require in the way of raw materials, supplies and equipment, and this is liable to cause interruptions in the work and, consequently, under-capacity operation of plants and factories, idle working time, and all the attendant consequences. This is what economists call disproportions.

The seven-year plan is being so drawn up as to rule this out. An overfulfilment of the plan will give us a chance to create additional reserves and obtain additional accumulations. We shall thus have favourable conditions for rhythmical operation of industrial establishments and better use of equipment. As a result, there will be no interruptions in operation at enterprises, labour and equipment will be better utilized and under-capacity operation will be eliminated. Consequently, labour productivity will rise and the workers' earnings will be more stable.

This creates good conditions for the balanced development of all branches of the national economy. But, naturally, if a plan is allowed to drift, if it is let to shift for itself, it will not be carried out. We must rally the people—workers, technicians, engineers, scientists, office employees, collective farmers, and state-farm workers—to fulfil and overfulfil the seven-year plan. (*Applause.*)

What does overfulfilling the plan by one or two per cent amount to in our day?

It will be recalled that in the final year of the First Five-Year Plan (1932) a one per cent increase in industrial output amounted, in present-day prices, to about 800 million rubles; in 1959 it will be more than 11,000 million rubles, while in 1965, according to the plan, one per cent will amount to upwards of 19,000 million rubles. If,

for example, the average annual rates of industrial growth stipulated in the seven-year plan (8.6 per cent) are topped annually by one per cent, this will mean that in 1965 industry will produce additional output worth over 130,000 million rubles and a total of more than 440,000 million rubles for all the seven years. If the average annual increase tops the plan by two per cent, the additional output will exceed 265,000 million rubles in 1965 and 900,000 million rubles in the seven years. We are also convinced that the assignments for agricultural growth and those for reducing expenses of production and circulation will also be topped by a sizable margin.

As a result, the state will have additional accumulations running into billions of rubles. They will constitute an appreciable reserve in the hands of the Government for improving the material well-being of the people. The funds we shall obtain from overfulfilling the plan will enable us to build more houses, boarding-schools, and factories manufacturing consumers' goods. They will enable us to put more money into the accelerated development of the key branches of agriculture. We shall also have more of a chance to render assistance to the fraternal socialist countries.

The experience of socialist construction in our country, the nation-wide emulation movement and labour enthusiasm give us all confidence that our new plan, too, will not only be fulfilled, but overfulfilled. (*Stormy applause.*)

#### RISE IN THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Comrades, the seven-year plan sets the task of achieving *a continuous improvement in the living standard of the people* on the basis of the further mighty all-round advance of the economy and the priority growth of heavy industry.

In present-day conditions when a powerful socialist industry and large-scale agriculture have been built up in our country and are making good progress, there is every requisite for the Soviet people to live still better in the immediate future, and to satisfy more fully their material and spriritual requirements.

The seven-year plan provides for:

a substantial growth of the national income and a marked increase, on this basis, of the real incomes of the people;

a shorter working day and a shorter working week;

an expansion in the output of consumers' goods and an improvement in their quality;

large-scale housing construction;

a substantial improvement of public, cultural, and other services.

In a socialist society the growth of the national income is the most general indication of the real foundation for raising the well-being of the people.

In the United States the capitalist classes appropriate more than half of the national income, while making up only about one-tenth of the country's population. In the U.S.S.R. the working people receive about three-fourths of the national income for the satisfaction of their material and cultural requirements. The rest of the national income, which likewise belongs to the working people, is used to expand socialist production and for other social needs.

In 1965 the national income of the U.S.S.R. will rise 62 to 65 per cent as compared with 1958 and exceed almost sixfold the level of the pre-war year 1940. No capitalist country knows such high rates of growth of the national income. The greater national income will ensure a rise in popular consumption of 60 to 63 per cent in the seven years. The incomes of the people will grow substantially.

As a result of higher money wages, pensions and allowances, and a reduction of prices in public catering establishments, the real per worker incomes of factory and office workers will rise 40 per cent at the end of the seven-year period. We plan to raise the minimum wages of low-paid workers from 270-350 rubles to 500-600 rubles a month. Real incomes of collective farmers will also grow by no less than 40 per cent, chiefly through the expansion of collective-farm production.

At present all economic and cultural development in the Soviet Union is financed chiefly with the accumulations of socialist establishments. As the seven-year plan progresses these accumulations will grow steadily and ultimately will become the only source ensuring extended socialist reproduction and a further rise in the living standard.

Under these conditions taxes from the population will no longer be necessary from the standpoint either of their class significance, as was the case in the past when they served to limit the incomes of the capitalist elements, or of budgetary revenue, for even now taxes paid by the population make up an insignificant portion of only 7.8 per cent of budgetary revenue.

All this enables us to discontinue taxation of the population in the next few years. It goes without saying that such a major measure requires all-round study and adequate preparation, so that it can be carried out properly, observing the interests of the population and the state.

The pension system in our country is better than in any capitalist country. In the U.S.S.R. all factory and office workers are entitled to pensions, which are paid by the state. In those capitalist countries which happen to have pension systems these are maintained chiefly by the workers themselves, since pension funds are made up mostly of deductions from wages.

The social problems of employment, the continuous unemployment in the cities and the mass ruin of the peasantry in the countryside, insoluble under capitalism, are not known in socialist society. In seven years the number of workers and other employees engaged in the national economy will increase by nearly another 12 million, and will be 66,500,000.

You know that among other measures for improving the well-being of the people, the seven-year plan envisages an increase in wages. The question arises: should we raise the living standard solely through increases in wages and further price reductions?

It goes without saying that the Party and the Government will consistently adhere to the charted course as regards increasing wages and reducing prices. But this is only one of the ways. The material and cultural standards of the Soviet people are determined not only by the means they receive personally in the form of wages or gain from price reductions. It would be wrong to think that if today you earn, say, 30 rubles a day, you live under socialism, and if tomorrow you earn five times as much, you will have entered communism.

Under socialism the effort to raise the living standard extends to satisfying a broad range of man's diverse requirements. There is a really communist way of raising the well-being of the people, of creating better living conditions for all society, and for each individual member of it. This includes better housing, better public catering, better public services, more child welfare establishments, an improved system of education, more recreation and holiday facilities, improved medical services, more cultural establishments, etc.

In the early years of Soviet rule, when public canteens, kindergartens and nurseries appeared in our country, Lenin called them "models of the shoots of communism." He regarded the careful tending of these shoots as a prime duty of the Party and the state, saying that "with

the support of the proletarian state power the shoots of communism will not wither, but grow and develop into complete communism." (*Selected Works*, Vol. II, Part 2, Moscow 1952, p. 235.) Today we have not just a few shoots, but a whole system of various organizations of the communist type and it is our duty to increase their number, and to improve their work.

Man is a social being, his life outside a collective, in isolation from society, to which he is bound by most diverse ties, is inconceivable. This social aspect of man's life is revealed more fully in the course of communist construction. That is why the satisfaction of his individual requirements must proceed hand in hand with the increasing supply of the good things of life produced by society. It must proceed not only through increasing wages, but also through social funds, whose role and significance will rise more and more.

The expenses of the state for social services enjoyed by the people are growing constantly. It is indicative, for example, that over 215,000 million rubles were spent in 1958 for social insurance benefits, allowances, pensions, grants to students, free education, medical services, payments for holidays, maintenance of boarding-schools, kindergartens, nurseries, sanatoriums, holiday homes, and homes for the aged, and other payments and benefits. The seven-year plan stipulates that expenses under this head should rise to about 360,000 million rubles, or to about 3,800 rubles per worker annually. In addition, the state will spend over 800 rubles annually per worker on the building of houses, schools, cultural, medical and other establishments.

These are big sums, Comrades. Only a socialist state can allot such funds for improving living standards. It is not accidental that many visitors to our country from the capitalist world—often not Communists at all, but fair-minded people—are amazed to see how much is being done for man in our country.



Let us take so vital a matter as housing. Housing is one of the most acute social problems of mankind. In the United States, for example, as stated in the *Democratic Facts Book* issued by the National Committee of the Democratic Party, 15 million people live in slums, 13 million dwellings (one-quarter of the total) do not conform to standard, and seven million urban dwellings are so dilapidated as to be unfit for human habitation. The shortage of housing, the high rents which swallow up 25 to 30 per cent of the family budget, are a constant curse to the working people in the capitalist world.

In the Soviet Union ever greater concern is shown all the time for the improvement of housing and living conditions. Rent, including public utility services, amounts on the average to 4-5 per cent of a family budget. In the countryside dwellings are built with the assistance of the collective farms and the state. In no capitalist country do the working people enjoy such opportunities.

The task set by the Party and the Government in 1957 of doing away with the housing shortage and thereby solving the housing problem in the next 10 to 12 years, is being carried out successfully. Houses with a total floor space of 120 million square metres have been built in the past two years, which is 12 million square metres more than planned. In the next seven years we are to build houses with a total floor space of 650-660 million square metres, which is almost 15 million flats. This is more than all the housing built to date since the Revolution.

In distributing housing the task is to provide a separate flat to each family. Attention should be paid to improving the work of the designing organizations, whose work should conform to the higher standards of today. They should develop economical standard housing for large-scale use, and also general town development plans and blue prints of rural communities with the view in mind that living conditions in town and country should meet the diverse demands of the Soviet people.

Not only must we provide man with good housing; we must also teach him to make proper use of the benefits offered by society, to live properly, to observe the rules of the socialist community. This does not come of itself, and is achieved through long and persistent effort for the victory of the new communist way of life.

The seven-year plan envisages a further improvement of the public health and medical services. In the capitalist countries nobody has concern for the working man, for his health and life. All medical services, big and small, are paid for by the individual. When we were in Finland a worker told us what a hard time he had when he came down with appendicitis and needed an operation. He had the choice of paying a lot of money or dying.

And this is not an isolated case. The *U.S. News & World Report* says that medical costs in the United States became "a great burden upon an average family." The magazine reports that the cost of surgical treatment for stomach ulcers runs up to \$1,264.50, of which \$325.50 is the charge for staying in hospital for 21 days, \$500 is paid for the operation, \$75 for the use of the operating room, \$3 for staying in the convalescence ward, \$78.60 for treatment, \$21.50 for oxygen, \$56.30 for bandages, \$99 for laboratory services, \$50 for anaesthesia, \$55 for X-ray examinations.

In the Soviet Union the people enjoy free medical services. They have at their disposal a broad network of hospitals and polyclinics. State outlays for the further improvement of the public health services in our country will total close on 360,000 million rubles in seven years.

Higher living standards and improved health services have lengthened the average life span in our country. In recent years the Soviet Union has had the world's lowest mortality rate, while the increase in population has been higher than in most countries. The general mortality rate in the U.S.S.R. has been cut by three-quarters as com-

pared with the pre-revolutionary figure, and child mortality by five-sixths.

These are objective data and they speak volumes.

Reduction of the working day has always been one of the Communist Party's programmatic goals. The draft control figures call for completing in 1960 the transfer of factory and office workers to a seven-hour working day, and of workers of leading trades in the coal and mining industries occupied in underground work, to a six-hour day. In 1962, the transfer of factory and office workers with a seven-hour working day to a forty-hour week will be completed.

Starting from 1964 workers engaged in underground work, and in work involving harmful labour conditions will gradually go over to a thirty-hour week, and the rest of the workers to a thirty-five-hour week. This means that if there is one full day off a week the working day will be five or six hours, depending on the nature of the job. Since the majority of factory and office workers prefer to have two full days off each week, it is intended to introduce a five-day working week with a six- or seven-hour day.

A shorter working day and working week will be introduced in our country without reduction in wages; rather, wages will rise substantially. *The U.S.S.R. will have the shortest working day and the shortest working week in the world, with a simultaneous rise in the living standard. (Stormy applause.)*

In the Soviet Union greater output of foodstuffs leads to a steady growth of consumption and better nutrition of the entire population, while in capitalist countries the average figures conceal a huge gap in the level of nutrition between the propertied classes and the working people and also between the population in the metropolitan countries and in the colonies.

Bigger output of consumers' goods and higher incomes demand an improvement and expansion of trade. Retail

sales of state and co-operative trading organizations will increase approximately 62 per cent in seven years. There will be bigger sales to the population of foodstuffs, fabrics, clothing, bed-clothes, underwear, and footwear. Some 90,000 shops and 64,000 public catering establishments are to be built in the seven-year period.

Comrades, the exceptional importance of public catering should be emphasized. It is necessary to extend still wider the network of factory kitchens, of factory, college and school canteens, to establish canteens, catering to workers' families, at apartment houses. The task is to reduce food prices at public catering establishments.

To render better services to the population it is necessary to extend the network of shops for the making and repair of clothing and footwear, as well as for the repair of housing, furniture and household appliances.

Our enemies abroad allege that the Soviet seven-year plan has been drawn up with emphasis on the development of heavy industry and will involve "sacrifices" on the part of the population. Our plan does, indeed, provide for large capital investments for developing heavy industry. But could it be otherwise?

To have a sufficient quantity of consumers' goods we need the means of production, we need to produce metal, develop machines, install automatic machine lines that will work for man to satisfy his requirements. Even to grow such a simple product as potatoes a metal share for the wooden plough was needed in the past. But we are marching towards communist society, we want machines to do all the main jobs, with man merely controlling them. Formerly a peasant had to skimp and save when he wanted to buy a horse. He knew full well that if he had a horse he would eat, and that without a horse he would starve. Now the times are different. The development of industry, the growth of the means of production—that is our all-powerful horse. Once we have the horse, we shall have everything else as well. (*Applause.*)

During the early five-year plan periods, when the Soviet Union, the world's only socialist country in a ring of capitalist countries, had to fight for its life, the Soviet people strained every muscle and consciously made sacrifices to break the grip of age-old backwardness and develop a powerful socialist economy. But even at that time the Party and the state did everything possible to improve the people's living standard. Today we are on a different level of development; we have greater opportunities and forces, and we set the task of appreciably improving the living standard in all earnest. That is why there is no cause to speak of "sacrifices," unless one wishes to distort the truth.

Let the "critics" of our plan name a single capitalist country that intends to expand popular consumption on so large a scale as our country! Let them name a bourgeois state contemplating a reduction of the working day, with the same and even higher wages. In the capitalist countries the working class, the working people, have to wage a bitter struggle for this against the exploiters. The capitalist world does not, nor could, have such states, such governments, such concern for the working people. (*Applause.*)

#### COMMUNIST UPBRINGING AND PUBLIC EDUCATION. DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE

Comrades, for the transition to communism what is needed is not only a developed material and technical basis, but also a highly conscious attitude on the part of all members of socialist society. *The higher the conscious attitude of the masses, millions strong, the more successfully the plans of communist construction will be carried out.* That is why questions of the communist education of the people, particularly the younger generation, are acquiring exceptionally great importance.

*The purpose of all the ideological activities of our Party and state is to develop the new traits of the Soviet people, to educate them in the spirit of collectivism and industry, socialist internationalism and patriotism, the lofty ethical principles of the new society, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.* To achieve communism, the most just and perfect human society, when all the finest moral traits of the free man will unfold to the full, we must bring up the man of the future today. Communist ethics should be developed among Soviet people, ethics founded on devotion to communism and intolerance of its enemies, on a sense of social duty, active participation in work for the good of society, on a voluntary observance of the basic rules of human relations, comradely mutual assistance, honesty and truthfulness, intolerance of those who violate public order.

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians, and their opportunist yes-men, are exerting considerable effort to prove that Communists reject morals, that socialism does not conform to the moral laws of humanity. On the other hand, they boost themselves as champions of moral values, of humanism, freedom, and the rights of the individual.

But do they have any grounds for such claims? The answer is furnished by life itself, by a mere comparison of the ethics of the two worlds.

The spirit of individualism, self-interest, the thirst for profit, hostility and competition—these make up the essence of the ethics of bourgeois society. Exploitation of man by man, upon which bourgeois society rests, tramples ethics underfoot. It is not accidental that the ethics of the exploiting classes is typified by the brutal formula: "Man eat man." Socialism upholds different ethics—co-operation and collectivism, friendship and mutual assistance. It accentuates concern for the common good of the people, for the all-round development of the human personality in a collective where man to man is a friend and brother, and not an enemy.

The champions of communism are inspired by the lofty ideal of liberating the masses from the yoke of capital, of serving man's common good. Their own example and behaviour are a paragon of moral force. Communists have never spared themselves, nor their lives. They have fearlessly faced torture and death for the triumph of their lofty ideals. Even now many Communists are languishing in prisons and dungeons in the capitalist countries for their humanistic convictions, for their devotion to the people and their selfless struggle for happiness.

The great moral influence of the ideas of communism in the socialist countries is vividly manifested in the active participation of millions of people in building the new life. Bourgeois politicians are unable to understand the patriotism and labour enthusiasm of Soviet men and women who place the interests of society above their personal interests, realizing that under socialism the well-being and happiness of people is ensured by all society.

Let us take, for example, the measure carried out on the initiative of the people with regard to the state loans. Millions of Soviet men and women expressed themselves in favour of deferring the redemption of old state loans for 20-25 years. This fact reveals to us such new traits of character, such moral qualities of our people, as are unthinkable under an exploiting system.

It is well known that in the capitalist system man withdraws into his shell and depends only on his own strength, because he has no one else to rely on. He knows that if he should be out of work, he would be deprived of the means of livelihood, would be doomed to poverty and starvation.

The situation is different under socialism. Here each man feels the solicitude of society, of the state. That is why the urge of aggrandizement, of private property, is disappearing from the mind of the Soviet citizen, whereas the spirit of collectivism and concern for public welfare is gaining in him. Our country, for example, is intensively

developing new areas with very rich natural resources. Many new factories, plants, mines, power stations and other projects are being built in Siberia, Kazakhstan, the North, the Far East, often in desolate localities with quite a severe climate. Large numbers of workers are needed to build and operate these projects. Where are they to come from?

In capitalist countries there is always a huge army of unemployed, driven by hunger to all corners in quest of a job. They are prepared to do any work to earn their subsistence. Soviet men and women do not know the scourge of unemployment. In our country want does not drive people to distant parts in search of their daily bread. Soviet people go to new places, moved first of all by noble patriotic sentiments. At the call of the Party and the Government hundreds of thousands of young men and women who had a trade and a job in the capitals or other cultural and industrial centres, leave what is known as home and hearth, and go to new, unknown places. They know that to start with they will lack many of the amenities they enjoyed at home, that they will live in tents and at times do work which is not in their line.

The sentiments of most Soviet people are subordinated to a lofty ideal: to be useful to society, to produce more and more of the good things of life. It is this and not the thirst for profit, as is the case under capitalism, that is the principal motive force behind the actions of Soviet people. The American writer Jack London gave a vivid portrayal of people of the bourgeois world swept by the "gold rush," ready to crawl for gold to the end of the world. Foremost Soviet men and women do not go to distant parts because they are lured by the "golden calf," nor for the sake of personal enrichment, but to build new factories and plants, plough up virgin soil, erect new towns for all society, for our children, for our future, in the name of the triumph of communism. People of an individualistic bent who have the bourgeois conception of the



interests of the individual cannot understand the new moral traits of the Soviet people and that is why they try to explain away the patriotic acts of Soviet people as being done under compulsion.

These explanations and their authors, incapable of grasping the supreme morals of socialist man who performs valorous deeds for the good of society, the good of mankind, amuse the Soviet people. (*Stormy applause.*)

In organizing our ideological work, we proceed from the premise that the promotion of communist ethics must be tied up with communist construction. We have learned not only theoretically, but also from experience, the profound truth of scientific communism that revolutionary practice plays a decisive part in changing the conditions of life and the views of people. Life, our Soviet reality, is the best school, the most exacting teacher. A bookish knowledge of communist postulates, knowledge divorced from life, is worthless.

Education must above all be linked with life, with production, with the practical activities of the masses. The Party makes the labour education of all the people, the promotion of a conscious, communist attitude to labour, the pivot of all its educational activity. We want labour—the source of all material and cultural benefits—to become the prime vital necessity of the people.

Communist views and standards of behaviour are striking root in the struggle against the survivals of capitalism. We still frequently meet people with a dishonest attitude to social labour, who engage in profiteering, break discipline and disturb public order. We must not wait calmly for these survivals of capitalism to vanish of themselves; we must fight them with determination, and direct public opinion against any manifestation of bourgeois views and customs, against anti-social elements.

In all its educational work the Party attaches special importance to bringing up the younger generation. Lenin said: "All the work of upbringing, educating and

training the youth today should aim to develop communist ethics in it." (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 266.)

The youth is already now building communism, and subsequently will live and work in communist society, will administer all its affairs. It is for this lofty mission that the Soviet youth must be brought up.

Our younger generation has not had the experience of struggle which fell to the lot of the older generation. Young people do not know the horrors and hardships of pre-revolutionary times and can get an idea about the exploitation of the toilers only from books. Hence, it is very important for our younger generation to know the history of the country, of the working people's struggle for their liberation, the heroic history of the Communist Party; it is very important to bring it up on the revolutionary traditions of our Party, our working class.

Some people underestimate the harm done by bourgeois influences among the Soviet youth. They think that the bourgeoisie is far away from us and our youth is beyond its reach. But this is a delusion. We must not ignore the possibility of bourgeois influence and it is our duty to fight it, to fight against the penetration of alien views and customs into the midst of Soviet people, particularly the youth.

The school holds a special place in the communist upbringing of the younger generation. The Soviet school has prepared tens of millions of educated citizens, builders of socialism; it has helped to rear remarkable engineers, technicians, agronomists, teachers, doctors and other specialists with a secondary or higher education. The positive part played by the school in educating and bringing up the younger generation is well known. But for all its successes, the Soviet school system still lags behind the demands of communist construction, has serious shortcomings.

The Theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government on "Establishing Closer

Link between School and Life, and the Further Development of Public Education," which received general support in the nation-wide discussion, have been approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. which adopted an important decision on this score.

When we raised the question of reorganizing the school system, some "prophets" abroad shouted: "They are short of labour, that is why they want to make juveniles work." Let such augurers crow. They will never understand us in any case. We are reorganizing the school system not because we are short of labour, but because we want further to improve the educational system, because we want to link the school still closer with life. (*Applause.*)

The reorganization of the educational system fully conforms to the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on education and upbringing and opens the way to effective polytechnization of the school system. As far back as the end of the last century, Lenin, thinking of the ways of moulding the new man, the builder of the new society, of combining education with productive work, wrote:

"... It is impossible to conceive of the ideal future society without the younger generation combining schooling with productive work: neither schooling and upbringing without productive work, nor productive work without parallel schooling and upbringing could be raised to the heights demanded by the present state of technology and scientific knowledge." (*Works*, Vol. 2, p. 440.)

The close link of schooling with life, with production, with communist construction must become the leading principle in learning the fundamentals of science in school, the basis for educating the growing generation in the spirit of communist ethics.

The link of schooling with productive work does not detract from, but rather enhances the knowledge acquired. I have spoken on many occasions with young collective farmers and workers who study at evening institutes or

technical schools, or by correspondence. And you have only to speak to students who have come to technical school or institute from industry to see what remarkable people they are. Persistent, strong-willed, eager to learn, they absorb knowledge so as to work better for the good of society and not as a sort of dowry, not for the peace of mind of some parents who consider it a "tragedy" if their son or daughter has no diploma.

We have to raise the role of the state and society in the upbringing of children, render greater assistance to the family by the state and society. For this purpose it is planned to build many new boarding-schools, nurseries, and kindergartens. In 1965 boarding-schools will have not less than 2,500,000 pupils. The number of children accommodated in kindergartens will increase from 2,280,000 to 4,200,000 in the next seven years. In future it is planned to afford all children the opportunity of attending boarding-schools, which will enable society to cope successfully with the communist education of the younger generation and to draw fresh millions of women into the active building of communism. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet state has delivered the woman from the humiliating semi-slavery in which she languished under tsarism and is still kept in many capitalist countries. Soviet women are an active force in all spheres of governmental, political, economic, and cultural life; on a par with men they enjoy all the rights of a citizen of socialist society. But many women are engaged in housework and taken up with care of their children, which makes it harder for them to participate actively in public life.

Conditions should be created as would enable all women to take a greater advantage of their rights, knowledge, and their talents in productive, socially-useful activities. By extending the network of boarding-schools, kindergartens, nurseries, public catering establishments, public utility and other amenities we are creating these conditions for all women.

The seven-year plan provides for a further considerable expansion and improvement in training specialists with a higher or secondary education. In 1959-1965 universities and institutes will graduate 2,300,000 specialists, as compared with 1,700,000 people graduated in the preceding seven-year period. In 1965 the total number of specialists with a higher education will exceed 4,500,000, i.e., will be 50 per cent greater than in 1958. Particularly rapid will be the growth in the number of specialists engaged in the sphere of material production.

The main thing in reorganizing the system of higher education is to link it closer with life, to improve markedly the practical, scientific-theoretical training of specialists, bringing them up to be active builders of communism.

The reorganization of the secondary and higher education systems will require time and effort. The Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics will adopt laws on the educational system conforming to their national traditions and features.

Comrades, the building of the material and technical basis of communism demands scientific progress, the active participation of scientists in solving problems related to the further all-round development of our country's productive forces. The seven-year plan opens new vistas before our scientists and scientific institutions. There is ample scope for the application of energy and knowledge!

What will our scientists work on in the next seven years? They will work first of all on bringing under control and using thermonuclear reactions to obtain a practically limitless source of energy; on problems pertaining to the broad use of nuclear energy in power and transportation, on extending the use of synthetic materials, products of nuclear fission and radio-isotopes; on problems of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes and the development of new technical means for this, based on the wide application of achievements in physics, radioelectronics and computation tech-

niques. Great tasks, as pointed out in the theses, are also set before scientists working in the fields of chemistry, metallurgy, geology, various branches of agriculture, medicine and other spheres.

Serious demands are made upon all branches of the social sciences. It is the duty of our economists, philosophers and historians to make a profound study of the laws governing the transition from socialism to communism, to study the experience of economic and cultural development, to help educate the working people in the communist spirit. Scholars in the sphere of social sciences, particularly economics, are confronted with the task of creatively summarizing and giving bold theoretical solutions to new problems raised by life. It is necessary to analyse from every angle major processes taking place in the capitalist world, to expose bourgeois ideology, to fight for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory.

We have to constantly strengthen the bonds of the scientific institutions with practice, to apply the latest achievements of science in the economy extensively and swiftly, to accelerate more boldly experimental and designing work.

The building of communism presupposes not only an unprecedented development of the economy, science and culture; it offers unusual scope for the fullest and all-round development of all the creative potentialities and talents of man.

Literature and art, which actively help mould the socialist man, play an important part in the progress and enrichment of the spiritual culture of socialist society. No task is more noble, no task greater, than that confronting our art, namely, to portray the heroic deeds of the people, the builders of communism. It is the duty of writers, workers in the theatre, cinema, and music, of sculptors and painters, to raise still higher the ideological and artistic standards of their works, to continue as active assistants of the Party and the state in the communist educa-

tion of the working people, in the propaganda of the principles of communist ethics, in the promotion of multi-national socialist culture, in developing good aesthetic taste.

The seven-year plan envisages still more favourable conditions for ideological work—the press, radio and television, cinema, and cultural and educational establishments are to be greatly extended. The circulation of newspapers and magazines and the printings of books will be increased substantially. The capacity of the printing industry will be enlarged during the seven-year period. Much attention will be paid to the radio service, and the building of cultural and educational establishments, particularly in the countryside.

In accomplishing the tasks faced by our country a big part will be played by our entire Soviet intelligentsia, which, together with the working class and collective-farm peasantry, will make a worthy contribution to the building of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

III  
DECISIVE STAGE  
IN THE ECONOMIC COMPETITION  
BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM  
AND THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL  
SITUATION

Comrades, the seven-year plan will have a telling impact on the international situation and will be a new triumph for Marxism-Leninism. Our successes in fulfilling the plan will attract millions of new adherents to socialism, consolidate the forces of peace and weaken the forces of war and cause tremendous changes not only in our country, but in the whole world. There will be in the world a decisive shift in favour of socialism in the economic sphere.

Economy is the main field in which the peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism is unfolding, and it is in our interests to win this competition in a historically short period.

THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN  
AND THE BASIC ECONOMIC TASK OF THE U.S.S.R.

[ By fulfilling the seven-year plan, we shall make a decisive step towards accomplishing the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R.—to overtake and outstrip the most advanced capitalist countries in output per head of population in the briefest possible historical period.]



In the first stage of our competition with capitalism, which opened with the Great October Socialist Revolution, the question of "who beats who," formulated by Vladimir Lenin, was decided in our country in favour of socialism. It was a world historical triumph and revealed socialism's decisive advantages over capitalism. Even in that early stage socialism scored major successes in the international arena. As time went on, the Soviet Union greatly surpassed the advanced countries of Western Europe in industrial output and moved ahead into second place in the world. In 1958, the industrial output of the Soviet Union considerably exceeded that of France, Britain, and Western Germany combined.

Socialism has conclusively proved its complete superiority over capitalism in rates of economic growth. Now we are entering a new stage in our economic competition with capitalism. *Today, our task is to tip the scales in world production in favour of the socialist system against the capitalist system, to surpass the most advanced capitalist countries in productivity of social labour and output per head of population, and to attain the world's highest living standard.*

In this stage of the competition the Soviet Union intends to surpass the United States economically. The U.S. production level is the ceiling capitalist economy has been able to achieve. We all know that favourable historical and natural conditions have done their part in this. To surpass America's level is to surpass capitalism's supreme achievement.

The very fact that we now set ourselves this task shows how much our strength, our resources, have grown. There was a time when our country was far behind most capitalist countries in many economic and cultural aspects, a time when we thought least of all of comparing ourselves to America. Today, we have a different level, a different potential, and different possibilities. The titanic labour effort of the Soviet people who follow the road indicated by

Lenin, has raised our formerly backward country to so great a height that we can now vie with the strongest capitalist power. (*Prolonged applause.*)

When the foundations of socialism were still being laid, our Party knew well in advance that the stage of decisive competition with capitalism would inevitably come and that socialism would then show all its possibilities. Now we can say that this stage has arrived. With its present productive forces, enhanced productivity of social labour, its modern technology, its planned socialist economy, and the creative energies of its people, the Soviet Union has every chance of winning this competition in peaceful endeavour. (*Stormy applause.*)

What are the immediate prospects in the economic development of the two world systems?

The time span in which the U.S.S.R. will accomplish its basic economic task depends above all on the initial relation between the production levels in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. What can be said on that score?

The volume of Soviet industrial production is about half of America's volume, and that of Soviet agricultural production is 20 to 25 per cent lower;

U.S. industrial output per head of population is more than double that of the U.S.S.R., and agricultural output about 40 per cent higher.

How soon can we close this gap, draw level, and then surpass the U.S.A. in these indices?

Rates of production growth are decisive. And the advantage in rates rests with the socialist economic system. Our mean annual industrial rates of growth since the Revolution have been 3 to 5 times higher than those of the developed capitalist countries.

We do not doubt for a moment that the mean annual growth of industrial output of 8.6 per cent, designated in the seven-year plan, will not only be achieved, but also surpassed. Nor will the capitalist countries, evidently, stand still. In the next few years U.S. industrial produc-

tion will presumably grow some two per cent annually. That has been the rate of development in American industry in recent years.

There is one more important thing we must bear in mind. In spite of its fairly low rates of economic growth, the U.S.A. was for a long time ahead of the U.S.S.R. in annual physical volume of industrial growth. But that time is now past. In the last eight years the Soviet physical volume of growth for a number of key lines (steel, pig-iron, iron-ore, oil, coal, cement, woollen fabrics) has on the whole exceeded America's.

Thus, a qualitatively new stage in the competition has opened in this respect as well. Today our country is ahead of the U.S.A. both in annual rates and in annual physical growth of production. We go forward four times as fast, and we add more to our output each year. Consequently, it is now much easier to overtake the Americans. *(Applause.)*

Soviet and U.S. rates of industrial growth being what they are, the Soviet Union will after fulfilling the plan surpass the United States for physical output in some key items and draw near to America's present level of output in others. By that time the output of major agricultural products, both physical and per head of population, will exceed the present U.S. level. The population in the U.S.S.R., and in the U.S.A., will grow, and it is to be expected that in our country it will grow more. The population in the U.S.S.R. will probably be about 15 to 20 per cent greater than in the U.S.A. Hence, if we reckon per head of population, it will probably take us another five years after completing the seven-year plan to catch up and surpass the United States in industrial production. *Consequently, by that time—or even earlier—the Soviet Union will rank first in the world both for physical volume of production and production per head of population. That will be a world historical victory for socialism in its peaceful competition with capitalism in the international arena.* *(Stormy applause.)*

Bourgeois economists contend that at a certain point the industrial development rates in the U.S.S.R. are bound to "dampen." What they are trying to do is to apply the capitalist economic yardstick to socialism. Capitalism does indeed erect insuperable barriers to the development of the productive forces and its rates of industrial growth do begin to drop off. Socialism, on the other hand, creates every condition for a continuous expansion of the productive forces.

In post-war years there has been much talk in the United States and other capitalist countries about "prosperity" and the advent of a "crisis-free" epoch in capitalist development. But what is the real state of the post-war capitalist economy? In some twelve years the United States has had three critical production slumps—in 1948-1949, 1953-1954 and, notably, in 1957-1958.

How this affects the economy is illustrated by the latest crisis. U.S. industrial output in 1957 was, in the main, the same as the year before, whereas in 1958 it dropped 6.5 per cent below the 1957 figure. Thus, the crisis has flung back U.S. industry to its 1953 level.

The continuous alternation of critical slumps and feverish uptrends speaks of the instability of the capitalist economy. Neither the arms race, nor any other measure will ever rid the economy of the United States and the other capitalist countries of over-production crises. Whatever the capitalist states do, they will never eliminate the cause of crises. Capitalism will never break the death grip of its own contradictions. They keep growing in size and scope, holding the threat of new economic upheavals. There is every evidence of a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism in consequence of the radical shift in the balance of forces between the world socialist system and the world capitalist system, the disintegration of the colonial system and the exacerbation of social antagonisms in the capitalist countries.

Socialism's victory over capitalism depends greatly on increased production. But to judge of the advantages of one system over another we must primarily consider what this increased production yields to society, to man. Of what benefit, indeed, is it, say, to an unemployed in America if his country produces much meat and butter, and many TV sets and cars per head of population?

After all, the lion's share of all produced wealth goes in the capitalist countries to the exploiters and their hangers-on, whereas under socialism greater per capita production means an actual improvement of living conditions for the workingman. Figuratively speaking, when we expand production each "head" in the country really benefits from it, whereas in the capitalist countries it is the richer "head," the "head" with capital, that derives all the benefits from greater production. A "head" with no capital will live from hand to mouth even when production rises. This is what they call "equal opportunities" under the capitalist system—one gets richer and the other starves. It is a pattern that is quite compatible with the laws of capitalism. It is considered normal and natural.

A contradiction of this kind—when production rises while the consumption of the bulk of the population falls—is inconceivable under socialism. In socialist society expansion of production is planned with the express purpose of increasing the material wealth and satisfying the requirements of all members of society ever more fully.

It should be stressed that although the level of production in a capitalist and a socialist country—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., for example—may be the same, the social effects of this will be poles apart. This is precisely where the superiority of socialism reveals itself, for under it production is subordinated not to profit-making but to the maximum satisfaction of the requirements of all members of society.

## FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Comrades, an economic competition between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., between the entire world socialist system and the world capitalist system, is in progress on the international scene.

The state of contemporary capitalism is characterized not only by the highly-developed countries, but by countries whose productive level is immeasurably lower. The level of production in the capitalist system as a whole lags far behind that of the United States. There is a big, constantly widening gap between the various capitalist countries in rates of economic growth.

At the same time, all the countries of the world socialist system are making rapid economic and cultural progress. *High rates are a general objective law of socialism, now confirmed by the experience of all the countries of the socialist camp.* In 1958, industrial output in the socialist countries was five times that of 1937. Through 1950-1958 the Chinese People's Republic raised its industrial output approximately tenfold. Compared with pre-war, industrial production in 1958 increased more than 450 per cent in Poland, 230 per cent in Czechoslovakia, more than 150 per cent in the German Democratic Republic, nearly 300 per cent in Rumania, over 300 per cent in Hungary, about 800 per cent in Bulgaria and 1,700 per cent in Albania. The Korean People's Democratic Republic increased industrial output 3.5-fold over 1949.

Industry is dominant in most of the People's Democracies as a result of socialist industrialization. Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria have become industrial-agrarian countries with a well-developed heavy industry, and the Chinese People's Republic is turning from an agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian country.

The crucial problem of socialist development—the shift of the peasantry to co-operation—is being solved successfully. In the Chinese People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, and the Korean People's Democratic Republic agriculture has been put on co-operative lines and in Czechoslovakia and Albania this process is nearly completed. Nearly half the arable land in the German Democratic Republic is in the hands of co-operatives and state farms. Co-operation in agriculture is gaining also in the other socialist countries as well.

Some People's Democracies have already reached the stage of completing the construction of socialism. The time is near when, like the Soviet Union, they will be building a communist society. This is of great international importance.

Practice has shown that in building a new life only those Communist Parties can achieve success which are guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, by the general objective laws of socialist development, which apply revolutionary theory creatively and take cognizance of the distinctive national and historical features of their countries. The fraternal parties of the socialist countries enrich the theory and practice of socialist construction and contribute to the further development of Marxism-Leninism.

The experience of all the socialist countries in Europe and Asia has proved that genuine progress is possible solely along socialist lines.

The world socialist system as a whole has already caught up the world capitalist system in industrial output per head of population. The socialist countries, with about one-third of the world population, produce more than one-third of the world industrial output, nearly half of the world grain output, and 43 per cent of the cotton. Economists estimate that *after the Soviet Union fulfils and exceeds its seven-year plan of economic development, and due to the high rates of economic development obtaining in the People's Democracies, the world socialist*

*system will account for more than half of the world industrial output. (Stormy applause.)* The superiority of the world socialist system over the world capitalist system in material production, that decisive sphere of human endeavour, will thereby be ensured. (*Applause.*)

Ponder on it, Comrades! Although the socialist countries occupy just one-fourth of the world area and most of them were economically backward in the past, the time is not distant when they will produce more than half of the world's industrial output! Is this not vivid proof that the countries which have taken the road of socialism dispose of inexhaustible possibilities?

The socialist revolution first won out in our country. For many years the bourgeoisie in all countries, and Social-Democratic leaders, too, from Kautsky to Sukhanov, forecast the inevitable collapse of Soviet rule and the restoration of capitalism owing to our economic backwardness. But what have these auguries come to? Even the formerly industrially undeveloped countries have under socialism overtaken the developed capitalist states and are confidently striding forward. History shows that whenever power is taken by the working class and the socialist system is established, the people get a chance to develop their country's economy at a far more rapid pace than under capitalism.

Experience shows that the people in the socialist countries are finding ever new resources to accelerate the rate of their economic development and improve the living standard. We advance shoulder to shoulder, rendering each other fraternal assistance and support. In this way, we shall gradually bring up the economic development of all the socialist countries to a common level.

It is not the Soviet Union alone which is faced with the problem of winning as much time as possible in its economic competition with capitalism. It may be recalled, for example, that the Communist Party of China has in 1957 set the target of surpassing Britain in output of key



industrial items in the next fifteen years. The mass movement to make the "big leap," which has spread in that country, shows that the Chinese people will achieve that target in a far shorter period. The Republic of Czechoslovakia intends by 1965 to raise industrial output 90 to 95 per cent over 1957 and the Polish People's Republic 80 per cent over 1958. The people of Bulgaria intend to fulfil their five-year plan in three to four years.

The countries of the socialist camp have all the requisites to win first place in world production.

The world socialist system has the advantage of superior rates of economic growth. The annual industrial production increase for the entire socialist camp has in the past five years (1954-1958) averaged 11 per cent, whereas in the capitalist world it was under 3 per cent.

In the world socialist system all countries unite and co-ordinate their productive efforts, whereas irreconcilable antagonisms dominate relations between the capitalist countries. Co-ordination of national economic plans is the form in which the productive efforts of the socialist countries are pooled in the current stage. International division of labour, particularly its highest forms—specialization and co-operation—are to play a big part in the economic development of the socialist camp. This offers new additional opportunities of expanding production in the socialist camp, and in each individual socialist country. By itself no country could develop at the rapid pace at which it develops within the system of socialist countries.

The distinctive feature about the economic development of the socialist countries is that their interrelations consolidate as they go forward and that the world socialist system is thus further cemented. A diametrically opposite tendency obtains in the capitalist world, where the growth of production in some one country aggravates antagonisms between the capitalist states, leads to greater competition, and to conflicts. The growth and development of each socialist country tends to reinforce the entire

socialist system. In this lies our strength, the guarantee of our imminent victories in socialism's peaceful competition with capitalism.

The Soviet Union regards it as its primary task to work for the greater unity of the countries of the world socialist system and for a further development of co-operation, of economic and cultural ties between them on the basis of socialist internationalism and the fraternal friendship of free peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

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Comrades, the attention of the world is focussed on our seven-year plan. It is being discussed and commented by our friends and by our opponents.

Our friends welcome the programme of communist construction in the Soviet Union. All the Communist and Workers' Parties are of one mind in their evaluation of our plan. The working people and progressives in all countries note its great importance for the further strengthening of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

As for our opponents, our control figures have caused confusion among them. Bourgeois propaganda is distorting the peaceful goals of our plan and trying to minimize its impact on the minds and hearts of the ordinary people. But even bourgeois periodicals cannot help admitting that the tasks set in the seven-year plan are gigantic. The *Economist* said that the plan made a staggering impression.

Reading bourgeois press comment on our plan, one cannot help recalling the comments on the First Five-Year Plan. At that time the bourgeois papers forecast the failure of the "Bolshevik experiment." They called it "madness" and a "pipe dream."

But times have changed. The successes scored by socialism have taught the world to respect our plans. Many bourgeois leaders, sober economists and the press are compelled to admit the feasibility of our programme.

*Business Week*, the journal of the American monopolies, states that "the U.S.S.R. has a good chance of achieving its over-all industrial goals. . . . In the past the Soviets have substantially fulfilled their five-year plan goals." The *Sankei*, a Japanese monopoly paper, declared that "it would be a mistake to doubt the feasibility of the published control figures, as some people still do in the capitalist world. The Soviet plan is feasible, if only because it is based on the experience of the 40 years that have elapsed since the Revolution."

New times—new tunes. We can say by rights that the seven-year plan has already scored its initial success by winning universal international recognition.

The *Des Moines Register* warns Western leaders to take the seven-year plan seriously, because the U.S.S.R. has "proved its capacity for making great economic advances—faster than those of the United States." A *New York Times* editor admits: "The Soviet Union is now breathing down our necks, economically speaking. They are only two jumps behind us—a decade or so behind us—in productive capacity." That is a sober deduction. We are well inclined to agree with it.

In admitting the feasibility of our new plans, bourgeois leaders and organs of the press voice their concern that the fulfilment of the titanic tasks set for the next seven years will greatly increase the appeal of the ideas of communism.

The Right-wing French *L'Aurore* writes that the Soviet Union ". . . has set the dates when the dreams of Marxist revolutionaries will become reality. It is starting out on unprecedented ventures." The *Wall Street Journal* says that the plan may have so great an impact on some countries that they will "choose communism," and that "there is not much the United States can do about it." Well said. (*Animation.*)

In the West they say that we have made our "challenge." Well, if they like the word, let us consider that we have.

But it is a challenge *to compete in the peaceful development of our economies and in raising the people's living standard*. Our people challenged capitalism by accomplishing the October Revolution, but it was not a military challenge. It was a challenge to peaceful competition. If our people had to develop the war industry, they did so only because they had to be prepared to rebuff armed attack, whose threat has always hung over our country. Our chief aim was, and is, peaceful development and higher living standards. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We want to compete in the production of industrial goods, meat, butter, milk, clothing, footwear, and other consumers' goods, rather than in the arms race and the production of A- and H-bombs and rockets.

Let the people judge for themselves what system best satisfies their requirements, and let them give each system its due.

#### THE PEACEFUL POLICY OF THE U.S.S.R. AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The seven-year plan is a fresh manifestation of the Leninist peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. It will play a very big part in solving the cardinal problem of our time—the preservation of world peace.

The importance of the plan lies, firstly, in it being imbued with the spirit of peace. A state which undertakes a giant programme of building new factories, plants, power stations, mines and other enterprises, which allocates nearly 400,000 million rubles for housing and public building, and sets the task of substantially raising the living standard of its people—that state seeks peace, not war.

Secondly, the plan, when fulfilled, will so greatly increase the economic potential of the U.S.S.R. that it will, together with the growth of the economic potential of all the socialist countries, give peace a decisive edge in the international balance of forces. New, even more favourable

conditions for averting a world war, for preserving peace on earth, will thus take shape.

The conclusion drawn by the 20th Congress of the Party that war is not fatally inevitable has been justified. Today, we have all the more reason to reaffirm this conclusion. There are tremendous forces capable of rebuffing the imperialist aggressors and defeating them if they should start a world war.

What new elements will arise in the international situation with the implementation of the economic plans of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries of Europe and Asia? *There will be a real possibility of eliminating war as a means of solving international issues.*

Indeed, when the U.S.S.R. becomes the leading industrial power in the world, when the Chinese People's Republic becomes a mighty industrial power and all the socialist countries together will produce more than half of the world industrial output, the world situation will change radically. The successes of the countries of the socialist camp will doubtlessly serve to strengthen the forces of peace throughout the world. By that time the countries working for lasting peace will no doubt be joined by new countries that have thrown off colonial oppression. The idea that war is inadmissible will take still firmer root in the minds of men. This new balance of forces will be so patently evident that even the most die-hard imperialists will clearly see the futility of starting a war against the socialist camp. Backed by the might of the socialist camp the peaceful nations will then be able to compel militant imperialist groups to abandon their plans of a new world war.

In this way, a real possibility of excluding world war from the life of society will take shape even before the universal triumph of socialism, with capitalism still existing in some parts of the world.

Some may say: but capitalism will still exist, and hence there will still be adventurers who might start a war. That

is true, and we must not forget it. As long as capitalism exists there may always be people who, contrary to common sense, will want to launch out on a hopeless venture. But in that way they will only bring nearer the ultimate collapse of the capitalist system. Any attempt at aggression will be curbed and the adventurers put where they belong. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Such are the prospects, Comrades, that arise as we discuss our plans.

Allow me to turn to specific problems concerning the international situation. I shall not deal with all international problems, and shall touch on just the vital ones.

Of great importance to peace and international security is a proper solution of the German problem. Twice in the early half of the twentieth century German imperialism started world wars. Today, with the assistance of the monopolists of the U.S.A., Britain and the other partners of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact, West Germany is being turned into the principal nuclear and rocket base for NATO. Even now West Germany is coming to play a leading role in that aggressive bloc. Some Western politicians are evidently again thinking of channelling the German threat eastwards and forget that German militarism also happens to know the way to the West.

A situation is taking shape in which German militarism may for the third time plunge mankind into a world war. When we point to the danger arising with the rearming of West Germany we are told that it is kept under control within the NATO framework and is hence no longer dangerous. But all can now see that militarism and revanchism has been revived in West Germany, and that it is a menace to the peaceful nations.

The German Federal Republic is one of the countries whose rulers are for continuing the "cold war," for carrying on the so-called policy from "positions of strength." Chancellor Adenauer pursues that policy most zealously. He is one of the chief opponents of any and all agreements

designed to slacken international tension and end the "cold war." Adenauer's attitude has the support of influential Western groups and of the countries which are dependent upon the United States and the German Federal Republic because they hope to get credits from them, and for other reasons.

In view of the threat presented by German militarism the peaceful nations, principally the neighbours of West Germany, are compelled to take precautions.

For many years the Soviet Union has consistently sought to promote Germany's peaceful democratic development in accordance with the Potsdam Agreements and to prevent the revival of militarism. But all Soviet moves met with the stubborn resistance of the rulers of the U.S.A., Britain, France and West Germany.

In view of the mounting military threat from the German Federal Republic, the Soviet Union has recently made a number of new proposals on the German problem. We suggested a gradual reduction of foreign armed forces in Germany, or, better still, their complete withdrawal. We stand for a "zone of disengagement" of the armed forces. The farther apart they will be, the less the danger of clashes and conflicts. The Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw its forces not only from Germany, but from Poland and Hungary, where they are stationed under the Warsaw Treaty, if all the NATO countries will withdraw their troops to within their national boundaries and abolish their military bases in other countries.

The Soviet Union supports the Polish plan for an "atom-free zone" in Europe and a reduction of conventional armaments in that zone.

Last November, the Soviet Government approached the United States, Britain and France with a proposal to put an end to the remnants of occupation regime in Berlin and make West Berlin a demilitarized free city. This solution of the Berlin problem corresponds to the interests of peace in Europe and would serve to slacken international tension.

The German problem would be fundamentally solved with the conclusion of a German peace treaty. There is nothing to justify the fact that to this day, fourteen years after the end of the war, no peace treaty has been signed between Germany and the countries with which it was at war. That, in effect, benefits the people who want the "cold war." It is used as an excuse by the Western Powers to keep their troops in the heart of Europe, to maintain an atomic bridgehead there and to prepare a new war, juggling superciliously with Germany and its people as though they were pawns.

The draft peace treaty submitted by the Soviet Union blends measures ensuring the rights of the German people, their full sovereignty and peaceful democratic development with measures necessary to preserve security and peace in Europe. A peace treaty with Germany would immediately relieve tension in Europe. It would establish a reliable legal basis and cut the ground from under the revanchist trend in West Germany. It would rid the German people of foreign occupation and would enable them to handle all questions of home and foreign policy on their own.

For its part, the Soviet Union will spare no effort to have the peace treaty concluded. It will work for it consistently and tirelessly. A peace treaty would also serve to solve the Berlin problem on a peaceful and democratic basis. It would serve to make West Berlin a free city and provide the necessary guarantee of non-interference in its affairs. The United Nations Organization should be deputed to enforce this guarantee. We want negotiations on all these problems so as to find a sensible solution for them. Our proposals are in line with this purpose. They help to eliminate many of the causes of tension in the relations between states in the heart of Europe and to strengthen the peace.

The peace treaty will mean a big step forward towards German reunification, now hindered by the obtaining in-



ternational tension, particularly the tension in the relations between the two German states.

It must be understood that the reunification of Germany is the business of the German people and the German people alone. Since there are two sovereign states today and neither can be eliminated without touching off a world war, Germany's reunification can only be achieved through negotiations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. There is no other way. (*Applause.*)

All sensible people realize that the peaceful reunification of Germany cannot be achieved by abolishing the socialist gains of the German people in the German Democratic Republic. Germany's unification on terms proposed by Adenauer would jeopardize European security, since it would mean the spread of militarism, revanchism and reaction to all of Germany. Neither should we expect to unify Germany by abolishing the regime existing in the German Federal Republic.

It would be wrong to impose conditions on the Germans relating to the reunification of their country. The Germans must settle the issue by themselves. That is why we support the slogan of Germany's democratic groups: "Germans, sit at one table!"

Western propaganda accuses the Soviet Union of opposing German reunification by free elections. We have never objected to free elections. But again, the issue must be settled by the Germans themselves. We want all questions pertaining to German reunification to be solved by negotiations between the two German states, and not the way Adenauer wants it—through pressure by foreign powers, through their interference in the domestic affairs of the German people and by swallowing up the German Democratic Republic.

To help the two German states to reunify, we support the reasonable confederation proposal of the G.D.R. Government as a first step towards establishing a per-

manent connection between the G.D.R. and the F.R.G., and creating all-German organs. If there is any other way whereby the two German states could settle the reunification problem, we are prepared to co-operate in it.

In this connection, we must again mention Chancellor Adenauer, who fears German reunification on a peaceful and democratic basis. His attitude is absolutely incomprehensible. It is contrary to common sense and to the interests of the German people. Adenauer is the leader of the Christian Democratic Party. It would appear that he should be guided by the evangelical principles, of which his party speaks so much. (*Laughter.*) Yet this "Christian" has a cross in one hand and wants the atomic bomb for his other. What is more, he depends on the bomb rather than the cross, although that is contrary to the Christian philosophy and to the national tasks of the German people. Herr Adenauer is an elderly and experienced man. Why does he fail to see that not his allies alone, but the Soviet Union as well, possesses nuclear arms. It should be borne in mind that these arms can take a heavy toll of human lives. Since West Germany is being turned into an atomic base, its population will be the first to suffer in the event of an armed conflict.

If Herr Adenauer were really pious, it would appear that he should follow the Christian canon and show concern for the hereafter, for the "saving of his soul." (*General laughter.*) However, judging by his deeds there is little hope of his soul ever going to heaven. (*Animation.*) According to the sacred writings deeds like his lead one to the infernal regions. (*General laughter.*)

In another part of the world—the Far East—the aggressive policy of the United States in regard to the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving states is the main source of tension. Some time ago the world watched anxiously how America's aggressive moves threatened to set off a terrible armed conflagration. It was the resolute stand of the Chinese People's Republic and of other peace-

loving forces that averted this threat. The Pacific Ocean area has become the main testing ground for U.S. nuclear weapons.

All this creates a compelling need for action to avert war, particularly atomic war, in that region of the globe. The chances appear to be better there than elsewhere, because the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and also India, Indonesia, Burma and other countries in that area are working for peace. Their joint action for the prohibition of the atomic weapon and of nuclear tests could to a very great extent help to preserve the peace in the Pacific. Their initiative would be supported by the people of Japan and other countries of the Pacific basin. *A zone of peace, above all an atom-free zone, can, and must, be created in the Far East and the entire Pacific Ocean area.*

Progressives have good reason to be pleased with developments in the Middle East. We welcome the national-liberation movement of the Arab people and the other peoples of Asia and Africa who have shaken off colonial oppression. The ousting of foreign imperialist troops from a number of countries in that area is a major triumph of the Arab people and the peace forces. But we must not think that the chances of an exacerbation there no longer exist, because the colonialists, driven out of the colonies, will never reconcile themselves to their defeat. The Western Powers, above all the United States and Britain, are trying to set one group of Arab states against another, are plotting in Iraq and other Arab countries. They are looking for weak spots in order to divide the liberated peoples, principally the peoples of the Arab East.

When a people fights for its national independence against colonial rule, all patriotic forces come together in a united national front.

This was the case during the struggle of the Egyptian and other Arab peoples for liberation from imperialist op-

pression. In Egypt all the national forces joined hands to evict the colonialists from the country and to nationalize the Suez Canal. The national liberation of Egypt was welcomed by the whole of progressive mankind. The reactionary clique, which served the imperialists, was overthrown in Iraq, where an independent republic was established. The Soviet people and the peoples of the other socialist countries gave vigorous support to the just struggle of the Arab peoples. Such prominent leaders of that movement as Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, and Abdel Kerim Kassim, head of the Iraqi Republican Government, have won the warmest regard of the Soviet people.

After the colonialists are ousted and the all-national tasks are solved in the main, the people seek a solution to vital social problems. This applies above all to the agrarian and peasant problem and the problems of labour's struggle against capital. Social processes arise within the national-liberation movement which inevitably engender different opinions about the further development of their respective states.

Our country, like the other socialist countries, has always supported the national-liberation movement. The Soviet Union never interferes, and has no intention of interfering, in the domestic affairs of other countries. But we cannot remain silent in face of the campaign conducted in some countries against progressives under the spurious guise of anti-communism. Since there have recently been statements against the ideas of communism in the United Arab Republic and accusations were levelled at Communists, I, as a Communist, think it is necessary to declare at this Congress of our Communist Party that it is wrong to accuse Communists of helping to undermine and divide the national effort in the struggle against imperialism. Quite the contrary. There are no people more resolute and loyal to the struggle against colonialists than the Communists. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) There are no

forces more resolute in the struggle against imperialism than the forces of communism. It is no accident that the imperialists are spearheading their struggle against the communist movement.

The struggle against Communists and other progressive parties is a reactionary undertaking. Anti-communist policy does not unite the national forces. It disunites them, and consequently weakens the effort of the nation in defending its interests against imperialism. It is wrong to accuse the Communists of acting against the national interests of the Arab peoples. It is also naive to draw a parallel between communism and Zionism. It may be recalled that Communists, those of Israel included, are fighting against Zionism.

It is not sensible to see "communist plots" in everything. Problems of social development should be weighed with greater consideration. There are objective laws of social development. They show that within nations there are classes with different interests. After imperialist oppression is abolished in the colonial countries the workers want shorter working hours and higher wages; the peasants want more land and an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labour; both workers and peasants want political rights. Whereas the capitalists want to make more profit, and the landowners want to keep their land. The progressives want their country to make social progress. They strive to strengthen its national independence and to protect it from imperialist plots. Internal reactionary forces, often spurred on by the imperialists, are resisting all this.

These processes unfolding in the countries which have shaken off the imperialist yoke, do not arise by the will and wish of any party. They arise because there are classes and these have different interests. We Communists, and all progressives, naturally sympathize with those who fight for social justice. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We do not deny that we and some of the leaders of the

United Arab Republic have divergent views in the sphere of ideology. But in questions of fighting imperialism, of consolidating the political and economic independence of the countries which cast off the yoke of colonialism, of fighting the war danger our positions coincide with their positions. The difference in our ideological viewpoints should not impede the development of friendly relations between our countries and the joint struggle against imperialism. (*Applause.*)

Imperialist agents travelling about the Middle East seek to put the fear of communism into certain people, hoping thereby to gain influence and support the domestic reactionaries. For this reason the people there must be on guard against imperialist designs.

The countries which have achieved their national liberation need—and will continue to need in the future—the support of the socialist countries and of all progressive people. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are working for closer friendly relations with them. They render assistance to them, and will do so in the future.

The imperialists use their economic relations with the underdeveloped countries as instruments of blackmail and extortion. They saddle these countries with military and political conditions. Our country, on the other hand, bases its relations with all states on complete equality and co-operation, with no military or political strings attached. We do not indulge in charity. The Soviet Union renders help on a fair commercial basis. The socialist countries help the underdeveloped countries to build up their own industry, whereas the United States are trying to sell them consumers' goods which have no market at home. The seven-year plan opens up new possibilities for Soviet economic co-operation with the industrially underdeveloped countries.

A new stage has arrived in this struggle of nations for their freedom and independence. The national-liberation movement is spreading to all the colonial and dependent

countries. The peoples of Latin America have increased their resistance to American imperialist oppression. The peoples of Asia and Africa are in ferment. The people who have won their national freedom want to dispose of their own destiny. Now they need peace more than ever. The Great Powers must undertake to respect the sovereignty of the nations of the Arab East and Africa, to abandon the use of force in solving controversial issues, and to abstain from interfering in their internal affairs. In place of the powder keg where adventurers play with fire, we must have a zone of peace and free national development.

Measures designed to improve the situation in the various regions must be combined with an effort to improve the overall international climate.

The prime task today is to break the impasse in the *disarmament issue*. The armaments race continues, swallowing up ever more financial and material resources. To raise funds for the production of armaments, capitalist governments channel a lion's share of their budgets into militarization and pursue a policy of plundering the working people, acting upon the principle: "My last shirt for a sword." (*Animation.*)

The need to ban tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons is particularly compelling. Now when all have recognized that atomic explosions can be detected at any point of the globe there is no reason to delay the settlement of that issue. The people of all countries demand a stop to these tests, which contaminate the world atmosphere with harmful radio-activity. And this demand must be met.

We act upon the principle that relations between states with different social systems must develop on the basis of peaceful coexistence. We and the rulers of the capitalist countries have different views, different world outlooks. We shall never renounce our views and have no illusions about our class opponents changing theirs. But this does not mean we should go to war over our divergent views. In each country it is the people themselves

who shape their own destiny and choose their path of development. The Soviet Union has no intentions of forcing its path on anyone. We guide ourselves by Lenin's principle that revolutions cannot be exported.

Would it not be better for the leaders of states with different social systems to decide, and to lose no time in so doing, that since we share one planet, and not too big a planet by present technological standards, it is advisable to live and let live, and not wave the fist at the other fellow all the time in the shape of atomic and hydrogen bombs. We must learn to settle our controversies by means of peaceful negotiation.

It is high time to realize that threats are bound to fail in regard to the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, and to accept the radical strategic changes in the world situation.

Today all admit the successes achieved by Soviet science and technology, which have blazed man's trail into the cosmos. These achievements mirror the resources of the Soviet Union, of the world socialist system. It is plain that if the Soviet Union can launch a rocket hundreds of thousands of kilometres into outer space, it can launch powerful rockets with pin-point accuracy to any part of the globe. (*Applause.*)

However, our deductions from these facts are quite different from those made by certain groups in the West. The latter view each achievement of science and technology principally from the standpoint of its military potential. After the first atomic bomb was developed in the United States, American policy-makers lost no time in claiming world supremacy.

The Soviet Union has no such intentions. We do not use the historic achievements of Soviet science and technology to back up a war policy, or to dictate our will to other states. We use them to redouble our efforts in the struggle for world peace. And today, when we lead in rocket engineering, we again say to the United States, Britain and France: let's ban for all time the



testing, production, and use of nuclear hydrogen and rocket weapons; let's destroy all stockpiles of these lethal weapons; let's use this supreme discovery of human genius exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the common good. Our government is ready to sign an appropriate agreement at any time. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The only sensible policy for the Great Powers to adopt is to proceed to a peaceful settlement of international problems and to start on universal disarmament.

More than a year ago the Soviet Government proposed an East-West meeting of heads of governments. No progress has been made on this score since then through the fault of the Western Powers. But we feel it to be our duty to the people of all countries to work for this meeting, on which all who want peace and security are pinning their hopes.

We have repeatedly had to point to the responsibility borne by the two Great Powers—the Soviet Union and the United States—in preserving the peace. As concerns the Soviet Union, it has on many occasions expressed its sincere desire to normalize relations with the United States, and has backed its words with deeds. The Soviet Union proposed a fifty-year pact of non-aggression. It proposed that the two countries should extend reciprocal trade, promote cultural relations, etc. But every time we came up against an outright refusal or veiled resistance.

Our two countries have never had any territorial claims on one another. There are no grounds for clashes between our two peoples. Yet the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have long been strained.

We know that many politicians and financiers, congressmen and newspaper publishers in the U.S.A. have an interest in maintaining such relations. But the number of people who favour friendly, good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union is growing in the United States. The reception accorded to A. I. Mikoyan in America is vivid proof of this. His visit evoked a manifestation of friendly senti-

ment among the American people for the people of the Soviet Union. Most of the Americans he spoke to expressed their sincere and outspoken sympathy for the Soviet people. They said that they wanted friendship and peaceful co-operation with the Soviet Union. Among them were people of different political and religious views and of different social standing—scientists, cultural workers, businessmen and the general public. Evidently, most Americans no longer believe the anti-Soviet propaganda of the reactionary bourgeois newspapers in the U.S.A. The attempts made by some elements to organize provocative acts during Comrade Mikoyan's visit were a total failure, because they did not represent the sentiments and views of the American people.

We welcome the efforts of all the Americans who favour an end to the cold war and support peaceful coexistence and co-operation between all countries. Sympathy for the American people, whose industrial genius and efficiency are known to all the world, is very strong in our country.

There are, of course, quite a few difficulties along the path of peaceful coexistence. In following this path, both sides will have to show a readiness for mutual understanding, great restraint, and, if you like, great patience, (*Applause.*)

An extensive *development of world trade* could do much to slacken international tension and strengthen mutual confidence.

In spite of all existing obstruction, the trade between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries of Europe and America almost trebled in 1958 over 1950. We are doing good business with Sweden. Long-term trade agreements have been concluded with France and Italy, and our trade with other countries is increasing.

The Soviet economic programme of peaceful development for 1959-1965 offers good prospects for the development of Soviet foreign trade with all countries. We can at least double its volume.

We offer the capitalist countries peaceful competition, and our offer goes beyond the time of the seven-year plan. We are drawing up a long-term development plan embracing fifteen years. This plan, too, is built on the principle of peaceful development and peaceful economic competition.

All nations can see that *our plans are plans of peaceful construction. We call on all people to work harder for peace. For our part, we shall do everything in our power to ensure peace in the whole world.* (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

#### COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

Comrades, our seven-year plan is a powerful moral support for the international workers' and communist movement, for all democrats, in their struggle against reaction and imperialism. By making fresh progress in building communism, the Soviet people will be doing their international duty by the international working class.

At present, there are Communist and Workers' Parties in 83 countries. Their membership adds up to more than 33 million people. That is a tremendous victory of Marxism-Leninism, a big gain for the working class. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Reactionaries of all hues have waged dozens of campaigns against communism. But nothing can destroy the communist movement, for it is an offspring of the class struggle of the proletariat, of all working people, and represents their interests. Many Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are now having great difficulties. Reaction has launched a new frenzied attack on them, which, we are sure, will end in another failure, while our fraternal parties will emerge from the test steeled and stronger than ever before. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In organizing its offensive against the working-class and communist movement, international reaction resorts

to social demagogy, to deceiving the masses with spurious tales about the so-called "free world." Imperialist ideologists try to dress up the anti-popular capitalist system. Prominent bourgeois leaders never fail to put in that the Western capitalist countries are "free countries," and the capitalist world, a "free world."

Indeed, there is freedom in the capitalist countries, but for whom? Not for the workers, of course, who have to go into the capitalists' service on any terms to avoid finding themselves in the vast army of people "free" of work. And not for the peasants, who are continuously menaced with being "freed" of their farms through ruin. And not for the intellectuals either, whose creative endeavour is hemmed in by material dependence upon the money-bags and the "spiritual guidance" of various loyalty commissions. Freedom in the capitalist countries exists for those alone who have money and, consequently, power.

The politicians and ideologists of the "free world" like to profess religious morals. But they ought to know from the religious myths about Christ that when he saw traders and money-lenders haggling in the temple he took a whip and banished them. (*Animation.*) If the capitalists uphold religious morals, why have they turned the society in which they rule into a paradise for the rich and a hell for the poor? And this, in spite of the Christian parable which says that a camel is more likely to pass through a needle's eye than a rich man is to go to paradise! The "free world" is the realm of the dollar, of profit-making and unbridled profiteering, of cruel exploitation of millions of people to enrich a handful of monopolists.

There was a time when in their struggle against feudalism bourgeois revolutions proclaimed the enticing slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity, but it was proclaimed by the bourgeoisie primarily to elbow aside the aristocracy in order to pave the way for capital. As it consolidated its rule, it ignored the slogan more and more.

Today, though they still take advantage of the slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity, the imperialists turn more and more frequently to outright dictatorship. There are sinister signs in the capitalist countries today of an upsurge of reaction and fascism. This is the reactionary path chosen by West Germany, where the Communist Party has been banned, democrats are persecuted, and fascist and revanchist organizations are given free rein. The trend towards open dictatorship has taken shape in France, where the democratic freedoms and the gains of the masses are being abused. The onslaught of reaction in France, a country known for its democratic traditions, causes concern to all friends of democracy and progress. The military coups in Pakistan and Thailand have shown that an attack is being mounted on the democratic gains of peoples that have won national independence. The forces of reaction are rearing their head also in a number of other capitalist countries.

We are thus faced with a clear-cut general tendency, which obtains in many capitalist countries, rather than with isolated facts.

The reactionaries are using an old anti-popular weapon—they are doing away with the democratic system and setting up “strong-arm” governments. But just as in the period when fascist dictatorships were established in Italy and Germany, the tendency towards the open dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie is not a sign of strength, but a sign of weakness. Yet it should be borne in mind that under an unlimited dictatorship reaction has a better chance of starting a reign of terror and repression, of suppressing all opposition, of indoctrinating the masses to suit its ends, of infecting them with the poison of chauvinism, and of freeing its hands for military gambles. For this reason, the people must be vigilant. They must be ever ready to repel the reactionary offensive and the threat of resurgent fascism

Millions of people usually associate fascism with Hitler and Mussolini. But we must not rule out the possibility that fascism will revive in forms other than those which have already discredited themselves in the eyes of nations.

Today, when there is a powerful socialist camp, when the working-class movement has much experience in combating reaction, and when the working class is much better organized, the people have greater possibilities of blocking the advance of fascism. Broad sections of the people, all democratic, genuinely national forces, can and must join hands against fascism. In so doing, it is very important to stamp out all vestiges of sectarianism, which are liable to obstruct the mobilization of the masses against reaction and fascism. The unity of the democratic forces, above all of the working class, is the most reliable barrier to the fascist threat.

Who obstructs the unity of the working class? Imperialist reaction and its henchmen in the working-class movement, such as Guy Mollet and Spaak, the anti-communist-minded Social-Democratic leaders. We know all these chieftains of anti-communism by name and do not count on them when we speak of joint working-class action. Most of the rank-and-file in the Social-Democratic parties are friends of peace and social progress, although their idea of how to win them is different to ours, to the communist idea. And it is precisely in the struggle against reaction and fascism that Communists and Social-Democrats should find a common language. It is high time for the representatives of all the trends in the labour movement to brush aside the mountebanks of anti-communism and to sit round one table and work out a mutually acceptable platform of joint working-class action in defence of their interests, of peace.

It is imperative, in the name of further progress, for the Communist and Workers' Parties to reinforce their ranks ideologically and organizationally, to further consolidate

them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and to consolidate their fraternal international connections.

The Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957 showed that the fraternal parties are united in their views. The Declaration of the meeting was approved unanimously by all Communist and Workers' Parties, and has come to be a charter of international unity for the world communist movement. The Declaration condemned revisionism as the principal danger, and dogmatism and sectarianism as well. Life has proved the conclusions drawn in the Declaration to be correct. And we take guidance from them at present.

A further consolidation has taken place inside each Communist Party after the November conferences. The international communist movement has gained strength as well. The revisionists failed to turn any of the fraternal parties away from the Marxist-Leninist path. Miserable handfuls of opportunists, and individuals who have lost their bearings under the fire of the class enemy, were the only ones to follow them. This scum, which polluted the pure fount of the communist movement, rose to the surface in the heat of the struggle and was discarded.

The contentions of the revisionists have been refuted by life, by the practical struggle of the working class, by the entire process of social development. Dashed to the ground are the principal revisionist theses—about changes in the nature of capitalism, the crisis-free development of the capitalist system, and the peaceful growing of capitalism into socialism, and so forth.

The international communist movement has criticized the views and policies of the Yugoslav revisionists. The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia contend that the Marxist-Leninist Parties started an ideological campaign against them because they had refused to undersign the Declaration. But this is utterly false. It is the Yugoslav leadership which, in opposition to the Declaration came forth with its revisionist programme

attacking the Marxist-Leninist positions of the international communist movement. Could Marxists have ignored these facts? Of course not. This is the reason why all the parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism criticized the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Our position in regard to the views held by the Yugoslav leadership is clear. We have defined it repeatedly in all frankness, while the Yugoslav leaders keep twisting and turning and evading the truth.

They want to conceal the substance of their differences with the Marxist-Leninists. And this substance is that the Yugoslav revisionists deny the need of international class solidarity, that they have abandoned working-class positions. They are trying to tell everybody that there are two blocs in the world, two military camps. Yet everybody knows that the socialist camp, which embraces the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, is not a military camp, but a community of equal nations fighting for peace and a better life, for socialism and communism. (*Stormy applause.*) The other camp is the imperialist camp which seeks at all costs to maintain its system of oppression and violence, and threatens war. We did not make up these camps. They emerged in the process of social development.

The Yugoslav leaders claim that they stand outside all blocs, above the camps. Yet in point of fact they are in the Balkan bloc, which consists of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece. It may be recalled that the latter two countries are members of the aggressive NATO bloc, and that Turkey is also a member of the Bagdad Pact. The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia resent our telling them that they are sitting on two chairs. They insist that they are sitting on their own Yugoslav chair. But for some reason this Yugoslav chair is held up by the American monopolies! And it is precisely this "no-bloc" position, this neutrality, which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia so highly extol, that has a



distinct whiff of the American monopolies, which keep giving handouts to "Yugoslav socialism." The history of the class struggle knows of no case when the bourgeoisie materially or morally supported its class enemy, assisted in building socialism.

The crucial test of a country's administration is the progress it makes in developing the national economy, raising the culture and well-being of the people. We Soviet Communists think that our road to socialism, shown us by the great Lenin, is the right one. By following it the Soviet Union has scored many victories, which have amazed the whole world. All the People's Democracies have followed the road blazed by the October Revolution, Lenin's road, and have also made remarkable progress.

And who achieved the least results? It is that very party, that very country, whose leaders extol their so-called Yugoslav road as being the only right road. People look at it this way: the best road is the road which leads to the best possible economic and political results in the shortest time. And if we compare the living standard in the socialist countries, we shall find, as indicated in economic publications, that it is rising much more slowly in Yugoslavia. Yugoslav practice itself refutes the theoretical "discoveries" of the Yugoslav revisionists.

If Yugoslavia is behind in its development, if it does not march, but rather zigzags, along the socialist road, the responsibility for this falls entirely on the revisionist anti-Marxist line of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which has its own special idea about the role of the Party in building socialism. The Yugoslav revisionists minimize the Party's role and, in effect, reject Lenin's teaching of the Party being the guiding force in the struggle for socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties follow developments in Yugoslavia with concern. The fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia have by dint of great sacrifice and with Soviet support liberated themselves from German and Italian

occupation, have overthrown the rule of their own bourgeoisie, and taken the road of socialism. Yet now the policy of the Yugoslav leadership, aimed at opposing Yugoslavia to the socialist camp and the international communist movement, may lead to the loss of the international communist movement, may lead to the loss of the socialist gains made by the Yugoslav people.

We have the very friendliest feelings for the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, for the Yugoslav Communists, those heroes of underground and partisan struggle. In a number of questions of foreign policy we hold common views. We shall continue to develop trade with Yugoslavia on a reciprocal basis. We shall work for co-operation with Yugoslavia in all questions of the anti-imperialist struggle, for peace, in which our attitudes will coincide.

How will matters stand in the Party sphere? That will depend on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Its leadership has isolated itself from the international communist movement. Therefore, it is now up to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to make a turn towards rapprochement with the Communist Parties on a Marxist-Leninist basis. This would also be in the interests of the Yugoslav people.

The communist movement has dealt revisionism crushing blows. But revisionism is not dead yet. It must be borne in mind that the imperialists will in every way seek to support and rally the revisionists.

There is also the need to combat dogmatism and sectarianism, which impede the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application, and lead to loss of contact with the masses. Lenin's injunction to strengthen the connections with the masses, to give utmost heed to the voice of the masses, and to stand at their head, is sacred to all of us Communists.

As regards relations between the fraternal parties within the framework of the international communist movement, we have always followed Lenin's approach.

Lenin taught us that these relations are to be built upon the equality and independence of the national detachments of the international working-class movement, upon the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is precisely because all the parties have equal rights that they maintain relations of confidence and voluntary co-operation, that they voluntarily and consciously seek joint action as component elements of a single great army of labour.

All the Communist Parties are independent and shape their own policy proceeding from the concrete conditions in their respective countries. They have scored successes in their work, are steadily extending their influence, increasing the number of their followers, and winning prestige in all sections of the people.

Imperialist ideologists, and the revisionists who take their cue from them, strive in every way to undermine the growing influence of the Communist Parties and spread the spurious tale about the communist movement being "made in Moscow" and about the Communist and Workers' Parties being dependent upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav revisionists, who allege that our Party seeks "hegemonism" in regard to the other parties, show particular zeal. They went so far as to include a thesis on "hegemonism" in their programme. They contend that our Party interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and wants to control the other Communist Parties. And the reactionaries are very grateful to the Yugoslav revisionists for this slander.

Anyone who happens to know the communist movement will have little difficulty in smashing the spurious tales of the international reactionaries and revisionists.

It is ridiculous to think that a political party of the working class, which often has hundreds of thousands, and sometimes millions of members, could be organized in any country from outside. No one will believe, for example, that the Italian Communist Party of 2,000,000,

the French of nearly 500,000, the Indonesian of 1,500,000, the Indian of nearly 300,000, and the other fraternal parties have been "established by Moscow" and that their members are "foreign agents."

It was not due to some centre "planting" Communist Parties in all countries that they have come into being. No miracle of that kind is possible. The history of social development reveals that Marxist parties come into being with the emergence and growth of the working class. This means that the communist movement came into being as an objective necessity, that it was born of the very living conditions of the working class in each country. There are classes in all the capitalist countries and, consequently, there are political parties there which represent their interests. The Communist Parties are political parties of the working class and they will exist as long as there is the working class. (*Stormy applause.*)

It is just as naive to think that the millions of people in the Communist Parties can be told from outside what they are to think today and what they are to do tomorrow.

Some say that the "dependence" of the Communist and Workers' Parties on Moscow is corroborated by statements to the effect that the C.P.S.U. stands at the head of the international communist movement. In doing so they refer to the well-known clause in the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting, which says that "the camp of socialist states is headed by the Soviet Union."

The Communists of the Soviet Union and of all the other countries think that thereby tribute was paid to our country and to our working class, which has, under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by the great Lenin, been the first to carry out the socialist revolution, the first to take power. (*Prolonged applause.*) In these forty odd years we have travelled a long way along a difficult road of struggle and victory and have built up a powerful state, the bulwark of all the socialist countries

and of the world communist movement. (*Stormy applause.*)

We convey our hearty thanks to the fraternal parties for this appreciation of the historic role of the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

It must be emphasized, however, that there has always been complete equality and independence for all the Communist and Workers' Parties and the socialist countries in the communist movement and in the socialist camp. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not control any of the other parties, the Soviet Union does not control any other country. There are no "superior" and "subordinate" parties in the communist movement. All the Communist and Workers' Parties are equal and independent. All of them bear responsibility for the destiny of the communist movement, for its failures and its successes. (*Applause.*) And each Communist and Workers' Party bears responsibility to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international workers' and communist movement. In their struggle for working-class interests, for socialism, the Communist Parties combine the universal tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete historical and national conditions in their countries. Only a Marxist-Leninist Party connected with the working class, with the people of its country, is able to know the concrete conditions of struggle; it alone can work out a political line conforming to these conditions and taking account of the traditions of the working-class movement in its country.

And this is so in reality. All the Communist and Workers' Parties exist and struggle on the basis of complete independence and proletarian internationalism, of voluntary co-operation and mutual assistance. This is how our Party understands the nature of the relations between the fraternal parties. (*Applause.*)

As for the Soviet Union, its role is not in controlling other countries, but in having been the first to blaze the

trail to socialism for mankind, in being the most powerful country in the world socialist system and the first to have entered the period of extensive building of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was built up by Lenin in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We Soviet Communists have not only mastered Marxism-Leninism, but have defended it against enemies of all hues. Guided by this teaching, the Soviet people, with the Communist Party at their head, have built socialism in grim struggle and are striding confidently forward to communism. (*Applause.*)

We have always loyally followed the great international teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and shall always do so. Figuratively speaking, our Communist Party regards itself as one of the forward detachments of the world communist movement, the detachment which is the first to be taking the summits of communism. And on our way to communism we shall not be stopped by any avalanche or landslide. Nobody can make us turn off the path leading to communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

We have always held the view, and still do so, that none must retire to their national "domains" and withdraw into their own shells. We think that the might of the socialist camp must be reinforced in all ways and that the unity of the international communist movement must be further cemented in accordance with the principles adopted by all the fraternal parties in the Moscow Declaration.

Concern for the solidarity and strength of our ranks is the supreme international duty of each Communist and Workers' Party. *Success in the national cause of the working class is inconceivable without the international solidarity of all its detachments.* (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are brought together by the great common purpose of liberating the working people, of fighting for universal peace. We have one common concern—the concern for the

welfare of nations, for their prosperity and security, their happy future, which can only be achieved on socialist lines. We are united by the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and by the struggle to put it into practice. We shall always preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. We shall fight against opportunists, against revisionists of all shades, and shall always be loyal to the working class. It is in this that we see our international duty to the world communist and workers' movement. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

IV  
NEW STAGE IN COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION  
AND SOME PROBLEMS  
OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

Comrades, now that our country has entered a new historical period of its development, the problems of Marxist-Leninist theory associated with the transition from socialism to communism acquire special importance.

There is, first, the question of the *two phases of communist society* and the laws governing the growing of socialism into communism.

The founders of scientific communism—Marx, Engels, Lenin—indicated that following the overthrow of capitalist and landlord domination, society would pass through two stages. The first would be socialism, and the second, higher stage, classless communist society.

This Marxist-Leninist prediction of two phases of communism has been substantiated by the development of Soviet society. The Soviet people have built a socialist society and have entered a new period, in which socialism grows into communism.

Marxist-Leninist theory, and our practical experience in building socialist society, enable us to draw some important conclusions concerning the nature of our forward movement to communism.

*First*, the transition from the socialist to the higher stage is a law-governed historical process that cannot be



violated or bypassed at will. The building of communist society is the ultimate goal of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. But society cannot leap straight from capitalism to communism without going through the socialist stage. "From capitalism," Lenin wrote, "mankind can pass directly only to socialism, i.e., to the social ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual. Our Party looks farther ahead: socialism must inevitably pass gradually into communism, upon the banner of which is inscribed the motto, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'" (*Works*, Vol. 24, p. 62.)

Some comrades might, of course, suggest that we accelerate the introduction of the principles of communism. But to pass prematurely to distribution according to needs, at a time when the economic conditions for this do not, as yet, exist, when we have not yet secured an abundance of material values, and when people have not yet been prepared to live and work in a communist way—would only impair the work of building communism. It should be borne in mind that with the present level of production there is not enough of the good things of life for all, and we cannot as yet fully satisfy the requirements of the people. This "equalitarian communism" would only eat up our stockpiles, make extended reproduction impossible and block successful expansion of the economy.

We must advance step by step, creating the material and spiritual requisites for a methodical transition to communism.

*Second*, notwithstanding all the differences between the communist and socialist phases, there is no wall separating these two stages of social development. Communism stems from socialism as its direct continuation. It would be wrong, erroneous, to believe that communism will somehow appear on the scene suddenly. Communist forms of labour and industrial organization as well as

such forms of satisfying the requirements of our people as public catering, boarding-schools, kindergartens and day nurseries are already developing on an increasing scale. There are many tangible and visible features of communism in our society, and they will continue to develop.

There is no set date for our entry into communism. It is not as if at some given time we shall shut one door and announce: "The building of socialism is completed," and open another door with the announcement: "We are now in communism." The transition from socialism to communism is a continuous process. In fact, we are already opening the door into communist society, for what we are now engaged in is the building of communism. The country had entered a period of extensive communist construction, one in which all the material and spiritual conditions for communism are being created. Communist construction will be completed when we shall have provided an abundance of everything needed to satisfy the requirements of all our people, when all our people have learned to work according to their ability, so as to accumulate and multiply the wealth of the community.

*Third*, gradual transition to communism should not be understood as a decelerated movement. On the contrary, it is a period of rapid development of modern industry, of large-scale mechanized agriculture, rapid progress in all economic and cultural fields with the active and conscious participation of the millions who are building communist society. This objective process of socialism growing into communism can be accelerated on the basis of the high level of material production attained in the period of socialism. There must be no undue haste, no hurried introduction of measures that have not yet matured. This would lead to distortions and would discredit our cause. But, on the other hand, we must not stop long at what has already been achieved; that would lead to stagnation.

Is the time far off when we will be in a position fully to satisfy the staple requirements of all Soviet citizens? Apparently it is not so far off, considering our immense potentialities for increasing social production and raising cultural standards. But this will not be achieved all at once, by a single act. It will come steadily, step by step, as the material production conditions pave the way for it.

Full satisfaction, within necessary and reasonable bounds, of the requirements of all Soviet citizens in food, housing and clothing is probably a matter of the not too distant future. It does not require very much time to organize, say, free lunches and dinners for school children, ample kindergarten, nursery, and boarding-school accommodation for all at the expense of society. As for the adult population, here we must bear in mind that man's general requirements are not limitless. A person cannot consume more bread, say, and other foods than his organism needs, and there are also definite limits in clothing and housing. Of course, when we speak of satisfying people's requirements, we have in mind not whims, nor claims to luxury, but the normal needs of a cultured person.

It will take a longer time for people to acquire an ingrained urge to work in accordance with their abilities. Until then, society cannot dispense with a certain regulation of working time, in order that every able-bodied person contributes a definite amount of labour for the production of the values the community needs.

The country's fundamental practical task today is to *build up the material and technical base of communist society, secure a further powerful expansion of the socialist productive forces.*

Why is this now our principal task in economic development? The present level of socialist production does not, as yet, enable us to create the abundance of material and cultural values necessary to satisfy the rising requirements of our people and ensure their harmonious de-

velopment. But communism is impossible without that. Consequently, the first job is further to develop the production forces and step up the production of material values. Communism is feasible only if we surpass the output levels of the leading capitalist countries and raise labour productivity to a level way above that of capitalism.

Building the material and technical base of communism implies, first and foremost, a highly developed, modern industry, total electrification, scientific and technical progress in every branch of industry and agriculture, comprehensive mechanization and automation of all production processes, maximum utilization of new power sources and our rich natural resources, new synthetic and other materials, a higher cultural and technical level of the people, further improvement in the organization of production, and higher labour productivity.

It would be an oversimplification to believe that when we catch up with the United States economically, that will signify completion of communist construction. No, that will not be the end goal—only a decisive stage in the competition with capitalism.

We are competing with America, but we do not regard America as a standard of economic development. For, though it has a highly-developed economy, the U.S.A. is dominated by the vice-ridden capitalist mode of production and distribution. While it has a profusion of every kind of goods, it also has millions of unemployed, and millions with inadequate incomes, who cannot satisfy even their most elementary needs. The Communists do not want to imitate that order of things. On the contrary, we want to put an end to that injustice. And if America's production level is taken as a measuring rod for our own economic progress, it is only in order to compare this country with capitalism's leading power. When we win in this economic competition with the U.S.A., we shall only have completed the initial phase of communist

construction. The economic level reached in this phase will not be the end of our road, but only a midway station at which we shall overtake capitalism's most developed country, leave it behind and push ahead. (*Stormy applause.*)

As our productive forces expand, socialist production relations, which are based on comradely co-operation, friendship and mutual assistance of all members of society, will reach higher levels too. In our country, social labour has already become the expression of new, socialist relationships between men, the index of fine moral qualities.

And as socialist production is extended on a new material and technical base, and as education is more closely linked with productive labour, the essential distinctions between mental and physical labour will gradually disappear. The all-round development of our people will transform labour into man's prime want. This will be facilitated by the forthcoming reduction of working hours and further improvement of working conditions. When every branch of industry is automated, when man becomes the master of the machine, he will have to devote less time and energy to producing the things he needs. Labour, which at times is still arduous and tiring, will become a source of joy and pleasure for a harmoniously developed healthy person.

In laying emphasis, in the coming period, on the building of the material and technical base of communism, we proceed, in every respect, from Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries.

Social development confronts us with another major problem of scientific communism, namely *distribution of the material and cultural values produced by society among all its members*. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in social development distribution is not a determining, but a derivative, factor and that its forms and

principles depend on the mode and quantity of production.

Under socialism distribution is, basically, founded on the principle "From each according to his abilities, and to each according to his work." This means that the biggest share of the material and cultural product is distributed in accordance with the labour contribution each member of society makes to social production.

We must, of course, bear in mind that, even under socialism, a considerable and increasing portion of the material and cultural product is distributed irrespective of the quantity and quality of labour contributed, that is, gratis. Society spends immense sums on free education, free health services, pensions, family grants, free club services, libraries, etc.

The following facts are indicative of the part government and collective-farm expenditure plays in improving the living standard of our people. There are about 100 million workers, office workers and collective farmers engaged in social production. Some 20 million pensioners are supported by the state, collective farms and public organizations. Five million children are accommodated in kindergartens, nurseries and children's homes; 3,300,000 students in higher and specialized secondary and vocational training schools receive state stipends and hostel accommodation. Boarding-school pupils are fully provided for by the state. Our Young Pioneer camps, summer play-grounds and tourist camps accommodate 5,600,000 children annually. Over 3 million industrial and office workers and collective farmers go for treatment or rest to sanatoriums or holiday homes every year, and the expense is borne by the social insurance fund and the collective farms. In addition, government grants are being paid to about 7 million unmarried mothers and mothers of large families.

In future, this type of state expenditure will increase, for as we advance to communism, society will provide

more facilities for each of its members, from birth to old age.

At present, the chief criterion of the share every citizen receives from the social product is his labour, measured in quality and quantity. Lenin pointed out: "Until we reach the 'higher' phase of communism, socialists demand the most *stringent* control by society *and by the state* over the amount of labour and the amount of consumption." (*Works*, Vol. 25, p. 441.)

This country passed through a period of "war communism," when, as a temporary measure, we were obliged to abandon the principle of distribution according to work and adopt "distribution according to mouths." This was not due to abundance, but to an acute shortage of food and consumers' goods. By the most stringent discipline in food distribution, the state was able to prevent wholesale famine and supply the Red Army and the urban population with regular, if very meagre—at times only an eighth of a pound of bread a day—rations.

That method of distribution, however, could not be regarded as normal. Its defects came to the surface immediately the country tackled the job of economic rehabilitation and development. Lenin forthrightly stated that without a material incentive giving every worker an interest in the results of his work, there could be no question of raising the country's productive capacity or of building a socialist economy and leading the millions forward to communism.

With the passage to peaceful construction, monetary remuneration for all industrial, office and other workers was introduced. Its underlying principle was distribution according to work, and with the triumph of the collective-farm system this principle has been firmly established in the countryside as well.

In articles and lectures, some scientific workers allege that distribution according to work signifies application of bourgeois law to a socialist society. They ask whether

the time has not come to shift from this principle to equitable distribution of the social product among all working members of society. We cannot agree with that.

True, Marx and Lenin spoke of a residue of "bourgeois law" being inevitable under socialism. However, what they had in mind was the juridical form, which is carried over from the old society and disappears under communism.

Socialist distribution on the principle of equal pay for equal work means that one and the same legal criterion is applied to different people. That uniform and equal criterion is labour. Socialism precludes class inequality; there remains only the inequality of the shares of the social product distributed. Inasmuch as different people have different skills, talents and abilities, and different size families, it is only natural that, with equal pay for equal work, they have unequal incomes. But that is inevitable in the first phase of communist society.

We should not confuse legal forms with the substance of the social relationships of which they are the expression. Bourgeois law recognizes individual private ownership of the means of production, whereas socialism makes them public property. This is a clear break with bourgeois law. Under socialism all people stand in equal relationship to the means of production and are paid according to their work. Under socialism, the principle applied to all able-bodied members of society is: he who does not work, neither shall he eat.

Under capitalism distribution is, in effect, based not on work, but primarily on capital, and is regulated by the laws of value, profit and rent. For that reason the biggest incomes go not to those who work more, but to those who have more capital.

It will thus be seen that there is a fundamental difference in the way the values produced are distributed under capitalism and socialism.



The socialist principle of distribution according to work is based on the understanding that, in the socialist stage, equalitarian distribution is impossible. Distribution according to work is the only reasonable and just principle under prevailing conditions. We cannot disregard the fact that levelling would lead to an unjust method of distribution: the bad worker and the good would receive an equal share, which would be to the advantage of slackers. The material incentive for people to work better, raise productivity and produce more, would be dampened. Levelling would mean not transition to communism, but the discrediting of communism.

Distribution according to work ensures a material incentive, an interest in the results of production. It stimulates productivity, higher skill and technical progress. It also performs an important educational function by accustoming people to socialist discipline and making labour universal and obligatory. Socialism fosters labour enthusiasm; moral stimuli acquire ever greater importance. Thanks to material incentives and as a result of a higher degree of consciousness and by virtue of habit, labour becomes a vital necessity for the millions who make up socialist society.

Regulated distribution of the social product among the members of society disappears only under communism, when the productive forces have reached a stage of expansion sufficient to provide an abundance of all the necessary consumers' goods, and when all people voluntarily, and irrespective of their share of material values, work to the full measure of their ability, knowing that this is necessary for the common weal.

In communist society there will, of course, be planned and organized allocation of labour among the various branches of production, and social regulation of working time in accordance with the specific features of the different production processes. The machine industry has a set

rhythm that calls for a corresponding arrangement of the work.

There is a vulgarized conception of communist society as a loose and unorganized anarchistic mass of human beings. No, it will be a highly organized and closely coordinated commonwealth of men of labour. For the machine to be properly operated, every worker will have to perform his production job and social functions in a definite time and according to a definite system. The highly mechanized and automated industry of the future will not require long hours of work. There will be ample time for study, art, literature, sports, and so forth.

The question of how to *develop and bring closer together the collective-farm and public forms of socialist property* acquires great theoretical and practical importance in communist construction.

It should be perfectly clear that in the future the collective-farm-co-operative and state forms of property will merge into an integral communist property. Why then, it might be asked, are we not pressing for their merger, and consider that in the present stage we must develop collective-farm-co-operative property alongside with state property?

Property forms cannot be changed at will. They develop in accordance with economic laws and depend on the nature and level of the productive forces. The collective-farm system fully accords with the present level and development requirements of the productive forces in agriculture. It makes for the most effective use of modern farm machinery, which is impossible under parcelled-out small peasant farming. Now that the collective farms are being directly supplied with powerful modern machinery, they are increasing output at a more rapid pace.

Several branches of agriculture lagged in the recent past not because the collective-farm system was hamper-

ing expansion of the productive forces, but because inadequate use was being made of the potentialities and advantages it offered. What we have achieved in agriculture in the past five years is conclusive proof that the collective-farm form of production relations, far from having used up its potentialities, serves—and will continue to do so for a long time to come—to enhance the productive forces in agriculture.

The continued development of the productive forces will tend to raise the degree of socialization of collective-farm production and bring collective-farm-co-operative property into closer approximation with public property, gradually obliterating the line dividing the two. This is shown by the following characteristic processes:

*First*, uninterrupted increase of collective-farm non-distributable assets, which are the economic basis for continued expansion of collective-farm production and gradual approximation of collective-farm and public property.

*Second*, enlargement of collective-farm production to involve more and more fully all the branches of agriculture. As production grows, the farms will be in a position to satisfy more fully the requirements of their members not only in bread, but in meat, milk, butter, potatoes and other vegetables, and fruit, all of which will come not from the unproductive household plots, but from the economically profitable collective-farm productions.

*Third*, inter-farm production ties and diverse forms of co-operation. These are being more widely applied, and will inevitably develop on a bigger scale still in the future. Joint construction of power stations, irrigation canals, processing capacities, manufacture of building materials and road building—all require more systematic combination of the efforts of groups of collective farms.

*Fourth*, agricultural electrification, mechanization and automation will lead to the pooling, to a kind of merger,

of collective-farm production facilities with state, or public, facilities. Agricultural labour will gradually become a variety of industrial labour.

The merger of the collective-farm and public forms of property is historically inevitable. It will be brought about not by dispensing with collective-farm property, but by raising its level of socialization with the aid and support of the socialist state.

*The merger of collective-farm-co-operative property with state property into an integral public property is not a simple organizational and economic measure, but is the solution of the cardinal problem of bridging the essential distinction between town and country.*

In the coming seven years we intend to achieve a substantial increase in agricultural output and on this basis radically to improve rural cultural and welfare facilities. The Party's subsequent aim will be to convert the collective-farm villages into modern urban-type communities supplied with all the latest municipal and cultural facilities.

Parallel with these problems of economic development, we are squarely faced with *the problems of the political organization of society, the state system and administration in the period of extensive building of communism.*

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that under communism the state will wither away and that the functions of public administration will no longer have a political character, and will pass under the people's direct administration. But we should not take an oversimplified view of the process. We should not imagine that the withering away of the state will resemble the falling of leaves in autumn, when the trees are left bare.

The withering away of the state, if we approach the question dialectically, implies the development of the socialist state into communist public self-administration. For under communism, too, there will remain certain public functions similar to those now performed by the state, but their

nature, and the methods by which they will be exercised, will differ from those obtaining in the present stage.

The chief trend in the development of the socialist state is maximum promotion of democracy, drawing the broadest sections of the population into the management of all national affairs, enlisting all citizens to share in the supervision of economic and cultural upbuilding.

The Social-Democratic theoreticians and revisionists seek to discredit and vilify socialist democracy. As they understand it, "democratization" implies renunciation of the leading role of the working class and its party under socialism and a return to the forms of bourgeois democracy. Without this, in their view, there can be neither democracy nor socialism. For them democracy means an opportunity to make grandiloquent parliamentary speeches, bring the various parties into political combinations, make a show of "free elections," which are no more than a screen for the omnipotence of capital and the factual disfranchisement of the people. For us democracy means genuine government by the people; it implies maximum scope for the activity and initiative of the masses, self-government of the people. (*Applause.*)

It is already clear that many functions of our government agencies will gradually pass to public organizations. Take, for instance, certain aspects of our cultural services. It is not at all obligatory that they remain in the charge of government organizations. Public organizations can handle them just as successfully.

Experience also suggests the need to modify the organization of our health services, including health resort facilities. Apparently we are approaching a point when more and more of the public health services in the towns should come under the trade unions and in the countryside, at the present stage, directly under the local Soviets.

Hitherto, the sports movement was supervised by a government agency, the Committee on Physical Culture and Sports. Now we have found a more rational structure in

which public bodies that have an interest in the sports movement will play a decisive part. There is to be a Union of Voluntary Sports Societies, a public, not government, organization.

Questions relating to public order and the rules of socialist human relations should likewise come increasingly under the jurisdiction of non-government organizations. There are now no cases in the Soviet Union of people being tried for political offences. That is doubtlessly a big achievement, one that testifies to the unparalleled political unity of our people, to their solid support of the Communist Party and Soviet Government. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But there are still quite a few cases when public order is violated, and this must be resolutely combated. Can the Soviet public deal with these violators of socialist law and order? Of course it can. Our public organizations are just as well equipped to cope with the job and their capacities and means are just as adequate as those of the militia, the courts and the prosecuting authorities.

We are approaching a situation when the functions of safeguarding public order and security will be performed, parallel with such government agencies as the militia and the courts, by public organizations. That process is now on. We have drastically reduced the size of the militia and very considerably cut down the state security bodies.

Socialist society forms such voluntary organizations for safeguarding public order as the people's militia, courts of honour and so forth. They will employ new methods and will follow new patterns in the performance of public functions. The duty of the voluntary people's militia detachments should be to keep public order in their respective communities and to see that the rights and interests of all citizens are properly respected and protected.

It is time more attention is paid to the courts of honour. Their job should be chiefly prophylactic—prevention of all manner of misdemeanours. And they should

not confine themselves to the factory or farm, but deal with infringements of our moral code, with cases of improper behaviour by members of the collective who disregard accepted standards.

With the courts of honour actively functioning, and with members of the public delegated to ensure public order, it will be much easier to combat transgressors. It will be possible to reveal a transgressor not when he disobeys the law or commits a punishable crime, but when he deviates from the standards of public conduct in a way that might lead to offences against society. Public opinion could exert a timely influence on such persons and curb their law-breaking propensities. The need is for measures that will prevent, and subsequently rule out altogether, the commission of acts against the community. The principal thing here is prophylactics, education.

Of course, definite functions will still be vested in the courts, the militia and the prosecuting authorities. They will continue to function in order to exert a corrective influence on persons who persistently refuse to submit to the standards of socialist conduct and are not amenable to persuasion.

The transfer of certain state functions to public organizations should not be carried out with undue haste. In some cases it will be done more resolutely, while in others we shall take only the first, exploratory steps in order to train people to safeguard public order themselves.

It stands to reason that the transfer to public bodies of certain functions now performed by government agencies does not imply weakening the role of the socialist state in the building of communism. The fact that public organizations will take over some of the duties now performed by government agencies will tend to broaden and strengthen the political foundation of socialist society and will make for the further development of socialist democracy.

That the Soviet system rests on inviolable foundations is appreciated not only by us, Communists, and Soviet people generally. It is admitted even by people who come here to see whether the Soviet system is not falling apart, and who go back with sour faces because what they saw is not at all to their liking. They still hope that at some future time the Soviet state will be weakened, but the prospects the future is holding out for our country are brighter than ever. (*Stormy applause.*)

In future, the Soviet Union will be in a position to concentrate more attention on developing the economy, the material base of our system. "Under the bourgeois system," Lenin said, "the economy is run by the bosses, not by government agencies. In our country, economic development is our common cause. For us it is the most interesting branch of politics." (*Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 406-07.)

The tasks of the socialist state in the defence of peace, in safeguarding the country against the threat of armed attack by the imperialist powers, are of special importance and magnitude. As long as the Western Powers maintain their aggressive military blocs, it is incumbent on us to strengthen and perfect our valiant Armed Forces, which stand guard over the imposing achievements of our people and their peaceful labour. We should strengthen the state security services, whose functions are spearheaded primarily against imperialist agents smuggled into the country. (*Stormy, prolonged app'ause.*) We should also strengthen the other agencies, whose mission it is to frustrate the provocatory actions and designs of our imperialist enemies. They are spending enormous sums on subversion against the socialist countries. How, then, can we abolish the organs whose prime purpose is to safeguard the security of the socialist state? That would be criminal folly.

The Yugoslav revisionists criticize our Party for devoting so much attention to strengthening the Soviet state,



alleging that this does not accord with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the state will wither away.

As I have already pointed out, no one is now being kept in prison for political reasons. It would be a good thing if the Yugoslav leaders, with their penchant for disquisitions about the withering away of coercive agencies, were to release all Communists now in prison for having disagreed with the new programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and for holding dissenting opinions on the building of socialism and the role of the Party. (*Animation. Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Leninism teaches us that the state will wither away only with the complete triumph of communism. To weaken the socialist state under present conditions would be tantamount to helping our enemies. The imperialists cannot crush us now, but the revisionists are inviting us, in effect, to disarm, abolish the organs of state that ensure the country's defence and leave ourselves to the tender mercies of our enemies. The functions of defending our socialist country, now entrusted to the state, can be dispensed with only when the danger of an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union or its allies is completely removed.

Now that the building of socialism is no longer confined to one country and there exists a world socialist system, *new theoretical problems have arisen in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism.*

Not so long ago the question was being posed and discussed in the communist movement of whether socialism could be built in one country separately, of whether its victory would be complete and final.

When the Soviet Republic was only just launching on the building of socialism, and when for many the country's further path was hidden in the mist of the future, Lenin gave the people a clear and heartening perspective. He said we have "... all that is necessary for the purpose of building a complete socialist society." (*Works.*

Vol. 33, p. 428.) Constantly guided by Lenin's directions and inspired by the Communist Party, the Soviet people, constantly beset by the threat of a capitalist military onslaught, worked perseveringly to build a socialist society, advancing along uncharted paths, and brought about the complete triumph of socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But that was not yet final victory. For Marxists understand the final victory of socialism to mean its triumph on an international scale. Having built socialism, our country remained for a long time the world's only socialist state, living in a hostile capitalist encirclement. It could not consider itself fully guaranteed against armed intervention, against the danger of a forcible restoration of capitalism by international reaction, for the capitalist states then surrounding the land of socialism were much stronger economically and militarily.

The world situation has changed radically since then. The Soviet Union is no longer in a capitalist encirclement. There are two world social systems: capitalism, which is living out its day, and socialism, a full-blooded and growing system that has the support of the workers of all lands. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union, as every other socialist country, is not guaranteed against the possibility of imperialist aggression. But the relation of real forces in the world today is such that we shall be able to repel any attack by any enemy. (*Stormy applause.*)

There is no power in the world that can re-establish capitalism in this country or crush the socialist camp. The danger of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union is ruled out. And this means that *the triumph of socialism is not only complete but final.* (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

It can therefore be said that the question of building socialism in one single country and its complete and final victory has been decided by the course of the historical development of society.

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the formation of a world socialist system immeasurably strengthen the forces of the international working-class movement and open up new vistas for it. The brilliant scientific prediction Vladimir Ilyich Lenin made in his last work is now coming true: "In the last analysis," he said, "the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured." (*Works*, Vol. 33, p. 458.) (*Stormy applause.*)

How will the socialist countries continue their advance towards communism? Can we envisage a situation where one of the socialist countries passes to communism and introduces the communist principles of production and distribution, while other countries are left trailing behind, somewhere in the early stages of socialist construction?

That prospect is highly improbable, if we take into account the laws governing the development of the socialist system of economy. From the theoretical standpoint it would be more correct to assume that by successfully employing the potentialities inherent in socialism, the socialist countries will more or less simultaneously pass to the higher phase of communist society. We proceed from the fact that the socialist system of economy is subject to new laws of development, laws unknown to human society in the past. For instance, the law operating under imperialism is uneven economic and political development of different countries. The course of development under that system is such that some countries are able to push ahead at the expense of others, which they oppress and exploit. To keep the backward countries in dependence and subju-

gation, they take care to safeguard their privileged position.

The economic law operating under socialism is balanced, proportional development, with the result that countries economically backward in the past are able rapidly to make up for lost time and raise their economic and cultural levels by drawing on the experience, co-operation and mutual assistance of other socialist countries. In this way the economic and cultural progress of all the socialist countries is evened out.

There is no doubt that with the further growth and strengthening of the world socialist system, all the socialist countries will develop with increasing success. The conditions necessary for their transition from the first stage of communism to the second will be created at an increasingly rapid pace.

We have only to recall the brilliant way practice has confirmed Lenin's proposition that some of the formerly backward countries, with the support of the advanced socialist states, can go over to socialism and, through definite stages of development, advance to communism without having to go through the capitalist stage. Everyone can now see the immense socialist achievements of the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, who at the time of the socialist Revolution had either not reached the capitalist stage or were only just entering it. They did not have to go through the entire tormenting stage of capitalist development. They were able to bypass that stage and effect the change-over to socialism with the support and assistance of the more advanced socialist nations, notably the Russian socialist nation. Separate mention should be made of the Mongolian People's Republic which, bypassing the capitalist stage, has long since set foot on the socialist path and has made impressive progress in the economic and cultural fields.

In surveying the prospect of mankind's advance to communism, we must bear in mind the tremendous variety of

historical conditions obtaining in the different countries. And this is bound to produce specific methods, patterns and forms of applying the general laws of mankind's forward movement to communism. But what must be emphasized here is that the principal, determining factor in the advance of all countries to communism is the laws common to all of them, not their specific manifestations. Marxism-Leninism requires ability to apply the theory of scientific communism to the concrete conditions of each individual country at different stages of its development.

The Yugoslav leaders have been voluminous in their allegations that the Communist Parties are coming out against them because they, the Yugoslav leaders, take as their starting-point in building socialism the features peculiar to their own country, and do not emulate the example and experience of other socialist countries. That, of course, is a perversion of the truth. The Marxist-Leninist Parties recognize that every country has its own specific features of socialist development. But that does not mean we can go forward to socialism by some other road, one that lies to the side of the general path indicated by Marxism-Leninism. What has to be taken into consideration are the specific features of the situation and period in which one country or another advances to socialism. For instance, certain steps in socialist construction taken in the past in the Soviet Union cannot be mechanically transplanted to other countries. All the socialist countries are building socialism, but not in a stereotyped way.

The Communist Party of China is employing many original forms of socialist construction. But we have no disagreements with it, nor can there be any disagreement.

The Yugoslav revisionists are now concentrating their fire on the Chinese People's Republic, disseminating all sorts of inventions about alleged differences between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China. Well, there is an old Russian saying about the hungry man who always thinks of bread. The revisionists are

searching for differences between our Communist Parties, but their illusionary hopes are doomed to failure. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) We are in full and complete agreement with our sister party in China, though in many respects its methods of building socialism do not resemble our own. But we know that in China there are specific features in historical development, size of population, level of production and national culture. It would be a mistake to ignore these specific features and to copy what is good for one country but unsuitable for another.

Why have we no differences with the Communist Party of China? Because we share the same class approach and class understanding of problems. The Chinese Communist Party stands foursquare on class, Marxist-Leninist positions. It is waging a struggle against the imperialists and exploiters and working to refashion life along socialist lines. It abides by the principle of international proletarian solidarity and is guided by Marxism-Leninism.

The important thing is to maintain and cement class solidarity in the battle against capitalism, for the liberation of the working class, for the building of socialism. And on this score there is no divergency, no conflicting views, among Communists, nor can there be. That is the main point on which we differ with the revisionists. (*Stormy applause.*)

The question of methods and practice in socialist construction is a domestic affair of each country. We have no controversy with the Yugoslav leaders on the organization of workers' councils, or on any other matter relating to Yugoslavia's internal affairs. When the Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries was being signed, there were no divergencies and no controversies on these points.

We can say to the Yugoslav revisionists: don't look for cracks where there aren't any. Presumably, you want to encourage yourselves and mislead the Yugoslav people

by asserting that there are differences not only between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, but also between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic. It won't work. You will never see such differences. (*Animation, Applause.*) The Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China are doing everything to strengthen the friendship of the two great socialist countries still further. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

For the international working-class movement and for the triumph of communism the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are what sunshine and warmth are for plants, for life on earth. And just as life itself is limitless in its progress and multiform manifestations, so Marxism-Leninism is limitless in its development and in the new experience and new propositions it is enriched by.

v

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY—LEADING  
AND ORGANIZING FORCE  
OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE  
IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TRIUMPH  
OF COMMUNISM**

Comrades, the period that has elapsed since the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress is characterized by the continued growth of our Party, the strengthening of its unity and still greater solidarity of the Soviet people in their support of the Party. In carrying out the momentous decisions of the 20th Congress, the Party established still closer ties with the masses and accumulated new experience in political leadership and organization.

During this period the Party implemented a series of major measures in home and foreign policy, which have helped to enhance the might and prestige of the Soviet Union, contributed to the welfare of the people and strengthened the world socialist camp and world peace. (*Applause.*)

The Party has consistently and steadfastly adhered to Lenin's precepts on the necessity of creatively approaching all the problems of communist construction, the ability to single out at every given stage the main, decisive link in the whole chain of historical development, the ability to see the prospect ahead, mobilize the masses, and boldly and resolutely discard the obsolete and routine that



impedes our forward movement. The victories our Party has and is scoring are due to its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and its unbreakable unity with the people. (*Applause.*)

At its plenary meetings the Party Central Committee systematically examined the pressing problems of communist construction. It submitted for nation-wide discussion such major measures as reorganization of industrial and building management, reorganization of the machine and tractor stations and further development of the collective-farm system, the establishment of closer links between school and life and the reorganization of public education. By taking counsel with the people, by drawing on its collective wisdom and wealth of experience, the Party frames and puts into effect measures of the utmost importance which accelerate our advance.

While carrying out the 20th Congress decisions, the Party continued its work of re-establishing and extending the Leninist standards of Party life and the principle of collective Party leadership, promoting in every way the creative activity of the Party members and the Soviet people generally. The Central Committee is guided in all its activities by the cardinal tenet of Leninism, namely, that a principled policy is the only correct one. Implementation of the Party's general line was stubbornly resisted by the anti-Party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, Bulganin and Shepilov, who resorted to the vilest methods of factional struggle and splitting tactics in an attempt to undermine Party unity, disrupt fulfilment of the 20th Congress decisions and divert the Party and the country from the Leninist path.

Having lost contact with reality, divorced from the people and the Party, this anti-Party group regarded the development of Soviet society in a bureaucratic light. They opposed all the important measures the Party introduced in pursuance of the 20th Congress decisions. They opposed the very measures that enabled us to make such headway

in industry, agriculture and the people's welfare. In foreign policy, they opposed the measures that enabled us to relax international tension and strengthen peace.

The Party, and the entire Soviet people, unanimously approved the decisions of the June Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U., at which this anti-Party group was exposed and ideologically routed. Now everyone can see how right the Party and its Central Committee were in resolutely condemning and administering a stern rebuff to this despicable group of factionalists and dissenters. Having routed this anti-Party group, the Party united its ranks still closer around the Central Committee under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

In our Leninist Party the Soviet people see their tried and tested leader and teacher, and in its far-seeing guidance—the earnest of fresh victories for communism.

The people's boundless faith in the Communist Party has found striking expression in the growth of its membership; the finest men and women of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia join the Party. At present the Party has over 8,239,000 members and candidate-members, or 1,023,000 more than at the time of the 20th Congress. In the past few years there has been a considerably bigger influx of workers and collective farmers and they now comprise nearly two-thirds of the new members.

The Party comes to its 21st Congress more solidly united around its Leninist Central Committee than ever before, and capable of accomplishing the enormous tasks involved in building communist society. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The drive to fulfil the seven-year plan calls for the mobilization of all our forces and still higher standards in the Party's organizational and educational work, for this plan represents a new, epochal objective in our advance. And to attain this objective we must muster, properly allocate and thoroughly prepare our forces for a long forward stride.

Our Congress is working out a great plan of communist construction for the next seven years. The Party charts out the major targets, the general strategic line in this period of history. After the plan is adopted, each republic, region, territory and district, each mill, factory construction project, collective and state farm and research centre will, to use a figurative expression, have to define the summit which they will have to reach in order to make their biggest contribution to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the seven-year programme. And it is to the accomplishment of these very concrete tasks that all the organizational and ideological work of Party organizations should be now geared.

What is particularly needed now is concreteness and singleness of purpose in all our work, and a thorough knowledge of what has to be done and how to do it. General talk and general appeals are of no use whatever.

In explaining to the masses what the struggle for communism implies, our Party indicates the concrete goals that have to be reached and to this end organizes and directs the efforts of every collective, of all the people.

The success of the seven-year plan will be decided directly at the factories and construction projects, the collective and state farms and scientific and research institutions. In this connection, a much bigger role devolves upon local Party bodies and primary Party organizations. It will be their duty to build up in every factory, collective farm and office an atmosphere of constructive effort and enthusiasm.

The most important thing is to make the best use of available material resources. It should be brought home to every single worker that we can overtake and surpass the leading capitalist countries in per capita output only if we surpass their productivity levels in industry and agriculture. At present, productivity of labour in U.S. industry is approximately 2-2.5 times higher than ours, and about

3 times higher in agriculture. We are in a position to catch up with and overtake the U.S.A. in productivity in the not too distant future. Party organizations must bring into action everything that will help towards that goal.

There can be no doubt that our workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, who are working for themselves, for their society, will display the creative energy and initiative needed to exceed the productivity levels of the American worker and farmer, who live in an exploiter society. In our country, higher productivity will be attained by efficient use of the latest achievements of science and engineering, by applying modern techniques for comprehensive mechanization and automation, which will make industrial and agricultural work easier. And a significant factor in this is the steadily increasing degree of communist consciousness among our people. (*Applause.*)

That must be brought home to the collectives of all our industrial, agricultural and building enterprises, to every worker and collective farmer. To produce more, of better quality and at lower cost, every worker, in industry and agriculture, must apply progressive techniques so as to get the most out of his machine, installation, tractor, harvester combine.

Concreteness and singleness of purpose is equally essential in our work of organization and ideological education. In urging fulfilment of our communist construction plans, Party organizations, propagandists and lecturers must explain, clearly and simply, what communism means, and what immense benefits it will bring the people. Every manifestation of communism must be given the utmost support and encouragement.

Marxist-Leninist theory, the foundation of our ideology, is indissolubly associated with human life and endeavour. The lofty ideals of communism are inseparable from the work of the men and women who produce all the material values.

Communist society has always been the cherished dream of the working people. But to make that dream a reality we should not shut ourselves off from life; we must not forget that the chief factor in building communism is the production of material values that make life better and brighter. The communist ideals can be made a reality only in a society enjoying an abundance of material and cultural benefits. That is why, when we discuss our great plans of building communism, we emphasize the primary importance of expanding production of metal, machinery, oil, electric power, cereals, meat, butter, clothing, footwear, and the need to build more homes.

The immense appeal of our communist ideology lies in its intimate association with the life and work of the people and with social development.

Comrades, our Party and Government cadres are destined to play a part of paramount importance in carrying out the seven-year plan. Much has been done since the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress in training and advancing new cadres. As a result of the reorganization of industrial and building management, many leading executives of the former ministries and central departments have gone to the economic regions to work in the economic councils or in factories and on construction projects. Tens of thousands of skilled technicians and experienced organizers have taken up work in agriculture.

But much remains to be done in the training and allocation of cadres. We should promote to responsible positions men with proper training, initiative, a keen feeling for the new, and thorough knowledge of the work entrusted to them—men who will dedicate all their energies and knowledge to further the interests of the people, and will bring to their work revolutionary ardour, Bolshevik vigour and fidelity to principle. All our executives must fully appreciate their responsibility to the Party and the people for the job entrusted to them.

Our Party is rich in such cadres. We have an ample reserve from which to promote to leading positions both experienced men who have proved their mettle and representatives of our talented youth. Yet there are facts to show that there is still an inadequate proportion of younger people among our leading cadres, including secretaries of district, city, regional and territorial Party committees and Central Committee secretaries in the Union Republics.

We should be bolder in bringing young cadres to the fore and no line should be drawn between young and old. Apparently we ought to modify our interpretation of the concepts "old" and "young." Not infrequently a man of 35 or 40 is considered immature for a responsible job. That is wrong. Men of this age are full of energy. Our growing cadres now possess profound knowledge and sufficient experience. They should be given a chance to apply their abilities in practical work and show that they can successfully cope with their duties. The combination of young cadres and old is the sure path to better results.

Some Party organs do not always properly appreciate the value of efficient and well-trained people and hesitate to promote them. They accept a situation when, in many cases, responsible posts are held for a long time by men who are of inadequate calibre, men who have lost touch with developments and are not doing their work properly. Instead of being released, they are shifted from one job to another, from district to district or from region to region. This makes for stagnation and prevents the inflow of fresh blood.

The question of providing more competent cadres for lagging factories, collective farms, state farms and districts merits special attention, for side by side with efficient factories, state and collective farms, there are quite a few of enterprises that have been seriously lagging for a long time, or are making no headway whatever. In most cases the reason is that the men in charge are of inadequate calibre, do not possess sufficient knowledge, are

poorly versed in economics and production and cannot therefore give proper leadership. If we were able, in a short time, to strengthen all these lagging enterprises with experienced cadres, good organizers and specialists, we could bring to bear immense reserves and take a big step forward in industrial and agricultural expansion. The problem has to be tackled with will and persistence.

Attention should also be drawn to those cadres who have devoted to our cause many years of active and fruitful work, but who now, because of age or other reasons, can no longer do their jobs with proper energy and vigour. Most of them are good comrades wholly devoted to the Party, and they fully deserve the deep respect and gratitude of the Party and the people. Their vast experience should be utilized in work commensurate with their physical and other abilities. Nor should we try to keep them at their jobs if they wish to take up other work or retire on pension. It is our duty to provide them good conditions.

In the past few years Party organizations have more frequently sent leading workers for permanent work at local level. In response to the Party's appeal, thousands of such people have taken over the direction of state and collective farms and in a brief space of time achieved considerable success in raising agricultural production. Good results have also been obtained from the transfer of a sizable group of experienced economic executives to factories and construction projects. This practice ought to be continued.

In the light of the tasks now confronting us, we must comprehensively examine, and find a proper solution for, the problem of planned training of personnel for work in various economic and cultural fields. One thing, and an important one, that requires our immediate attention is the provision of efficient personnel for those parts of the country where in the next few years we shall be developing vast natural resources and building new industrial centres.

Just as thousands of specialists and experienced administrators enthusiastically took on the job of bringing new land under cultivation in the eastern parts of the country, it is now necessary to initiate a broad movement for workers from industry, power engineering, transport, construction, agriculture and diverse fields of science and culture to take up work in these rich areas. We should welcome and support the example set by a number of eminent scientists—Academicsians Mikhail Alexeyevich Lavrentyev, Sergei Alexeyevich Khristianovich and Sergei Lvovich Sobolev—who have suggested organizing new scientific centres in the Soviet East and have taken up permanent work there.

The Communist Party trains our cadres, all Party members, to be exacting in their work, irreconcilable to shortcomings, in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, fidelity to Party principles and selfless service in the interests of the people and communism.

All the experience gained in the battle for the triumph of socialism and communism, both in this and other socialist countries, corroborates one of the key principles of Leninism, namely, that in the process of building communist society the role of the Party must increase, not decrease, as the latter-day revisionists maintain.

The Communist Party, the highest form of social organization, the leading section and tested vanguard of the people, gives leadership to all other organizations of the working people.

Comrades, now that our country has entered a new and momentous stage in its development, the time is ripe for introducing certain amendments and addenda to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. More than twenty years have elapsed since its adoption, years crowded with events of epochal significance. Socialism has emerged from the framework of one country to become a powerful world system. Important changes have taken place in the political and economic life of the Soviet Union. The building of



communist society has become the immediate and practical goal of the Party and the people. All these sweeping changes in the life of the country and in the international situation should find expression and legislative embodiment in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, the Fundamental Law of the state.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies have a still greater part to play in the present stage of development. They are organs of state power whose work is based on the activity of the masses, further expansion of socialist democracy, still closer union of the working class and peasantry and closer friendship of the Soviet nations. With a view to improving the functioning of the Soviets, strengthening their ties with the masses, further extending Soviet democracy and drawing the people more extensively into their practical work, the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics consider it necessary substantially to increase—approximately by 350,000—the membership of the local Soviets at the coming elections in March.

For the Soviets to operate more efficiently, they must resolutely root out all elements of bureaucracy and red tape, and show still more concern for the rising requirements of the people.

In mobilizing the masses for successful fulfilment of the seven-year plan a great deal of work will fall to the trade unions, which now have a membership of more than 50 million. After the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress, Party organizations have given better leadership and more assistance to the trade unions. The role of the trade unions has grown considerably—they are devoting more attention to production, are more energetically working to raise productivity and improve labour and living conditions, are doing more to bring the masses to share in the administration of the economy.

Describing the role of the trade unions in the transition period from capitalism to communism, Vladimir Ilyich

Lenin said that the trade unions "... are an educational organization, an organization rallying and training the masses, it is a school of administration, a school of management, a school of communism." (*Works*, Vol. 32, p. 2.) It will thus be seen what a profound meaning was invested in Lenin's words about the trade unions being a "school of communism."

Guided by Lenin's injunctions, the trade unions must encourage and foster the activities of the working class and all working people, directing their efforts towards fulfilment and overfulfilment of the state plan in every single enterprise, and towards technical progress. The trade unions must give even greater scope to the socialist emulation movement, supporting and encouraging production innovators, inventors, front-rank workers, and popularizing their methods.

Big tasks now face the trade unions in organizing public control over industrial safety arrangements, housing construction, allocation of housing facilities, operation of the distribution and catering system and the medical and other public services. The trade unions need to improve the work of educational institutions, constantly striving to enhance the communist consciousness and raise the cultural level of the people.

Party organizations must render the trade unions every possible support and assistance in their varied and important work. We need not doubt that the trade unions will make a weighty contribution to the successful completion of the seven-year plan. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the Lenin Young Communist League, comprising more than 18 million young men and women, is the Party's faithful assistant in the struggle for communism. Our Y.C.L. organizations, in pursuance of the 20th Congress decisions, have done much to draw the youth into active participation in economic and cultural upbuilding.

Our young people made an excellent showing in the cultivation of the virgin lands, in boosting agricultural output

and expanding industry. The Y.C.L. initiative in enlisting a million volunteers for major industrial construction projects within the next few years deserves every support and encouragement. The many achievements of our young men and women in labour are evidence of heightening communist consciousness and of a patriotic desire to dedicate all their strength to our common cause. By its glorious deeds the Y.C.L. has earned the respect and affection of all our people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The inspiring programme of communist construction which our Party has outlined for the coming seven years offers our young generation immense opportunities for applying its creative initiative and activity.

In the months preceding this Congress, the Young Communist League started a new patriotic movement, the movement for teams of communist labour.

The Party is confident that the Lenin Y.C.L., our glorious Soviet youth, will be in the front ranks in carrying out the seven-year plan.

In building socialism, the Soviet people have displayed miracles of labour heroism. And there can be no doubt whatever that the seven-year plan will engender a new wave of labour enthusiasm and will give rise to new forms of the socialist emulation movement for pre-schedule fulfilment of our inspiring programme of building communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

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Comrades, we are living in a remarkable age. These are times when, by the will and creative labour of the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, the boldest dreams of man are being translated into life. Many generations dreamt of a bright future, of a society which would not be divided into the poor and the rich, and in which men of labour would not be oppressed. That dream was of communism.

More than a century ago the great leaders and teachers of the working class, Marx and Engels, armed the working people with a revolutionary theory, the theory of scientific communism.

The immortal Lenin creatively developed and enriched that theory in the new conditions of history. He founded and reared our Communist Party, under whose leadership the working class and working people carried through the Great October Socialist Revolution, built socialism and are now successfully building communist society.

We are advancing with confident and firm step along Lenin's tested path, surmounting all obstacles and barriers. Just as an advanced group of mountain climbers intrepidly go forward to conquer new, seemingly inaccessible summits, blazing the path for the rest—so our Party, the militant vanguard of the working class and working people of the Soviet Union, leads the people to the radiant summits of communism.

The seven-year period we have now entered is a new and important, it might even be said, decisive height on our path in history. The Communist Party and all our people are fully confident that this height will be scaled. Then we shall emerge on to a broad plateau from which new vistas will open, and from which the continued forward movement will be easier. The goal before us is a clear and noble one. To achieve it we must work well; labour such as this ennobles man, it brings him satisfaction and happiness. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet people are marching forward in close unity with the peoples of the socialist camp. Rallied around the victorious banner of socialism and communism are nearly 1,000 million people in the socialist lands of Europe and Asia—over a third of the human race. Socialism is unshakeably strong, and its strength grows with every passing day. To it belongs the future. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are confidently advancing under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, building the very best, the most

just, society on earth—communist society. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the great Soviet people—the builders of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the militant and tested vanguard of the Soviet people, the organizer and inspirer of communist victories! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the indestructible fraternal friendship of the countries of the mighty socialist camp! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Ovation. All stand up.*)

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CONCLUDING SPEECH  
BY COMRADE N. S. KHRUSHCHOV  
AT THE 21st CONGRESS of the C.P.S.U.

*February 5, 1959*

Comrades, our Congress is concluding its work. Both during the preparations for the Congress and at the Congress itself, the discussion of the control figures for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965 showed that the whole of our Party, the entire Soviet people unanimously approved the seven-year plan and are fully resolved to carry it into effect. (*Stormy applause.*)

Altogether 86 comrades spoke at the Congress. They include representatives of the Party organizations of all the Union Republics, of many autonomous republics, territories and regions, our remarkable front-rankers in industry and agriculture, and workers in science, engineering and culture.

All the speakers expressed their full accord with the control figures submitted for discussion at the Congress. They see in the seven-year plan an expression of the Leninist general line of the Party in the present stage of communist upbuilding in our country.

The work of our Congress vividly shows the monolithic solidarity and unity of our Party, the great activity of the Party organizations and of all Communists. There is every reason to call the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the Congress of the Builders of Communism marking our country's entry into a new historic period of development, the period of extensive building of a communist society. (*Applause.*) The Congress demonstrated the great creative force of the ideas of Marx-



ism-Leninism, their vital, unbreakable tie with the practice of the masses, who are building the bright edifice of communism.

The speakers at the Congress put forward many concrete and extremely valuable suggestions, whose implementation will enable us to make fuller use of the inexhaustible potentialities in industry and agriculture for the successful fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan.

As I listened to the speeches of the delegates to the Congress, I recalled the words uttered by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which discussed the first economic plan, the plan of the electrification of Russia. Lenin said: "I think that we are present here at an extremely important turning-point, which in any case testifies to the beginning of great successes for Soviet power. Not only statesmen and administrators, but also engineers and agronomists will from now on appear on the rostrum of all-Russian congresses. This is the beginning of the happiest era. . . . In order to really pass over to economic development, this practice must be started with the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and followed from top to bottom in all the Soviets and organizations, in all newspapers, in all propaganda and agitation organs, at all institutions. . . . Turn congresses and conferences not into meetings for endless discussion, but into organs for analyzing economic achievements, organs where we could learn to develop economy in the real way." (*Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 481-82.)

The Party is doing what the great Lenin recommended. The work of our Congress is permeated with a business-like spirit and a concrete, creative approach to the solution of pressing problems of communist construction. And look how fruitfully this is telling on the work of the Congress, how fruitfully it is stimulating the growth of the activity, the entire practical effort of millions of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

We have accumulated vast experience in economic de-

velopment, and our Party organizations have turned sharply towards the solution of the fundamental problems of directing the country's economy and have achieved quite a few successes. In carrying out the great tasks of the seven-year plan, all Party organizations from the lowest to the highest, every body of workers of Soviet society must take Lenin's instructions on the business-like and concrete character and purposefulness of all our work as their guide. (*Applause.*)

With great attention we listened to the speeches of Party, government, economic, trade-union and Komsomol workers, scientists, engineers and agronomists, to the remarkable speeches of front-rank workers in industry and agriculture. All of them spoke of the concrete and important tasks facing our country.

The floor of the Congress was taken by the famous Donbas miner Nikolai Yakovlevich Mamai, a fitter from the Moscow Tyre Factory, Alexandra Mikhailovna Rybakova, a shipwright from the Leningrad Admiralty Works, Vladimir Ivanovich Gorbunov, a steel-maker from the Krasnoye Sormovo Works, Nikolai Ivanovich Anishchenkov, a worker from the Minsk Auto Works, Dmitry Ivanovich Barashkin, and many others. What interesting, thoughtful speeches they made! Their speeches were permeated with profound knowledge of the subject and with a proprietary concern for increasing output not only at their own factory or mine, but throughout the country as a whole.

Or take the speeches made by the remarkable front-rankers in agriculture—Yevgeniya Alexeyevna Dolinyuk, Alexander Vasilyevich Gitalov, Pelageya Nikandrovna Kovalyova, Sergei Kuzmich Boiko, Yevgeniya Ivanovna Andreyeva, Terenty Semyonovich Maltsev, and other comrades. They spoke of the work of their collective farms and convincingly showed what successes can be achieved through able management and what big potentialities there are in our collective and state farms.

We heard speeches made from this lofty rostrum by our

outstanding scientists—Academician Igor Vasilyevich Kurchatov, Academician Mikhail Alexeyevich Lavrentyev, the President of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union Alexander Nikolayevich Nesmeyanov, the President of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh Republic Kanysh Imantayevich Satpayev, the well-known poet Alexander Trifonovich Tvardovsky, and other representatives of our glorious creative intelligentsia.

It is very significant that in dealing with the problems of the seven-year plan in their speeches, the leading Party and government workers spoke with deep knowledge of industrial and agricultural production and, on the basis of the rich experience of the masses, approached the solution of urgent tasks concretely.

The front-rankers in industry and agriculture, representatives of the intelligentsia, Party and government workers, all the comrades who spoke at the Congress showed very convincingly that the targets of the seven-year plan will be not only reached but also surpassed. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It was a joy and pleasure to hear, from the rostrum of the Congress, the strong and confident voices of people who are in the thick of life, among the popular masses, the voices of people who know and give utterance to the sentiments, thoughts and feelings of millions. These speeches express the great enthusiasm of the Soviet people who have set out to fulfil the magnificent tasks of the seven-year plan. Furthermore, all this shows the high level attained by our cadres, the broad vision Soviet people have and how well they know not only their own, concrete work but also the life of the country.

As I have already said, many extremely valuable suggestions were made during the discussion of the report on the control figures for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. in the coming seven years. The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. will heed the wishes and suggestions that have

been expressed in the speeches at the Congress. In addition, it is necessary to entrust the State Planning Committee and the republican and other local bodies with the task of carefully studying the numerous concrete suggestions made by the people during the discussion of the control figures and to take steps to have them carried out in practice.

In their speeches, some of the Congress delegates condemned hard drinking. They raised the question of intensifying the fight against this evil and of taking measures against illicit spirit distilling. Persons who illicitly distil spirits not only spoil sugar, grain and other products, not only profiteer, but also make drunkards of weak-willed people, and poison their constitutions, because illicitly distilled spirits have a large content of fusel oil.

I consider that the suggestions to intensify the struggle against hard drinking and illicit spirit distilling are correct, and the Congress supported the comrades who advanced these suggestions. (*Applause.*)

It would have been a good thing if the Central Committees of the Communist Parties and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics gave more attention to this question and outlined concrete steps against the abuse of spirituous liquors and against illicit spirit distillers, those "chemists," who cause grave injury to people's health and harm society. (*Animation.*)

I think that draft laws on this question should be drawn up in the republics and submitted for discussion by the people. After a discussion of these bills, laws should be passed which would provide stern measures against people who abuse alcoholic drinks and violate public order, and especially against people who distil spirits illicitly. We are confident that the people of each republic will approve the steps to intensify the struggle against hard drinking and illicit spirit distilling. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the attention of our entire country is focussed these days on the work of the Congress. Rallies and

meetings, at which the materials of the Congress were broadly discussed, have been held everywhere at factories and building sites, at collective and state farms, and in scientific institutions. The 21st Congress has received thousands of letters and telegrams containing not only greetings but also news of concrete deeds in its honour. *Pravda* publishes a list of working people who have sent collective greetings to the 21st Congress of the Party and have given pledges to carry out the tasks of the seven-year plan ahead of schedule.

In behalf of our Congress, allow me to express heartfelt gratitude to all collectives and individual comrades who sent greetings to the 21st Party Congress and to wish them further success in their work for the weal of our country. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are confident that the nation-wide socialist emulation movement that has started in the country for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the seven-year plan will now spread on a still bigger scale and will be crowned with fresh, outstanding labour triumphs.

Look, the sun is shining brightly again. It has been with our Congress from the very first to the very last day. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, delegations from 72 foreign Communist and Workers' Parties are attending our Congress. The fraternal parties, whose representatives could not extend their greetings in person have sent friendly messages to our Congress.

The salutatory speeches and the messages of greeting of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties to our Party, to all the peoples of the Soviet Union, conveyed feelings of sincere friendship and solidarity in behalf of the Communists, the working class and millions of people of their countries. These greetings gave utterance to moving words telling of the great trust and sincere love that the peoples of the socialist countries and the broad working masses,

fighters for peace, democracy and progress throughout the world have for our Party. (*Applause.*)

The delegations from the fraternal parties of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Albania and the Mongolian People's Republic shared with us the glad news about the remarkable successes that the peoples of their countries have scored in socialist upbuilding under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties. (*Applause.*)

The comrades from the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries spoke here of the difficult, heroic struggle the Communists of these countries are waging in the interests of the working class, the peace and security of the nations, the welfare of all people. (*Applause.*)

The Communist Parties have established a tradition of exchanging delegations on the occasion of party congresses. We shall keep up this tradition, which excellently expresses the spirit of solidarity and mutual support among fraternal parties, the spirit of proletarian internationalism. (*Applause.*)

The greetings from the fraternal parties and the meetings their representatives had with the delegates to our Congress, with the people of Moscow, were a remarkable demonstration of the unity, strength and solidarity of the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Allow me, in behalf of our Party Congress and the Soviet people to express our most sincere gratitude to the fraternal parties for their greetings and friendly wishes of every success to the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

On our part, we cordially wish all the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties success in their heroic struggle for peace and socialism. (*Applause.*)

Allow me to express our gratitude also to all public organizations, trade unions and working people abroad for the greetings that they sent to the Congress of our Party. (*Applause.*)

Dear guests, representatives of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, you have come to our Congress from all parts of the world. We should like you to convey to the members of your parties and to the working people of your countries the assurance of the 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U. that the Communists, all the peoples of the Soviet Union, highly value the feelings of comradeship, friendship and solidarity that you have expressed in your greetings to our Congress. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our Party and the Soviet people consider it their international duty constantly to strengthen the bonds of friendship and proletarian solidarity with the working people and democratic forces throughout the world, to strengthen the mighty socialist camp and to work indefatigably for peace among the nations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Communist Party, the Soviet people regard the successful fulfilment and overfulfilment of the new seven-year plan as their cardinal international task.

You may be certain, dear Comrades, that all the Communists and working people of the Soviet Union will not stint their strength in order to carry out this historic task honourably! (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, the 21st Party Congress is outlining magnificent plans of peaceful construction. The work of the Congress mirrors the will of the Party, of the whole Soviet people, to carry out the plans of communist upbuilding and to do their utmost to preserve the peace, to ensure peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. That is the chief feature of our Congress. If they look at things objectively, even the advocates of the cold war will see that the plan our Congress is adopting aims to ensure peaceful coexistence and consolidate peace the world over. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, I have the pleasure of informing you that the Soviet specialists working in India on the construction of the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works, that is being built by the Government of India with the assistance of the Soviet Union, report a major industrial victory. The first coke was obtained on February 1 and the first pig-iron was produced on February 3. (*Stormy applause.*) This big iron and steel works is being built in conformity with Soviet designs and under the supervision of our specialists.

It should be noted that in addition to the works being built with the assistance of the Soviet Union, two other mills are being erected in India—one with the aid of Britain and the other with the help of Western Germany. Although construction on the iron and steel works in Bhilai was started some twelve to eighteen months later than on plants being built by British and West-German firms, our comrades, as a result of friendly, joint work with Indian specialists and workers, overcame considerable difficulty and managed to finish the construction of the first section of the big modern iron and steel works and produce the first coke and pig-iron sooner than the British and the Germans. (*Applause.*)

May the first pig-iron from this works be a symbol of the strengthening friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India. (*Stormy applause.*)

May the intrigues of the imperialists, who are seeking to hinder the further development of Soviet-Indian friendship, our joint struggle for peace, for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence, burn in the fire of this blast-furnace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

May the heat from this blast-furnace warm the friendship of our two great and peace-loving peoples. (*Stormy applause.*)

May our friendship be as strong as the metal smelted at this works, which was built thanks to the joint efforts of the governments and peoples of the Soviet Union and India. (*Stormy applause.*)



We congratulate the Indian people and the Government of India headed by Prime Minister Mr. Nehru on the occasion of their great industrial victory, which is of immense importance in the work of industrializing and strengthening the economic independence of their country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We take pleasure in noting that the President of the Republic of India Mr. Prasad was present at the commissioning of the first section of the iron and steel works and expressed warm wishes for the strengthening of Soviet-Indian friendship. (*Prolonged applause.*)

From the bottom of our hearts we congratulate the Soviet specialists and workers, who, together with Indian specialists and workers, achieved such outstanding successes and made a valuable contribution to the fraternal friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We regard this industrial triumph as striking proof of the correct Leninist policy of peace, as an example of the disinterested economic co-operation of the Soviet Union with peoples striving to consolidate their freedom and independence. (*Stormy applause.*)

The work of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is being discussed in all countries with tremendous interest. It must be said that most of the press in many capitalist countries is objectively reporting the work of the Congress. That is a positive phenomenon because far from straining tension, objective reporting of events in the press helps to relax it and create the conditions for speeding the settlement of urgent international issues in favour of peace.

We note with satisfaction that the peaceful aims of our plan have been correctly understood in most countries. We have declared that we shall steadfastly continue to pursue the Leninist peaceful foreign policy aimed at preserving and strengthening the peace and security of the peoples.

In the West, however, there still are quite a few leaders

who distort our policy of peace and oppose the principles of peaceful coexistence.

In this respect, allow me to dwell on some questions concerning the present international situation and express our unshakable conviction that the principles of peaceful coexistence must be firmly observed.

The question of peace, of peaceful coexistence, is the question of questions, for the people of every country, whatever its social system, want to live well, work in peace and create better conditions of life.

We hold the point of view that the peoples must live in peace irrespective of the social system of their countries and that the issues arising between states must be settled peacefully and not by war.

Great changes have now taken place in the world. There are countries that make up the world socialist system and countries forming the world imperialist system. But there also are countries that are not socialist but which cannot be regarded as belonging to the imperialist system. Having won their national independence as a result of a liberation struggle, these countries want to follow a path of their own, by-passing the capitalist stage of development so that, having done away with colonial oppression, they can start building a society on different principles.

Many of the leaders of these countries say that they want to build socialism. True, they pronounce the word "communism" with difficulty and it is not always clear what they mean by socialism. However, there is no doubt that they are well-disposed to the socialist countries, do not consider them as antagonists, do not regard the socialist countries as opponents of their striving to build a new life without the imperialists, without colonial oppression. For that reason good, friendly relations have been established between the socialist countries and these states, and normal economic relations are developing between them. We are coming forward together in the struggle for the peace and security of the peoples for banning the atom-

ic and hydrogen weapons, against the colonialist policy of the imperialists.

And so, if we take the countries forming the world socialist system and the countries waging a courageous struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for their freedom and national independence, we shall find that the scale is already now tipping in favour of these peace-loving countries and not in favour of the imperialist states. These peace-loving countries eclipse the imperialist states in territory, population and natural wealth.

One of the cardinal conclusions issuing from an analysis of the present alignment of forces in the world is that the majority of the colonial and semi-colonial countries which have only recently been the reserve and rear of imperialism, are no longer that. As a result of a prolonged struggle, these countries have turned into active forces of peace. They are struggling against imperialism and colonialism, for freedom and national independence, and are advocating peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In addition, we must bear in mind that the working people of the capitalist countries—the working class, the toiling peasantry and a considerable part of the intelligentsia—are striving to the utmost of their strength to preserve peace and raise their living standard. They approve the peaceful policy of the socialist countries. Besides Communist Parties, there are in the capitalist countries Socialist and Workers' Parties that lead a part of the workers and peasants. Although the political and ideological views of these parties differ from the views of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, most of them advocate peace. Our efforts can be combined in these spheres. Consequently, in the capitalist countries, the imperialists do not have the support of the broad working masses, for the latter are vitally interested in preserving and strengthening peace.

The Soviet Union has consistently and firmly pursued a peaceful foreign policy, and will continue to do so. The ac-

accomplishment of the seven-year plan will have tremendous bearing on the solution of the cardinal problem of our time—the preservation of universal peace.

We want to compete with the capitalist countries in peaceful fields—the development of the productive forces, of the country's economic potential, and the improvement of the material and cultural welfare of the people. We want each system to show its economic and spiritual powers in the process of this competition. To put it in the language of businessmen, evidently one that is more understandable to representatives of the capitalist world, let's lay out our "wares"—the socialist and the capitalist worlds each their own. And let each system show where and how long the working day is, how much material and spiritual benefits are received by the workingman, what housing he is provided, what chances he has of getting an education, what part he takes in government, in the political life of his country, and who is master of all the material and cultural riches—he who works, or he who does not work but has capital.

We think that the social system which gives the people more material riches, the system which provides the people with unlimited opportunities of spiritual growth, is progressive, that it is the system of the future. (*Prolonged applause.*)

And who will be the judge, who will decide what social system is better and more progressive? Naturally, we shall not let the ideologists of the capitalist world to be the judges. And we do not expect that the bourgeois ideologists will agree to our being the judges. It is safe to say that both will stand their ground. But who will be the judges? It will be the people. It is they who decide what system is better. We are sure that the people will make the right choice, and that they will do so without starting a war between countries, without hydrogen and atomic bombs. (*Stormy applause.*)

Competition is widespread in the capitalist world. When

two rivals fight over a buyer and the buyer finally goes to one of them, the one who offers better wares at cheaper prices, the other rival does not die, his life is not taken from him, he is not physically destroyed.

We say to the capitalist countries: let's act upon this method, which you understand. (*Animation.*) You refuse to call the relations between countries of the two systems a peaceful contest. You prefer to call it competition. Very well, we concede you this point. But whichever term we should choose—contest or competition—in both cases we propose that matters be decided without the rumble of guns, without the use of nuclear weapons, without chemical, bacteriological and other means of annihilating people, without war, without the destruction of the treasures accumulated by mankind. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Let us give the people themselves a chance to choose the social system which accords with their interests. Bourgeois leaders often extol the capitalist system. But they do not want to enter into peaceful economic competition with the socialist countries. They do not wish to let the people choose their own social system. This shows that they do not trust the people of their country, that they fear the people, that they cannot depend on their people.

Some representatives of the U.S. business world have voiced the wish that in our speeches we should not use the word "struggle," and that we should speak of contest or competition. To avoid straining our relations, we agree to say "contest," or even "competition." We are thus prepared to make concessions and to use words more habitual to the ear of our opponents.

But apparently it is not a matter of words, not a matter of terminology. Take the latest speeches of President Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon, Secretary of State Dulles, Senator Humphrey, and others. In their speeches they appeal for caution and drop a hint of doubt; there is the impression that they are reverting to their old bellicose ter-

minology, to statements like the one which Mr. Dulles saw fit to make at his news conference on January 27. He claimed, with no grounds for it whatsoever, that the Soviet Union intended to continue the cold war and that while proposing the development of normal trade between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., it was really thinking of getting an edge for itself and for "world communism" in the cold war against the capitalist countries.

Thus, certain circles in the United States want to bring to naught the thaw that has set in in the relations between our countries lately in connection with the good reception accorded to A. I. Mikoyan in the United States. They want to put new life into the cold war and to maintain the strained relations between our countries.

And you should hear what prominent U.S. generals have to say! They evidently act on the division of labour principle and make a clamour about bombers, hydrogen and atomic bombs, and about how many hours or days they will need to destroy key objectives in the Soviet Union, to deliver their crushing blow, etc. To put it in a nutshell, the most hot-headed and bellicose American generals are preparing for a real war, for exterminating people, for destroying material treasures.

In doing so, American generals and statesmen often say that the United States is in a more favourable position militarily than the Soviet Union, because it has a ring of military bases in the territories of European and Asian countries, which may be used to strike at our country, whereas the Soviet Union, they say, still has few inter-continental rockets. For this reason, they aver, war is not really a great menace to the United States. For example, U.S. Defence Secretary McElroy stated the other day that the United States would conduct military operations from the territories of its allies located near the borders of the U.S.S.R., while the Soviet Union would have to depend solely on rockets that it can launch from its own territory.

Presumably, Britons, Frenchmen, Germans, Turks,

Greeks, Italians and people of the other countries where American military bases are located, have turned their thoughts to what this prospect holds in store for them.

When strategic plans are built on false inferences this can lead to errors holding disastrous consequences for the cause of peace. If a state thinks that at any given moment its adversary lacks the weapon to strike at its territory, the temptation may arise to use this propitious moment for starting a war. If any U.S. statesmen happen to think that today their territory is invulnerable, they might arrive at the conclusion that the right time has come for them to start a war, and to pay the price of war with the blood and lives of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Turks, and their other allies, whose territory would in the event of war be laid bare with intermediate- and short-range rockets, while the United States would in the opinion of these myopic military "strategists" be able to safeguard itself from destruction.

The readiness displayed by U.S. leaders to sacrifice their allies, their disregard of the destiny of mankind for the sake of their narrow interests, is nothing short of a mercantile approach, a policy of merchants of death who for the sake of enrichment are prepared to sell out not only their friends, but even their fathers.

Needless to say this policy is alien to our people, to our Soviet state; it is alien to the working class, to people who adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We work persistently to avert the threat of war, to have nuclear weapons prohibited and their testing stopped, to reach mutually acceptable agreements with the United States, Britain, France and the other Western countries on all vital issues. We fight for world peace because we attach great value to the human being, irrespective of nationality, race and religion.

We consider it criminal to build the well-being of some people upon the misfortune and suffering of others. We think it is impermissible to wish grave calamities to some

nations, whether far or near, in order to carve on well-being for others, and, what is more, groundlessly.

If America's politicians and generals guided themselves by the best interests of all mankind rather than selfish ones, it would benefit not only the American people, but all the peoples of the world.

I think that it is high time for the American strategists to give up the illusion that in the event of a military conflict the territory of the United States would remain invulnerable. For a long time now this does not accord with reality, and is nothing more than wishful thinking on the part of America's generals. In point of fact, the Soviet Union today has the means to deliver a crushing blow to the aggressor at any point of the globe. (*Stormy applause.*) After all, it is not mere rhetorical flourish when we say that we have organized serial production of inter-continental ballistic rockets. Nor do we say it to threaten anyone, but rather to bring clarity into the existing state of affairs. (*Animation. Prolonged applause.*)

Our seven-year plan is the most convincing proof of the Soviet Union's desire for peace. We need peace and we fight for it firmly and consistently. All the peoples of our planet strive for peace. This is why the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union enjoys such deep respect and support throughout the world.

Comrades, an improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is of special importance to relieving international tension. In the recent past there has been an exchange of fairly sharp messages between the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States. The reason was that they dealt with very sharp international issues. Certain moves of the U.S.A. had caused alarm among the peaceful peoples, and we could not but voice our attitude on this score.

Now these events are behind us. We have to look forward. The Soviet Government, for its part, does its utmost to relieve international tension and improve relations with



all countries. We trust that the President and the other U.S. leaders, if they really want peace as they said they did in their talks with Mikoyan, will recognize the need of peaceful coexistence and will proceed from this in their relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The extension of trade and cultural relations, and personal contacts between statesmen and public leaders can contribute greatly to improving mutual understanding and establishing friendly relations between states.

The positive reaction caused throughout the world by the four-power meeting of statesmen in Geneva in 1955<sup>1</sup> is still fresh in our memories. Friends of peace saw in it an important step towards slackening international tension.

The meetings and talks we had in Geneva left pleasant recollections of Mr. Eisenhower. I formed the opinion that in spite of being a general, Mr. Eisenhower is not one of those military men who in solving controversial issues depend solely on guns and like to settle all problems by force of arms. He stated repeatedly that it was his aim to prevent war. We value this highly and hope that his statements will be followed by concrete deeds.

Comrade Mikoyan's visit to the United States gave reason to hope for a further "thawing" in the relations between our countries, for greater contacts and exchanges. Incidentally, Comrade Mikoyan used up his vacation for a trip to the United States of America. Nevertheless, he is now hinting that he should be given a chance to have a rest in the Soviet Union after all. (*Animation. Ap-  
plause.*)

This trip has to some extent helped the mercury of our relations to rise from below zero to zero and up; it began rising in order to reach a temperature vital for normal existence. Apparently, some of the politicians do not like this and try to counteract the positive impact which Comrade Mikoyan's visit has had on public opinion in the United States.

Rather than broaden contacts of this kind, a turn is being made in the United States in the opposite direction. At a press conference on January 28, in reply to a correspondent's question about the possibility of my trip to the U.S.A., one similar to Mikoyan's, President Eisenhower said unequivocally that this was out of the question. He declared: "It would be impossible ... to visit informally ... as Mr. Mikoyan." It turns out that one yardstick is used for him and a different one for me. (*Animation.*)

That is indeed an unexpected deduction. It is something very close to discrimination. (*Laughter.*) One man can enjoy the right common to all, and the other is deprived of it.

I want to be rightly understood. I have no intention whatsoever of asking for a visa to go on such a trip. We have our hands full here. Furthermore, I receive very many invitations and can scarcely find the time to avail myself of them. Hence, it is not a matter of my wanting to go to the United States, but of something entirely different—the rights of man. (*Animation. Applause.*) I fail to understand what it is that makes the President deprive me of something that others are accorded, who are allowed to visit that country. (*Laughter.*)

As concerns the Soviet people, we have a different approach to these things. We are pleased when people come to us from other countries, be they politicians or tourists.

In recent years the splendid practice has begun of American delegations, parliamentarians and tourists visiting the Soviet Union, and Soviet people visiting the United States. This should be encouraged. Our people receive Americans hospitably, and the American people are very cordial to our people. This was particularly evident during Comrade Mikoyan's trip to America. And if the President should wish to come to our country, he would be received with heartfelt hospitality both by our Government and by the Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*) He may take along anyone he likes. They will

all be welcome guests. Let the President study a map of the Soviet Union and pick out the places in our country which he would like to visit. Ours is a big country and there are many interesting places in it worth visiting and seeing. His visit would unquestionably be useful to both our countries and would surely be approved by the people of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. We are making this suggestion without the condition of reciprocity. For our part, we shall not bother anybody with our visits. (*Animation. Applause.*)

We proceed from the fact that reciprocal meetings and talks, reciprocal visits by statesmen and public leaders, promote better relations between states and make for an atmosphere which warms body and soul, and makes it possible to live without fear for the future, to exclude war and establish peaceful coexistence.

The peoples do not want cold war. Hence there is no good reason to leave any of the "knots" in international relations; they should be untied. What I have in mind is, above all, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the solution of the Berlin problem. Neither the one nor the other side will derive any material advantages if these problems are solved in accordance with our proposals, but we shall create the conditions for ending the cold war, for solving the disarmament problems and establishing international relations that would rule out war as a means of settling disputes.

Secretary of State Dulles says that the United States cannot make concessions in negotiating with the Soviet Union because, if it were to do so, this would not lead to ending the cold war, but to the Soviet Union's winning this cold war. Our reply to Mr. Dulles is this: We do not ask anyone to concede us anything; we strive for mutual understanding and for concessions to common sense. The Soviet Union does not seek victory in the cold war either for itself or for the United States, and, furthermore, a cold war cannot be won. Yet it is a menace to all. Sup-

posing the Soviet Union was gaining an advantage in the cold war while the United States was losing ground, the cold war would not end on this, because the United States would strive to continue its policy in order to make up for lost ground.

If one is to concentrate on winning there will be no end to the cold war, or, which is worse, it will develop into an armed conflict. The governments should show their will to end the cold war and, above all, they should display an appreciation of the fact that we live on the same planet, of fairly limited size by present engineering standards, and must therefore show caution and do our utmost to secure peaceful coexistence.

All we want is an early end to the cold war. And if you insist, Mr. Dulles, we are prepared for the sake of ending the cold war to concede "victory" in this "war," which bodes no good to the people, to you. Gentlemen, consider yourselves the "victors" in this "war," just so you end it forthwith. (*Animation. Applause.*)

Everything that obstructs peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems must be swept out of the way. When the boot rubs, preventing the soldier from marching in soldierly fashion, he either adjusts his socks or changes his boots.

In politics we must do the same. We must eliminate the things that tend to aggravate the international situation and obstruct peaceful coexistence. One such obstruction today is the policy of rearming Western Germany. The Soviet Union's proposal to conclude a peace treaty with Germany gave Dulles the excuse to say that the Soviet Union was seeking victory in the cold war. But who wins when a peace is concluded, and who loses? The winners are those who want to secure peace, and the losers are those who do not want peace. Therefore, the peace treaty is not a cold war manoeuvre, but the common cause of all peoples. We would not be offended, nor suspect the United States of selfish designs if it had had the jump on us

in preparing the draft of a peace treaty, nor would we devise pretexts to evade negotiations.

The Soviet Union displayed initiative when it advanced its draft of a peace treaty with Germany. If the United States has any remarks to make concerning our draft, or if it has any special suggestions that it wants reflected in the treaty, there is nothing to hinder it from voicing its point of view. It is for this express purpose that a peace conference is being suggested.

For this reason we call on the statesmen of the U.S.A. and other Western Powers to correctly appraise the Soviet proposals which are directed towards the strengthening of peace.

Take the question of West Berlin. Dulles says that West Berlin must not be surrendered. Surrender it to whom, we may ask. Is there anything in the Soviet proposals that speaks of a surrender of West Berlin?

If West Berlin were not a hotbed of disturbances and conflicts in the heart of the German Democratic Republic there would not be any Berlin question. But the situation in West Berlin today is such that anything unpleasant may be expected there. It may be compared with a burning fuse in a powder-magazine or a delayed-action bomb whose mechanism may bring about an explosion at any moment. Why should we preserve such a situation? Would it not be better to put out the fuse, remove the delayed-action bomb? It would be difficult to find another solution that would be to the interests of the two German states and at the same time would not be offensive and do damage to other interested powers. The conversion of West Berlin into a free city is such a solution. It is a solution that does not affect the established pattern of life in the city and, with the necessary guarantees, would exclude the possibility of outside interference in its internal affairs.

We are, therefore, prepared to participate with the United States, Britain and France in defining a status for West Berlin that would guarantee its normal development,

its relations with all countries with which it may wish to maintain them, and access for those countries to the free city. We also agree to the United Nations Organization participating in safeguarding the status of the free city, and are prepared to discuss the form in which this may be done. Such proposals and their implementation must, naturally, be worked out with the participation of the German Democratic Republic, because Berlin is in its territory. In our opinion the conversion of West Berlin into a free, demilitarized city would create conditions for the solution of other disputed questions and would contribute to a guarantee of security in Europe and, consequently, throughout the world.

Perhaps I am repeating myself, but this is a question to which we shall have to return again and again until all the interested parties arrived at an understanding of the seriousness of the situation and until they have weighed up what the further retention of such a situation may lead to, and have come to a correct understanding of the question. The Soviet Union will not slacken its efforts to reach the goal it has set. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Permit me, Comrades, from the rostrum of our Congress, to call on the German people to support a proposal that is aimed at strengthening peace in Europe and world security. (*Stormy applause.*)

Twice in the course of the last fifty years the German militarists have hurled the German people into the holocaust of bloody world wars. The peoples of many countries were drawn into these wars. But the peoples of our country and the German people suffered the greatest losses. What streams of blood and tears were spilled, what tremendous devastation was wrought in our countries!

Hitler prepared and launched the Second World War with the aid of nationalist, chauvinist propaganda. He hammered into the heads of the German people that Germany was above all else, that the Germans were a race of

masters, that Germany needed to expand her "living space," neither more nor less than to the Urals. We all know how Hitler's campaigns ended. The Germans brought great misfortunes to the peoples of Europe but suffered a complete defeat. Today, unfortunately, the more aggressive politicians in Western Germany want to travel Hitler's road. They have not, apparently, learned the lessons of history and want, for the third time, to try and arouse the German people for a predatory war.

The imperialist rulers are blinded by their hatred for the peoples of the socialist countries who are successfully developing their economy and culture and raising their living standard. They want to make history stand still, to put it in reverse, relying primarily on the Germans. In the days of atomic and hydrogen weapons, in the days of rocketry, such attempts would be madness that would not only lead to the death of millions of people but of whole nations and states. Furthermore, Western Germany's participation in aggression against the socialist states would place her in such a position that the first blow and the explosion of a considerable part of the accumulated hydrogen weapons would take place on German soil.

We hope that German workers, peasants and intellectuals and also the leaders of the West-German parties, the statesmen of the F.R.G., will understand the responsibility that will lie with them for the direction Western Germany will take in her development—whether that of preserving the hotbeds of armed conflicts between nations or that of liquidating the hotbeds in order to clear the way for the establishment of friendly relations between states irrespective of their social systems.

The industrious and talented German people have given the world many great thinkers and eminent scientists, poets and musicians; the German people have built a mighty industry and are ensuring themselves a high standard of living, and all that without the seizure of foreign

territory such as Hitler and Goebbels incited them to. Does this not prove that the German people should seek their future in the field of peaceful labour and not on the field of battle? And if the present tension is done away with and the Government of the F.R.G. facilitates the development of economic relations with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries, with all countries of the world, the German people will find still greater application for their abilities. They can develop their economy, raise their living standard and greatly increase the material and spiritual wealth of their nation.

Unfortunately, Herr Adenauer, the Chancellor of Western Germany, looks in the other direction; he banks on a continuation of the cold war and the pursuance of the "positions of strength" policy. You, Herr Chancellor, are sitting on the riverbank with a fishing rod and waiting for a fish to bite, but the fish you want does not live in that river. (*Laughter. Applause.*) Is it not time you gave up dreams that cannot come true?

Herr Adenauer declares that the German Federal Republic will not collaborate with the Soviet Union unless our country pays for that collaboration. You should not approach politics, Herr Chancellor, like the owner of a small grocer's shop. We have nothing to pay for, we are not in your debt. We want you to understand that there can be no other reasonable policy for the F.R.G. than peaceful co-operation with her neighbours in East and West and that neither on your own nor with the aid of your allies are you capable of abolishing the socialist system in Eastern Germany. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Germans in Eastern Germany do not wish to return to the old way of life. Our attitude to their interests is one of understanding, we have supported and shall continue to support the German Democratic Republic. It would be logical to assume that the Germans of Eastern Germany, on their part, consider it correct, in principle, to abolish



the system existing in Western Germany. Such an approach to the problem, however is not realistic, for social changes are effected by the peoples themselves and there can be no question of buying and selling in this matter.

One must keep underfoot the soil of realistic politics, those that are in accordance with the given historical moment. If this is not understood, if one moves by inertia and does not feel the breath and the pulse of life, millions of people may suffer. We are prepared to listen to your proposals. If they are reasonable, we agree to sit down at one table with you and examine your and our proposals to find a mutually acceptable basis for an agreement and then sign it.

But if you make your condition the abolition and absorption of the German Democratic Republic, the abolition of the social gains of the working people of the G.D.R., that is a condition that we cannot even discuss. If we were to do that we should be taking upon ourselves functions that are not within our jurisdiction since this would be interference in other people's affairs.

Every nation must decide for itself which social system suits it. When it decides it, is its own business. Nor do we object to the so-called free elections that are spoken about so much in the Western countries if the Germans of the two German states agree to conduct such elections—but without the interference of a third party. We can, indeed, assume that the Germans will at some time want to conduct free elections to abolish the capitalist system in Western Germany. Chancellor Adenauer, apparently, does not admit the idea, yet such a variant is possible. (*Applause.*) But that is a matter for the Germans themselves.

A word about free elections. The ruling circles of the Western Powers understand these elections in their own way. It will be remembered that the Geneva Conference in 1954 reached agreement on the conduct of free elections in South and North Viet-Nam with the object of

peacefully uniting the country. Those elections, however, were disrupted by the puppet government of South Vietnam with the support of the United States.

Comrades, I should now like to deal with what we consider to be one of the most important international questions. I have in mind the cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests.

In Geneva last summer there was a conference of experts on the detection of nuclear explosions and the guarantee that an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests, should it be concluded, would be strictly observed by all participants. The results of the conference fully confirmed the viewpoint of the Soviet Union that it is quite possible to detect any nuclear tests no matter where they are conducted. The greatest authorities, including Soviet, American and British experts, worked out concrete recommendations for a system of control to detect atom or hydrogen bomb explosions.

We were gratified at the successful work of the experts. The Soviet Government fully approved the conclusions and recommendations that were unanimously adopted by the Geneva Conference. We got the impression that we should be able, painlessly and without further delay, to conclude with the U.S.A. and Britain an agreement to stop the tests of nuclear weapons for all time.

Unfortunately things turned out differently. Representatives of the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and Britain who are meeting to elaborate and conclude a treaty on the cessation of tests have been in session for more than three months already. But no progress is being made. Judging by the way the negotiations are proceeding our partners apparently are out to prevent an agreement.

On what grounds do I draw this conclusion? There are plenty of grounds for it.

In the first place, the United States, with the full support of Britain, has made attempts that are tantamount to wiping out the useful results achieved by the conference

of experts. The American Government that at first approved the conclusions of the experts, suddenly came out with a declaration that according to some "new data" underground explosions were allegedly more difficult to detect than had formerly been supposed. In actual fact the very opposite is the case: as time goes on the detection of every kind of nuclear explosion becomes easier as detection technique improves.

We are inclined to believe that all this business with the re-examination of the experts' recommendations was needed to prevent the conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests.

One cannot help but come to the conclusion that the same object is pursued by the demands which the U.S.A. and Britain are putting forward during the discussion on the establishment of a system of control to ensure the observation of a treaty on the cessation of tests.

Judge for yourselves—here is what they want! They insist that all the control posts to be set up for the detection of explosions should be manned only by foreign personnel and that the foreign inspectors should travel unhindered all over the territory of the signatory states. They also want to create a situation in which the control commission to which these posts and inspectors are subordinated could, by a mechanical majority of the votes of Western representatives, impose decisions that affect the interests of the security of the Soviet Union.

We ask—in what way does this differ, for example, from the proposal made by President Eisenhower that Americans should be given the opportunity to fly freely over the whole territory of the U.S.S.R. and photograph it? Or in what way does it differ from the so-called "Baruch Plan" that in actual fact envisaged the establishment of the control of American monopolies over the production of atomic fissionable materials in all countries, the U.S.S.R. included? These proposals, you will remember, were rejected. In the same way we reject proposals of

that sort today, since we cannot permit infringements on the security and the sovereignty of the Soviet Union. That we shall never agree to. If we were to satisfy the demands that are now being put forward at Geneva by the delegations of the U.S.A. and Britain, we should be agreeing to the organization of a full-scale intelligence network of the Western Powers on our territory.

They may say that the U.S.A. and Britain, in putting forward their proposals, permit the creation of a similar control system on their territories. That may be true, but we do not need to make a reconnaissance of their territory as we do not have any war aims. We have no military bases around the U.S.A., neither in Mexico nor in Canada nor in other countries neighbouring on the United States.

The Soviet Union has no military bases on any foreign territory because we believe that the establishment of such bases, especially at great distances from one's own territory, is nothing else than preparation for war, preparation for aggression. Now that they have encircled us with their military bases, the Western Powers want to establish their bases on our territory for military reconnaissance, to obtain the right to fly over Soviet territory in order to be able, with the aid of that reconnaissance, to select the moment to put their military bases in action against our country. And they want us to help them in the realization of these plans. Is not that a bit too much, gentlemen? (*Animation. Applause.*)

If the leaders of a state are concerned with the interests of their country, with the security of their people, if they are in their right minds, could they possibly accede to such demands? It would be a crime against the fatherland.

We assess demands such as the Western Powers make as importuning the Soviet Union with evil intent. If the Western Powers say that they have no evil intentions, then I would advise them to drop their importunities and refrain from actions that arouse our suspicion.

We are in favour of establishing proper control over the cessation of nuclear tests. The Soviet Union itself has tabled a proposal on such control at the present Geneva Conference. We shall not, however, allow the Western Powers, under cover of control, to violate the sovereignty of our country. If the U.S.A. and Great Britain drop their unreasonable demands, the Soviet Union is ready to provide conditions for the effective work of control posts with the participation of foreign representatives, and for the installation of apparatus and the manning of it.

It is well known that at the present time, when there is no international control, nuclear explosions carried out by the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. or Britain do not remain undetected. Furthermore, explosions carried out, say, in the U.S.A. are detected by control apparatus located on the territory of the Soviet Union, while our explosions are recorded in America. It is now intended to set up a wide network of control posts for the detection of explosions within the bounds of that country where the posts are located. But on top of that the Western Powers are demanding some sort of unexpected investigations, are demanding the right for their inspectors to make unrestricted journeys throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R.

Is it not clear that the head of such a control system would be turned into a military reconnaissance chief. He would always be able to say that he had a suspicion that there had been an explosion in some district that interested him and then send an expedition to survey that district. Any politician or statesman, even the most unsophisticated, must know what that would lead to. It would lead to bad results: to the worsening of relations between the parties to the treaty.

We do not demand any exceptional position for ourselves. The only thing we want is conditions that are really equal for us and the Western Powers. But the U.S.A. and Britain, that is the NATO military bloc, want unilateral

advantages for themselves to the detriment of the interests of the Soviet Union.

The extent to which mutual control may go is closely connected with the extent of the confidence between the two sides. The greater the confidence the easier it is to agree on extensive control. But, of course, if confidence were absolute no control would be necessary.

Is it permissible to claim the right to unlimited control when the numerous NATO military bases around the Soviet Union continue to exist, when the participants of the aggressive military blocs created by the U.S.A. and Britain—NATO, the Baghdad Pact and others—impose curtailments even on normal trade relations in respect of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries? We are accused of using trade for political purposes, while in reality it is precisely the United States that has almost ceased trading with the socialist countries for purely political reasons. Their economic interests require the development of trade, and business circles in the Western countries favour the development of trade.

And that, Comrades, is how matters stand with regard to negotiations on the cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests. By putting forward proposals they know to be unacceptable, our partners in the Geneva talks, apparently want to hinder any solution of the problem in the same way as they did with the problem of preventing a sudden attack, the decision on which, they have, in actual fact, shelved. It seems that at the conference on the cessation of tests, too, they intend to drag things out for some time while they are preparing public opinion for a disruption of the negotiations, and then, in general, prevent a decision on this important question.

I would be only too glad if my conjectures proved incorrect. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned I want once more to confirm our desire to achieve agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests as soon as possible. We are prepared to sign a treaty to this effect, based on reason-

able conditions and ensuring the necessary control of explosions.

Comrades, the speeches of Congress delegates and the speeches of greetings by leaders of the delegations of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties have revealed complete unanimity and international solidarity and a unity of views on all questions of the international communist and workers' movement. Speakers at the Congress spoke of the unity and solidarity of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of their determined struggle against revisionism as the chief danger under present-day conditions, thus confirming the correctness of the views expressed in the Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is very typical that the work of our Congress, which has aroused the great interest and met with the approval of the international communist movement and among all progressive people, has been met with extreme irritation by the Yugoslav revisionists. Articles have appeared in the Yugoslav press making clumsy attempts to justify revisionist policy, hide from the Yugoslav people the Soviet Union's desire to co-operate with Yugoslavia, and distort the real situation that has arisen in the relations between Yugoslavia and the socialist countries. The Yugoslav leaders, by their revisionist policy, help in splitting the revolutionary forces of the working class struggling for the basic interests of the working people.

They have been unable to say anything convincing in reply to all our remarks concerning what the revisionist policy of the Yugoslav leaders has led to. They feel the weakness of their positions and are resorting to their favourite method, to demagogic declarations that the Soviet Union interferes in their internal affairs. But that is slander. It is well known that we stand firmly on the position of non-interference in the affairs of other countries and parties. This we have announced once more and very definitely at our Congress.

But just look at the despicable and provocative methods the Yugoslav revisionists are now resorting to in an attempt to injure the unity of the socialist countries. As was mentioned in the report the Yugoslav revisionists are fabricating all sorts of differences of opinion that allegedly exist between our Party and the Communist Party of China. In the last few days they have gone still farther, and, apparently, in order to substantiate their inventions have drawn in a "substantial witness" and specialist on questions of the "disagreement between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic," the American Senator, Hubert Humphrey. (*Animation.*) You will remember that this Senator recently visited the Soviet Union, and I had a talk with him. Hoping to make a sensation, Humphrey in his speeches and articles told no end of fairy tales, such as the story that he had brought a special message from the Soviet Government to President Eisenhower (there was, of course, nothing of the kind) and that I had confided two important secrets to him. Indeed, I could find myself no better partner for passing on secrets than Mr. Humphrey. (*Animation.*) Senator Humphrey's wild imagination ran riot when he began to make up his inventions about the relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. In this he even exceeded the well-known liar, Baron Munchausen.

And now the Yugoslav revisionists have taken this fabricator unto themselves as a witness. The very idea that I could have been in any way confidential with a man who himself boasts of his twenty-year record of struggle against communism is laughable. Anybody who has the slightest knowledge of politics, not to speak of a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, will understand how unthinkable a confidential talk with Humphrey would be on questions of the policy of the Communist Parties, on our relations with our best friends, the leading people in the Communist Party of China.



Evidently matters are going badly with the Yugoslav revisionists if they are reduced to picking up all sorts of ridiculous tales.

This reminds me of the way perky newspaper sellers sold their gutter papers in tsarist Russia. The newspaper seller would come running along shouting:

"Extraordinary occurrence! Woman gives birth to a girl with whiskers!..." (*Laughter.*)

And the inexperienced reader, of course, would grab the newspaper and look for the report of that event and not find anything of the sort. But the newspaperman had sold his paper, he had done his job. (*Animation.*)

It seems to me that Senator Humphrey and the Yugoslavs that broadcast his inventions have something in common with salesmen of the yellow press.

The Yugoslav leaders react very nervously when something is said about the low living standards of the working people in Yugoslavia. After the report had been made at the Congress the Yugoslav press tried to refute the data given on the living standards of the Yugoslav working people. But facts cannot be refuted. In confirmation of our statement that the living standard of the Yugoslav working people is not rising there are many other figures that can be quoted.

We know, for example, that in Yugoslavia recently the prices of consumers' goods and municipal services were again considerably increased. Although wages were raised simultaneously the pay increase did not compensate for the rise in prices. It follows, therefore, that there was a further drop in the living standards of the people. But in the countries of the socialist camp the well-being of the people is constantly rising. Nobody can deny these facts.

To those who try by means of references to statistics to create the impression of the high living standards of the Yugoslav people we can say: ask the people how they, by their own experience, assess their material level, whether

it is rising or falling, and if it is rising then to what extent in comparison with the mounting living standard in the countries of the socialist camp. The people will give a clear answer to this question. We can express our sympathy with the peoples of Yugoslavia whose standard of living, in all reality, is lagging behind the socialist countries. They have to pay for the policy of their leaders.

The Yugoslav press remains silent concerning the feelings of friendship with the Yugoslav working people that have been expressed at our Congress, but I wish to declare once more that we have the most friendly feelings towards the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Communists, the heroes of underground and partisan struggle. The Soviet Union will continue to strive for co-operation with Yugoslavia at state level on questions of the struggle against imperialism and for peace, and will co-operate on all questions on which our positions coincide.

These are the international questions that I thought it worth while touching upon in my concluding speech. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the 21st Congress is adopting a magnificent programme of communist construction. Our Party and the heroic Soviet people have great things to do. The fulfilment of the seven-year plan will raise our country to such heights that nobody will have any doubts left of the great advantages that communism possesses over moribund capitalism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are all of us justly proud of that generation of people who, under the leadership of the immortal Lenin, overcame unbelievable difficulties and created our glorious Communist Party, who under its leadership carried through the Great October Socialist Revolution and thereby opened up a new era in the history of mankind. (*Stormy applause.*) We are proud of the generation of people who laid the first stones and built the magnificent edifice of socialism. (*Stormy applause.*) Our contemporaries have to make real

the dream of mankind—to build a communist society, the most just society on earth. (*Stormy applause.*)

Centuries will pass but the glory of our heroic epoch, the epoch of socialist and communist construction will never fade. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Forward, Comrades, along Lenin's path, to the victory of communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. Ovation. All rise.*)

**Н. С. ХРУЩЕВ**  
**О КОНТРОЛЬНЫХ ЦИФРАХ**  
**РАЗВИТИЯ НАРОДНОГО ХОЗЯЙСТВА СССР**  
**на 1959—1965 г.г.**