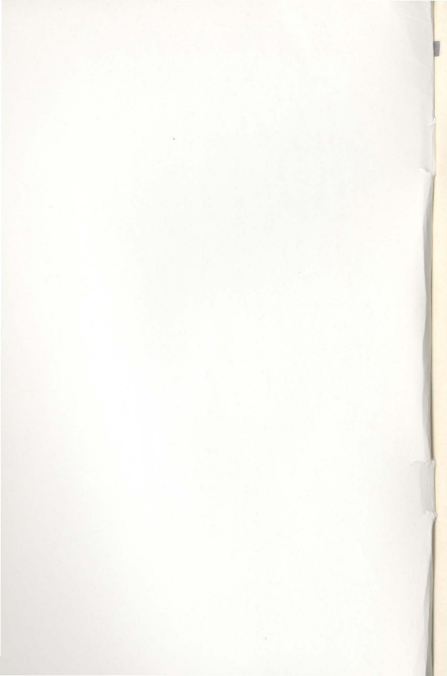


50th
ANNIVERSARY
of the GREAT
OCTOBER
SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION



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FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
GREAT OCTOBER
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

*THESES OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU.*

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This year, 1967, the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal socialist countries, the world communist and working-class movement, all progressive mankind solemnly mark the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Our country took the socialist road of development half a century ago. The October Revolution marked the beginning for delivering mankind from the exploiting system and implementing the ideas of scientific communism and had a most deep-going impact on the entire course of subsequent world history. It ushered in the era of the general revolutionary renovation of the world, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

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

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

From the summits of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution the Party and the Soviet people look back over the path that has been traversed in order to better resolve new problems. The revolutionary cause started by the Great October Socialist Revolution is broadening out, growing stronger and triumphing. Socialism is the present for hundreds of millions of people and the morrow for the whole of mankind.

I. HEROIC ROAD OF STRUGGLE AND CREATION. HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COMPLETE AND FINAL TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

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

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

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

Although Russia was mainly an agrarian country, capitalism developed rapidly and industrial production reached a high level of concentration. A working class, with the industrial proletariat as its nucleus, formed in Russia. The ruthless exploitation of workers, the land hunger and poverty of the peasants, the denial of political rights to the people, the oppression of national minorities, the survivals of feudalism and patriarchalism, and dependence on interna-

tional capital—all this made Russia the focal point of social and national oppression, the storm-centre of the contradictions of the entire system of imperialism and the weakest link in that system. The revolution of 1905-07 shook the foundations of the tsarist autocracy and was the prologue to the revolutionary battles of the working class and peasants in 1917.

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

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

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

tarian working masses, the proletariat is called upon by history to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

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

The Party which headed history's greatest revolution was led by the brilliant thinker and unbending revolutionary Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The ideological leader and organiser of the revolution, he dedicated his entire life to the revolutionary struggle of the working class. Under the new conditions brought in by the epoch of imperialism, he creatively developed Marxism, raising it to a new, higher stage. His theory of the socialist revolution was one of the greatest contributions to scientific communism for it ideologically armed the Party and the working class in their struggle against bourgeois rule, for political power. Drawing upon the teaching of Marx and Engels, Lenin produced solutions to key theoretical and practical problems of the building of socialism and communism. His ideas inspire the new generations of fighters for social transformations. Leninism is the eternal source of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. The name of Lenin has become the symbol of the new world.

A splendid feature of the Leninist Party is its ability to unite, temper and educate fearless revolutionaries. The outstanding organisers of the Revolution trained by the Party, its leaders and theoreticians, propagandists and captains of economic and cultural development have contributed greatly to the building of socialism.

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

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

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

The Great October Socialist Revolution overthrew the system of exploitation and oppression. The proletariat fought for emancipation from wage slavery, and it became

the master of factories and mills. The working peasantry suffered from land hunger—the power of the Soviets abolished the landed estates and turned the land over to the peasants. Soviet power nationalised the large-scale industry, the land, the railways and the banks, and instituted a monopoly over foreign trade. For the first time in history all the mineral wealth and the principal means of production became the property of the people. Public ownership of the means of production, which became the economic foundation of socialism, was established in the key branches of the economy. The oppressed nationalities inhabiting tsarist Russia suffered from a lack of political rights—Soviet power proclaimed the equality of nations and their right to self-determination. The division into social estates and estate privileges were abolished, and the humiliating laws keeping women in a status of inequality were abrogated.

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

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

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

model of scientific strategy and tactics.

2. *The working people of the Soviet Republic were confronted with far-reaching, intricate and difficult tasks: they had to defend the gains of the Revolution and utilise the dictatorship of the proletariat to achieve complete victory over the exploiting classes and carry out socialist changes.*

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

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

In response to the armed attack by the counter-revolution, the working masses resolutely rose to defend the gains of the Revolution. The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army—the army of the Revolution, the army of the working people—was born in the battles against the interventionists and the White Guards, in the flames of the Civil War. The Party drew up a programme for the country's defence, for the organisation of our armed forces. "The Army," it was noted in the resolution of the 8th Party Congress on the military issue, "must be trained, armed

and organised in accordance with the last word in military science" (*The CPSU in Resolutions*, Part I, p. 435, Russ. Ed.). The Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence with Lenin at its head was set up to mobilise the country's forces against the enemy. In defending their socialist country the people displayed mass heroism and moved to the forefront outstanding military leaders and legendary heroes. The working people of all the nations and nationalities of our country fought selflessly for Soviet power, for freedom and a communist future. The alliance between the workers and peasants, between all the peoples liberated by the Revolution, became stronger than ever during the Civil War. This victory showed the viability and stability of Soviet power.

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

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

The defeat of the united forces of world imperialism and the complete rout of the internal counter-revolution were of tremendous significance not only to the destiny of our country but also to the liberation struggle of the working people of other countries. The Land of Soviets—the hope and mainstay of the working people of the whole world—withstood and emerged victorious. Socialism won the first decisive battle against the forces of the capitalist

world. "We," Lenin said with legitimate pride, "withstood against them all."

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

The imperialists failed to destroy the Soviet republic by military force, but they ruined our country to such an extent that, to use an expression of Lenin's, they "half-achieved their aim." We had to begin peaceful construction with an extremely low potential: our industrial output totalled 14.3 per cent and the output of steel less than 5 per cent of the pre-war level. Farm output fell by half. All this created tremendous difficulties for starting socialist construction. The historic service of the Communist Party, headed by Lenin, was that it gave the Soviet people a scientific plan for the building of socialism, which took into account the economic and social conditions in the country. Lenin's ideas envisaged the country's industrialisation, the socialist cooperation of agriculture and the accomplishment of a cultural revolution. These ideas conformed with the basic interests of the masses who strove to put an end to economic dislocation and backwardness, poverty and ignorance.

With Lenin's direct leadership the Party drew up and, at its Tenth Congress, adopted the New Economic Policy which was a major and necessary stage on the road to socialism. The purpose of this policy was to surmount the economic dislocation, create the foundation for a socialist economy, develop heavy industry, establish an economic link between town and country, strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasants, oust and then abolish capitalist elements, and achieve socialism. The ways and means for fulfilling these tasks called for the utmost promotion of cooperation, the broad expansion of trade, the utilisation of material incentives and cost accounting. With the object of rehabilitating the economy, provision was made for drawing in private capital while retaining the command posts in the hands of the proletarian state.

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

The line of building socialism was upheld and implemented by the Party and the working class in a fierce

class struggle against the remnants of the deposed exploiting classes, capitalist elements in town and country, and Left and Right opportunists who attempted to divert us from the Leninist path.

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

The Party had to fight against the Right opportunists as well, for they espoused the ideology of the exploiting, kulak strata in the countryside and opposed the high rates of industrialisation, the collectivisation of the farms and the abolition of the kulaks as a class.

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

Socialist industrialisation was the key task in the building of socialism. In line with Lenin's theory that it was possible to build socialism in our country, the 14th Party Congress issued the instructions that "the policy of industrialising the country and stepping up the output of the means of production must be kept up" (*CPSU in Resolutions*, Part II, p. 197, Russ. Ed.). Socialist industrialisation proceeded in a situation marked by capitalist encirclement and the constant threat of attack by the aggressive forces of imperialism. This determined the forced pace of the changes in the country and required the utmost mobilisation of efforts and resources. In the USSR industrialisa-

tion was achieved without outside help, at the expense of internal resources and rigid economy.

Fulfilment of Lenin's GOELRO plan (State Plan for the Electrification of Russia) and of the first five-year plans of economic development ensured the Soviet Union's rapid economic growth. The Soviet Union became a mighty industrial power. Automobile, aircraft, tractor, some branches of the chemical and many other absolutely new industries were built. In 1940, as compared with 1913, the gross industrial product increased 7.7-fold and production of the means of production rose 13-fold. A considerable increase was registered in the output of consumer goods as well.

The fulfilment of the first five-year plan at a time when the capitalist world was in the grip of its most destructive economic crisis vividly demonstrated the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system of economy and greatly boosted the Soviet Union's international prestige.

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

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

Lenin's co-operative plan served as the foundation for the implementation of this key revolutionary task. It took the Party years of painstaking organisational and educational work to carry out this epoch-making task. As a result

of collectivisation, small-commodity production gave way to socialist production; agriculture, which was the most backward sphere of the economy, was put on a socialist footing. Millions of small individual peasant producers united in collective farms and embarked upon the road to socialism. Collectivisation gave rise to an efficient form of management of agriculture—the agricultural artel, which made it possible to combine public interests with those of the peasants, surmount the Leftist attempts to introduce egalitarian distribution, and put a stop to cases of violations of the principle of voluntary membership in the peasant co-operatives. The collective farms were set up in a fierce struggle against the kulaks. The resistance of the exploiting elements in the countryside was broken by the efforts of the working class and the rural poor in alliance with the middle peasants. Complete, nation-wide collectivisation abolished the last and most numerous exploiting class.

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

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

The 17th Party Congress underlined that the foundations of socialist economy had been built in our country during the first five-year plan period.

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

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

inculcating the ideas of scientific communism deep into the consciousness of the people.

A cultural revolution is a long and intricate process. Despite the country's cultural backwardness and acute shortage of skilled cadres and resources, the state created a new system of public education which wiped out illiteracy, effected a rapid upswing of science and culture and ensured the upbringing of the rising generation in the spirit of socialism. The finest of the old intelligentsia went over to the service of the people and there emerged a new workers' and peasants' intelligentsia completely devoted to socialism. A socialist, genuinely people's culture was shaped in the course of the cultural revolution. The greatest achievement of this revolution was that the working masses accepted the socialist way of thinking as their own.

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

The October Revolution and the building of socialism awakened and roused to independent activity formerly backward peoples, some of which were thus saved from physical extinction. During the building of socialism they acquired their own statehood, put an end to their economic and cultural backwardness and gradually adopted the highest socialist forms of economy and culture. This achievement was all the more remarkable in view of the fact that many nations which, when the Revolution was accomplished, had been at the stage of feudalism or even the patriarchal-clan system, by-passed capitalism in their progress towards socialism. All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognise that the Russian working class and the Russian people as a whole played a huge role in implementing the Leninist nationalities policy.

Socialism brings the peoples of the USSR genuine

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

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

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

Thanks to revolutionary changes and the labour and political enthusiasm of the people the Soviet Union was the first country in the world to build a socialist society. The

triumph of socialism was legislatively recorded in the Soviet Constitution adopted in December 1936 by the Extraordinary 8th Congress of Soviets. This Constitution fixed the socialist principles underlying the social and state system in the USSR and the broad social freedoms and rights of citizens, instituted a system of direct, equal and universal suffrage by secret ballot for elections to organs of power and enlarged the representation quota of all the Union and Autonomous republics, Autonomous regions and National areas in the highest organ of power. The political superstructure was brought into line with the economic basis of socialism.

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

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government saw the danger behind the policy of the fascist states, kept an eye on the situation and took steps to strengthen the country's defence capacity. The Party took important measures to reorganise industry and transport to meet the growing military threat. The defence industry built in the pre-war years ensured the Armed Forces with supplies of modern military equipment.

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

4. The war forced upon the Soviet Union by German

nazism on June 22, 1941 was the biggest military clash between socialism and the assault forces of imperialism. It became the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people for the freedom and independence of their socialist country, for socialism.

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

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

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

Furthermore, there were miscalculations in determining the time of a possible nazi attack against us, and shortcomings in the preparations for repelling the first blows. Besides, Soviet troops lacked experience in conducting large-scale operations in a modern war. However, in the initial period of the war it could already be seen that the military adventure of the nazis was doomed to failure. The defeat of the Germans near Moscow was the beginning of the turning point in the course of the war. The Hitlerite plan for a blitzkrieg was buried for good; the spurious legend about the Hitlerite army's "invincibility" was completely shattered.

The whole Soviet people rose to the defence of their Motherland. The country became a huge military camp with the sole desire to smash the enemy, drive him out of Soviet territory and destroy nazism. The slogan "Everything for the front, everything for victory", advanced by the Communist Party became the law of life for the Soviet people. The Party took energetic steps to organise the rout of the enemy and co-ordinate the efforts of the people at the front and behind the firing lines. The State Defence Committee with J. V. Stalin as its chairman was set up. In the republics, territories and regions the Party, local government, trade union and Komsomol organisations worked tirelessly to mobilise all the country's strength and means for defence.

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

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

The victory over the nazi invaders was won through the joint efforts of many peoples. A mighty anti-nazi coalition took shape in the course of the war. Powerful blows were dealt the enemy by the armies of the Western Allies. A courageous fight was put up by the allied troops of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and by the participants

in the Resistance movement. However, the main burden of the war was borne by the Soviet people and their heroic army, who played a decisive role in the victory over Hitler Germany.

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

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

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

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

In this war the Soviet Armed Forces were victorious. Created to defend the gains of the October Revolution they have honourably held their battle standards aloft throughout the history of the Soviet state. The feats accomplished

by them during the Great Patriotic War shall never be forgotten. The great victory over nazism was also ensured by the superiority of Soviet military science and military technique.

A people's struggle against the nazi invaders was waged behind the enemy's lines. Together with the Soviet Armed Forces the partisans dealt the enemy crushing blows. People's avengers and underground Party and Komsomol organisations operated in many parts of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and in Smolensk, Bryansk, Pskov, Novgorod, Orel, Leningrad, Kalinin, Moscow and other regions.

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

United by a single will, a single desire, the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, men and women, Communists and Komsomol members who had been reared by the Party and Soviet power proved able to accomplish a feat that has no equal in history.

During the stern years of the war the people fought under the leadership of the Communist Party. It organised and ideologically inspired the Soviet people for the struggle against the enemy. The finest sons of the Communist Party were in the forefront of the armed struggle against nazism. The Party reared and advanced a galaxy of brilliant military leaders. Huge organisational, Party and political work was conducted in the army by political workers who included prominent functionaries of the Party and the Government. By the end of the war there were more than 3,000,000 Communists at the frontlines. The influx of

fighting men into the Party reached its zenith during the grim months of 1941 and 1942. Ours was a truly embattled Party.

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

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

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

The Party and the Government took vigorous steps for the swiftest rehabilitation of the war-ruined towns and areas. The national economy was rehabilitated as the country's occupied territories were liberated. There is nothing in history to match these simultaneous large-scale offensive military operations and rehabilitation on such a grand scale. Stalingrad, Kiev, Minsk, Kharkov, Smolensk, Novgorod, Pskov, Vitebsk, Voronezh, Sevastopol and many other towns and villages were rebuilt on the ashes and ruins. New plants and factories were erected. The Soviet peasantry revived the collective and state farms plundered by the nazis. The socialist Motherland was rapidly gaining in strength. The key enterprises which had been moved deep into the hinterland at the outbreak of war sparked off an economic upsurge in a number of areas. Already by 1948, the prewar industrial level was in the main achieved.

Despite its war losses, Soviet industry developed at a high and steady rate. From 1940 to 1960, the output of key industrial items went up as follows: steel, from 18.3 to 65 million tons; oil, from 31.4 to 148 million tons; gas, from 3,400 to 47,000 million cubic metres; electric

power, from 48,300 to 292,000 million kwh. Deep shifts took place in the structure of production. There was accelerated development of such leading industries as energetics, engineering, chemical, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, building materials, and such new industries as electronics and radio electronics, and the atomic industry; complex mechanisation and automation of production was being carried out. On the basis of technical progress there was a steady rise in the productivity of labour. The output of foodstuffs, fabrics, footwear and consumer durables increased considerably. The quality of industrial goods was improving.

Things were much more complex in agriculture, which had suffered heavily in the war. The collective farm peasantry and the workers of the state farms showed a high sense of duty and selfless labour by rehabilitating the war-ruined farms in a short period. Already by 1950, gross agricultural output was back at the prewar level. However, in the next few years, there was a slowdown in the rate of development in this key branch of the economy causing definite difficulties in the supply of food for the population and of raw materials for the light industry. This was to some extent due to the fact that in the early postwar period the possibilities for financing and providing material and technical supplies to agriculture were limited. The reserves latent in the socialist mode of production were also insufficiently used to develop the collective and state farms. The September (1953) Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee took steps to give the farms material and technical assistance and to increase the material incentives for the collective farms and their members in the fruits of their labour. The development of the virgin and fallow lands was an additional source for increasing the output of grain.

The growth of material production made it possible to implement a number of measures aimed at raising living standards. The wages of industrial and office workers were raised, old-age and disability pensions increased considerably, the working week was reduced without any cut in wages, and large-scale housing construction was started throughout the country. Fresh successes were scored in science and technology and in the development of culture.

In scale and level of public education, the Soviet Union was firmly among the world's leaders.

The postwar conditions of development of Soviet society confronted the Communist Party with complex and responsible tasks. Life proved that the Party's political course was correct. It showed its ability to give theoretical generalisation to the experience of the masses, and to put forward the correct political slogans, and to lay bare and right mistakes. In pursuing its course towards the further development of socialist democracy, the 20th Party Congress resolutely condemned Stalin's personality cult, which was expressed in the glorification of the role of one man, something that is alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, in departures from the Leninist principle of collective leadership, and in unwarranted reprisals and other violations of socialist legality which inflicted harm on our society. These distortions, for all their gravity, did not alter the nature of socialist society, nor did they shake the pillars of socialism. The Party and the people had abiding faith in communism, they worked with enthusiasm to implement the Leninist ideals, overcoming difficulties, temporary setbacks and mistakes.

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

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

The formation of the world socialist system, and the growth of the Soviet Union's economic and defence might

brought about a change in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism. Socialism has won once and for all in the USSR, and our country is fully guaranteed against the restoration of capitalism.

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

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

A wealth of experience in the construction of the new society has been accumulated over the decades. Lenin said: "With this country taking the path of the great transformations, it is to the credit of the country and the Party of the working class, which has won out in this country, that we have made an immediately practical approach to the tasks which had earlier been presented in abstract theory. This experience will not be forgotten. This experience, whatever happens, however hard the trials of the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution, this experience cannot be gainsaid. It has gone down in history as a gain of socialism, and this experience will serve the

future international revolution to build its socialist edifice" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 383).

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

The historic significance of the victory of socialism in the USSR lies in the fact that the peoples of our country have shown the world the practical ways of resolving the cardinal contradictions of the contemporary epoch. Over the decades, vast experience has been accumulated in the construction of socialism and the application on a mass scale of socialist principles and rules of the human way of life, experience which is creatively adopted by other nations.

The historic significance of the construction of socialism in the USSR lies in the fact that our experience has refuted the exploiters' assertions that the working class and the working people are incapable of lasting in power for any

appreciable period or of building a new society. For a long time, the Soviet people were virtually alone in confrontation with world imperialism and bore the main burden of the struggle against the united forces of international reaction. The country was faced with the choice: either consciously to impose limitations on living standards and to build up a powerful economy and strengthen its defence capability through heroic effort in a short time, or to be crushed by the united forces of reaction.

To withstand the onslaught of imperialism, build the new society, and safeguard the gains of socialism, the revolutionary people became revolutionary warrior, political fighter, and selfless worker. They won through in an unprecedentedly hard struggle and created a powerful economic, military, political and spiritual potential, which is a reliable bulwark of socialism throughout the world.

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

II. CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNISM—CONTINUATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT CAUSE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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

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

selves, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

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

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU adopted a new Programme, which maps out the main directions of communist construction in the USSR: creation of the material and technical basis of communism, formation of communist social relations, and education of the new man. The decisions of the 23rd Congress and of the October (1964) and subsequent Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee gave all-round substantiation of these tasks, which were concretised with an eye to the present conditions of Soviet society's development, the available real possibilities, the material, manpower and financial resources, and the international situation.

The successful solution of the tasks of communist construction implies:

— close cohesion of the entire Soviet people under the banner of Leninism, and around the CPSU, selfless labour on the part of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, and powerful development of emulation in every sector of economic and cultural construction;

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

— full use of the advantages and possibilities of socialism in production and transport, in construction and agriculture, in the services, industrialisation and broader automation of every sphere of the national economy;

— perfection of the democratic principles of socialism, development of the working people's initiative, improve-

ment of discipline and organisation, greater responsibility to the people of executive bodies and persons in office, strict observance and strengthening of socialist legality;

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

— all-round strengthening of the country's defence capability, maintenance of constant readiness of the people and the army to ward off any possible aggression by the reactionary forces of imperialism.

The construction of communism is based on science. Complexification of the economy, the advance of the scientific and technical revolution, the perfection of social relations and the rise of cultural standards, make the tasks of administration more diverse. Since the need for well-trained, highly skilled workers dedicated to the Party and the people is increasing, it is important for the Party and the Soviet State to improve the system of training and employment of personnel.

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

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government attach great importance to the scientific direction of economic and social processes. The measures for perfecting the guidance of the country's economic, socio-political and spiritual affairs, which were worked out by the November (1964), March and September (1965) Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee and approved by the 23rd Congress of the Party mark a new stage in the development of Soviet society on the way to communism.

Communism can be built only on the basis of the

achievements of socialism, through the further development and perfection of its economy, social structure, political organisation and spiritual life.

Development of Socialist Production and the Rise of Living Standards

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

Socialist production has now risen to a level which makes possible the successful solution of the task of building the material and technical basis of communism.

One of the decisive achievements and advantages of socialism is the high and stable rate of economic development. From 1929 to 1966, Soviet industrial production grew at an average rate of 11.1 per cent a year, as compared with 4 per cent for the United States, and 2.5 per cent for Britain and France. The high rate of industrialisation has enabled the country tremendously to boost its industry. Between 1913 and 1966, industrial output increased 66-fold, including engineering and metal-working, 538-fold; chemicals, 294-fold; steel, 22.5-fold; electric power, 267-fold; cement, 45-fold; light industry, 16.2-fold; food, 12.8-fold and freight turnover of all types of transportation 23.1-fold.

Despite the fact that the Soviet Union wasted about 20 years on warding off aggression and subsequently rehabilitating its national economy, it has become a country with a developed machine building and electric power industry, a modern metallurgy and fuel industry, chemical and electronics industries. This year, the country has reached a level of steel output in excess of 100 million tons a year. Soviet industry is capable of tackling the most complex production and technical tasks, and of assuring the entire economy a high rate of growth.

The industrial successes make it possible steadily to increase the technical facilities of the collective and state farms and to develop agricultural production. By the end of 1966, there were 1,660 thousand tractors and 531,000 grain harvesting combines in our agriculture. The total power ca-

capacity available last year was 10-fold the pre-revolutionary figure. Today, nearly all state and collective farms use electric power. Electricity is being used more and more extensively in technological processes.

However, the violations of the economic laws of socialist production, the principles of material incentives, the correct combination of social and personal interests and the subjectivist approach that we have had in the management of agricultural production had a negative effect on the development of agriculture. The Party has taken vigorous measures to eliminate the mistakes and shortcomings in the management of agriculture. The March (1965) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee worked out a system of economic and political measures to boost collective and state farm production. Implementation of this policy and the correct employment of scientific and technical achievements, skilled personnel and economic and moral incentives ensures the necessary conditions for developing agriculture, increasing crops and the output of animal products. In 1966, the grain crop came to 171.2 million tons, or 80 per cent over the 1940 figure; meat, 10.8 million, or 130 per cent; butter, 1.2 million, or 240 per cent.

The fulfilment of the current Five-Year Plan (1966-70) will ensure the considerable advance of our society towards the creation of the material and technical basis of communism and the strengthening of the country's economic potential and defence capacity. The task of further boosting the socialist economy as a whole is being effected through priority development of the most progressive and key branches of the national economy and the raising of labour productivity with the use of the latest techniques and the scientific organisation of labour, better use of production resources and capital investments, higher quality of goods and vigorous cost-cutting. Agricultural output is to go up considerably through the intensification of farming with the aid of mechanisation, the wider use of chemicals, and extensive landreclamation.

The Soviet economy, developing on the basis of modern science and technology, is becoming ever more balanced and streamlined. The Party, while maintaining the priority growth rates in heavy industry, has initiated the rapid development of industries which serve immediately to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of the population;

these industries are being technically reconstructed, and their raw material and power basis is being built up and enlarged. One of the main features of the current structural shifts in the national economy is the tendency for the rates of growth in producer and consumer goods production to approximate.

The Soviet Union has attained uninterrupted, crisis-free economic growth, a high rate of scientific and technical development, employment of all the able-bodied population, and rising living standards. The balanced development of the national economy makes it possible to direct the economy efficiently on a country-wide scale to establish the optimal proportions, make rational distribution of the productive forces, and ensure a saving of material, manpower and financial resources. Socialist planning embraces every section of social production. It goes hand in hand with economic initiative at the enterprises and rests on the creative endeavour of the working people. The theory and practice of the Soviet planned economy is a major contribution to the historical experience of the peoples and to communist construction.

The consistent implementation of the new system of planning and economic incentives is of great importance in realising the plans for developing the socialist economy. This system is a reflection of the changed conditions in which socialist economic operations are being carried on, the increased scale of modern socialist production, the qualitative changes in its structure, and the demands of the scientific and technical revolution. The economic reform, socialist in essence, and expressing the need of bringing the economic relations of socialism in line with the level and character of the development of its productive forces, signifies a new approach to economic management. Its essence is in increasing the role of economic methods of management, perfecting state planning and giving more room for the economic initiative of enterprises, and in improving cost accounting and introducing it throughout the economy. Successful implementation of the reform largely depends on the correct balance between centralised management and the economic initiative of enterprises, moral and material incentives, skillful use, on a socialist basis, of commodity-money relations and related economic categories, such as profit, price and credit, which in socialist condi-

tions are filled with a new social content, and on the level of organisation and ideological and educational work among the masses.

In the new conditions, there is a more rational tie-in of the interests of society, the collective and individual worker, and there are greater incentives for workers to have all production resources used to the fullest extent and the quality of goods improved. The economic reform results in a further rise in the creative activity of the people, and an enhancement of their role in the management of production, and helps further to boost the national economy.

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

In 1966, the real earnings of workers in industry and construction were 6.6-fold the 1913 figure, while the real earnings of peasants had risen 8.5-fold per worker.

In the Soviet Union, the growth of living standards is ensured, first, through increases in the wages of industrial and office workers, the cash and kind earnings of collective farmers, retail price cuts, reduction and abolition of taxes; second, through the enlargement of the social funds for the free satisfaction of the needs of the population or through privileges in education, medical care, social security and recreation.

The main source of the working people's earnings at present is payment for labour. From 1950 to 1966, the average cash wages of industrial and office workers increased by more than 50 per cent. In the last few years, there has been a marked rise in the earnings of workers in the lower wage brackets, the earnings of collective farmers have gone up, and they now have guaranteed payment for labour. The Soviet people now have a richer diet, better clothes, and their spiritual life has gained in wealth and diversity.

In socialist society the principle, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work," makes labour the only source and measure of welfare, and the principal criterion of each man's social status. Under socialism, there still remain social and economic distinctions between different kinds of labour. That is why material remuneration is determined for each working man by the quality and quantity of his labour for the benefit of society. Egalitarianism would cut the ground from under the working men's mate-

rial incentives in the fruits of their labour, and sap their urge for professional and cultural improvement.

The socialist system of society holds out to men moral and material incentives for raising the productivity of labour and developing their capacities and endowments. The urge to do more and better for society is given striking expression in the mass socialist emulation, in the movement for communist labour, which embraces tens of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Social insurance and pensions for the working people are being improved from year to year at the expense of state funds. In the USSR, 34 million persons receive old-age and disability pensions, there is an increase in sick benefits and grants for children, and considerable amounts are set aside to organise health care and recreation for industrial and office workers. A single system of pensions for collective farmers has been introduced.

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

Social consumption funds are being widely used to give material assistance to working people's families for the maintenance and upbringing of children. More than 8 million children are given care in nursery schools and kindergartens. Great sums are set aside for grants to large families and single mothers, maternity and parturition aids, and grants for the birth of children.

The entire population enjoys free medical care. There are 578,000 physicians of all specialities, which is over 20 times more than before the revolution. There is an extensive network of hospitals, out-patient departments, medical centres, sanatoria, boarding houses and rest homes. A considerable section of the working people receive free or cut-price accommodation at sanatoria and holiday homes.

One of the most important problems in the Soviet Union is to satisfy the needs of the population in housing. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have been taking vigorous measures to solve the problem. In scale and pace of housing construction, the Soviet Union is among the world's leaders. Every year, some 10-11 million Soviet people move into new flats. Over the last 10 years, nearly one-half

of the population have moved into new flats and houses or have improved their housing conditions.

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

In the current five-year plan period, measures for the further improvement of living standards are carried out on the basis of economic growth and higher productivity of labour. The wages of industrial workers, engineers, technicians and office workers will be further increased along with the earnings of collective farmers. The cultural and everyday services for the working people are being improved, and steps are being taken to improve trade and public catering.

The labour contribution of each man in promoting the development and flourishing of society and society's constant care for each member is a characteristic feature of the Soviet way of life. The current country-wide socialist emulation movement to mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is an expression of the high political consciousness, enthusiasm and initiative of the people.

The Social Structure of Soviet Society and the Development of Socialist Democracy

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

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

time, free of national egoism and champions the solidarity of the working people of all countries.

Industrial development is attended by a growth of the number of workers, who now account for more than a half of all the working people in our country. Radical changes are taking place in the professional qualifications of Soviet workers, in their technical and cultural level and in the content and nature of their labour. Today about 50 per cent of the workers have either a complete or partial secondary education. All this has led to higher labour productivity and extensive public activity by Soviet workers, broadened their cultural requirements and accounted for such a marvellous phenomenon as the mass movement for innovation and the improvement of production. The labour of a worker who operates modern machines and controls complex production processes is becoming more like that of an engineer or a technician.

Being connected with industry, which is one of the material mainstays of socialist society, the working class, as the most advanced and organised social force, plays the leading role during communist construction.

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

In the period of communist construction, the Soviet *intelligentsia* plays a steadily increasing role in all spheres of social activity. Its interests are inseparable from those of the workers and peasants. The number of intellectuals, especially in the technical field, is rapidly growing as a result of the swift advance of production, science and technology. In 1913 Russia's economy employed about 200,000 specialists with a higher or secondary specialised

education, whereas in 1966 their number totalled about 13,000,000. Socialism gives intellectuals broad possibilities for working creatively. Communist construction gives them wider scope for applying their knowledge and skill to the designing of new machines, the management of production, the education and upbringing of young builders of communist society, and to the promotion of culture, science, literature and art.

Social distinctions are being gradually obliterated due to the powerful upsurge of the productive forces, the development of socialist social relations, and the rising living and cultural standards. Communist construction raises the co-operation of the classes and social groups of our society to a new level. Working shoulder to shoulder they create the material basis of communism, improve social relations and consolidate the moral, political and ideological unity of the people.

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

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

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

Internationalist traits are developing rapidly on the basis of the community of economic and social interests of the Socialist nations; Soviet traditions of the builders of communism are becoming consolidated among them.

Identical aims, a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, allegiance to the communist cause, profound internationalism and Soviet patriotism, respect for national dignity, friendship and fraternity—such are the characteristic features of the working people of the united and, at the same time, multi-national socialist society. The CPSU is consistently working to overcome the survivals of national narrow-mindedness, parochialism, nationalism and chauvinism.

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

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

12. *Socialist statehood and democracy are further developed and improved in the period of communist construction.* The role of the socialist state, particularly its functions in the sphere of economic and organisational activity and cultural and educational development, is steadily enhanced in the process of communist construction. This is achieved only by drawing wide sections of the people into the administration of public affairs. In our country the people exercise their rule primarily through the Soviets, which are the representative organs of the people combining the features of government and mass organisations. The Soviet socialist state is strong because it has a broad social base. With the victory of socialism the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a political organisa-

tion of the whole people under the leadership of the working class.

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

With the development of Soviet society, the trade unions play a growing role as schools of administration, economic management and communism. The trade unions unite more than 80 million industrial, office and other workers. They are a reliable mainstay of the Party and a great organising force promoting the country's productive forces, raising the productivity of labour and accelerating scientific and technical progress. Soviet trade unions actively participate in economic planning and management. They broadly promote socialist emulation and stimulate technical innovation and conscious labour discipline. They have the right to initiate bills, administer state social insurance and, jointly with government agencies, control the amount of labour and the amount of consumption and the observance of labour legislation. They help to improve working and living conditions and organise holiday facilities for the people. The trade unions administer a ramified system of cultural and educational establishments and promote physical culture, sports and tourism. The further consolidation of the trade unions and the enhancement of the role they are playing in the life of Soviet society constitute an important condition furthering the building of communism.

The Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol)—an active assistant and the reserve of the Party and organiser of the Soviet youth—has a membership of 23 million

young men and women. The Komsomol, the glorious Soviet youth, have demonstrated selfless devotion to the Party's cause at all stages of socialist construction. The Komsomol helps the Party to educate young people in a spirit of loyalty to the ideas of communism. Komsomol members and all the other young people of the Soviet Union are following the road charted by their fathers and continuing the traditions of the October Revolution.

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

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

Possession of social and political rights inherent in Soviet democracy entails strict observance by all members of society of their duties; they are to safeguard and multiply public property, work conscientiously, maintain law and order and defend their socialist Motherland. Socialist democracy is incompatible with an individualistic approach and anarchistic disregard for civic duty, with any actions damaging public interests.

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

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

In its entire activity the Party relies on the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism. On the basis of revolutionary theory and cognition of the objective laws of social development, the Communist Party shapes and implements its

policy in the economic, social and cultural spheres. The organic unity between science and politics is one of the most important principles underlying Party leadership.

The great Lenin said that there could be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. The Party and Lenin elaborated such radical problems of Marxist theory as the ways and means of accomplishing the proletarian revolution and waging a liberation struggle, the peaceful and the non-peaceful progress of revolution, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the guiding role of the Party in revolution and in socialist construction, the possibility of initially building socialism in one country, the ways and means of building up socialist economy, drawing the peasantry and the intelligentsia into socialist construction, the solution of the national question, the content and methods of consummating the cultural revolution, and so forth.

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

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

Possessing a wealth of theory and having accumulated unprecedented experience of applying it in revolutionary struggle and in building a new society, our Party highly assesses the achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought in

other countries. It takes them into account and uses them in its theoretical and practical work, in the struggle for socialism and communism.

The CPSU is a living political organism whose unceasing development is inseparably linked up with the building of a new society. Democratic centralism is an indispensable condition of its activity as a political organism. In the 50 years of Soviet power the Party has become a tremendous force uniting in its ranks more than 12,800,000 Communists, the foremost representatives of the working class and all working people. Concern for the purity of the Party ranks and for seeing to it that each Communist worthily bears and justifies the lofty title of member of the CPSU is a law of life of the Party, of all its organisations. The leading place in the Party is occupied and will continue to be occupied by the working class. The Communist Party is flesh of the flesh of the working class, of the people who work and create, and it constantly feels their unanimous support. The Party prizes the trust of the people and it has no other interests than those of the people.

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

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

The Party makes high demands of the Communists, sees to it that they improve their knowledge of theory and politics, educates them in a spirit of irreconcilability towards inertness and routine and upholds everything that is new and foremost. It takes every opportunity to encourage businesslike and principled criticism and self-criticism aimed at improving the work of Party, government and non-government organisations.

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

The October 1964 and subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee, and the 23rd Party Congress have charted measures aimed at solving urgent problems of economic, political and cultural construction. The chief content of the current activity of the CPSU and the whole Soviet people is the execution of these decisions.

The Spiritual Culture of Socialism and the Communist Education of the People

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

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

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

The 20th century witnesses a phenomenal scientific and technical revolution. Science is swiftly becoming a direct productive force. But only a socialist society opens up possibilities for extensive and planned development of scientific investigations, for using scientific achievements in the

interests of the working man and for finding solutions to social problems arising from the scientific and technical revolution. The prediction made by Marx that as a society of working people socialism will adopt a scientific approach to its progressing reproduction on a constantly increasing scale is coming true.

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

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

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

Methodologically, social sciences are flourishing on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. A major condition of their progress is that they are linked up with practice, i. e., with

everyday problems of communist construction, and promote the creative, revolutionary-critical spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Developing in line with the Leninist principle of partisanship, they are acquiring increasing significance as a factor of educating the people in a communist spirit, in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and all sorts of opportunist views.

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

Socialism has opened broad vistas before literature and art. An art of socialist realism appeared in our country after the Revolution. Its distinguishing features are that it is deeply rooted in the people and embodies communist ideals, that it is imbued with revolutionary humanism and the spirit of civic duty, that it is truthful and powerfully portrays reality and that it is manifestly irreconcilable to bourgeois ideology and morals. Ideological integrity, irreconcilable attitude to all that hinders progress, a spirit of innovation and a bold search for the new are all inherent traits of our art. Soviet art mirrors the historical road traversed by the Soviet people, their feats of heroism and their work to build communist society. A new type of artist has emerged who views it as his civic duty to take part in the building of the new world.

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

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

15. Educating the working people in a spirit of lofty Communist consciousness—a most important condition for the transition to Communism.

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

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

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

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

The Party attaches primary importance to the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists, leading cadres in particular, and an improvement in ideological and educational work among the population. It works tirelessly to improve

the system of Party education, and also such mass media of ideological, political and moral education as the press, television, radio and the cinema. The Party regards the speedier dissemination of news, the strengthening of the connection between propaganda and life, and the deepening of its theoretical content as a most important means of making ideological work more efficient.

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

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

The ideological struggle in the world arena is growing increasingly sharper. The greater the successes scored by socialism, the deeper become the contradictions of world capitalism and the more refined become the methods used by the imperialists in their struggle against communism. Bourgeois propaganda has been trying to obscure the principal social antagonisms and evils of the modern capitalist world, to dull the political awareness and paralyse the working people's will in the struggle for socialism. Imperialist ideology has been trying to inject the idea of individualism into the minds of the masses, to distract them from politics and the solution of fundamental social problems. Its stake is on a revival of the prejudices and remnants of the past

in the minds of men. It is an important task of communist education to fight the influence of alien morals and traditions and to overcome the negative phenomena in the thinking and behaviour of men.

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

Our aim is communism. The Party ties in the solution of the immediate practical tasks with the attainment of the long-term target—the building of Communism.

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

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

A great goal induces great energy among the people. Communism is created by the dedicated day-to-day labour of the workers in the plants and factories, the peasants on the collective and state-farm fields and the creative efforts of the intelligentsia. The transition from socialism to communism is a natural historical process. As socialist society develops and becomes stronger, it grows into communist society. Our advance can bring us only to communism. Any attempts artificially to slow down or precipitate this advance inevitably clash with the law-governed process of social development. As we build factories and plants, consolidate collective and state farms, improve social relations and multiply our spiritual wealth we create a highly organised society of conscious and free working men and women devoted to communist ideals. Communism is an embodiment of real humanism. "Everything for the sake of man,

everything for the benefit of man," is a principle written into the Party Programme.

The Soviet Union has all it takes to build communism: highly-trained personnel, a powerful industry and a developed agriculture, a modern science and technology, a progressive social system, tremendous natural resources. The Soviet people's energy and thoughts are directed to the solution of the great tasks of communist construction. These tasks will be successfully fulfilled by the people's creative effort under the leadership of the Party.

III. THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The October Revolution marked the beginning of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. During the past 50 years the world revolutionary process has been developing uninterruptedly, drawing in more and more countries and peoples. From the outset this development has proceeded in struggle with imperialism, which tenaciously resists the forces of revolution and mounts counter-offensives wherever it can. At the same time the world revolutionary movement encounters internal difficulties, due to its rapid growth and the heterogeneity of the social forces participating in the anti-imperialist struggle. However, the main trend of mankind's historical development, charted by the October Revolution, has asserted itself firmly: its main content, direction and features are now determined by the world socialist system, by the anti-imperialist forces fighting for the socialist reorganisation of society.

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

Imperialism has strikingly revealed the anti-popular substance and intrinsic vices of the modern capitalist system. It precipitated two world wars, taking a toll of 60 million lives, and now it threatens to unleash another world war that would involve missiles and thermonuclear weapons. Local wars and punitive expeditions against the national liberation movement (the US imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the Israeli invasion of Arab countries), the militarisa-

tion of the economy, the onslaught on democracy and the striving to establish terroristic fascist regimes (the most recent example being the reactionary coup in Greece) are the most obvious expressions of the reactionary nature of imperialism.

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

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

However, no innovations can change the exploiting essence of capitalism, no manoeuvres can heal it of its basic vices and remove its incurable contradictions. The scientific and technological revolution, the increasing state-monopoly regulation and on this basis a certain growth of production inevitably lead to a greater socialisation of production in the imperialist countries, to an aggravation of class contradictions, to substantial changes in the alignment

of the social and political forces. This creates objective conditions for the further growth of anti-imperialist forces called upon to effect the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism under the leadership of the working class.

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

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

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

Within a short period most of the socialist countries that had a low economic level in the past have become highly developed states with a high standard of living and rapidly developing science and culture. The socialist countries are outstripping the capitalist states in economic growth rates. In 1966 their industrial product was ten times that

of the same territory in 1937, while in the capitalist world industrial output rose by only 3.6-fold in the same period.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the first years following the triumph of the Chinese revolution, which inflicted a heavy blow on imperialism, the Chinese people secured major success in the social reorganisation of their country, in the development of its economy and culture. This success was, to a great extent, due to the comprehensive political, economic, military and cultural co-operation of the Chinese People's Republic with the socialist community, particularly with the Soviet Union.

At the end of the fifties the CPC leadership adopted a new line in foreign and domestic policy, which was a deviation from Marxism-Leninism and flagrantly contradicted the principles of proletarian internationalism and the

basic laws of socialist construction. The Mao Tse-tung group took up a policy which combined petty-bourgeois adventurism with great-power chauvinism disguised by Left phraseology; it openly set out on a course intended to undermine the unity of the socialist community and to split the world communist movement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In keeping with Lenin's behests, the Soviet Union has, throughout its history, consistently conducted a policy of

giving every assistance to the national liberation forces in their struggle against imperialism, for freedom and social progress.

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

The imperialists seek to keep their former colonies in economic and social dependence, to fetter their social and cultural progress. However, the peoples refuse to remain objects of imperialist exploitation. They strive to strengthen and consolidate their independence, look for a road of economic and social development that would enable them to solve the complicated problems facing them in the shortest possible time. They have before them the example of how the national border-regions of Russia, once oppressed by tsarism, relying on the support of the victorious proletariat of Russia, succeeded in eliminating economic and cultural backwardness in a short period, and achieved remarkable successes in all fields of social life. This may be seen from the example of the Mongolian People's Republic, which is successfully building socialism.

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

In many young national states the division between the social forces fighting for progressive social development and the reactionary circles entering into collusion with the imperialists is becoming more pronounced. Imperialism, notably US imperialism, was and continues to be the main

enemy of the national liberation movement. Relying on internal reaction, it organises plots and coups, sows strife between nations, fosters reactionary nationalism and beguiles newly-free states into territorial disputes.

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

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

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

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

Under state-monopoly capitalism, when the proletariat in the economic sphere is directly confronted not only by

individual industrialists and their associations but also by the bourgeois state, the economic struggle of the working people is bound to become political in nature. The working class is advancing direct political demands with growing insistence, fighting against monopoly rule and against the aggressive and reactionary policies of imperialist governments and for democracy and social progress.

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

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

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

At a time when the united anti-monopoly front is consolidating and expanding, when the working class and its allies are gaining ever greater political weight in society,

they can make a wider use of their hard-won democratic rights and institutions in the struggle against monopoly rule. The democratic reforms, expressing the interests of the working class and the non-proletarian sections of working people, which are being enforced under pressure of the masses, result in the consolidation of the positions of the progressive forces, and expand the bridgehead for launching a decisive offensive against capitalist positions. The movement to win greater rights for the people in the bourgeois countries is an important aspect of the class battles and an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

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

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

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

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

The Communist International, organised on Lenin's initiative, had played a great role in establishing and strengthening the Communist Parties. It was their revolu-

tionary headquarters, a school of Marxism-Leninism, a centre for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the new conditions, a school spreading communist ideas among the masses, a school of internationalism. The Communist International had played an important role in educating many outstanding leaders and militant cadres of the communist movement.

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

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

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

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

discussion of the most urgent problems and for working out a common programme of action.

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

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

The international unity of Communists was tempered and grew stronger in the struggle against imperialism, against all kinds of opportunism and sectarianism and against bourgeois nationalism. The CPSU has always fought and will continue to fight against Right and Left deviations, the danger of which to the cause of the revolution has been proved by the history of the communist movement. Events have demonstrated that deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line become particularly dangerous when they are coupled with manifestations of nationalism, great-power chauvinism and hegemonism.

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

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

22. The October Revolution has precipitated radical shifts in the entire system of international relations, threw imperialist foreign policy into a deep crisis and proclaimed principles of peace and international security, equality,

friendship and co-operation between peoples. The struggle between socialism and imperialism has become the pivot of world politics.

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

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

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

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

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

Consistently defending peace and international security, the Soviet Government has maintained and will maintain its defence potential at the highest level. Our Armed Forces possess all types of modern weapons, including missiles and nuclear arms. Large funds are spent on defence, but Soviet people understand such outlays are necessary. The

socialist revolution, as Marx and Lenin had said, must be capable of defending itself, and confront the aggressive actions of the class enemy with invincible military force. The strength of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries creates a real counterweight to the aggressive forces of imperialism, and is an important factor in the struggle to avert a new world war and to preserve the peace. The defence potential must be strengthened in every way and the questions of defence given the utmost attention—such is one of the principal conclusions to be drawn from the experience of the past five decades.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries plays a key rôle in the struggle for peace, against imperialist aggression. It is aimed at consolidating all anti-imperialist peace-loving forces in the struggle against the forces of reaction and war. The course of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, which is an integral part of this policy, is aimed at preventing the imperialists from unleashing a new world war, instigating international provocations and exporting counter-revolution. At the same time its purpose is to create favourable conditions for the peoples to exercise their sacred right of choosing their own road of development and to promote mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological co-operation, and cultural exchange between all countries.

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

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

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

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

The aim of the international policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to achieve an all-out strengthening of the links and fraternal co-operation with the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, to consolidate the ranks of the world communist movement. Throughout its history our Party and our people, in the face of difficulties, always rendered extensive assistance to the fighters for the cause of freedom and national independence, for the cause of the revolution. The international working class knows that there has not been a single considerable revolutionary action that was not supported by the CPSU and the whole Soviet people. The CPSU, the Party of Lenin, considers rendering support to international revolutionary forces as an integral part of its activity.

Holding aloft the torch of socialism, lit by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people, the Leninist Party have opened a new epoch in world history. Socialism, which in the nineteenth century had turned from a dream into a science, became the socio-political practice of millions of working people in the twentieth century, follo-

wing the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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



