

KHRUSHCHEV REPORT ON MOSCOW CONFERENCE

OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES

January 6, 1961

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(Text of Nikita Khrushchev's report, "For New Victories of the World Communist Movement," at the meeting of party organizations of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism Attached to the Central Committee of the CPSU on Jan. 6, as published in KOMMUNIST, No. 1, January 1961)

(Text) Comrades: The conference of representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist parties held in Moscow in November 1960 will enter the history of the world communist and workers movement as one of its most vivid pages. ~~This conference profoundly analyzed the present day international situation and worked out positions common for our movement pertaining to the most important questions.~~ As a result of this conference, held in an atmosphere of fraternal unity, the many-million-strong family of communists of all countries rallied even closer on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and its forces in the heroic struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism increased.

Participating in the work of the conference, the most representative in the whole history of the communist and workers movement, were ~~veterans of our movement, hardened in class struggles who in long years of severe struggle had not faltered under the torture of fascist henchmen and other enemies of the working class.~~ Participating in the conference were prominent leaders of Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries, representatives of communist parties which are waging under difficult conditions a heroic struggle against capitalism, the fighting leaders of the national liberation movement--in other words, the elite of the international communist movement.

Now, when in all countries of the world communists are vividly discussing and unanimously approving the statement of the conference and the appeal to the peoples of the world, it becomes particularly evident that the participants in the conference did not in vain spend much time and effort in their common cause. The working people of mankind are convinced that the Marxist-Leninist parties have justified the hopes of the peoples.

More than one billion people of the countries of the socialist camp watched the work of the conference with rapt attention. They are confident that as a result of the conference the socialist camp will become even stronger and that the ranks of the international communist movement will be rallied even more closely.

The working class, the workers of the capitalist countries, awaited the answers to the questions on how best to carry on the struggle for their revolutionary aims, for social progress, for democratic rights and freedoms, and how to give a more successful rebuff to imperialist reaction.

The fighters for national independence awaited an answer to the questions on how one can rapidly put an end forever to the shameful system of colonialism and insure the development of the countries that have become liberated on the path of national independence, peace, and social progress.

All peace-loving mankind awaited the answer to the most burning question of the present day--how to prevent a world thermonuclear war and attain lasting peace on earth and friendship among all the peoples, and how to insure peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Hundreds of millions of people in all the countries of the world felt a satisfaction on learning the results of the work of the conference.

As a result of the conference, the ideological treasure house of international communism has become greatly enriched. The statement unanimously adopted at the conference is a militant Marxist-Leninist document of tremendous international importance. It confirms allegiance of the communist parties to the declaration of 1957. At the same time it provides a profound analysis of new phenomena in the world arena and contains important theoretical and political deductions for the activity of all the Marxist-Leninist parties. The statement will serve as a true compass in the further struggle for the great aims that confront communists, the working class, and progressive people of all countries.

The declaration gives the Marxist-Leninist definition of the current era and shows the fresh prospects opening before the international communist, workers, and liberation movement. The documents of the conference point the way for development of the world socialist system and for further unification of the socialist camp. They determine the major problems of the struggle by the working class in capitalist countries, the struggle for liquidation of the disgraceful colonial system and unification of all forces acting against the threat of a new war.

The appeal to the peoples of the world contains a fiery call to unite in struggle for solution of the most burning problem of our times--prevention of a world war. The appeal again demonstrates that it is precisely we communists who are the most consistent defenders of the interests of the masses and indicate the only correct way of preserving and strengthening peace.

The work of the conference was imbued with a spirit of proletarian internationalism, party democracy, and an aspiration for even greater consolidation of the unity of the communist ranks. The delegations of all the parties presented their views, exchanged experiences, and contributed to the assessment and elaboration of the basic problems of the present day.

A strengthening of the unity of the ranks of the world communist movement and an even greater consolidation of the world communist front on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism are the principal outcome of the conference. This is a new ideological and political victory for the communists, a victory of major historic significance. At the same time, it is another defeat for the enemies of communism and progress. The imperialists and their lackeys were bitterly disappointed when they studied the documents of the conference. We have every reason to state firmly that the unity of the world communist movement, which the imperialist reactionaries fear like the very devil, has now gained more strength. This is a great success for our common cause.

Our epoch is the epoch of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism:

The analysis of the world situation at the beginning of the sixties can only evoke in every fighter in the great communist movement feelings of profound satisfaction and legitimate pride. Indeed, comrades, life has greatly surpassed even the boldest and most optimistic predictions and expectations. Once it was customary to say that history was working for socialism; at the same time, one remembered that mankind would dump capitalism and that socialism would be victorious. Today, it is possible to assert that socialism is working for history, for the basic content of the contemporary historical process constitutes the establishment and consolidation of socialism on an international scale.

In 1913, four years before the October Revolution, our immortal leader and teacher Vladimir Ilich Lenin wrote that since the time of the Communist Manifesto world history had been distinctly divided into three major periods: 1) From the 1848 Revolution to the Paris Commune in 1871, 2) from the Paris Commune to the Russian Revolution in 1905, and 3) since the Russian Revolution. He concluded the description of these periods this way: Since the emergence of Marxism each of the three great epochs in world history has been supplying it with new confirmations and new triumphs; but Marxism, as the teaching of the proletariat, will be supplied with even greater triumphs by the present historical epoch. These are prophetic words. They became reality with striking force and accuracy. The historical epoch brilliantly foreseen by Vladimir Ilich Lenin has become a qualitative, basic, new era in world history. Not a single preceding era can be compared to it.

These were the eras when the working class was gaining strength, when its heroic struggle, though shaking the foundations of capitalism, was as yet unable to solve the major problem of the transfer of power into the hands of the workers.

The new era differs from all the preceding ones in the universal historic triumph of socialism initiated in October 1917. Since then Marxist-Leninist teaching has been achieving one triumphal victory after another, and now its great strength and its transforming role are felt not only within individual countries and continents but in social development in all parts of the world.

There are a number of reasons which make the march of socialism invincible. In the first place, Marxism-Leninism today dominates the minds of literally hundreds of millions of people and thereby constitutes, if one is to apply Marx's words, a mighty material force. Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism now appears before mankind not only as a theory but as a living reality. The socialist society which is being created in the boundless expanses of Europe and Asia today represents this teaching.

Now a force does not exist in the world, nor can one exist, that can hold back the increasing tendency by which the masses see with their own eyes and, so to speak, feel with their own hands, what socialism is like--no, not in books and manifestoes, but in life, in practice. There is now no force in the world that can stem the movement toward socialism by the peoples in all the new countries.

Another circumstance is of prime importance. If yesterday hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America were suppressed by the yoke of the imperialist civilizers, today the picture is radically changing. The revolutionary emergence of more and more peoples into the world arena creates exceptionally favorable conditions for an unprecedented broadening of the sphere of influence of Marxism-Leninism.

The time is not far away when Marxism-Leninism will possess the minds of the majority of the world's population. What has been going on in the world in the 43 years since the triumph of the October Revolution completely confirms the scientific accuracy and vitality of the Leninist theory of the world socialist revolution.

Under current conditions it is useful to recall, in Lenin's terms, the actual process of the world socialist revolution, the forces participating in it. The socialist revolution, Lenin indicated, will not be solely and largely a struggle by the revolutionary proletarians in each country

against its own bourgeoisie. No, it will be a struggle by all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism.

Stressing that this struggle is aimed primarily at national liberation, Lenin said: It is quite clear that in the future decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe at first aimed at national liberation will turn against capitalism and imperialism and may play a much greater revolutionary part than we expect.

Now that the world socialist system has already come into existence, in the time of the greatest upsurge of anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions, it is essential to determine the future course, the prospects of world events. This is impossible, however, without a deep understanding of the nature, substance, and character of the decisive tasks of our era. The question of the character of the era is by no means an abstract or a narrow theoretical question. The general strategic line and tactics of world communism, of each communist party, are closely related to it.

Ideologists of imperialism, including their accomplices in the camp of reformism and revisionism, are relying particularly on the distortion of the character of the present era. Such falsification pursues quite a definite aim: to disorientate the broad masses of the people, to lead them away from the revolutionary path, to bind them to the chariot of imperialism, to present things as if capitalism were not in agony, but were performing a sort of calculated evolutionary transformation toward socialism. This is precisely the notorious theory of the so-called transformation of capitalism.

The falsifiers maintain that literally all classes of society are interested in such a transformation and allege that, this being so, peace and harmony prevail in the world of capitalism. Such is the picture of the modern era painted by bourgeois ideologists, rightwing social democrats, and the revisionist renegades of communism. It is not fortuitous that the ideologists of capitalism are trying to substitute for the concept of capitalism and imperialism such artificial concepts as "people's capitalism" or "welfare state."

We must, of course, unmask these ideological diversions and oppose them by our scientific Marxist-Leninist assessment of the era. We must do that to determine correctly the correlation of forces, to exploit new possibilities which the present era opens up for the further advancement of our great cause.

What requirements should a Marxist-Leninist appraisal of our epoch meet? It should provide a clear idea of which class stands in the center of the era and what the essence, direction, and tasks of social development are. It should cover the whole revolutionary process from the formation of socialism to the full victory of communism. It should indicate the forces which side with the working class, standing in the center of our era, and the movements which contribute to the general anti-imperialist stream.

Socialist revolution has achieved victory in a large number of countries, socialism has become a powerful world system, the colonial system of imperialism verges on complete disintegration, and imperialism is in a state of decline and crisis. The definition of our epoch must reflect these decisive events.

The statement of the conference provides the following definition of our era: Our era, whose essence is the transition from capitalism to socialism begun by the great October Socialist Revolution, is an era of the struggle of two diametrically opposed social systems, an era of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, an era of the collapse of capitalism and of liquidation of the colonial system, an era of the change to the road of socialism by more and more nations, and of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

This definition of the nature of the current era can be regarded as an example of the creative, truly scientific solution of a big, weighty problem. The strength of this definition is that it correctly characterizes the main achievement of the world liberation movement and opens before the communist and workers movement clear prospects for the worldwide victory.

Defining the essence and nature of the entire current era, it is highly important that we understand the chief peculiarities and distinctive characteristics of its present stage. If one approaches an evaluation of the post-October period from the point of view of its principal motive forces, this period is clearly divided into two stages:

The first began with the victory of the October Revolution. This was the period of the assertion and development of, as Lenin put it, the national dictatorship of the proletariat--i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat within the national boundaries of Russia alone. Although the Soviet Union, from the very first days of its existence, exercised an exceptional influence on international life, imperialism nevertheless greatly determined the course and nature of international relations. But even then imperialism proved itself unable to smash the Soviet Union, to prevent its becoming the mighty industrial power which became the stronghold of the cause of progress and civilization, the center of attraction of all forces opposing imperialist oppression and fascist enslavement.

The second stage of development of the current era is connected with the formation of the world socialist system. This is a revolutionary process with universal historic importance.

The October Revolution broke one link in the chain of imperialism. Then a frontal assault on the chain of imperialism was carried out. Previously one had spoken of a breach in the chain of imperialism through one or a number of links, but now, as a matter of fact, there no longer exists an all-enveloping chain of imperialism. The dictatorship of the working class has stepped out of the boundaries of one country, has become an international force.

Imperialism has lost not only those countries in which socialism was victorious; it is rapidly losing almost all its colonies. It is quite understandable that as a result of such blows and losses the general crisis of capitalism has greatly increased, and the balance of forces in the world arena undergone radical changes in favor of socialism.

The principal distinguishing feature of our time is the fact that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. This has been directly reflected also in the sphere of international relations. Under present conditions, prerequisites have been created for socialism to increasingly determine the nature, methods, and ways of international relations. This does not mean that imperialism represents an infinitesimal quantity which can be disregarded. Not at all. Imperialism still possesses great strength. It possesses a strong military machine. Now imperialism has created, under peacetime conditions, a gigantic apparatus of war and a widespread system of blocs, and has subjected their economy to the arms race. American imperialists lay claim to the whole world living under their heel and threaten humanity with a rocket and nuclear war.

Contemporary imperialism is being characterized to an ever-increasing degree by decay and parasitism. In their evaluation of the prospects of international development, Marxist-Leninists do not permit and cannot permit any illusions concerning imperialism. There is countless evidence that imperialists are pursuing a policy of base provocations and aggressions. This is nothing new. What is new is that any intrigues by the imperialists not only are completely exposed but are also resolutely rebuffed, and their attempts to unleash local wars are being cut short.

For the first time in history, the present balance of power in the world arena enables the socialist camp and other peace-loving forces to pursue the completely realistic task of compelling the imperialists, under the threat of the downfall of their system, not to unleash a world war.

In connection with the possibility of averting a world war, I should like to dwell on the question concerning the prospects for a further development of the general crisis of capitalism. It is generally known that both World War I and World War II exerted enormous influence on the emergence and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Does it follow from this that a world war is a necessary condition for a further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism? Such a conclusion would be profoundly incorrect since it distorts the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and conflicts with the real reasons for revolution. A proletarian revolution does not result from military cataclysms; it is first of all a consequence of the development of the class struggle and of the internal contradictions of capitalism.

It is perfectly obvious that the establishment of the world system of socialism, the quick progress of the disintegration of the colonial system, the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle of the working class for its rights and interests--that all this undermines the support for capitalism, intensifies its general crisis. The losses of capitalism as a result of these blows are irreparable. This refers both to the entire system of capitalism and to its main power, the United States.

The mightiest power of capitalism has found itself most affected by the general crisis. In the postwar years the blows of economic shocks have fallen with particular frequency. In the postwar period, the United States has experienced three critical production slumps: 1948-1949, 1953-1954, and particularly 1957-1958. During the past year, according to estimates of the American press, U.S. industrial production increased by only 2 percent. For 1961, American economists predict not an increase but a decline of about 3.7 percent in production, and maybe even more. In the USSR production increased about 10 percent in 1960.

It is precisely the monopoly capital of the United States that is revealing its incapability of using the production forces on hand. The richest country of the capitalist world is the country of the largest chronic unemployment. According to clearly optimistic official statistics, the number of unemployed in the United States rose from 2.6 million people in 1956 to 3.8 million in 1959, and to more than 4 million by the end of 1960. Moreover, there is a multimillion army of semiemployed in the United States.

A constant feature in the United States is the growing below-capacity operation of industry. Some 37 percent of the productive capacity of the steel-smelting industry of the United States was idle in 1959, although the output of steel, following a steep reduction in the critical year of 1958, increased somewhat. At the end of 1960 less than half of the productive capacity of the steel-smelting industry was used.

In spite of an immense increase in military appropriations, the production growth rate in that country has been falling off in postwar years and is now just managing to keep ahead of the population increase. During 1956-1959, in per capita terms, the output of industrial products in the United States remained at the same level.

Although the United States remains the principal economic, financial, and military force of modern imperialism, its share in the economy and politics of the capitalist world is declining. The U.S. share of industrial output of capitalist countries has fallen from 54 percent in 1950 to 47-48 percent in 1959. While in 1950 the U.S. share in the capitalist countries' steel production amounted to 57.4 percent, in 1959 it fell to 40.4 percent. The U.S. share in the exports of capitalist countries sank from more than 30 percent in 1946, to 21 percent in 1953, and to 17.4 percent in 1959.

Nevertheless, American monopolists have been and remain the principal usurers and exploiters of the peoples. One is fully justified in concluding that both in the economic field as well as in the field of international politics the main power of capitalism has entered a phase of growing difficulties and crises--the phase of its decline.

As regards the economy of the other capitalist countries, it is also characterized by increasing instability.

Today the capitalist world is not divided into two imperialist camps, as it was on the eve of both world wars. Nevertheless, it is far from united and is divided by a cruel internal struggle. Even the window of the so-called Atlantic solidarity hides an ugly picture of internal discords and conflicts; the opposition to U.S. leadership and diktat is increasing.

The revival of German militarism and revanchism in the center of Europe restores a most complicated range of Anglo-German, Franco-German, and other imperialist contradictions. If we compare the present position of capitalism with its position after World War II, it becomes clear that a great deepening in the general crisis of capitalism has taken place.

Having profoundly analyzed the whole international situation, the conference reached a conclusion which is of great theoretical and political significance. This conclusion states:

The development of the common crisis of capitalism has reached a new stage. The peculiarity of this stage is that it emerged not in connection with the world war, but in conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems; in the ever-increasing change in the correlation of forces to the advantage of socialism; in the acute aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism; under conditions when the successful struggle of the peace-loving forces for establishment and stabilization of world coexistence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace with their aggressive actions; and under conditions of an increasing struggle by the masses for democracy, national liberation, and socialism.

This bespeaks the further development and deepening of the common crisis of capitalism. Our militant comrades from the communist parties in the capitalist countries take this into consideration in defining their further tactical line in the struggle for the cause of the working class. And it can be said with confidence that the near future will be marked with new successes by the united forces of world socialism, the working class, and the national liberation movement.

Extensive building of communism in the USSR and prospects for development of the world socialist system:

Comrades, the world socialist is the greatest moving force in modern times. The international working class and its communist vanguard regard it as their duty to strengthen in every way the might and cohesion of the socialist camp--the stronghold of peace, freedom, and independence. It is well known that the conference devoted a great deal of attention to the further development of the world socialist system. The statement set forth important theoretical and political tenets of this development. I would like to dwell now on some of them.

As pointed out in the statement, the primary task of socialist countries is to exploit possibilities inherent in socialism to outstrip, as soon as possible, the world capitalist system in absolute volume of industrial and agricultural production, and then to overtake the most developed capitalist countries in per capita production and living standards.

The period since the 1957 conference of representatives of communist and workers parties is characteristic of the vigorous growth of the economic might and international influence of the world socialist system.

[1957]

Since then, the volume of industrial production in the socialist countries rose 37.1 percent and the industrial output in the capitalist countries increased 7.4 percent. During the same time industrial production in the USSR rose by 23 percent and in the United States by only 4.6 percent. The average annual rate of increase in all the socialist countries amounted to 17 percent, and in the capitalist countries to 3.6 percent. The average annual rate of increase in the USSR in that period amounted to 10.9 percent and in the United States to 2.3 percent.

Socialism has wrought such profound changes in all spheres of life in the people's democracies that today we can assert with legitimate pride that by now not only in the USSR but in all countries of the socialist camp the social-economic possibilities for the restoration of capitalism have been liquidated.

The world socialist system has entered a new stage of development. The CPSU Central Committee deemed it its duty to inform the world communist forum about the work of our party and to acquaint it with our immediate prospects. Our party is concentrating its efforts on solution of tasks in the extensive construction of a communist society. Chief among these tasks are creation of the material-technical base of communism, development on this foundation of communist social relations, and molding the man of the future communist society.

The most important stage in the creation of the material-technical base of communism in our country is the seven-year plan. In the first two years of the seven-year plan industrial output, according to the target figures, had to increase 17 percent. In fact, however, it increased almost 23 percent. If the present rates are preserved, industrial output will not increase 80 percent in seven years as envisaged in the plan, but will almost double. This will mean that industrial production in an amount of about 90 billion new rubles will be produced in excess of plan.

To explain more clearly what this figure means, let me remind you that Vladimir Ilich Lenin reported with pride to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International that our country in 1922 for the first time had been able to invest 20 million rubles in heavy industry. You see how modest the figures of 1922 were and what possibilities we have today.

In connection with this I want to say a few words about metallurgy. The seven-year plan has been drawn up in such a way that we must produce 86 to 91 million tons of steel in 1965. Last year, we produced 65 million tons, and a 6-million-ton increase in the production of steel has been planned for 1961. This means that we will have to produce 71 million tons.

If in subsequent years of the seven-year plan we insure the same increase as in 1961, then, by the end of 1965, 95 million tons of steel could be produced. But if future steel production increases at the same speed as in the first three years of the seven-year plan, production in 1965 could amount to 100 to 102 million tons.

But at the moment we will not carry out a policy of developing ferrous metallurgy to the absolute limit. We will switch over part of the capital investment into agriculture and into light industry. It is impossible to build communism by offering only machines and ferrous and nonferrous metals. People should be able to eat properly and dress well, to have adequate housing conditions, and other material and cultural advantages. This is not a revision of our general line but a sensible utilization of our material possibilities.

When we were encircled by enemies and our industry was weaker than that of capitalist countries, we economized in everything and, as Lenin said, even in schools. Now the situation is different; we have a powerful industry, and our armed forces have the most modern arms. Why should we deny ourselves things which people can enjoy without jeopardizing the further development of our socialist state?

At the moment, the Central Committee of the CPSU and Soviet Government are working on a general plan for the development of the economy of the Soviet Union for the years 1960 to 1980. Truly breathtaking prospects are opening up in the creation of the material and technical base of communism and in raising the well-being of the people on the foundation of bringing to life the great predictions of our immortal leader and teacher V.I. Lenin.

Raising the culture of the popular masses is one of the greatest achievements of socialism. In 1959 there were 2.2 million students in the USSR. The number of workers engaged in intellectual labor now exceeds 20 million. The number of persons with secondary and higher educational training has grown considerably among people engaged in physical labor. Before the revolution none of the workers and peasants had secondary training, let alone higher education. Now, according to the latest census, of the citizens of the Soviet Union engaged in physical labor 32 percent have secondary or higher education, (39?) percent among workers and 21 percent among kolkhoz workers.

All this shows convincingly that we have already scored very perceptible achievements in gradually eliminating substantial differences between physical and intellectual labor.

The results of the very great cultural revolution which has taken place in our country have found vivid reflection in the achievements of Soviet science. The whole world admires these achievements--three Soviet artificial earth satellites, an artificial sun satellite, our luniks and spaceships. In all this can be seen successes and advantages of the socialist system, the socialist genius of the people building communism.

The first stage of all-out construction of communism encompassed by the seven-year plan is at the same time the decisive stage in the completion of the basic economic task of the USSR. Whereas in 1950 the Soviet Union produced less than 30 percent of the industrial output of the United States, it now produces roughly 60 percent. As shown by calculations of economists, by 1965 the USSR will outstrip the United States in volume of production, and will outstrip the United States in per capita production by approximately 1970. Alongside the Soviet people, the peoples of other socialist countries are also selflessly working to solve the basic economic task of socialism.

The time is approaching when, in its share in world production, socialism will take first place. Capitalism will have been dealt a defeat in the decisive sphere of human activity--the sphere of material production.

Already as a result of fulfillment and overfulfillment of the seven-year plan, and of the high rate of development of the economies of the people's democracies, the countries of the world socialist system will be producing more than half of the world's entire industrial production.

The victory of the USSR in economic competition with the United States, the victory of the whole socialist system over the capitalist system, will be the biggest turning point in history, will exert a still more powerful, revolutionizing influence on the workers movement all over the world. Then, even to the greatest skeptics, it will become clear that it is only socialism that provides everything necessary for the happy life of man, and they will make their choice in favor of socialism.

To win time in the economic contest with capitalism is now the main thing. The quicker we increase economic construction, the stronger we are economically and politically, the greater will be the influence of the socialist camp on historical development, on the destiny of the world.

In the statement of the conference the need is emphasized for steady improvement of political and economic work, for constant perfection of the methods of leadership of the national economy, for scientifically backed socialist management. Our practice also confirms that a correct solution of these problems is quite important. We devote special attention to the problems of leadership being solved with regard to objective conditions, with neither a quickening nor a slowing of the rate of development being allowed.

In our country wide measures are being taken to place natural resources in the service of the construction of communism. Some 41 million hectares of virgin and waste lands have been reclaimed--an area in which several West European states could be placed.

The cascade of gigantic hydroelectric power stations has created an almost fully regulated flow of the great Russian river Volga. The chain of still bigger hydroelectric power stations, notably the Bratsk GES, of over 4 million kilowatts capacity, forms the Angara cascade. Still more majestic stations of up to 5 million kilowatt capacity will place the mighty Siberian Yenisey at the service of communist construction.

In the center of the European USSR, excavation of one of the world's richest iron ore basins, the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, has begun. Oil rigs are striding ever further to the east. In prerevolutionary Russia three-fourths of the oil was produced in the Baku area. Under Soviet rule the output of oil in Baku has more than doubled. Nevertheless in 1959 the share of Baku oil related to the whole output of oil in the USSR comprised less than 15 percent.

The inexhaustible mineral wealth of Siberia, supplying our country with millions of tons of ferrous, nonferrous and rare metals, various mineral raw materials and industrial diamonds, is being discovered; millions of hectares of former drought land are being irrigated, and problems of diverting some larger northern rivers are being studied.

These are only individual examples of what fruitful results are obtained when scientifically based methods of management make it possible to make full use of the creative possibilities of socialism.

One of the most important integral parts in the work of the CPSU in the leadership of communist construction is working out theoretical problems raised by life. The practice of communist construction raises many such questions, which have no ready answers. We advance along unexplored paths in building communism. Mankind still does not possess the complete theoretical background and the experience of organizing all aspects of society's life under communism.

Of course, Marxists are familiar with general laws and principles defining the way of life under communism, but at present knowledge alone of the general laws is insufficient.

Communism has gone over from theory to direct practice. The party correctly solves new tasks of communist construction because it regards Marxism-Leninism not as frozen theory but as a creative teaching which is developing without interruption.

In solving the practical tasks of communist construction, our party is constantly engaged in the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The great Lenin teaches that revolutionary Marxist theory is inseparable from revolutionary practice, that theory and practice cooperate and supplement one another, and that theory illuminates the path of practice.

Allow me to mention a number of theoretical problems dealt with by our party in recent years. These are the questions of the two stages of communism, of the transition from its first stage to the second, higher stage. They are also the questions of the development of the production forces and production relations during the transition from socialism to communism, of the development of the socialist state system into communist self-government, of communist education of the workers, etc. I would like to dwell on some of these questions.

With the advance toward communism the direction of socialist economy grows more complicated. The relationship between the branches of this economy and the economic areas of the country are assuming an increasingly tighter character. In this connection our party devotes much attention to the working out of problems of the management of national economy and of the improvement of planning. In 1957 reorganization of the management of industry and building was carried out, branch ministries were liquidated, and sovnarkhozes were set up in economic administrative areas. The essence of this measure was to be found in the transfer of the actual direction of economic development to local areas, with the retention of centralized planning. Consequently the principle of democratic centralism was further developed; this conforms to the Leninist tenet which holds that with the advance to communism and the rise in cultural standards of the people the management of production will be organized on a democratic basis to an increasing extent.

Further our party revealed the ways of the development of the kolkhoz and cooperative ownership on a nationwide level, fusing them into one single communist ownership. The CPSU has worked out and has put into life a whole system of economic, political, and organizational measures aimed at the strengthening and all-round development of the kolkhoz system and kolkhoz and cooperative ownership, that is, the reorganization of the MTS the sale of machines to kolkhozes, the changes in the

system of procurement of farm produce and of price policy, the help with cadres for the countryside, etc.

Our party devotes much attention to the correct application of the socialist principle of distribution and to the transition in the future to the communist principle of distribution. It has shown the economic failure and the harmfulness of all manifestations of leveling and weakening of the principle of material incentive. As is well known, in the past we had cases of deviation from the principle of material incentive, particularly in agriculture, which caused serious damage to agricultural production and to the kolkhoz system. Contempt for the material requirements of the working people and the concentration of emphasis on enthusiasm and awareness, on social and moral forms of incentive and reward, hampered development of production and the raising of the living standards of the working people.

This had negative internal and even international consequences, for it lowered the prestige of the kolkhoz system and gave food to the enemies of communism. We eliminated the shortcomings that were allowed to develop, and are bringing about consistent adherence to the principle "from everyone according to his abilities, to everyone according to his work." This principle is a general obligation to work. Its implementation is of enormous importance for raising labor productivity, increasing workers' skill, and for raising people with the communist attitude that work is the most vital necessity. At the same time, our party is concerned with combining both material and moral stimuli for work. As we progress toward communism the moral factor will constantly rise. It is of great importance already.

The emergence and development of communist labor teams, shops, and enterprises is an outstanding phenomenon of Soviet reality. A transition to the communist principle "distribution according to need" will be implemented only when productive forces and labor productivity will have attained a level insuring the creation of an abundance of material goods, and when work will have become most vital to members of the society.

Now the main portion of national funds earmarked for consumption is distributed according to the amount of work. At the same time, a considerable portion of the needs of working people is satisfied free of charge. Allocations for social and cultural undertakings, for popular education and medical services, which are enjoyed free by all the citizens, now amount to almost 25 billion rubles annually. Increasing public funds for personal consumption is regarded by us as a communist way of raising the living standards of working people.

The party pays much attention to the critical questions concerning the socialist state. In our country, where exploiting classes ceased to exist a long time ago, a gradual dying off of the organs of state administration is taking place first of all among those who exercise the functions of compulsion. Our party is holding to a strict course in the further development of democracy, in the handing over of individual functions of state organs to public organizations, in the development of public foundations in every sphere of political and cultural life, in the attraction of the broadest masses of working people in the administration of economy, in the safeguarding of public order, in the struggle against violators of the law, and so forth. This course not only does not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthens socialist society and corresponds to the prospects of the transformation of the socialist state into a communist public self-government.

These and other questions concerning the theory and practice of building communism will be reflected in the new program of the CPSU. This program is being worked out at present. It will be discussed by the party and will be adopted at the forthcoming 22d congress of the party.

The statement expresses the common concern of Marxist-Leninist parties for successful progress in every socialist country so that the tasks of socialist building may be solved correctly, in the interests of each country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In this connection, the great significance of the collective experience of the socialist countries, accumulated on the basis of socialist building in different countries, has been noted. Our party attentively studies the experience of the fraternal parties of socialist countries, which add much that is of value to the Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society. Now collective experience in the building of socialism has been accumulated. This experience is a valuable property of the whole international communist movement. The study and correct use by all the fraternal parties of collective experience are a most important condition for the development of each socialist country.

In the part of the earth occupied by the world socialist system, the prototype of a new society for all mankind is being created. This places a particular responsibility on the communist parties of all the socialist countries. Given correct political and economic leadership, taking into account both the general laws of the building of socialism, the specific conditions of individual countries, and the special features and requirements of each stage of development, we can make even more active use of the advantages of socialism and we can attain fresh successes.

The countries of the world socialist system are coming closer and closer together, strengthening their cooperation in all spheres of activity. This is a natural process. There are not and cannot be any insoluble contradictions between the socialist countries. The more highly developed and economically powerful countries give unselfish, brotherly help to the economically undeveloped. About 500 industrial enterprises and installations have been built in the fraternal socialist countries with the help of the Soviet Union; loans and credits advanced by us to these countries total 7.8 billion new rubles.

At the same time, we consider it our duty to point out that the fraternal countries of socialism, in their turn, cooperate with the Soviet Union in the development of our economy. The world socialist system at the present time is an association (sovokupnost) of the national economies of sovereign, independent countries.

The growing strength of the links between the national economies of the socialist countries is a natural law of the development of the world socialist system. It can be said with justification that it is the line of strengthening the world socialist economic system which the further development of the socialist countries will follow, as shown by the statement that the Marxist-Leninist parties which are at the helm of leadership in these countries are unanimous in their desire to actively further this process. They are jointly working for a proper solution of problems of specialization and cooperation of production, international division of labor. Thus they contribute to a fuller utilization of the advantages offered by socialism.

Coordination of national economic plans has become the basic form of combining the productive efforts of socialist countries at the present stage. It is in the interest of all countries to perfect this work, particularly in connection with the task of working out the long-term plan for the expansion of the national economies of socialist countries. The consolidation of the common economic base of the world socialist system, the creation of a material base for a more or less simultaneous transition of the peoples of the socialist system to communism will be achieved more rapidly to the degree that the internal resources of each country are fully mobilized within this system, to the degree that the advantages of the socialist international division of labor are used more adequately. It is on this basis that the balancing of the levels of economic expansion is taking place.

By solving the task of gradually overcoming the differences which have arisen in the course of history in the levels of economic development, we are showing to the peoples of the whole world the communist way toward liquidation of economic and cultural backwardness to which they have been doomed by imperialism.

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The effectiveness of this was first demonstrated by the example of certain central Asian and Caucasian peoples, backward in the past, who when greatly assisted by the more advanced socialist nations, notably by the Russian nation, quickly overcame their backwardness and have now taken their place in the ranks of the industrially developed regions of the country. This process is now taking place within the whole socialist system.

The common duty is to continue in every way to strengthen the solidarity, unity, collaboration, and mutual aid of socialist countries. The statement of the conference says communist and workers parties are tirelessly rearing workers in the spirit of socialist internationalism, in the intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, in the solidarity and unity of communist and workers parties. In their fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist teaching the peoples of the socialist countries have the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and of the socialist camp as a whole.

The communist and workers parties have defined the correct principles, those in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and of interrelationship of socialist countries and nations. Of course, in so new and major a matter individual shortcomings and some rough edges are unavoidable. The socialist commonwealth, however, is characterized not by these shortcomings of a private nature, but by the essentially internationalist nature of socialism, the internationalist policy of the fraternal parties and countries, and the world-historic successes achieved because of it.

Regarding the shortcomings, we must remove them, being guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, international solidarity, and fraternal friendship, keeping as the main aim the solidarity of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union has always sacredly fulfilled and is fulfilling its international duty, placing the unity of countries of the socialist camp, of the international communist movement, above all else. Our communist party will continue to adhere to this, its immutable policy.

The further solidarity of socialist countries on principles of Marxism-Leninism will create still greater possibilities for solving the most important problems of the present time in a new manner, in the interests of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The prevention of a new war is the question of all questions:

Comrades, questions of war and peace were at the center of attention at the conference. The participants were fully aware that the problem of preventing a global thermonuclear war is the most burning and vital

problem for mankind. V.I. Lenin pointed out that since World War I the question of war and peace has become the cardinal question in the entire policy of all countries on earth, a question of life and death for tens of millions of people. These words of Lenin resound with increased force in our days, when an application of the new means of mass destruction threatens unprecedented devastation and the death of hundreds of millions of people.

There is now no more urgent task than the prevention of such a catastrophe. The conference has discovered and outlined ways of using even more effectively the new opportunities of preventing a world war which emerged as a result of the formation of the socialist camp, the growth of its might, and the new balance of power. The peoples believe that communists will use the entire might of the socialist system and the increased strength of the international working class to deliver mankind from the horrors of war. Marx, Engels, and Lenin considered that the historic mission of the working class and its communist vanguard consisted not only in abolishing the oppression of exploitation, poverty, and lack of rights, but in ridding mankind of bloody wars.

V.I. Lenin nurtured our party in a spirit of implacable struggle against imperialism, for stable peace and friendship among all peoples. These principles have always been and continue to be the essence of our foreign policy. Our party remembers Lenin's words to the effect that while dying and disintegrating, capitalism is still capable of causing great calamities to mankind. The party always maintains the greatest vigilance regarding the danger emanating from imperialism. It nurtures the Soviet people in this spirit and does everything necessary to make it impossible for the enemy ever to catch us unawares.

We warn of a threat of war in order to raise the vigilance and energy of the peoples and to mobilize them for the struggle to prevent world war. The attitude of the CPSU toward problems of war and peace are generally known. It has been more than once expounded in decisions of congresses and in other documents of our party.

Wars have followed the division of the society into classes, i.e., the basis for the beginning of all wars will be finally eliminated only when the division of the society into hostile antagonistic classes is abolished. The victory of the working class throughout the world and the victory of socialism will bring about the removal of all social and national causes of the outbreak of wars, and mankind will be able to rid itself forever of that dreadful plight.

In modern conditions the following categories of wars should be distinguished: World wars, local wars, liberation wars, and popular uprisings. This is necessary to work out the correct tactics with regard to these wars.

Let us begin with the question of world wars. Communists are the most determined opponents of world wars, just as they are generally opponents of wars among states. These wars are needed only by imperialists to seize the territories of others, and to enslave and plunder other peoples. Before the formation of the world socialist camp the working class had no opportunity to make a determining impact on the solution of the question of whether there should or should not be world wars. In these conditions the best representatives of the working class raised the slogan of turning imperialist wars into civil wars, or to exploit the situation that had arisen to seize power.

This kind of situation arose during World War I and was classically used by the Bolshevik Party and Lenin. In our times different conditions have developed. The world socialist camp is making an ever-growing impact, through its economic might and its armed forces, on the solution of problems of war and peace.

Of course, there also are among the imperialist countries acute contradictions and antagonisms, as well as the desire to profit at the expense of others who are weaker; yet imperialists now must keep an eye on the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, and are afraid of starting wars among themselves. They are trying to play down their differences; they have set up military blocs in which they have involved many capitalist countries. Although these blocs are being torn by internal struggle, their members--as they themselves say--are united in their hatred of communism and, of course, by the nature and aspirations of imperialism.

In present conditions, the most probable wars are wars among capitalist and imperialist countries, and this too should not be ruled out.

Wars are chiefly prepared by imperialists against socialist countries, and in the first place against the Soviet Union as the most powerful of the socialist states. Imperialists would wish to undermine our might and thus reestablish the former domination of monopolistic capital. The task is to create impassable obstacles against the unleashing of wars by imperialists. We possess increasing possibilities for placing obstacles in the path of the warmongers. Consequently, we can forestall the outbreak of a world war.

Of course, as yet we are unable to completely exclude the possibility of wars, for the imperialist states exist. However, the unleashing of wars has become a much more complicated business for the imperialists than it was before the emergence of the mighty socialist camp. Imperialists can unleash a war, but they must think hard about the consequences.

I already said that even if the crazy Hitler had realized what a devastating rout was in store for his bloody gamble and had seen that he would have to commit suicide, he would have thought twice before starting a war against the Soviet Union. Then there were but two socialist countries, the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, and yet we routed the aggressors, having also exploited the contradictions between imperialist states.

The picture now is quite different: the socialist countries, which represent a mighty force, now oppose the imperialist camp. It would be a mistake to minimize the strength of the socialist camp and its influence on the course of world events and thus on the solution of the question of whether wars will take place. In conditions where a mighty socialist camp exists, possessing powerful armed forces, the peoples, by mobilization of all their forces for active struggle against the warmongering imperialists, can indisputably prevent war and thus insure peaceful coexistence.

A word or two about local wars. A lot is being said nowadays in the imperialist camp about local wars, and they are even making small-caliber atomic weapons for use in such wars; a special theory of local wars has been concocted. Is this fortuitous? Of course not. Certain imperialist circles, fearing that world war might end in the complete collapse of capitalism, are putting their money on unleashing local wars.

There have been local wars and they may occur again in the future, but opportunities for imperialists to unleash these wars too are becoming fewer and fewer. A small imperialist war, regardless of which imperialist begins it, may grow into a world thermonuclear rocket war. We must therefore combat both world wars and local wars.

As an example of a local war unleashed by the imperialists, we may take the Angle-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt. They wanted to strangle Egypt and thus intimidate the Arab countries struggling for independence, and also to frighten the other peoples of Asia and Africa. British statesmen, including Eden, spoke quite openly of their desire to deal summarily with Egypt when we were in London. We told them frankly: If you start a war, you will lose it; we will not remain neutral. When that war started, the United Nations formally condemned it, but this did not worry the aggressors and they went on with their dirty deed and even thought they had almost achieved their ends. The Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp came to the defense of Egypt. The Soviet Government's stark warning to Eden and Guy Mollet stopped the war. The local war, the venture in Egypt, failed miserably.

This was in 1956, when the balance of power between the countries of socialism and the countries of imperialism was not the same as it is today. We were not as mighty then as we are today. In addition, the

rulers of Britain, France, and Israel reckoned on being able to utilize the difficulties which had arisen in Hungary and Poland. Spokesmen of imperialist states were whispering into our ears: You have your difficulties in Hungary, we have ours in Egypt; therefore do not interfere in our affairs. Yet we gave a due reply to these whisperers. We did not shut our eyes to their bandit deeds. We interfered and stopped their aggression. Here is an example of how a local war started by the imperialist was stopped as a result of the interference by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

I have already said that local wars are also not excluded in the future. Therefore, our task is to be always on guard, mobilizing both the forces of the socialist camp and the peoples of the world, all the peace-loving forces, for prevention of aggressive wars. If the peoples of all countries are united and mobilized, if they wage a tireless struggle, uniting their efforts both inside each country and on a world scale, wars can be averted.

Now a word about national liberation wars. The armed struggle by the Vietnamese people or the war of the Algerian people, which is already in its seventh year, serve as the latest examples of such wars. These wars began as an uprising by the colonial peoples against their oppressors and changed into guerilla warfare. Liberation wars will continue to exist as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. These are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only admissible but inevitable, since the colonialists do not grant independence voluntarily. Therefore, the peoples can attain their freedom and independence only by struggle, including armed struggle.

How is it that the U.S. imperialists, while desirous of helping the French colonialists in every way, decided against direct intervention in the war in Vietnam? They did not intervene because they knew that if they did help France with armed forces, Vietnam would get relevant aid from China, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries, which could lead to a world war. The outcome of the war is known. North Vietnam was victorious.

At present, a similar war is taking place in Algeria. What kind of war is it? It is the uprising of the Arab people in Algeria against French colonizers. It is being conducted in the form of a partisan war. The imperialists in the United States and Britain render assistance to their French allies with arms. Moreover, they have allowed France, a participant in NATO, to transfer its troops from Europe for the struggle against the Algerian people.

The Algerian people, too, receive assistance from neighboring and other countries that sympathize with their peace-loving aspirations. But it is a liberation war of a people for its independence, it is a sacred war. We recognize such wars, we help and will help the peoples striving for their independence.

Or let us take Cuba's example. A war took place there too. But it also started as an uprising against the internal tyrannical regime supported by U.S. imperialism. Batista was a protege of the United States. The latter rendered active assistance to him. However, the United States did not interfere in that war directly with its armed forces. The Cuban people, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, have won.

Can such wars flare up in the future? They can. Can there be such uprisings? There can. But these are wars which are national uprisings. In other words, can conditions be created where a people will lose their patience and rise in arms? They can. What is the attitude of the Marxists toward such uprisings? A most positive one. These uprisings must not be identified with wars among states, with local wars, since in these uprisings the people are fighting for implementation of their right for self-determination, for independent social and national development. These are uprisings against rotten reactionary regimes, against the colonizers. The communists fully support such just wars and march in the front rank with the peoples waging liberation struggles.

Comrades, mankind has come close to the historic point where it can solve all problems which were beyond the strength of former generations. This also concerns the most vital issue, the prevention of a world war. The working class, which already leads a large part of the world--and the time will come when it will lead the whole world--cannot allow the forces doomed to ruin to drag hundreds of millions of people to the grave with them.

A world war in present conditions would be a rocket and nuclear war, the most destructive war in history. Among hydrogen bombs already tested are those in which the power of one bomb exceeds by several times the force of all explosives used during the World War II--and even during all of mankind's existence. According to scientific calculations, the explosion of a single hydrogen bomb in an industrial area can destroy up to 1.5 million people, and cause death from radiation to another 400,000.

Even a medium-sized hydrogen bomb is sufficient to wipe a large town off the face of the earth. British scientists have concluded that four megaton bombs, one each for London, Birmingham, Lancashire, and Yorkshire would destroy at least 20 million people. According to data submitted to the Senate by American experts, losses after 24 hours of nuclear war are expected to total 50 to 75 million people.

Pauling, a well-known American scientist, states: The areas likely to suffer strong nuclear blows are inhabited by about 1 billion people. In 60 days from the moment of atomic attack, 500 to 750 million people could perish. Nuclear war would also bring innumerable hardships to the peoples of those countries not directly subjected to bombing; in particular, many millions would perish as a result of the lethal consequences of radiation.

We know that if the imperialist madmen unleash a world war capitalism would be wiped out and annihilated by the peoples. But we are resolutely opposed to war, first of all because we are concerned for the destiny of mankind, its present and its future. We know that in the event of war it is the working people and their vanguard, the working class, that would suffer most. We remember how Vladimir Ilich Lenin formulated the question of the destiny of the working class. As early as in the first few years after the revolution, when the world's first state of workers and peasants was in a state of siege. Ilich taught that if we save the working man, the main producing force of mankind, we will save everything, but we will perish if we fail to save him.

Now there is more than one worker-peasant state in the world, there is an entire system of socialist states. Our duty to history is to insure peace and peaceful development of this great offspring of the international working class and to protect the peoples of all countries from another destructive war. The victory of socialism throughout the world, which is inevitable because of the laws of historic development, is now near. For this victory, wars among states are not necessary.

A sober appraisal of the inevitable consequences of nuclear war is the indispensable condition for a persistent pursuance of a policy of preventing war and of mobilizing the masses for the solution of this task.

After all, the very appreciation of the threat of devastating war strengthens the will of the masses to struggle against war. Therefore it is essential to warn the masses of the most dangerous consequences of a new world war and, thereby, to rouse the sacred wrath of the peoples against those who are preparing this crime.

The possibility of preventing war is not something like a gift. Peace cannot be begged for; it can only be assured by active purposeful struggle. That is why we have waged and will wage such a struggle.

The entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union is directed toward the strengthening of peace. The growing might of our state has been used by us and will in the future be used not to threaten anyone, not to fan the fear of war, but to steadfastly pursue a policy of struggle against the danger of war, for the prevention of a world war. We have been and are prompted by the desire to maintain and strengthen friendly relations with all peoples in the interests of peace, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Comrades, life itself bears out the correctness of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with diverse social systems, consistently pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Our party considers the policy of peaceful coexistence, which has been handed down to us by Lenin, to be the general line of our foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence is the high road of international relations between socialist and capitalist countries. The consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence strengthens the position of the world socialist system, promotes the growth of its economic might, its international prestige and influence among the people's masses, and creates for it favorable foreign-political possibilities in peaceful competition with capitalism.

Because the countries of the socialist camp are putting into effect a correct policy, a policy of active struggle against the imperialist warmongers, the prestige of the Soviet Union and of all socialist countries has risen to an unprecedented height. It is, after all, a fact that countries of socialism now have very good international positions.

The prestige of fraternal parties in the capitalist states, operating in particularly difficult conditions, is also growing from day to day. The world today acknowledges that the active, effective, influential foreign policy of the Soviet Union, of all socialist countries, draws to the side of peace and socialism more and more millions of people.

The policy of actively struggling for peace has imparted dynamic force to the foreign policy acts of the socialist countries. In recent years, the initiative in the international arena has been in the hands of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, while the imperialist states and their governments defend themselves with their backs to the wall their prestige and foreign political stock have never been so low.

Peaceful coexistence helps to develop the forces of progress, the forces struggling for socialism, and in capitalist countries it facilitates the activities of communist parties and other progressive organizations of the working class. It facilitates the struggle the people wage against aggressive military blocs, against foreign military bases. It helps the national liberation movement to gain successes.

Thus, the policy of peaceful coexistence, as regards its social content, is a form of intense economic, political, and ideological struggle of the proletariat against the aggressive forces of imperialism in the international arena.

The struggle against imperialism can be successful only if its aggressive acts are resolutely rebuffed. Verbal exhortations will not contain the imperialist adventurers. There is only one way of bringing imperialism to heel, the unflagging consolidation of the economic, political, and military might of the socialist states, an all-out unification and consolidation of the world revolutionary movement and the mobilization of the broad popular masses for the struggle to prevent the danger of war.

The CPSU and Soviet Government will continue with determination to do everything to enhance the military might of our country, since the imperialists continue the arms race. In rebuffing the aggressive actions of imperialism, our party and government display firmness and presence of mind. We always seek to direct the development of events in a way which insures that, while defending the interests of the socialist camp, we do not provide the imperialist provocateurs with a chance to unleash a new world war.

We set ourselves the task of exposing the aggressive essence of all military-political alignments of the imperialists like NATO, SEATO, and CENTO, of seeking their isolation and ultimate liquidation. We have repeatedly stated that in those circumstances we are willing to terminate the Warsaw Treaty. All peoples in the world gain from the liquidation of military alignments. This would be a most important concrete contribution to the consolidation of peace, improvement of the international atmosphere, and a major success of the policy of peaceful coexistence. In spite of all their efforts the imperialists lately have not succeeded in involving a single new state in their military alignments. It is significant that all new independent states have declared their intention to pursue a policy of nonparticipation in military blocs.

The struggle against the revival of German militarism is of particular importance for the consolidation of peace in Europe, and not only in Europe.

The Soviet Union is waging this struggle together with the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries in various directions. The most important of these is the struggle for a peace treaty.

The program of peaceful German settlement submitted by socialist states and the solution on this basis of the question of West Berlin have to a great extent assisted in exposing the aggressive circles of the United States, the German Federal Republic, and other NATO participants as opponents of a relaxation of tension.

The international positions of the GDR--the outpost of socialism in Western Europe--have become stronger. The positions of the United States, Great Britain, and France have turned out to be particularly vulnerable in West Berlin. These powers are still trying to cling to the old statutes. They cannot fail to understand that sooner or later an end will come to the occupational regime in this city. It is essential to continue, step by step, to bring the aggressive imperialist circles to their senses, to compel them to take the actual position into account. If they are stubborn, we will adopt decisive measures. We will conclude a peace treaty with the GDR because we are fully determined to insure the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany at last, to do away with the occupational regime in West Berlin, and, thus, to eradicate this splinter from the heart of Europe.

Comrades, if the problem of all problems of our time is that of averting a new war, the most radical way of solving it is disarmament. The conference of representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties has declared that the implementation of the program of general and complete disarmament, put forward by the Soviet Union, could be of historic significance for the destiny of mankind. Our struggle for disarmament is not a tactical move. We sincerely want disarmament. Here we stand fully on the positions of Marxism-Leninism. At the end of last century, Engels indicated that disarmament was possible and qualified it as a "guarantee of peace." In our time the slogan of disarmament was first put forward as a practical task by Vladimir Ilich Lenin and the first Soviet proposals on full or partial disarmament--if the capitalists will not agree on full disarmament--were submitted at the Geneva conference.

The struggle for disarmament is the most important factor for averting war. It is an effective struggle against imperialism. In such a struggle the socialist camp has the majority of mankind on its side. The ideals of peace and progress are our vital ideals. After all, the constituent manifesto of the First International, written by Marx, contained an appeal that the simple laws of morality and justice, which ought to guide private individuals, should become the highest laws in relations between nations.

When we raise the slogan of the struggle for peace without weapons and without war, we naturally take into account that under modern conditions, while two different world social systems exist, there still are in the imperialist camp some forces, and quite considerable ones at that, which not only do support this slogan but fight against it.

The question of the struggle for communism is a class struggle, but in the struggle for peace not only the forces of the working class, peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie can be united, but even the part of the bourgeoisie which sees the real danger of thermonuclear war.

Consequently the slogan of the struggle for peace does not contradict the slogan of the struggle for communism. These two slogans harmonize with each other because in the eyes of the broad masses of people communism acts as a force capable of saving mankind from the horrors of modern destructive rocket-nuclear war, and imperialism is being associated in the minds of the masses with war more and more, as a system which engenders wars. Therefore, the slogan of the struggle for peace appears as a satellite of the slogan of the struggle for communism. As correctly stated in the statement, the movement of peace partisans is the broadest movement of modern times, embracing people of different political and religious views, belonging to different classes of society, but united by the noble endeavor to prevent new wars and to insure lasting peace.

Among the people who fight for peace, there are representatives of various social strata, various political opinions, and religious outlooks. The struggle for disarmament is an active struggle against imperialism, for restricting its military potentialities. Peoples must do everything to achieve the prohibition and destruction of atomic weapons and all other mass destruction weapons. Peace will then be insured and there will open before peoples the most favorable prospects for organizing their lives in accordance with their aspirations and interests.

The primary condition of progress in disarmament is the mobilization of the broadest masses of people and their increasing pressure on imperialist governments. In the capitalist camp, policy regarding socialist countries follows two trends: a militant-aggressive trend, and a moderate-sober trend.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin pointed out the necessity for establishing contacts with those circles of the bourgeoisie which gravitate toward pacifism, even if it should be of the poorest quality. He said that in the struggle for the preservation of peace we must also use prudent representatives of the bourgeoisie.

The correctness of these words is confirmed by the events of our times, too. Among the ruling classes of the imperialist camp a fear for the future of capitalism prevails.

The most reactionary circles are showing increasing nervousness and a tendency toward adventurism and aggression, which they hope will help improve the shaken state of their affairs. At the same time, among the ruling circles in those countries there are also forces which understand the danger of a new war to capitalism itself. Hence there are two tendencies: one as aiming at war, and the second at accepting the idea of peaceful coexistence in some form.

The socialist states in their policy take these two tendencies into consideration. They strive for negotiations and agreements with the capitalist countries on the basis of constructive proposals. They endeavor to develop personal contacts among statesmen of socialist and capitalist states. It is also essential in the future to make use of every opportunity to expose the supporters of the cold war, the supporters of the arms race, to show to the popular masses that the socialist countries are sincerely waging the struggle to insure universal peace.

The awareness is becoming stronger among all peoples that it is the communists who are for the building of relations among states on the basis of peaceful coexistence, that it is they who are the most ardent and consistent fighters for peace. We can be proud of the fact that the peoples' notion of peace and communism are all the more being identified as a single unit.

The communists feel that if all progressive and peace-loving forces of our times, countries belonging to the socialist system, the international working class, the national liberation movement, young national states and all countries opposing war, all peace partisans, will wage a resolute struggle against the danger of war, they can tie the hands of warmongers and prevent a new world war catastrophe. It is essential day by day to enlist in the struggle for peace new strata of the population, eliminating a passive attitude which unfortunately is to be found among some social strata in bourgeois states. The struggle against the danger of a new world war must be developed without waiting for the full fall of atomic and hydrogen bombs, the statement stresses.

One of the decisive sources of the moral strength of communism, of its great influence on the masses, is that it comes forth as a standard-bearer in the struggle for peace. It is the banner of peace that enables us to rally the broadest popular masses around us. If we carry high the banner of peace, we shall score even greater successes.

The communists regard it their sacred duty to make full use of all possibilities created for the peoples by the present era to curb the bellicose forces of imperialism, to prevent a new war.

The present international communist and workers movement has attained such might and organization that it poses for itself the practical task of delivering mankind from the calamities of a new war. The statement of the conference says: The communists see their historical mission not only in abolition of exploitation and poverty all over the world and in excluding forever the possibility of any war in the life of human society, but in delivering mankind in the current era from the nightmare of a new world war. The communist parties in all countries will devote all their strength and energy to the realization of this great historic mission.

Liquidation of colonialism and ways for the further development of countries which have liberated themselves:

Comrades, the peoples which achieved national independence have become a new and powerful force in the struggle for peace and social progress. The national liberation movement deals more and more blows against imperialism, helps consolidation of peace, contributes to speeding mankind's development along the path of social progress. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are now the most important centers of revolutionary struggle against imperialism. In the postwar period about 40 countries won national independence. Almost 1.5 billion people have wrenched themselves out of colonial slavery.

The conference has correctly pointed out that the crumbling of the system of colonial slavery under the pressure of the national liberation movement is the second phenomenon of historic importance after the formation of the world system of socialism.

New remarkable pages are opening in the history of mankind. It is easy to imagine what majestic deeds these peoples will perform after they completely evict the imperialists from their countries, when they feel that they are masters of their own fate.

This vastly multiplies the progressive forces of mankind. For example take Asia, this ancient cradle of civilization. What inexhaustible strength lies hidden in the peoples of this continent! And will the Arab people with their heroic traditions, and all the peoples of the Middle East, which have already freed or are freeing themselves from political and economic dependence on imperialism, play any lesser role in the solution of tasks now facing mankind?

A remarkable phenomenon of our time is the awakening of the peoples of Africa. Dozens of states in north and central Africa have already achieved independence. The south of Africa is seething and there is no doubt that the fascist prisons in the Union of South Africa will collapse, that Rhodesia, Uganda, and other parts of Africa will become free.

The forces of the national liberation movement are greatly increasing owing to the fact that one more front of active struggle against American imperialism has been formed in recent years. Latin America has become this front. Until recently that vast continent was identified by one concept: America. This concept greatly expressed its substance: Latin America was bound hand and foot by Yankee imperialism.

By their struggle, the Latin American peoples are showing that the American continent is not an appendage of the United States. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano: the lava of the liberation struggle has swept away dictatorial regimes in a number of Latin American countries.

The whole world has heard the thunder of the heroic Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution is not only repelling the onslaught of the imperialists; it is going deeper and broader, marking a new, higher stage of the national liberation struggle, with people coming to power, with the people themselves becoming masters of their own wealth, solidarity with revolutionary Cuba is the duty not only of the people of Latin America; it is also the duty of the socialist countries, of the entire international communist movement, the proletariat of all areas of the world.

The national liberation movement is an anti-imperialist movement. With the collapse of the colonial system, imperialism has become considerably weaker. Vast territories, tremendous masses of people, have already ceased or are ceasing to serve as its reserve, a source of cheap raw material and cannon fodder. Asian, African, and Latin American countries, with the support of the socialist states and all international progressive forces, are more and more often defeating the imperialist powers and coalitions.

We gladly welcomed in Moscow the participants of the conference from the fraternal communist parties of countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, stalwart fighters for the independence and free development of peoples. Now communist parties are functioning in nearly 50 countries of these continents. This has broadened the sphere of influence of the communist movement, given it a truly worldwide character.

V.I. Lenin, speaking in 1919 at the Second All-Russian Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, said: If the Russian Bolsheviks succeeded in making a breach in the old imperialism, to take upon themselves the extraordinarily difficult but extraordinarily noble task of creating new revolutionary ways, then you--representatives of the working masses of the East--are faced with still a greater and newer task.

Lenin saw this task in awakening the revolutionary activity, independent action, and organization of the working masses irrespective of the level at which they are in applying communist teaching to the specific conditions in their countries, merging in the common struggle with proletarians of other countries.

When Lenin put forward this task, it had not yet been executed in practice anywhere, and the way it could be executed in concrete form could not be learned from any book. Now the communist parties of the countries struggling for national independence, or those that have already attained it, exist under immeasurably more favorable conditions, for there is the gigantic experience of the application of the theory of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of countries and areas which had been doomed by capitalism to backwardness for ages to come. This experience, amassed by the world communist movement is a rich treasure house for all communists. The correct application of this experience, the correct determination of which policy should be pursued, naturally can be done only by the actual party functioning in the given country.

These parties have concentrated their attention on what is most important: how to approach their own peoples correctly, to convince the broadest masses that their best future is indissolubly connected with the struggle against imperialism and reactionary internal forces, and also how to strengthen international solidarity between socialist states and the communist advance guard of the world to toilers. The renovation of the world on the principles of freedom, democracy, and socialism in which we are participating is a great historic process in which various revolutionary and democratic movements unite and work in concert under the determining influence of socialist revolutions.

The successes of the national liberation movement are to a great extent conditioned by the victories of socialism and, in their turn, strengthen the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism. The policy of the communist parties and socialist states aimed at strengthening the close union with the peoples struggling for their independence or those who have already achieved it, is based on this truly Leninist understanding of these historical processes.

Bourgeois and revisionist politicians allege that the development of the national liberation movement is independent of the working class struggle for socialism, independent of the socialist states' support, that it is the colonizers who grant freedom to the peoples of former colonial countries. Such inventions are launched to isolate the young independent states from the socialist camp, to prove that on the international stage they should, allegedly, play the part of some kind of third force and not oppose imperialism.

Is it necessary to mention that such reasoning is downright charlatanism? It is a historical fact that before the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution nations were not able to break the shackles of colonialism. History has proved that without the establishment of socialism, if only in a part of the world, there could have been no question of the abolition of colonialism. The imperialist powers, primarily the United States, are exerting every effort to attach to their own system the countries which have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism, and thus to strengthen the position of world capitalism by providing it--as the bourgeois ideologists say--with new blood, to rejuvenate and consolidate it.


If one faces facts, it cannot be ignored that the imperialists possess strong economic inducements for influencing the liberated countries. They are still able to enmesh certain politically independent countries in the net of economic dependence. Now, when the establishment of overt colonial regimes is impossible, the imperialists resort to camouflaged forms of enslaving and looting the liberated countries.

At the same time the colonial powers maintain internal reactionary forces everywhere in the liberated countries. They attempt to implant puppet dictatorial regimes and draw these countries into aggressive blocs. Although the sharpest divergencies are observed among the imperialist states, they often act jointly against the national liberation movement. But if all the factors influencing the fate of the peoples who have thrown off colonialism are taken into consideration, the conclusion is that the trends of social progress opposed to imperialism will eventually prevail. However, these questions are settled in the acute struggle within each country.

The conference statement contains important clauses concerning basic questions of development of the national liberation struggle, whose tasks the communist parties are striving to carry out. Their position in regard to various classes and social groups are also noted there.

Expressing the unity of views of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the statement directs maximum utilization of the revolutionary capabilities of the various classes and social strata, drawing into the struggle against imperialism all, even inconsistent, wavering, unsteady allies. Communists are revolutionaries, and it would be a bad thing if they did not take advantage of new opportunities that arose and found new methods and forms providing the best way to achievement of the ends in view.

Particular note should be taken of the idea in the statement concerning formation of national democracies. The statement describes the basic features of this state and the tasks it is called on to carry out.

It is important to stress that with the immense variety of conditions in countries whose peoples have risen to independent, historic creative work, various forms of settling problems of social progress cannot fail to arise. The correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in countries which have freed themselves consists indeed in seeking forms for uniting the whole national (word indistinct) while taking account of the special features of the economic, political, and cultural life of the peoples, in insuring the leading role of the working class in the national front, and in the struggle for resolute extermination of the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, for clearing the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, for clearing the way for an eventual movement toward socialism. 

At present, when imperialist reaction is trying to foist a policy of anticommunism on the young, independent states, a truthful explanation of communist views and aims becomes particularly significant. Communists generally support democratic measures taken by national governments. At the same time, communists explain to the masses that these measures are not socialist ones.

To no one are the hopes of the peoples bursting the fetters of colonialism as dear and as comprehensible as to the working people of the socialist countries, to the communists of the whole world. Our very world outlook and the interests of working mankind, for which we fight, urge us to do everything we can so that the peoples follow the right road to progress and the efflorescence of their material and spiritual forces. By our policy we must strengthen the confidence of the peoples in the socialist countries.

The assistance of the USSR and other socialist states to countries which have won their independence pursues a single goal: To contribute to the strengthening of the position of those countries in the struggle against imperialism, to the development of their national economies, and to the improvement of the living conditions of their peoples. Engels, noting the immense interest of the working class and of the leading countries in making colonial countries independent at the earliest possible date, wrote that only one thing was beyond all doubt: The victorious proletariat cannot enforce happiness upon other people without undermining its own victory.

The international duty of the victorious working class is to help the peoples of economically underdeveloped countries to completely break the fetters of colonial enslavement and to give them all-round support in their struggle against imperialism and for self-determination and independent development.

It does not follow from this, however, that the socialist help does not influence the prospects of the further development of countries which have won their freedom.

The Soviet Union has been and remains a sincere friend of colonial peoples and has always stood guard over their interests and aspirations to independence. We will continue to strengthen and develop economic and cultural cooperation with countries which have entered the path of independent existence.

The Soviet Union submitted for consideration by the 15th session of the U.N. General Assembly a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. As a result of acute political struggle around this proposal, which seethed not only in the United Nations but outside it, the General Assembly adopted the declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The main conclusion of the Soviet declaration, the necessity of a speedy and final liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, was on the whole reflected in the decision passed by the United Nations. This was a great victory for the progressive forces and for all socialist states which firmly and consistently defend the cause of the freedom and independent national development of peoples.

It is necessary to stress that in the solution of this problem at the U.N. General Assembly colonizers were isolated by socialist and neutralist countries, countries which take the stand for the liquidation of colonial system. Even some of the countries which belong to aggressive blocs, for instance, Norway and Denmark, voted for the liquidation of the colonial system. The colonizers were left among a miserable handful of nine countries which abstained from voting. This is highly characteristic, as it shows to the whole world who stands for the liquidation of the colonial system and what the so-called free countries uphold.

Is it not significant that among those who abstained were representatives of such countries as the United States, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and others? Despite being doomed to fail, colonialism still has quite a considerable strength of resistance and will cause much harm to many peoples. Around it there gathers all that is obsolete and reactionary. Colonialism is the direct or indirect cause of many conflicts threatening mankind with a new war.

Colonialism, which more than once has led to bloodshed, still is fraught with the danger of war. Now and again it manifests itself in the outbreaks of vicious madness, which is eloquently proved by the bloody events in Algeria, the Congo, and Laos. It still grips in its tenacious claws tens of millions of people. Not all the peoples who won state independence enjoy its benefits, since in the economies of their countries foreign monopolies continue their domination.

To demolish these last remnants of the colonial system of imperialism, to protect the peoples that are gaining independence from encroachment by colonial powers, and to help these peoples in the implementation of their liberation ideals--therein the peoples of the socialist countries and communists and progressive people of the world see their duty.

Some ideological questions of the communist movement:

When summing up the results of the world-historic victories of the communist movement, we give thanks first of all to our great teachers Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Their teaching has made the international communist movement a spontaneous movement and has insured its victories. In working out our strategy and tactics for the future, we again rely for advice on Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The guarantee of all our future victories lies in faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism.

The path of the communist movement has been difficult and thorny. No other party has had to go through so many trials and so many sacrifices. Numerous reactionaries have been trying to destroy communism, yet communism has emerged from all these trails ever stronger and has become a mighty force today. You have all seen beautiful giant trees deeply rooted in the soil. Such trees fear no storms or hurricanes. A storm may pass and break brittle trees, while the giant tree remains standing unshakable. Its crown becomes even thicker and rises higher toward the sun. The same occurs in the communist movement. Imperialist reaction has sent one storm after another upon it, but the communist movement remains steadfast; it is growing and is becoming stronger.

Forty-one years ago, here in Moscow, the First Congress of the Comintern took place. Communist parties and leftwing socialist organizations from 30 countries were represented at the congress. If one were to discount the communist parties of the republics which now form a part of the USSR, only five communist parties existed in all of Europe at that time. In Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceania there were no communist parties. On the American continent there was only the communist party of Argentina. Now there are communist and workers parties in 87 countries. They unite in their ranks more than 36 million people. The ideas of communism have captured the minds of millions of people in every corner of the world. This is good, very good.

Comrades, we are witnesses to the birth of a succession of new communist parties. After the Moscow conference in 1957 12 parties have been formed and have established international ties.

If Marx, Engels, and Lenin could have been present at the November conference of the representatives of communist and workers parties, how happy they would have been to see such a mighty army of communists from the whole world! The growth of the ranks of communist parties reflects the striving of the popular masses toward communism. It is one of the remarkable phenomena of today.

The communist system for which Marxists-Leninists struggled has been prepared by the entire process of social development, and the transition to it is a ripe task. Marxists-Leninists cannot fail to be concerned with, and are in fact concerned with, interpreting the ways of transition to the new society, and here not a few complex problems arise. Fraternal parties have highly rated the contribution made at the 20th CPSU Congress to the elaboration of urgent problems. The conference of communist and workers parties in 1957 and the November forum of the world communist movement in 1960 devoted serious attention to the elaboration of these problems and have advanced the theory and practice of the communist movement. Recognition of the necessity of a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society is an axiom for us Soviet communists, sons of the October Revolution. The path to socialism lies through proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As for the forms of transition to socialism, they will, as was pointed out by the 20th CPSU Congress, become increasingly diverse, and it is not essential that the transition to socialism everywhere and in all cases be connected with armed uprisings and civil war.

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the view that the forms of transition to socialism can be of a peaceful or nonpeaceful nature. Revolution by peaceful means is in keeping with the interests of the working class and the masses. But if the ruling classes counter revolution with force and are unwilling to bow to the will of the people, the proletariat must break their resistance and start a resolute civil war.

We are convinced that as the might of the world socialist system increases and the level of organization of the working class in capitalist countries improves, increasingly favorable conditions for socialist revolutions will occur.

Transition to socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions can also be carried out by making use of parliament and in other countries of institutions in keeping with their national traditions. Here it is not a case of making use of bourgeois parliaments but of the parliamentary form, in order to make it serve the people and give it new content.

Thus, it is not a case of some kind of electoral combinations, of battle merely for the ballot box--that is what the reformists do. Such are alien to communists. For us the unification and rallying of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the deployment of mass revolutionary actions are an essential condition to gain a firm majority in parliament

To gain a majority in parliament, to make of it a body of popular power with the existence of a powerful revolutionary movement in the country, means the overthrow of the military bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and creation of a new proletarian state system in parliamentary form. It is obvious that in countries where capitalism is still strong, where it has a huge military and policy apparatus, the transition to socialism will unavoidably take place in conditions of an acute class struggle. The decisive condition for all forms of transition to socialism is political leadership of the working class headed by the communist vanguard.

These conclusions reached by the 20th CPSU Congress are based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, on the practice of fraternal communist parties, on the experience of the international communist movement, and correctly take into consideration the change in international conditions. They direct communist parties toward cohesion of the working class and the majority of people to master all forms of struggle--peaceful and nonpeaceful, parliamentary and nonparliamentary. Lenin taught the communists to be ready, depending on the situation, to make use of one form or another of struggle and to educate the working masses in the spirit of readiness for resolute revolutionary actions.

Of course, to define what forms and methods of struggle will be selected by the working class in one country or another under concrete historical circumstances is the task of the proletariat itself in each country, and of its communist vanguard.

It must be emphasized here that under present conditions the following tenet in the statement of the conference is of special significance: The communist parties, being guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching, have always opposed the export of revolution; at the same time they resolutely struggle against the imperialist export of counter revolution; they regard it as their international duty to call upon people in all countries to rally and mobilize all their internal forces, to work actively, and, basing themselves on the might of the world socialist system, prevent or resolutely rebuff interference by the imperialists in the people's affairs in any country which has risen to revolt.

It is a very complicated thing to lead the masses to socialist revolution. It is known from our party's experience that the Bolsheviks, struggling for power, devoted their principal attention to working among the masses, to establishment and consolidation of the union of the working class with the peasantry, to training the political army of the socialist revolution. Leninists worked wherever there were masses--among the workers, peasants, women, young people, in the army. Each party can see better which slogan at any moment corresponds best with the task of winning the masses, leading them forward, stimulating cohesion of the political army of the socialist revolution.

The conference emphasized the important part played by work among young people. Bourgeois propaganda is spreading inventions about modern youth, calling it the lost generation and presenting it as aloof from politics. However, recent revolutionary actions in a number of countries show that youth is a great revolutionary force. No other political party can attract young people in the same way as the communists, the most revolutionary party. And young people like bold revolutionary actions.

The working class is the leading revolutionary force of our time. In the world army of labor, the working class of developed capitalist countries occupies an important part. These countries number 160 million workers and employees, which is equal to no less than three-fifths of the total of workers and employees in the entire nonsocialist world.

The working class of the developed capitalist countries presents an immense revolutionary force, not only because of its numerical strength, but primarily because it is organized. It has mass trade unions and its own mass parties. We understand full well that communists in western Europe and the United States encounter great and specific difficulties. They have to deal with an experienced bourgeoisie having at its disposal immense material resources and a powerful military, police, and ideological machine. But we have profound confidence in the working class of the west European countries, the heir of the revolutionary traditions of the Paris Commune and of the British Chartists, the leader and organizer of antifascist resistance. The working class, which in many countries has experienced mass communist parties possessing tested Marxist-Leninist cadres, will make its contribution to the cause of the revolutionary transformation of society.

Comrades, the greater the successes of the socialist system, the greater the growth of the international army of communists, the more the bourgeoisie rages. It adopts fascist methods of administration and regimes of tyranny. It mobilizes all its means of propaganda in an attempt to whitewash the capitalist order and to defame socialism and our communist ideas.

Bourgeois propaganda is assuming an increasingly cunning nature. Its main weapon in the struggle against the socialist camp and the communist parties is anticommunism. We must resolutely unmask this antiscientific and purely false ideology. The cause of socialism cannot progress successfully without a determined struggle against opportunism in the workers and communist movement, without a struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, and sectarianism.

You all know well that three years ago the communist movement was subjected to wild attacks by revisionists and that in some countries it concerned the life and death of the revolutionary parties of the working class. In the Communist Party of such a country as the United States the revisionist group of Gates was active. In the Danish Communist Party undermining activity was conducted by the Larsen group. The revisionists were a serious danger to some other fraternal parties as well.

It can be noted with a feeling of profound satisfaction that revisionist pollution was unmasked and thrown out of the party. From the struggle with the revisionists the communist parties emerged stronger and more mature, wiser in experience. The communist parties unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of contemporary revisionism. The struggle against revisionism, against all sorts of deviations from Leninism, retains its urgency. It is a struggle to strengthen the socialist camp and consistently implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin, with his usual perspicacity, stated that the struggle with the evil of nationalism, with the most deep-rooted national petty bourgeois prejudices, moves more and more urgently into the foreground as a task of turning the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one--one existing in a single country and incapable of determining world policy--into an international one--a dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several leading countries and capable of having a decisive influence on all world policy.

The struggle with revisionism in all its forms still remains today an important task of the communist parties. As long as the bourgeois order exists, there will be a nutritive medium for the ideology of revisionism too. Therefore, we must always keep our powder dry and wage implacable war on revisionism which tries to wipe out the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, whitewash modern capitalism, undermine the solidarity of the communist movement, and encourage communist parties to go their separate national ways (razvesti kommunisticheskiya partii po natsionalnym kvartiram).

The communist movement has another danger: Dogmatism and sectarianism. At the present time, when a rallying of all forces for the struggle against imperialism, for the prevention of war, and for the overthrow of the monopolies is required, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising toward dogmatism. Lenin wrote: It is essential to learn the indisputable truth that a Marxist must take account of life, of the exact facts of reality, and not go on clinging to yesterday's theory, which, like all theory, at best outlines fundamentals, generalities, and only approximates a total comprehension of the complexities of life.

Dogmatism nourishes sectarian stodginess which hinders the rallying of the working class and all progressive forces around the communist parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism are in irreconcilable contradiction to the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application in practice. They lead to the isolation of communists from the broad strata of the workers; they condemn them to passive temporizing or leftist adventurist activities in the revolutionary struggle; they prevent full use of all opportunities in the interests of the victory of the working class and all democratic forces.

The statement stresses that the communist parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts: against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Unless a consistent struggle is waged against them, dogmatism and sectarianism may even become the main danger at one stage or another of the development of individual parties. The communist and workers parties consider it their international duty to hold high the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism as a decisive condition for all our further victories.

For the further consolidation of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism:

Comrades, the struggle between the communist and all the popular forces on one side, and the forces of imperialism on the other, is entering a new stage. In these conditions the solidarity of the ranks of the socialist camp and the entire international communist movement acquires foremost importance. Our solidarity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the main condition for victory of the working class over imperialism. We keep sacred the bequest of the great Lenin--to march forward firmly holding hands. The unity of our ranks increases the strength of communism tenfold. Solidarity, solidarity, and again solidarity--such is the law of the international communist movement.

It follows from the essence of Leninism itself that every Marxist-Leninist party must prevent, both within its own ranks and in the international communist movement, any action which could undermine its unity and solidarity. The common aim of the struggle of all communists of the world demands, as before, a unity of will and action of the communist parties of all countries. The conference made a major contribution to the further consolidation of the international communist movement by declaring, in complete accord with Leninist teaching, that the communist parties will in every way strengthen the unity of their ranks and the unity of the whole international communist movement.

The interests of the struggle for the cause of the working class demand an increasing cohesion of the ranks of every communist party and of the great army of communists of the world. The declaration says that unity of will and action and a concern for the constant strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement constitute the supreme international duty of every Marxist-Leninist party.

A resolute defense of the unity of the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and a prevention of any action capable of undermining this unity constitute a necessary condition for a victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy, and peace, and for a successful solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, the building of socialism and communism. A violation of these principles would lead to a weakening of the forces of communism.

It should be noted that the delegation of the CPSU at the conference set out its viewpoint concerning the wording that the Soviet Union is at the head of the socialist camp and that the CPSU is at the head of the communist movement. Our delegation declared that in this wording we see first of all high praise of the services of our party, which was created by Lenin, and an expression of cordial thanks to all fraternal parties.

Our party, nurtured by Lenin, has always regarded it as its foremost duty to fulfill international obligations to the international working class. The delegation assured the participants of the conference that the party in the future too would bear high the banner of proletarian internationalism and would spare no effort to fulfill its international obligations. At the same time, the CPSU delegation proposed that the wording should not be included in the declaration or other documents of the communist movement.

Regarding the principles of mutual relations between the fraternal parties, the CPSU expressed its position most definitely at the 21st party congress.

From the tribune of the congress we declared before the whole world that in the communist movement, just as in the socialist camp, there has existed and exists complete equality of rights and solidarity of all communist and workers parties and socialist countries. The CPSU in reality does not exercise leadership over other parties. In the communist movement there are no parties that are superior or subordinate. All communist parties are equal and independent. All carry responsibility for the destiny of the communist movement, for its victories and failures. Each communist and workers party is responsible to the working class, the working people of its own country, to the entire international workers and communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in the fact that it leads other socialist countries but in the fact that it was the first to blaze the trail to socialism, is the most powerful country in the world socialist system, has amassed a great deal of positive experience in the struggle for the building of socialism, and was the first to enter the period of comprehensive construction of communism. It is stressed in the statement that the universally acknowledged vanguard of the world communist movement has been and still remains the CPSU, as the most experienced and hardened unit of the international communist movement.

At the moment, when there exists a large group of socialist countries, each of which is faced with its own tasks, when there are 87 communist and workers parties functioning each of which moreover is also faced with its own tasks, it is not possible for leadership over socialist countries and communist parties to be exercised from any center at all. This is neither possible nor necessary.

There have grown up in the communist parties hardened Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their own parties, their countries. However, in practice, as is well known, the CPSU does not give directives to any other parties. The fact that we are called the leader gives no advantages either to our party or to other parties. On the contrary, it only creates difficulties.

As is evident from the text of the statement, the fraternal parties have agreed with the conclusions of our delegation. The question may arise: Will our international solidarity not be weakened by the fact that this provision is not written down in the statement? No, it will not be weakened. At the present time there is no statute which could regulate relations between parties. Instead, we have a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and loyalty to it is the main condition of our solidarity and unity. It is necessary to be consistently guided by the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin: to resolutely practice the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Then the cause of international solidarity of the communist movement will continually strengthen.

Our party as an internationalist party is following with great attention the struggle of its class brothers in all countries. We are well aware of the difficulties that communists struggling under capitalism must overcome. From the rostrum of the conference the CPSU delegation expressed the boundless solidarity of our party with fighters for the cause of communism in capitalist countries, especially with our comrades languishing in prison torture chambers in Spain and Portugal, Greece and West Germany, the UAR, Iraq and Iran, the United States and Paraguay, and all other prisoners of capitalism. We are confident that our words of greetings will give heart to the self-sacrificing fighters for the people's happiness.

Comrades, representatives of communists in all countries attended the meeting at a remarkable time, when the world communist movement is in a great upsurge. Outstanding successes have been scored by communist parties in the capitalist countries. Communism in those countries where the working class has been victorious is scoring ever new successes. These countries not only withstood the pressure of class enemies both inside and outside the countries but, implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism on socialist construction, have attained a high upsurge in the development of economy, culture, science, and technology, in raising the people's living standards.

The peoples in those countries demonstrate monolithic unity around communist and workers parties. While in the past the slogan of the struggle for socialism and communist transformation was the slogan of communist parties, now the struggle for socialism and communism has become a nationwide cause in those countries, a nationwide struggle for the triumph of a new communist world. Thus life itself confirms the validity of our revolutionary theory, the validity and vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

Very rewarding for us communists is the fact that the great force of communism is seen not only by the peoples in the socialist countries but by people who do not recognize the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. They are compelled to recognize the great results of the development of our countries attained on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching. This, comrades, is of great significance.

Marxist-Leninist theory is the guiding light for our actions. The communists, as the leading detachment of the working class, have always regarded it as a scientific program in their struggle for victory, wholeheartedly believe in this teaching, and consistently and firmly struggle for its implementation. Today, guided by this teaching, the socialist countries score great successes in economic competition with the capitalist states, and the masses see that socialism and communism are the greatest force of our times; they see that the future belongs to communism.

Of course, in building socialism and communism, new forms and methods yielding good results in the achievements of the great socialist aims are emerging. Since different conditions exist in various socialist countries, it is natural that every communist party applies Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with conditions in its country. Therefore we must understand such strivings by the fraternal parties, who know better the conditions and peculiarities in their countries. We are proceeding from the statement by the great Lenin that all nations will come to socialism. This is unavoidable. But all will not come in the same way. Each of them will bring its own traits into one or another form of democracy, into one or another variety of dictatorship of the proletariat, into one or another rate of socialist transformations in various aspects of social life. But, of course, there is no need to exaggerate the significance of these peculiarities, to overstress them, failing to see the main part of communist construction indicated by the teaching of Marx and Lenin.

We have always been firmly defending and will defend purity of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the basic principles of its implementation. Representatives of communist and workers parties exchanged their opinions on the present international situation, discussed the urgent problems of the communist and workers movement, or, as comrades figuratively stated at the conference, synchronized their watches. Indeed, the socialist countries and the communist parties must synchronize their watches. When someone's clock is fast or slow, it is regulated so that it shows the correct time. Similarly, it is necessary to check the time of the communist movement, so that our powerful army keeps in step and makes confident strides toward communism. If it is possible to use such a figure of speech, Marxism-Leninism and the jointly worked out documents of international communist conferences serve us as chimes, striking the hour. After all, the communist and workers parties attending the conference unanimously worked out their decisions. Every party will adhere to these decisions in a strict and sacred manner, throughout its activities.

Comrades, the importance of the conference lies in the fact that as its result the participants of the conference have felt even better, stronger, and more confident. There has opened before them to an even wider extent the grandiose epic of the struggle of all communist and workers parties. This contributes to the rallying together of the international communist movement. Every fraternal party emphasized in the international forum its confidence in the victory of our common cause. This is of immense importance for the consolidation of the whole international communist movement. The unity of the ranks of every communist party and the unity of all communist parties constitute the united international communist movement directed at the achievement of our common goal--the triumph of communism throughout the world. The main thing that is now demanded of all communist and workers parties is all-round and persistent efforts to strengthen the unity and cohesion of their ranks.

The unity of the ranks of the communist movement in modern conditions assumes particularly great importance. It is required by the world-wide historic tasks which the communist movement is now called upon to tackle. On behalf of the CPSU our delegation assured the participants of the conference that we, on our part, would do everything to strengthen still more the close fraternal bonds with all communist parties. Our party will do everything so the socialist camp and the world communist front becomes even stronger. The CPSU is filled with unswerving determination to strengthen the unity and friendship with all fraternal parties of socialist countries and with the Marxist-Leninist parties of all the world.

In this connection, I would like to refer to our invariable endeavor to strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship with the Chinese Communist Party, with the great Chinese people. In our relations with the Chinese Communist Party our party is always guided by the fact that the friendship of the two great peoples, the cohesion of our two parties--the largest in the international communist movement--is of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our party has always made, and will continue to make, every effort to strengthen this great friendship. With People's China, with the Chinese communists, just as with the communists of all countries, we share one goal, the safeguarding of peace and the building of communism; we share common interests, the happiness and well-being of the working people; and we share the common basis of firm principles, Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU and Soviet people will do everything to insure that the unity of our parties and our peoples will increasingly strengthen so as not only to disappoint the enemies but to shake them even more with our unity and to attain our great goal--the triumph of communism.

Comrades, we live at a splendid time: communism has become the invincible force of our century. The further successes of communism depend to an enormous degree on our will, our unity, our foresight and resolve. Through their struggle and their labor, communists, the working class, will attain the great goals of communism on earth. Men of the future, communists of the next generations will envy us. In their thoughts they will always revert to our days when the lines from the party anthem "We shall build our own new world and those who were nothing will become everything!" resounded with particular force.

The CPSU has been, is, and shall be true to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, and friendship among peoples. It will always struggle for universal peace, for the victory of communism as we were taught by great Lenin.