

REPORT TO THE XIX CONGRESS OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

# ON THE THRESHOLD OF COMMUNISM

By G. M. MALENKOV

THE HISTORIC VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE  
U.S.S.R. OPENS UP NEW VISTAS OF A RADIANT  
FUTURE AND LASTING PEACE FOR ALL MANKIND

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*On the Threshold of*  
**COMMUNISM**

*Report to the Nineteenth Congress of  
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

G. M. MALENKOV

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## CONTENTS

I. INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION .....	5
1. Further Weakening of the World Capitalist System and Economic Position of the Capitalist Countries....	6
2. Aggravation of the International Situation. Threat of a New War Emanating from the U.S.-British Aggressive Bloc. Struggle of the Peoples for Peace .....	17
3. The Soviet Union in the Struggle for the Preservation and Consolidation of Peace .....	24
II. INTERNAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION....	31
1. Further Advancement of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. ....	32
A. INDUSTRY .....	32
B. AGRICULTURE .....	41
C. TRADE, TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS .....	51
D. REGIME OF ECONOMY—VITAL LEVER FOR FURTHER ADVANCE OF NATIONAL ECONOMY .....	53
2. Further Rise in Standard of Living, Health Protection and Cultural Level of the People .....	59
3. Further Consolidation of the Soviet Social and State System .....	64
III. THE PARTY .....	69

## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This booklet, published under the title, *On the Threshold of Communism*, contains the complete text of the report delivered on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by its Secretary, G. M. Malenkov, to the Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. which opened in the Grand Hall of the Kremlin Palace, in Moscow, October 5, 1952.

Despite the intense interest in Soviet affairs of wide sections of the American public, this major report was but scantily reported in the American press, and is being published in our country for the first time in this complete and fully verified English translation to meet the growing demand for unbiased information about the Soviet Union.



# I

## INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrades, the period since the Eighteenth Congress of the Party has been crowded with events of world-historic significance.

The Second World War shook to its very foundations the life of many nations and states and changed the face of the world. Engineered by the forces of international imperialist reaction and unleashed in the East by militarist Japan and in the West by Hitler Germany, the war upset the calculations of its instigators, and, thanks to the heroic struggle of the Soviet people, ended in a way unforeseen by the imperialists.

Instead of the destruction or weakening of the Soviet Union, the result was the strengthening of the U.S.S.R. and the growth of its international prestige. Instead of the weakening and defeat of democracy, the result was the withdrawal of several countries in Central and Southeastern Europe from the capitalist system and the establishment in them of the people's democratic system. Instead of further enslavement of the peoples in the colonies and dependencies the result was a powerful new upsurge of the struggle for national liberation in these countries, with the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism becoming more acute. The historic victory of the great Chinese people was a telling blow to the entire world system of imperialism. Today one-third of humanity has already been delivered from imperialist oppression, liberated from the chains of imperialist exploitation.

In the capitalist world itself, the war deleted three large states

—Germany, Japan and Italy—from the list of the Great Powers, while France and Britain lost their previous positions.

The postwar period has been one of continuous weakening of the world capitalist system and of the growth of the forces of democracy and Socialism.

In the economic sphere the postwar years have been years of new and growing economic difficulties in the capitalist countries, of the development of American imperialist expansion with resultant sharpening of the antagonisms between the capitalist countries. These antagonisms have been aggravated by the attempts of the imperialists to find a way out of the economic difficulties through militarization of the economy and preparation of another war.

In the political sphere the postwar period has been marked by the emergence of two camps—the aggressive, anti-democratic camp headed by the United States, and the camp of peace and democracy. A new center of reaction and aggression has taken shape in the capitalist world in this period. Its embodiment is the United States, from which now emanates the chief menace to the peace, freedom and national independence of the peoples. Faced with this menace the peace forces have risen everywhere for determined struggle in defense of peace and the national independence of their countries.

In the postwar period the Soviet Union has continued its advance, interrupted by the war, along the path indicated by the XVIII Party Congress, the path of peaceful progress and gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. The postwar years have brought big achievements in industry, transport and agriculture and in all branches of science, culture and art. They have also brought further consolidation of the Soviet system, have strengthened the moral-political unity of Soviet society and the friendship of the peoples of our country.

Through all these years the Soviet Union has been waging an active struggle for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace.

Let us examine the principal aspects of the international situation.

### *1. Further Weakening of the World Capitalist System and Economic Position of the Capitalist Countries*

The present overall world economic situation is characterized by two trends of development.

The first trend is represented by the steady advance of the peace economy of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, an economy which is free from crisis and aims at securing maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of society. This economy ensures systematic raising of the standard of living of the masses and full employment. A feature of this economy is the friendly economic co-operation of the countries comprising the democratic camp.

The second trend is represented by the economy of capitalism, the productive forces of which are stagnant. This is an economy caught in the vise of the steadily deepening general crisis of capitalism and of constantly recurring economic crises; this is the trend of militarization of the economy and one-sided development of branches of industry producing for war, of rivalry between countries, and enslavement of some countries by others. This situation stems from the fact that capitalist economy aims not at promoting the interests of society, but at securing maximum profits for the capitalists through the exploitation, the ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the people in the given country, through enslaving and systematically plundering the peoples of other countries, especially the backward countries, and lastly through war and militarization of the national economy.

Industrial development in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist countries is characterized by the following figures:

#### GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES FOR 1929-51

(in percentages of 1929)

	1929	1939	1943	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
U.S.S.R.	100	552	573	466	571	721	870	1082	1266
U.S.A.	100	99	217	155	170	175	160	182	200
Britain	100	123	*	112	121	135	144	157	160
France	100	80	*	63	74	85	92	92	104
Italy	100	108	*	72	93	97	103	118	134

\* No figures published.

As is seen from this table the volume of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. in 1951 was 1,266 per cent of 1929, which represents

a nearly thirteenfold increase. Soviet industry in the postwar period, as was the case before the war, is making uninterrupted progress based on the development of peace production.

It will also be seen from the table that in the U.S.A. industrial production marked time in the period between 1929 and 1939; it afterwards advanced but only due to a sharp increase in military output during the Second World War, then it slumped considerably and rose again only with the unleashing of war against the Korean people and the transition to an intensified arms drive and, as a consequence, rose in 1951 to double the 1929 figure.

Industrial output in Britain increased only sixty per cent in the same period while in several West European capitalist countries industry is still marking time around the 1929 level.

In the European People's Democracies, although they suffered much more damage in the war than the capitalist countries of Western Europe, the prewar level of industrial output was surpassed in 1951: in Poland 2.9 times, in Czechoslovakia 1.7 times, in Hungary 2.5 times, in Rumania 1.9 times, in Bulgaria 4.6 times and more than five-fold in Albania. Agriculture, too, is making steady headway in these countries, progress being especially rapid in industrial crops; considerable achievements have been attained in livestock farming.

The German Democratic Republic has made impressive progress in economic development. By 1952, the prewar level of industrial output had not only been regained, it was surpassed by 36 per cent. The 1951 volume of industrial output was 2.4 times greater than in 1946. The iron and steel industry, engineering, and the chemical and power industries are developing from year to year. In agriculture, prewar levels have been surpassed both in regard to the area sown to crops and in harvest yields.

The People's Republic of China is making rapid economic progress. Its people are working with great enthusiasm and are successfully eliminating the severe aftermath of many years of ruinous war against the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reaction. Industrial development since the establishment of the people's democratic power in China has proceeded at a rapid rate: compared with 1949, the volume of industrial output in 1951 had more than doubled; rail transport has been rehabilitated and new railway lines are being built at an accelerated rate. The great agrarian reform, carried out by the People's Government of China, has resulted in a big advance in agriculture: the grain yield in 1951 was

128 per cent and cotton 252 per cent compared with 1949. Whereas the national finances of the old China were in a state of complete dislocation with inflation assuming colossal dimensions, the Chinese People's Government has consolidated the country's finances and stabilized its currency.

Big economic advances were made in the Korean People's Democratic Republic following its liberation from the Japanese colonizers. Already in 1949 the volume of industrial output was four times that of 1946. The agrarian reform carried out by the people's democratic Government was followed by a nearly 25 per cent increase in the area sown to crops, and harvest yields of all crops increased considerably. The American imperialist attack interrupted the peaceful constructive labor of the masses in the Korean People's Democratic Republic. American and other troops, operating under the United Nations flag, are savagely destroying North Korea's peaceful towns and villages, its industry and agriculture.

Important successes have been won by the Mongolian People's Republic in developing its economy, which is gaining in strength and scope with every passing year. The material well-being of the Mongolian people is improving and their culture developing. The country's basic occupation, livestock farming, is making steady headway; flocks and herds have increased 2.5 times since the establishment of the Republic, and all the livestock now belongs to the working peasantry. Output of state-owned and co-operative industries has nearly trebled in the last ten years.

All the data on industrial development in the capitalist countries and in the countries of the democratic camp show that as regards rate of development, industrial output in the capitalist countries, the United States included, is considerably behind the rate of industrial development in the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Another thing that emerges from these data is that industrial output in the capitalist countries rose somewhat solely due to war preparations and to the servicing of the war machine during war.

Far from eliminating the economic and political contradictions of capitalism, the second world war aggravated these contradictions still more, undermined the economies of the capitalist countries and deepened the general crisis of the world capitalist system. The second world war failed to justify the hopes of the big bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries. Each of the two belligerent capitalist groups calculated on redividing the world by armed force, on seizing new raw material sources and expanding the markets

for its goods, that is, on strengthening its own economic position at the expense of its adversaries and establishing world domination.

But these calculations miscarried. Although Germany and Japan were knocked out as the chief rivals of the three main capitalist countries—the United States, Britain and France—the hopes of these countries, especially of the United States, of being thus able to increase industrial output four or five-fold, were shattered. In addition, China and the European People's Democracies dropped out of the capitalist system, and, together with the Soviet Union, formed a united and powerful camp of peace and democracy which stands opposed to the camp of imperialism.

The economic result of the rise of two opposing camps, as Comrade Stalin has pointed out, was the disintegration of the single, all-embracing world market and the emergence of two parallel world markets: that of the countries of the camp of peace and democracy, and that of the aggressive, imperialist camp. The disintegration of the single world market is the most important economic outcome of the Second World War and its economic consequences.

The two world markets are developing in opposite directions. The new, democratic world market experiences no sales difficulties because its capacity increases from year to year in conformity with the crisis-free development of industry in the democratic camp, because uninterrupted growth of output in all the countries of the democratic camp makes for steady extension of the capacity of the democratic market. In contrast to this, there is the other world market, the imperialist market, which is not connected with the U.S.S.R. and the other democratic countries and because of this has been narrowed down and is suffering from sales difficulties caused by breaks and crises in production, unemployment and impoverishment of the masses, and by the severance of its ties with the democratic countries. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that disintegration of the single world market has drastically reduced the spheres in which the chief capitalist countries (United States, Britain, France) could obtain access to the world's resources. As a result the capitalist world market is steadily shrinking, conditions for the sale of goods in this market have deteriorated and continue to do so.

The capitalist countries emerged from the Second World War with varying results, and this has substantially changed the economic relations between them. The economies of many of the countries

which took part in the war were greatly undermined by the protracted hostilities and losses in manpower and material values. This applies primarily to Germany, Italy and Japan. Much damage was caused also to France, Holland, Belgium and several other countries. Britain came out of the war very seriously weakened.

The United States of America waxed rich on the war and the American billionaires strengthened their economic positions. Nevertheless, the United States did not succeed in attaining its goal; it did not succeed in establishing the domination of American capital over the world market. With Germany and Japan out of the running, the United States expected to increase its industrial output four or five times over. However, it managed only to double output and is now sliding into economic crisis. It is a fact that there are at least three million wholly unemployed in the United States and even more working part time. Mass strikes are adding to the complications of the American billionaires. All this is traceable to the fact that America's industry has been deprived of such markets as the U.S.S.R., China and the European People's Democracies, and for this the United States ruling circles are to blame.

American imperialism acts now not only as an international exploiter and enslaver of the peoples, but also as a force disorganizing the economies of all the other capitalist countries. Taking advantage of the weakened state of its rivals, American monopoly capital has, since the war, seized a substantial share of the capitalist world market. It is destroying the traditional multilateral economic ties between the capitalist countries and replacing them with unilateral ties between these countries and the United States. The American monopolies are adding to the dislocation of the capitalist world market by boosting their own exports by means of the most unscrupulous dumping, simultaneously sealing off their home market from foreign goods, with the result that the American people are made to bear the brunt of high prices. American imperialism is depriving the West European countries of the possibility of acquiring food in their former East European markets to which West European countries traditionally exported large quantities of manufactured goods in exchange for food and raw materials.

This economic policy of American imperialism could not but sharpen the antagonisms between the United States and the other capitalist countries. The chief of these remains the antagonism between the United States and Britain, taking the form of open struggle between the American and British monopolies for sources

of oil, rubber, non-ferrous and rare metals, sulphur and wool, and for markets.

To this should be added the very serious antagonisms between the United States and Japan, the United States and Italy, the United States and Western Germany—the countries subjected to the occupation yoke of the United States dictators. It would be naive to think that these vanquished countries will agree to remain indefinitely under the heel of the American occupationists. It would be folly to think that they will not attempt, in one way or another, to throw off the American yoke and live free and independent lives.

The antagonisms between the United States and Britain, and between the United States and France, are becoming increasingly acute and will become still more acute as American capitalism, to the accompaniment of noise about “aid,” and by granting credits, insinuates itself into the economies of Britain, France and Italy, seizing raw material sources and markets in the British and French colonies. Britain and, following her, France and the other capitalist countries are endeavoring to break away from subordination to the United States in order to secure for themselves an independent position and high profits. Even now British capitalists are putting up a stubborn fight against American dictation in world trade.

The economic difficulties which have gripped the capitalist countries since the war have been further aggravated by the fact that the imperialists have themselves shut the door to the democratic world market. The United States of America has reduced its trade with the Soviet Union and the European People's Democracies to practically nil, and has cut off trade with China. It has virtually forbidden not only the vanquished countries (Japan, Western Germany and Italy), but also Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium and other capitalist countries to sell or buy goods in the market of the countries of the democratic camp. In 1951, United States trade with the countries that now comprise the democratic camp was only one-tenth of the 1937 figure; British trade with these countries has dropped to one-sixth, and French trade—by more than four-fold.

The United States, as well as Britain and France, thought that their economic “blockade” of the U.S.S.R., China and the European People's Democracies would strangle these countries. Actually the effect has been not the strangling but the strengthening of the new democratic world market. The imperialists have thereby delivered a telling blow to their own export trade and have aggra-



vated still more the contradiction between the production potential of their industry and the possibilities for the sale of its products.

All this signifies that even deeper contradictions have arisen in the capitalist economy, and that the world system of capitalist economy as a whole has become considerably narrower and weaker and even less stable than before the war.

Conscious of these economic difficulties, the United States capitalists are endeavoring to overcome them by means of the war in Korea, the armaments drive and the militarization of industry.

Having launched a reactionary war against the Korean people, and whipping up war hysteria against the democratic camp, the United States, British and French imperialists have converted their economies to a war footing and have carried militarization of the economy and the arms drive to colossal dimensions in their countries. An ever increasing proportion of industrial output in these countries is now used for equipping the armed forces. War contracts play a decisive role in all major industries in the United States and other capitalist countries. Direct and indirect expenditure on armaments accounts for a steadily increasing share of the budgets of the capitalist countries. Direct military expenditure in the United States rose from one billion dollars in the 1937-38. fiscal year to 58.2 billion dollars in 1952-53 and now accounts for 74 per cent of the U.S. budget compared with 14 per cent in 1937-38. In Britain, military expenditure has grown from 197 million pounds to 1,634 million pounds in the same period, constituting 34 per cent of the total budget as compared with 17 per cent before the war; in France military expenditure now accounts for nearly 40 per cent of the total budget.

This unprecedented rise in military expenditure is leading to a non-stop rise in taxation and to larger inflationary issues of paper money. The severe weakening of the financial systems of the capitalist countries—the result of the war and of the policy of the ruling circles of the United States—is becoming more pronounced. Currency depreciation has assumed unparalleled dimensions. In 1951 the purchasing power of the dollar, according to official and obviously doctored figures, was only 43 per cent of 1939; the pound sterling had dropped to 32 per cent, the French franc to 3.8 per cent and the Italian lira to less than 2 per cent.

The switch to a war economy has enabled the United States and other capitalist countries to raise industrial output for the time being. On this basis, bourgeois economists are trying to

prove that big war orders can keep "business activity" at a high level indefinitely. But real life gives the lie to these assertions. Now, in the third year of the particularly intensified militarization of the capitalist economy, its fatal consequences are becoming increasingly apparent. The war and inflation factors, while producing temporary booms, have imparted a one-sided, war character to economic development in the capitalist countries. An increasing share of goods and raw materials is swallowed up by unproductive military consumption or becomes a deadweight in the shape of enormous strategic stockpiles. At the same time the militarization of the economy results in the population being robbed of their money through higher taxes. All this turns the budgets of the capitalist countries into a means by which the billionaires rob the people; it substantially lowers the purchasing power of the population, reduces the demand for manufactured goods and agricultural produce, drastically curtails civilian production and creates the conditions for the onset of a severe economic crisis.

Militarization of the national economy does not do away with but, on the contrary, increases the disproportion between production capacity and the diminishing purchasing power of the population, which the ruling clique in the capitalist countries is reducing to the very minimum, and this in turn leads to a steady contraction of the capitalist market. Thus, the expansion of war production is inevitably leading to the maturing of a new deep-going economic crisis.

The armaments drive is a particularly heavy burden on the economy of the satellites of the United States of America. Having unleashed the war in Korea, the United States increased its pressure on the West European states, demanding that they gear their industry to war in ever-increasing measure and allocate excessive appropriations for war preparation, depriving their civilian industries of the necessary raw materials and auxiliaries. American imperialism has once and for all discarded the mask of "restorer" of the economy of capitalist countries. American "aid" is now given only for armaments, for the preparation of a new war. The armaments drive conducted by the rulers of Britain, France, Italy, Western Germany, Belgium, Norway and other capitalist countries, on orders from the American monopolies, is ruining the economy of these countries and pushing them towards disaster.

The billionaires, having subordinated to themselves the bour-

geois state and dictating to it the policy of armaments drive and preparation for another war, are making colossal profits. The armaments drive has become a source of unprecedented enrichment for the billionaires, and in the first place for the monopolies and billionaires of the U.S. Even according to official doctored-down data, the profits of American capitalist monopolies rose from 3.3 billion dollars in 1938 to 42.9 billion dollars in 1951 or 13 times over. Tremendous profits are being piled up by the British monopolist money-bags, as well as by the capitalist monopolies of France, Italy, Japan and other countries, despite the fact that the economy of these countries is in a state of protracted stagnation.

At the same time militarization has led to a sharp decline in the conditions of the masses. Increased taxes, rising prices for goods of mass consumption and inflation have increased the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working people. In the United States of America, even if we allow for the devaluation of currency, direct taxation of the population in the present fiscal year amounts to more than 12 times the 1937-38 level. In the West European countries, where the taxpayer carried a heavy enough burden even before the second world war, taxes have increased, doubling in Britain and increasing in France 2.6 times and in Italy —1.5 times.

Even the obviously doctored official cost of living and retail price indices testify to the steady rise in the cost of living, particularly after the launching of American aggression in Korea. In these conditions, the policy of "freezing" wages, implemented by the capitalists with the support of the Right-wing Socialists and reactionary trade union leaders, has resulted in a substantial reduction in real wages for factory and office workers. In France and Italy real wages this year are less than half the pre-war figure, and in Britain—20 per cent less than before the war. In the United States, according to figures released by the United perialist Japan, the imperialist front was breached in China, Korea threefold compared with the 1939 level. Despite growing war production, the number of unemployed and part-time unemployed is rising in the capitalist countries. In Italy and Western Germany unemployment exceeds the level of the most difficult years of the 1929-33 world economic crisis; Italy has over 2 million unemployed and a still greater number of part-time unemployed; nearly three million are unemployed and part-time unemployed in Western Germany. In Japan nearly 10 million people are com-

pletely without work or have only part-time employment. The U.S.A. has no less than 3 million wholly unemployed and 10 million part-time unemployed. Unemployment is rising in Britain, too, where the figure already exceeds half a million. In such a small country as Belgium, there are more than 300,000 unemployed.

The steady deterioration of the material conditions of broad strata of the population caused by the armaments drive is leading to ever greater discontent among the masses and to intensified struggle on their part against lowering the standard of living and the entire policy of preparing for a new war. Class contradictions between the imperialist bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the working class and all the toiling people, on the other, are rapidly becoming more acute. A strike wave is spreading wider and wider throughout the capitalist world.

The situation in which the world capitalist system finds itself is complicated by the fact that, as a result of the war and the new upsurge of the national-liberation struggle in the colonial and dependent countries, the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism is actually taking place.

As a direct result of the defeat of fascist Germany and imperialist Japan, the imperialist front was breached in China, Korea and Viet Nam, where People's Republics have arisen in place of the former semi-colonies and colonies. The victory of the Chinese people revolutionized the East still more and helped to stimulate the liberation struggle waged by the peoples oppressed by imperialism.

The contradictions between the colony-owning countries and the colonies became still more pronounced after the war. Britain, France, Belgium and the other colonial powers are seeking to recoup at the expense of the colonies for the burdens which the militarization of their economy and United States expansion have imposed on them. At the same time the American imperialists are penetrating into the colonies and spheres of influence of these colonial powers, capturing positions for themselves in these areas, and intensifying the exploitation of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In the course of this struggle the American plunderers are fomenting conspiracies against their British and French "allies," thus further aggravating the crisis of the imperialist colonial system. The territory of many colonial and dependent countries (Egypt, Iran, Syria, Morocco, Tunisia, etc.) is used for military bases and their population prepared for the role of "cannon fodder" in a future war.

As a result of protracted imperialist oppression and feudal survivals, the economy and particularly the agriculture of the colonial and dependent countries is in a state of decline. Tens of millions of people in India, Indonesia, Iran and the countries of Africa live in conditions of chronic hunger and enormous numbers die of starvation. The rapacious exploitation of the colonial and dependent countries by the imperialist powers retards the development of the productive forces in these countries, keeps the purchasing power of the population at an exceedingly low level, and curtails markets for manufactures. All this weighs like a millstone on the economy of the capitalist world, aggravating the internal contradictions of the world capitalist system as a whole.

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are putting up ever more determined resistance to the imperialist enslavers. That the scale of the national-liberation movement is expanding is evident from the struggle being waged by the peoples of Viet Nam, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia, and from the growth of national resistance in India, Iran, Egypt and other countries.

## *2. Aggravation of the International Situation. Threat of a New War Emanating from the U.S.-British Aggressive Bloc. Struggle of the Peoples for Peace*

The postwar activity of the U.S., British and French ruling circles in the sphere of international relations, too, has been marked by preparations for a new war.

Almost immediately after the second world war, the United States of America renounced the line of policy agreed upon and pursued by the wartime allies and laid down in the decisions of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences of the powers. By a series of aggressive actions the U.S.A. aggravated the international situation and brought the world face to face with the danger of a new war.

The rulers of the U.S. have been quite candid in formulating the aims of their aggressive policy. As far back as 1945, shortly after he became President of the United States, Truman declared that "victory . . . has placed upon the American people the continuing burden of responsibility for world leadership." Subsequently Truman and other American politicians repeated time and

again the claim to "U.S. world leadership." This course, which aims at establishing world domination, at subjugating all other countries, is the keynote of the entire policy pursued by the U.S. imperialist ruling clique.

The U.S. tycoons knew, of course, that it would be impossible to establish domination over other nations by peaceful means. They knew from the experience of the Hitlerites, who also sought to establish their rule over other countries, that world domination was unthinkable without force, without unleashing a new war, and they decided to violate the peace, to prepare a new war. Since the U.S.S.R. is the main opponent of another war, the principal bulwark of peace, the U.S. magnates concluded that the war should be spearheaded against the U.S.S.R. and the other countries standing for peace. In this way the North Atlantic aggressive bloc, formed without knowledge of the U.S.S.R. and behind its back, came into being. And in order to conceal the aggressive aims of this bloc, to deceive the peoples, they proclaimed it a "defensive" bloc against "Communism," against the Soviet Union which, allegedly, is getting ready to attack the U.S., Britain, France and the other members of the bloc.

With this same criminal end in view, American military bases are being created in different countries situated near the Soviet frontiers.

With this same criminal end in view, the U.S. ruling circles are remilitarizing Western Germany and Japan.

By remilitarizing Western Germany and Japan, the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and their adherents are reviving, in full sight of the whole world, the two hotbeds of the Second World War to eradicate which the peoples shed their blood in that war.

The U.S. attack on the Korean People's Democratic Republic marked the transition of the U.S.-British bloc from preparation for aggressive war to direct acts of aggression. The Korean people, who in close co-operation with the valiant Chinese volunteers are heroically defending the freedom and independence of their homeland and giving a rebuff to the violators of peace, enjoy the warmest sympathy of all democratic and peace-loving mankind.

At present the international situation taken as a whole bears a number of specific features and peculiarities of which it is necessary to note the following.

The principal aggressive power—the United States of America

—is whipping the other capitalist countries towards war at an accelerated rate, primarily those belonging to the North Atlantic bloc, as well as the countries which were defeated in the second world war—Western Germany, Italy and Japan. Dictating their will to others, the U.S. rulers are defining for all the members of the bloc the aims of the war, the theatres of hostilities, the forces that are to take part, and deciding other questions pertaining to the preparation for war.

The rulers of the U.S. claim that they are inspired by ideals such as the creation of a “community of free countries.” Time and again they come out with the declaration that the U.S., Britain, France, Turkey, Greece represent this “community of free countries,” while the U.S.S.R. and the people’s democratic republics are, allegedly, “not free.” Our understanding of this is that the U.S., Britain, France, Turkey and other capitalist countries really do have “freedom,” not freedom for the people, however, but freedom to exploit and plunder the people. As regards the U.S.S.R. and the people’s democratic countries, this kind of “freedom” certainly does not exist, for in these countries freedom to exploit and plunder the working people was abolished long ago. Here, then, is what the advocates of the “American way of life” boast of.

In actual fact the policy of the U.S. in regard to its West European and other capitalist “friends” is not a democratic policy, but an imperialist one. Under the label of “anti-Communism” and “defense of freedom” the old, long-established bourgeois countries and their colonies are virtually being subordinated to the United States and plundered. Just as Hitler did before them, the U.S. imperialists need the “struggle against Communism” as a smoke-screen in order to divert attention from their real schemes of conquest. While pursuing an imperialist policy in regard to Britain, France and other capitalist countries the United States of America has, moreover, the effrontery, to put it mildly, to pose as the genuine friend of these countries. A fine friend! After bridling and saddling its junior partners and lashing and whipping them, it plunders and shackles them, repeating all the time “let us be friends,” which, in the language of the American money-bags means: first you carry me, then I ride you.

Once free capitalist states, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Norway are now in fact abandoning their own national policy and carrying out a policy dictated by the U.S. imperialists, yielding their territories for American bases and military

springboards, thereby endangering their own countries in the event of hostilities breaking out. On American bidding they conclude alliances and blocs directed against their own national interests. A striking example of this is seen in the actions of the French ruling circles who, with their own hands, are helping to revive France's most bitter and age-old enemy, German militarism. British leaders, both Conservative and Labor, have committed themselves for a long time to the role of junior partner of the United States, thereby pledging to pursue not their own national policy but an American policy. As a result of this policy the British people already bear a heavy burden and the British Empire has been shaken to its foundations.

In spite of this, British propaganda organs claim that it is the Communists who are wrecking the British empire. Yet the ruling circles of the British Empire cannot be blind to the obvious facts which leave no doubt that the possessions of the British Empire are being seized not by the Communists but by the American billionaires.

Was it the Communists and not the American billionaires who seized Canada, who are seizing Australia and New Zealand, who are ousting Britain from the Suez Canal Zone and from the markets of Latin America and the Near and Middle East, and laying their hands on the oil areas owned by Britain?

The facts show that no enemy of Britain has ever dealt her such heavy blows or took from her Empire part after part, as is now being done by her American "friend." This "friend" belongs to the same bloc as Britain and has built air bases on British soil, thereby placing her in a grievous and, I would say, dangerous position; and yet it has the audacity to post at Britain's savior from "Soviet Communism."

As for such "free" countries as Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, they have already been turned into American colonies, while the rulers of Yugoslavia—all these Titos, Kardeljs, Rankovics, Djilas, Pijades and others—who long ago became American agents, engage in espionage and subversion against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies on assignments from their American "bosses."

The ruling circles of France, Italy, Britain, Western Germany and Japan have harnessed themselves to the chariot of U.S. imperialism and have renounced a national, independent foreign policy of their own. True, in this way the ruling cliques of these countries betray the national interests of their countries and admit their own



bankruptcy. But these cliques prefer to sacrifice the national interests of their states in the hope of obtaining the aid of the transatlantic imperialist patrons against their peoples, whom they fear more than foreign imperialist slavery.

The Right-wing Social Democrats, and the top leaders of the British Labor Party, of the French Socialist Party and of the Social Democratic Party of Western Germany in the first place, also bear direct responsibility for this anti-national policy of the ruling circles. The Right-wing Socialists of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Austria and other countries are following in the footsteps of their colleagues, and, ever since the Second World War, have been waging a frenzied struggle against the peace-loving and democratic forces of the peoples. Present-day Right-wing Social Democracy, in addition to its old role of lackey of the national bourgeoisie, has become an agency of foreign, U.S. imperialism, carrying out its foulest assignments in preparing for war and in fighting against its own people.

A distinctive feature of the strategy of U.S. imperialism is that its bosses base their war plans on the utilization of the territory of others and the armies of others—primarily the West German and Japanese armies, as well as the British, French and Italian—on utilization of other peoples who are to serve, according to the schemes of the U.S. strategists, as blind instruments and cannon fodder in the conquest of world dominion by the U.S. monopolists.

But even now the more sober and progressive politicians in the European and other capitalist countries, men who have not been blinded by hatred of the Soviet Union, see clearly the abyss into which the American adventurists, who have run amuck, are plunging them; they are beginning to take a stand against war. It should be assumed that genuine peace-loving democratic forces will be found in the countries that are doomed to the role of pawns in the hands of the U.S. dictators, forces which will follow their own independent, peaceful policy and will find a way out of the impasse into which they have been driven by the U.S. dictators. The European and other countries taking this new path will meet with complete understanding in all the peace-loving countries.

In their endeavors to mask their policy of conquest, the ruling circles of the United States seek to pass off the so-called "cold war" against the democratic camp as a peaceful defensive policy and frighten their own people with the non-existent danger of attack from the U.S.S.R. Masking the aggressive plans and the military

operations now in progress with demagogic phrasemongering about peace is a characteristic feature of the policy of the bosses of the Atlantic bloc. The crux of the matter is that today it is not so easy to drive peoples who only recently bore the full brunt of a bloody shambles, into a new war, a war against the peace-loving peoples. Hence all the efforts of the aggressive Atlantic wolf to appear in sheep's clothing.

In these circumstances it would be dangerous to underestimate the harm of the pharisaical peace camouflage resorted to by the present-day aggressors.

War preparations are accompanied by an unprecedented wave of unbridled militarism which affects every aspect of the life of the people in the countries of the imperialist camp, by a frenzied offensive of reaction against the working people, and by fascization of the entire regime in these countries.

If the Hitler imperialists in preparing for the second world war installed fascism in their country, now the American imperialists who are engaged in preparations for a new war, are installing a brutal fascist regime not only in the United States, but in other countries as well, and above all in those countries where the forces of peace and democracy are particularly strong, for instance, in France, Italy and Japan. The ruling circles of these countries, carrying out the ignominious mission dictated by the American militarists, have declared war on their peoples. Moreover, the U.S. armed forces stationed outside the boundaries of the United States are performing the duties of punitive gendarme troops.

U.S. imperialism is at present not only the aggressor, it is the world gendarme seeking to strangle freedom wherever possible and to implant fascism.

Against this world gendarme there is rising even now a wave of hatred and resistance on the part of the peoples suppressed by it.

All this testifies to the weakening of the positions of the imperialists and leads to a sharp intensification of the struggle waged inside the imperialist camp between the forces of fascist reaction and the democratic forces of the people of the imperialist countries. Such a situation is fraught with exceedingly serious consequences for the warmongers.

In connection with the growing danger of war a popular peace movement is developing, an anti-war coalition is being created of different classes and social strata interested in ending the interna-

tional tension and preventing a new world war. The warmongers will not succeed in their efforts to label this non-party, peaceful, democratic movement a party, allegedly Communist, movement. The fact that the Stockholm Appeal was signed by 500 million people and the Appeal for the conclusion of a Peace Pact among the Five Great Powers by over 600 million is the best rebuff to this claim of the warmongers and an indication of the tremendous scale of the non-party, democratic movement for peace. This peace movement does not pursue the aim of abolishing capitalism, for it is not a socialist, but a democratic movement of hundreds of millions of people. The peace partisans are advancing demands and suggestions which are bound to contribute to preserving peace and preventing another war. The achievement of this goal would, in the present historical conditions, be a tremendous victory for the cause of democracy and peace.

The present correlation of forces between the camp of imperialism and war and the camp of democracy and peace makes this prospect a completely real one. For the first time in history there exists a mighty and united camp of peace-loving states. In the capitalist countries the working class is better organized than before, powerful democratic international organizations of workers, peasants, women and the youth have been established. The Communist Parties, fighting heroically for the cause of peace, have grown in numbers and strength.

The peoples of all countries, including the broad masses in the United States of America, for in the event of war they would suffer no less than the population of other countries, are interested in combating the danger of a new war. The war in Korea despite the vast preponderance of American technique, has already taken from the American people a toll of hundreds of thousands in killed and wounded. It is not difficult to visualize how enormous the sacrifices of the American people would be should the bloated financial tycoons of the U.S.A. hurl them into war against the peace-loving peoples.

The task now is to activate the popular masses still more, to strengthen the organization of the partisans of peace, to expose the warmakers tirelessly and not allow them to enmesh the peoples in a web of lies. To bridle and isolate the gamblers of the camp of the imperialist aggressors who seek to embroil the peoples in a sanguinary slaughter for the sake of their profits—such is the principal task of all progressive and peace-loving mankind.

### *3. The Soviet Union in the Struggle for the Preservation and Consolidation of Peace*

The basic line of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy was and remains a policy of peace among nations and of guaranteeing the security of our socialist homeland.

Since the first days of the existence of the Soviet state the Communist Party has proclaimed, and has pursued in practice, a policy of peace and friendly relations among nations. Throughout the period between the two world wars the Soviet Union persistently upheld the cause of peace and fought on the international arena against the danger of another war; it worked for a policy of collective security and collective rebuff to aggressors. It was no fault of the Soviet Union that the reactionary circles in the United States and the countries of Western Europe frustrated the policy of collective security, encouraged Hitlerite aggression and led to the unleashing of the second world war.

While unswervingly upholding a policy of peace, our Party, keeping in mind the hostile encirclement, tirelessly strengthened the country's defense in order to meet the enemy fully prepared.

At the XVIII Party Congress in 1939, when the conflagration of war had already flared up, Comrade Stalin stressed the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy, pointing out that "We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country." At the same time Comrade Stalin issued a warning to the aggressors. "We are not afraid," he declared, "of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders."

And when Hitler Germany treacherously attacked our homeland, the Soviet people gave the enemy an annihilating rebuff and smashed him completely. The whole world saw that our Party does not throw words to the winds.

After the Second World War, the Party continued to pursue a foreign policy of ensuring a lasting and stable peace and of promoting international co-operation. The Soviet Government advanced its widely-known program of measures to avert war.

The peacefulness of the Soviet Union is illustrated not only

by its proposals but also by its deeds. After the war the Soviet Union considerably reduced its armed forces, which are now numerically not superior to the forces it had before the war. In the briefest space of time after the war the Soviet Government withdrew its troops from the territory of China, Korea, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whither those troops had been moved in the course of military operations against the fascist aggressors. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., holding that the fight against the man-hating propaganda for another war plays a big role in easing international tension, adopted, on March 12, 1951, the Law in Defense of Peace and proclaimed war propaganda the gravest of crimes against humanity. It thereby set an example for other countries.

During the most serious complications in the international arena in recent years, it was the Soviet Union that advanced proposals providing a basis for a peaceful settlement of outstanding questions. It suffices to recall that it was the Soviet side which advanced the proposals that served as the basis for the truce talks in Korea.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. attaches much importance to the United Nations Organization, holding that it could be an important instrument for maintaining peace. But at present the United States is turning the United Nations from the organ of international co-operation which it should be according to the Charter, into an organ of its dictatorial policy in the struggle against peace and is using it as a screen for its aggressive actions. However, notwithstanding the tremendous obstacles put in its way by the voting machine which the United States has set up in the United Nations, the Soviet Union upholds peace there and works for the adoption of realistic proposals arising from the present-day international situation; proposals aimed at curbing the aggressive forces, at preventing another war, and at stopping hostilities where they are already in progress.

It would be incorrect to consider that war could be directed only against the Soviet state. The First World War, as we know, was unleashed by the imperialists long before the U.S.S.R. came into being. The Second World War began as a war among capitalist states, and the capitalist countries themselves suffered heavily from it. The contradictions which today rend the imperialist camp may lead to war between one capitalist state and another. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, the Soviet Union is work-

ing to prevent any war among states and is acting for a peaceful settlement of international conflicts and disagreements.

However, in pursuing its policy of ensuring lasting peace, the Soviet Union finds itself up against the aggressive policy pursued by the ruling circles of the United States of America.

Moreover, bellicose American circles are endeavoring to put the blame where it does not belong. They are inflating in every possible way their propaganda of lies about a supposed threat on the part of the Soviet Union. As for these lies and inventions about the Soviet Union, it would be ridiculous to go into them, for they completely lack foundation. Indisputable facts show who really is the aggressor.

Everybody knows that the United States of America is intensifying its armaments drive, refuses to ban the atomic and germ weapons and to reduce conventional armaments, while the Soviet Union proposes a ban on the atomic and germ weapons and a reduction of other armaments and armed forces.

Everybody knows that the United States refuses to conclude a Peace Pact, while the Soviet Union proposes the conclusion of such a Pact.

Everybody knows that the United States is forming aggressive blocs against the peace-loving peoples, while the exclusive object of the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and foreign states is to combat revival of Japanese or German aggression.

Everybody knows that the United States attacked Korea and is trying to enslave it, while the Soviet Union has not conducted any hostilities anywhere since the end of the Second World War.

The United States is carrying out aggression also against China. It has seized ancient Chinese territory—the island of Taiwan. Its air force is bombing Chinese territory in violation of all accepted standards of international law. Everybody knows that the air force of the U.S.S.R. is not bombing anybody and that the U.S.S.R. has not seized any foreign territory.

Such are the indisputable facts.

Passing over to our relations with Britain and France, it must be said that these relations ought to be in keeping with the spirit of the treaties we concluded with those countries during the second world war and which stipulate co-operation with them in the postwar period. However, the British and French Governments are grossly violating these treaties. Contrary to the solemn pledges of postwar co-operation which they gave to the Soviet

Union at the time it was waging a sanguinary war to liberate the peoples of Europe from German-fascist enslavement, the rulers of Britain and France have joined completely in carrying out the American imperialists' aggressive plans against the peace-loving states. It is clear that in view of such a stand taken by the Governments of Britain and France, our relations with these countries leave much to be desired.

The position of the U.S.S.R. as regards the United States, Britain, France and the other bourgeois states is clear, and our side has stated that position on many occasions. Now, as well, the U.S.S.R. is ready for co-operation with these states, having in mind the observance of peaceful international standards and the guaranteeing of a stable and lasting peace.

With regard to the defeated countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—the Soviet Government pursues a policy entirely different in principle from the policy of the imperialist powers. The fact that the Soviet socialist state was among the victors has created an absolutely new, unprecedented situation and possibilities for the peoples of the defeated countries. For every country which signed an unconditional surrender the policy of the Soviet state opens up the possibility of peaceful, democratic development, of progress for civilian industries and agriculture, of selling goods on foreign markets, and of creating national armed forces essential for the country's defense. In conformity with the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviet Union unswervingly pursues a policy aimed at the speediest conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the withdrawal of all occupation forces from Germany, and the establishment of a united, independent, peace-loving, democratic Germany, having in mind that the existence of such a Germany, together with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union, excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe and makes the enslavement of European countries by the world imperialists impossible.

It is to be hoped that the German people, who are faced with the dilemma of either taking that path or of being turned into mercenary soldiers of the American and British imperialists, will choose the correct path—the path of peace.

The same must be said with regard to Italy, to whose fraternal people the Soviet Union wishes complete restoration of their national independence.

The Soviet Government considers that Japan should also become

an independent democratic peace-loving state, as envisaged by joint decisions of the Allies. The Soviet Government refused to sign the one-sided treaty which the American dictators forced upon the San Francisco Conference, since that treaty tramples upon the principles of the Cairo and Potsdam declarations and the Yalta Agreement, and is aimed at turning Japan into an American Far Eastern military base. The peoples of the Soviet Union have deep respect for the Japanese people, who have to endure the yoke of foreign bondage, and they believe that the Japanese people will achieve national independence for their homeland and take the path of peace.

The Soviet policy of peace and security of the peoples proceeds from the fact that the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of capitalism and Communism are quite possible provided there is a mutual desire to cooperate, readiness to adhere to commitments entered into, and observance of the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

The Soviet Union has always stood, and stands today for the development of trade and co-operation with other countries notwithstanding differences in social systems. The Party will pursue this policy in the future as well on the basis of mutual advantage.

While American and British bellicose circles keep reiterating that only the armaments drive keeps industry in the capitalist countries going at full capacity, there is in actual fact another prospect—the prospect of developing and extending trade relations between all countries, irrespective of differences in their social systems which could keep the factories and mills in the industrially developed countries working to capacity for years, that could ensure markets in other countries for the goods in which some countries are rich, promote economic advance in the under-developed countries and thereby establish lasting economic co-operation.

In pursuing its policy of peace the Soviet Union is in complete unanimity with the other democratic peace-loving states: the Chinese People's Republic, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and these countries are an example of completely new relations among states, relations such as have never been witnessed in history. They are based on the principles of equality, economic co-operation and respect for



national independence. True to its treaties of mutual aid, the U.S.S.R. has rendered and will render aid and support in the further strengthening and development of these countries. \

We are confident that in peaceful competition with capitalism, the socialist system of economy will prove its superiority over the capitalist system more and more vividly year by year. We have no intention, however, of forcing our ideology or our economic system on anybody. "Export of revolution is nonsense," says Comrade Stalin. "Every country will make its own revolution if it wants to, and if it does not want to there will be no revolution."

While it steadfastly pursues its policy of peaceful co-operation with all countries, the Soviet Union takes into account the existence of the threat of new aggression on the part of the warmongers who have lost all restraint. Hence, it is strengthening its defense capacity and will continue to strengthen it.

The Soviet Union is not frightened by the threats of warmongers. Our people have experience in fighting aggressors and are not novices at giving them a drubbing. They gave the aggressors a drubbing way back at the time of the civil war, when the Soviet state was young and comparatively weak, they gave them a drubbing in the second world war, and they will give future aggressors a drubbing too if they dare to attack our homeland. \

The facts of history cannot be ignored. And the facts show that as a result of the first world war Russia dropped out of the system of capitalism, while as a result of the second world war a whole series of countries in Europe and Asia dropped out of the system of capitalism. There is every reason to assume that a third world war would bring about the collapse of the world capitalist system.

That, so to speak, is the prospect of a war and its consequences if war is forced on the peoples by the warmongers, by the aggressors.

But there is another prospect, the prospect of preserving peace, the prospect of peace among nations. That prospect calls for prohibition of war propaganda in accordance with the resolution adopted by the United Nations, a ban on atomic and germ weapons, consistent reduction of the armed forces of the Great Powers, conclusion of a Peace Pact among the powers, extension of trade among countries, restoration of the single international market, and other analogous measures in the spirit of strengthening peace.

Implementation of these measures would strengthen peace, rid the peoples of fear of the war danger, put an end to the unparalleled

expenditure of material resources on armaments and preparation for a war of annihilation, and provide the possibility of diverting them for the welfare of the peoples.

The Soviet Union stands for implementation of these measures, for the prospect of peace among nations.

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The tasks of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy:

1. To continue the struggle against the plotting and unleashing of another war, to rally the powerful anti-war, democratic front for the strengthening of peace, to strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity with peace supporters all over the world, persistently to expose all the preparations for another war, all the machinations and intrigues of the warmongers;

2. To continue to pursue a policy of international co-operation and promotion of business relations with all countries;

3. To strengthen and develop inviolable relations of friendship with the Chinese People's Republic, with the European People's Democracies—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, with the German Democratic Republic, with the Korean People's Democratic Republic and with the Mongolian People's Republic;

4. Tirelessly to strengthen the defense might of the Soviet state and to increase our preparedness to give any aggressor a crushing blow.

## II

### INTERNAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

The period under review is characterized by a further consolidation of the internal position of the Soviet Union, by a growth of the entire national economy and socialist culture.

In the first two years following the XVIII Party Congress the working people of our country continued successfully to carry out the third Five-Year Plan and achieved a further strengthening of the Soviet Union. In these years new successes were scored in advancing the national economy.

The peaceful labor of the Soviet people was interrupted by the perfidious attack of fascist Germany on the U.S.S.R. A difficult period began in the history of the Soviet state—the period of the Great Patriotic War. In the course of this war the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia both at the front and in the rear displayed a high sense of duty and devotion to their homeland.

Having brought the war to a close with a historic victory, the Soviet Union entered a new, peaceful period of its economic development. The Soviet state in a short time, drawing upon its own means and resources, without outside assistance, restored the war-ravaged economy and pushed it ahead, leaving prewar economic standards behind.

Progress in restoring industry and agriculture made it possible already in 1947 to abolish rationing of food and manufactured goods and to carry out a monetary reform. These measures, and the

five cuts effected in the prices of food and manufactured goods, increased the purchasing power of the Soviet rouble and ensured a rise in the material well-being of the working people. In 1950 the rouble was put on a gold basis and its rate of exchange raised in relation to foreign currency.

The achievements scored in restoring and advancing the economy enabled the Soviet state to begin the practical realization of important new national-economic tasks, including the construction of powerful hydro-electric stations on the Volga and the Dnieper, the building of big canals for shipping and irrigation and the planting of shelter belts on vast stretches of the country.

The historic events that have taken place in the period under review have revealed the Soviet social and state system not only as the best form of organization for the economic and cultural advancement of the country in the years of peaceful construction, but also as the best form for mobilizing all the energies of the people to repel the enemy in wartime. These events have likewise shown the tremendous growth of the political activity of the working people, the further consolidation of the moral-political unity of the Soviet people rallied around the Communist Party, the further consolidation of the fraternal co-operation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and the development of Soviet patriotism.

Our people are determined to go ahead working selflessly for the good of their socialist homeland and to fulfill with honor the historic task of building a Communist society.

## *1. Further Advancement of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.*

### **A. INDUSTRY**

During the prewar Five-Year Plans socialist industrialization was carried out in the U.S.S.R. A powerful industry was the basis for the development of the entire national economy and of preparing the country for active defense. The war years particularly demonstrated the correctness of our Party's general line of industrializing the country. The implementation of the industrialization policy was of decisive significance for the Soviet people's destiny and saved our homeland from enslavement.

In the difficult conditions of the war the Party was able quickly

to switch industry to a war footing. The equipment of all the more important industrial plants was evacuated from the zone of hostilities to the eastern areas. In the war years the Soviet state mustered sufficient forces and resources not only for the rapid commissioning of the evacuated enterprises, but also for the speedy construction of new enterprises, chiefly heavy industry plants. Despite the temporary occupation of economically important areas of the country by the fascist invaders, industry in the course of the war produced for the front, year by year, all types of armaments and munitions in ever-growing quantities.

With the termination of the war, industry was reconverted from war production to civilian production. The Party set the task of primarily developing heavy industry on a large scale, especially the iron and steel, fuel and electric power industries, for without heavy industry it was impossible to cope with the tasks of restoring and further advancing the national economy. At the same time the Party focused particular attention on expanding the production of consumer goods in order to raise the living standard of the people.

A certain period of time was needed to restore the national economy to the prewar level. The level of the prewar year 1940 for overall annual volume of industrial production was reached and surpassed in 1948; for coal output it was reached in 1947; for steel and cement, in 1948; for pig iron and oil, in 1949; for footwear, in 1950; for cotton textiles, in 1951. This means that the war delayed the development of our industry for eight or nine years, that is, roughly for two Five-Year Plan periods.

As a result of the successful restoration and development of industry in the postwar years, we now have a much higher level of industrial production than in the prewar period. Here are the data:

#### GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN U.S.S.R.

(in percentage of 1940)

	1940	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952 (plan)
Industry as a whole	100	104	92	77	93	118	141	173	202	223
Output of means of production	100	136	112	82	101	130	163	205	239	267

Output of  
consumer  
goods

100 54 59 67 82 99 107 123 143 156

It can be seen from these figures that in 1945 and 1946 there was a drop in the level of industrial production. This was due to the fact that production of military equipment was sharply curtailed after the war and the reconversion of industry to a peacetime footing required a certain amount of time. The postwar readjustment of industrial production was in the main completed during 1946 after which the output of our industry began to mount rapidly, and in 1951 its gross volume was more than double the 1940 output. In 1952 new progress has been made in advancing our industry. As is known, the plan for the current year with regard to industry as a whole is not only being successfully fulfilled, but is being overfulfilled; there is every reason to believe, therefore, that industrial output in 1952 will be approximately 2.3 times the 1940 output.

Particularly rapid progress is being made by industry manufacturing means of production; its 1951 total output volume exceeded the prewar level 2.4 times, and the 1952 output is to exceed that level by approximately 2.7 times. This year's output is to be as follows: 25 million tons of pig iron, or roughly 70 per cent more than in 1940; 35 million tons of steel, or roughly 90 per cent more than in 1940; 27 million tons of rolled metal, or more than double the 1940 output; 300 million tons of coal, or over 80 per cent more than in 1940; 47 million tons of oil, or over 50 per cent more than was produced in 1940; 117 thousand million kilowatt hours of electric power, or 2.4 times more than in 1940; and more than three times as much machinery and equipment will be produced as in 1940.

As for the annual increase in the output of the major industries, we have had a considerably greater increase in recent years than in the prewar period. Thus, in the past three years—1949-1951—that is when the prewar level of industrial production had been not only restored but surpassed, the increase in the output of pig iron amounted to 8 million tons, of steel 13 million tons, and of rolled metal 10 million tons, whereas in prewar years it had taken eight years to achieve an increase of this size in the output of pig iron, nine years for steel, and twelve years for rolled metal. The increase in the coal output in these three years amounted to 74 million tons

and the increase in the oil output to 13 million tons; before the war it had taken six years to achieve an increase of this size in the output of coal and ten years for oil. The increase in the output of electric power in those three years amounted to 37 thousand million kilowatt hours; before the war it had taken nine years to obtain an increase of this size in the output of electric power.

The growth in output of means of production and of agricultural production has provided a sound basis for the development of industry producing articles of consumption. The total output of this industry in 1951 was 43 per cent greater than in 1940, and in 1952 it will be approximately 60 per cent greater than the 1940 output. The 1952 output is to be as follows: over 5 thousand million meters of cotton textiles, or roughly 30 per cent more than in 1940; nearly 190 million meters of woolen fabrics, or roughly 60 per cent more than in 1940; 218 million meters of silk fabrics, or 2.8 times the 1940 output; 250 million pairs of leather footwear, or roughly 20 per cent more than in 1940; 125 million pairs of rubber footwear, or 80 per cent more than was turned out in 1940; over 3,300,000 tons of sugar, or over 50 per cent more than in 1940; over 380 thousand tons of dairy-produced butter (leaving out of account the considerable amount of home-made butter), which will be over 70 per cent more than the prewar figure of dairy-produced butter.

As a result of the successful rehabilitation and development of industry in the postwar period, industrial production in the U.S.S.R. per capita of population now exceeds the prewar level. Thus, production of electric power per capita in 1951 was more than double the 1940 output, pig iron 50 per cent, steel 70 per cent and coal 60 per cent greater; production of cement was more than double, cotton textiles 20 per cent greater, woolens more than 60 per cent greater and paper 70 per cent greater, etc.

During the period under review, especially in the postwar years, there has been a considerable expansion and consolidation of the production and technical base of our industry, brought about both by the building of new and the reconstruction of existing plants. In 1946-1951 alone over 320 thousand million roubles out of total capital investments of about 500 thousand million roubles in the national economy were invested in industry. During this period about 7 thousand big state industrial enterprises were rehabilitated, built anew and commissioned. Compared with 1940 basic production plant of industry had increased 77 per cent by 1952.

But it is not only quantitatively that basic production plant has grown. The past period was also characterized by industry's continued technical progress. In contrast to the situation in capitalist countries where there are periodical gaps in technical development, gaps accompanied by the destruction of productive forces of society through economic crises, in the U.S.S.R., which does not experience such crises, production is constantly being perfected on the basis of higher technique and on the basis of the achievements of advanced Soviet science. In the postwar years all branches of industry have been equipped with new machines and mechanisms, more advanced technological processes have been introduced, and a more rational organization of production effected. The machine-tool park was increased 2.2 times during this period by the addition of new, more productive machines. In the past three years alone the Soviet engineering industry has produced about 1,600 new types of machines and mechanisms.

Our science plays an important role in promoting further technical progress; by its discoveries it is helping the Soviet people to disclose the wealth and forces of nature more fully and to make better use of them. In the postwar period our scientists have successfully solved many scientific problems of great national-economic significance. A most important achievement of Soviet science in this period has been the discovery of ways of producing atomic energy. Thereby our science and technology have put an end to the United States' monopoly position in this field and have dealt a serious blow to the instigators of war, who tried to make use of the secret of producing atomic energy and their possession of the atomic weapon as a means of blackmailing and intimidating other peoples. While possessing real possibilities for producing atomic energy, the Soviet state is deeply interested in seeing this new type of energy used for peaceful purposes, for the good of the people, since such a use of atomic energy vastly extends man's dominion over the elements and opens up before humanity colossal opportunities for increasing the productive forces, for technical and cultural progress and for multiplying the social wealth.

Major achievements by Soviet science and technology are attested to by the annual award of Stalin Prizes for outstanding scientific works, inventions and radical improvements in methods of production. Eight thousand four hundred and seventy persons engaged in science, industry, transport and agriculture have been honored with the title of Stalin Prize winner.



An important result of the development of industry during this period has been the rapid advance of industry in the eastern regions of the U.S.S.R., as a consequence of which the distribution of our industry has been greatly changed. A powerful industrial base has been established in the eastern parts of the country—along the Volga, in the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, and in the Union Republics of Central Asia. By 1952 the total volume of industrial output in these areas had trebled in comparison with 1940. In 1951 the eastern areas accounted for about a third of the entire industrial output of the U.S.S.R., more than half of the steel and rolled metal, nearly half of the coal and oil, and over 40 per cent of the electric power.

Such are the principal results of the development of industry in the U.S.S.R. in the period under review.

The tasks in the sphere of advancement of our industry for the next few years are outlined in the draft directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R., which have been presented for the consideration of this Congress. These tasks are to raise the level of industrial output in 1955 to about 70 per cent above 1950, with the output of means of production to increase by roughly 80 per cent and production of consumer goods by approximately 65 per cent. This assignment for increasing industrial output signifies that in 1955 the volume of industrial output will be three times the 1940 figure.

The fifth Five-Year Plan means another major stride forward in our country's advance from Socialism to Communism.

Our industry has every opportunity to accomplish the assigned tasks. Today all branches of industry are equipped with the very latest machinery, they have skilled workers, engineers and technicians, and industrial enterprises experience no shortage of raw materials or other supplies. Now it is a matter of utilizing these opportunities to the full, of resolutely eliminating all shortcomings in work, of disclosing latent reserves in industry and transforming them into a mighty source for advancement of the national economy.

Each year industry not only fulfills state plans but it overfulfills them. But the general indices of good work for industry as a whole conceal poor work by many establishments which do not fulfill state assignments, as a result of which the national economy does not get the stipulated quantity of products. Ministries, however, do not take the proper measures to ensure fulfilment of plan by every establishment and, instead, frequently shift assignments from poorly

operating establishments to efficient establishments. Consequently, the poorly operating enterprises live at the expense of the efficient enterprises.

One of the chief reasons for the failure to fulfill state plans is the uneven flow of output at enterprises during the month. The Party has more than once drawn the attention of executives in the economic field to this shortcoming. Yet even today many establishments operate by fits and starts, carrying out nearly half of the month's output program in the last ten days, which leads to under-capacity operation, overtime, more waste and upsets the work of allied enterprises.

Some establishments, in an effort to fulfill the gross output plan, resort to a practice that is inimical to the interests of the state, producing articles of secondary importance above the plan while failing to meet state plan assignments in respect to major items.

Some industries violate state discipline in relation to quality of goods. There have been cases of the consumers being supplied with low grade articles and goods which are not up to the established standards and technical conditions. Machine-building plants not infrequently begin to manufacture machines before the design has been fully completed and which do not permit proper operation. Light industry enterprises still turn out large quantities of inferior quality goods. All this is detrimental to the national economy.

Such shortcomings in the work of industry cannot be tolerated. The state plan is a law. All establishments must carry out the state assignments fixed for them and ensure the national economy the items it needs. Executives in the economic field and Party organizations are duty-bound to ensure fulfillment of plan by every enterprise not only for volume of gross output but absolutely for production of all items in accordance with the state plan, to strive for systematic improvement in the quality of the output, and to disclose and completely to eliminate the factors preventing the normal work of the enterprises.

Special attention should be given to the task of ensuring continued maximum advance in the productivity of labor in all branches of industry.

At all stages of socialist development our Party has worked steadfastly for a systematic rise in labor productivity as the major condition for the growth and perfection of socialist production. This is the explanation, in the main, for the tremendous progress that has been made in industrial development in the U.S.S.R. Between

1940-1951 labor productivity in industry increased 50 per cent; and the growth in the productivity of labor accounted for 70 per cent of the increase in industrial output for this period. In the building trades labor productivity went up 36 per cent in the same period.

The rapid growth in the productivity of labor in the U.S.S.R. is chiefly a result of the extensive introduction of new machinery and advanced technological processes in the national economy, of the mechanization and electrification of production, particularly, the mechanization of labor-consuming and heavy work, and also of better organization of the work, the higher general educational level and cultural level of the working people and greater skill on the job. The socialist system of economy offers unlimited opportunities for using the most up-to-date machinery. Besides saving labor, machinery in the U.S.S.R. also makes work easier. For this reason in a socialist economy workers are very eager to use machinery in the labor process, which is not the case under capitalism. The Soviet worker is directly interested in higher productivity of labor, because he knows that this makes for the increased economic might of the U.S.S.R. and a higher living standard. The high productivity of social labor under Socialism is based on the unity of interests of the state and the people.

However, the possibilities for raising labor productivity in our industry are far from being fully utilized as yet. This is indicated, firstly, by the failure of many enterprises to fulfill their plans for labor productivity. It should be noted that ministries are not giving sufficient attention to this important matter. Instead of making certain that every enterprise fulfills its assignment for labor productivity, ministries often rest content with the average results obtained by an industry as a whole, without taking the proper measures to bring the lagging enterprises up to the level of the leading ones.

At many enterprises higher labor productivity is hampered by poor utilization of the means of mechanization at hand. There have been intolerable cases of a neglectful and wasteful attitude toward equipment. Mechanization of production at any enterprise should certainly release some of the workers so that they might be employed either for the expansion of production at the particular enterprise or for work at new plants. Yet some industrial executives, instead of seeing to it that the means of mechanization are properly used so as to obtain higher labor productivity, not infrequently run the enterprise in the old way, extensively employing manual labor.

Another serious shortcoming in the sphere of mechanization is the fact that in the mechanization of production processes some departments are either not mechanized at all or insufficiently mechanized. At many enterprises, where the principal production processes are highly mechanized, the auxiliary operations including such labor consuming jobs as bringing up, carrying over and loading of raw material, supplies and finished articles are slightly mechanized. All this diminishes the overall economic effect of mechanization and disrupts normal production.

Higher labor productivity is also hampered by the fact that at many enterprises and construction sites the work is unsatisfactorily organized, with the result that much time is wasted. Ministries often fix the number of workers for establishments or building sites without making a sufficient study of the real requirements, or verifying whether the labor force is properly utilized. "Fluctuation" of labor at enterprises and especially at construction sites still obtains, causing great harm to production.

Technical norms are very important in raising productivity of labor. Yet at many establishments they are in an unsatisfactory state. There still prevail norms fixed at lower standards, so-called experimental-statistical norms, which do not correspond to the present level of technique, do not reflect the experience of foremost workers and do not stimulate higher labor productivity. The proportion of experimental-statistical norms is very high, exceeding at many enterprises 50 per cent of all the norms in operation.

It is the task of the Party, economic and trade union organizations speedily to eliminate the causes hampering the growth in labor productivity and to ensure fulfillment and overfulfillment of targets for higher labor productivity in all branches of the national economy, at every enterprise, and in every production sector. The shortcomings in utilizing the wealth of machinery at our disposal must be vigorously eradicated, the program for integrated mechanization and automatization of production processes must be persistently carried out, the latest achievements of science and technology must be more extensively introduced in all branches of the national economy, the forms and methods of organization of labor and production must be systematically improved, and better utilization must be made of labor power.

Comrades, our industry is expanding, developing and growing stronger and becoming more perfected technically all the time. We shall continue to develop in every way the productive forces

of our socialist industry as the foundation of the might of our country and of the growth in the material well-being of the Soviet people.

## B. AGRICULTURE

By the beginning of the period under review, *i.e.*, by the time of the XVIII Party Congress, the collective farm system in our country had been firmly established, the collective farms had been consolidated, and the socialist system of economy had established itself as the only form of agriculture.

The war temporarily held up the development of agriculture and inflicted great damage upon it, especially in the areas that were occupied, where the Hitlerite invaders ravaged and plundered the collective farms, the machine and tractor stations and the state farms. Despite the enormous wartime difficulties, however, the collective and state farms of the eastern areas uninterruptedly supplied the Army and the population with food, and the light industry with raw materials. Without the collective farm system, without the selfless work of the men and women collective farmers, without their high political consciousness and high level of organization, we would not have been able to cope with this most difficult task.

With the switch to peaceful construction the Party was confronted with the task of effecting the speediest possible restoration and further development of agriculture. A particular concern of the Party in the postwar period was to strengthen the collective farms organizationally and economically, to assist them in restoring and further developing their commonly-owned economy and, on this basis, to improve the material well-being of the collective farm peasantry. A significant factor in the further development of the productive forces of agriculture was the amalgamation of the small collective farms, for big collective farms can more easily expand and improve their commonly-owned economy. At the present time there are 97,000 amalgamated collective farms instead of the 254,000 small collective farms as of January 1, 1950.

As a result of the steps taken by the Party and the Government, the difficulties in agriculture caused by the war and the severe drought that followed in 1946 were successfully overcome, the

prewar level of agricultural production was restored and surpassed in a short period.

There has been a rapid restoration of crop areas in postwar years, harvest yields have been rising and the gross production of grain, industrial, fodder, vegetable and melon and other crops has been increasing. The total area under cultivation in 1952 exceeded the prewar level by 5.3 million hectares.

In the third year after the war, the prewar level of grain production was restored, and in subsequent years it increased, the production of marketable grain rising considerably at the same time. In the current year, 1952, the total grain harvest amounted to 8,000 million poods with the total harvest of the most important food crop, wheat, 48 per cent bigger than in 1940.

The grain problem, formerly considered the most acute and gravest problem, has thus been solved successfully, solved once and for all.

Particularly rapid has been the development of cotton and sugar-beet production in the postwar period; in 1951 the gross output of raw cotton exceeded the prewar level by 46 per cent, sugar-beet—31 per cent. This year an even richer harvest of these most important crops was gathered. The prewar level has been surpassed in oilbearing plants, potatoes and fodder crops; moreover, the gross harvest of rich feeds (root fodder crops, melon fodder crops and silage) was in 1951 already 25 per cent greater than in 1940. The postwar years have seen a considerable increase in the production of flax, vegetable and melon crops. However, owing to insufficient attention by Party, Government and agricultural bodies to the production of these essential crops, the output of flax and vegetables in a number of regions has still not reached the prewar level.

This year, as in previous years, the state plans for the delivery of grain, cotton, sugar-beet, oilbearing seeds, potatoes, vegetables and other farm produce, as well as the products of animal husbandry, are being carried out successfully.

Our agriculture is becoming more and more perfected, more productive and is turning out more and more produce for the market. This vital feature of the development of our agriculture must be appreciated. Now that the grain problem has been successfully solved, the results attained in agriculture can no longer be gauged in the old way, solely by the amount of grain produced. As can be seen from the data given, apart from achievements in grain production, we have made great headway in developing

the production of cotton, sugar-beet, oilbearing, fodder and other crops. Our agriculture today has changed in quality; it differs basically from the old low productive, extensive agriculture. Whereas the area under all agricultural crops in the U.S.S.R. in 1952 is 1.4 times more than in 1913, the area under grain crops having increased 5 per cent, the area under industrial, vegetable and melon crops has increased more than 2.4 times and the area under fodder crops, more than 11 times. At present industrial crops account for more than 40 per cent of the total value of marketable field crops. Consequently, it would be a grave error to assess the achievements attained in agriculture solely by the level of grain production.

Much attention has been paid in the postwar years to equipping agriculture with new technique. Otherwise we could not have solved the task of restoring and further developing agriculture in a short period. During this time, machine and tractor stations have been supplied with large numbers of new, improved caterpillar tractors with diesel engines, self-propelled harvester combines, mowers, sugar-beet harvester combines, flax harvester combines, cotton picking and other highly efficient machines. The aggregate horse power of the tractors belonging to machine and tractor stations and state farms has risen 59 per cent above the prewar level, that of harvester combines has risen 51 per cent. Agriculture has been supplied with many new machines for labor-consuming jobs in animal husbandry. In connection with the considerable increase in mechanization in agriculture and forestry in the postwar years the network of machine and tractor stations has been extended, a large number of forestry stations for mechanizing the work of tree planting, land amelioration stations for mechanizing the work of draining and improving meadows and pastures and animal husbandry machine stations for mechanizing labor-consuming operations in animal husbandry have been organized. All in all, during this period 1,546 new machine and tractor, forest planting, land improvement and animal husbandry machine stations have been established, bringing the total number of such stations to 8,939 at present.

The postwar achievements in agricultural development have created conditions making possible the accomplishment of still greater tasks in agriculture. The interests of the national economy and the tasks of further improving the well-being of the Soviet people call for the further expansion of agricultural production. The draft directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan envisage

the following increase in the gross harvest in the course of the five years: grain 40-50 per cent, including wheat 55-65 per cent; raw cotton 55-65 per cent; flax 40-60 per cent; sugar-beet 65-70 per cent; sunflower 50-60 per cent; potatoes 40-45 per cent; and the production of fodder crops will be approximately doubled or tripled.

Now that the prewar level of crop acreage has been restored and surpassed the only correct line in increasing agricultural production is that of further raising crop yield in every possible way. Raising the crop yield is the main task in agriculture. To solve this task successfully it is necessary to improve the quality and reduce the duration of field work, to improve efficiency in the utilization of tractors and agricultural machines, to complete the mechanization of the basic farm work, to ensure the speediest possible introduction of crop rotation with the sowing of perennial grasses on collective and state farms, to improve seed selection, to introduce a correct system of soil cultivation everywhere, to increase the use of fertilizer and increase the area of irrigated land. It is necessary to enhance the organizing role of machine and tractor stations in the collective farms, heighten the responsibility of machine and tractor stations for fulfillment of plans for yields and gross harvests of agricultural crops and for the development of animal husbandry.

Our agriculture must be raised to a higher plane of productivity and perfected, with a highly developed grass cultivation and correct crop rotation, and a greater share of the arable land planted to industrial and fodder crops, vegetables and potatoes.

In connection with the notable progress made in soil cultivation, the utmost development of animal husbandry became the cardinal task of the Party and the Government in the advancement of agriculture in the postwar years. In the period from July 1945 to July 1952 the increase of large-horned cattle in the U.S.S.R. was 13.4 million head, sheep 41.8 million head, pigs 21.2 million head and horses 5.6 million head. The level of the prewar year of 1940 for the number of large-horned cattle for all categories of farming was attained in 1948, for sheep—in 1950 and for pigs, this year. To place the production of animal husbandry on a solid foundation, the Party has been giving special attention to the development of commonly-owned collective and state farm productive livestock. Now the animal husbandry of the collective farms and the state farms constitutes the predominant proportion of the country's animal husbandry both with regard to total livestock and output of product of animal husbandry.



The gross and marketable output of meat, milk, butter, eggs, wool and hides in the U.S.S.R. as a whole has surpassed the prewar level.

To meet the growing requirements of the population for produce of animal husbandry and of light industry for raw materials, animal husbandry must be further advanced considerably. The draft directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan envisage an 18-20 per cent increase in the herds of cattle for agriculture in general in the five-year period, while the envisaged increase in the commonly-owned herds of cattle belonging to collective farms is 36-38 per cent; the total increase envisaged for head of sheep is 60-62 per cent, while for collective farm herds it is to be 75-80 per cent; for pigs the total increase is to be 45-50 per cent, and for collective farms 85-90 per cent; the number of horses is to increase on the whole by 10-12 per cent, while for collective farms the increase is to be 14-16 per cent; the increase for poultry on collective farms is to be 3-3.5 times. The draft directives provide for the following increase in production: meat and lard 80-90 per cent; milk 45-50 per cent; wool 2-2.5 times; eggs (in collective and state farms) 6-7 times.

This augmentation of the herds of commonly-owned collective farm and state farm livestock with the simultaneous substantial increase in its productivity remains the main task in the development of animal husbandry. To fulfill this task successfully the first thing to do is to create a stable fodder base in all collective and state farms, provide proper facilities for housing cattle, and also to mechanize work in animal husbandry on a large scale. Animal husbandry must aim to become a highly productive, profitable industry, producing much output for the market. More must be done to improve the quality of the collective and state farm cattle, to ensure the rapid reproduction of highly productive strains of farm animals and to create new highly productive ones. The sound development of animal husbandry is possible only provided the growth of the herds is properly co-ordinated with qualitative improvement and increase in livestock productivity on a large scale.

The state farms have been considerably developed and consolidated in the postwar years; they have considerably increased their area under crops as compared with the prewar period, enlarged the herds of productive cattle and have increased the output of farm produce. There are, however, serious shortcomings in

the work of the state farms. One of the major shortcomings in the work of a large number of state farms is the high production cost of grain, meat, milk and other produce. By developing diversified farming, improving the organization of production, introducing integrated mechanization of all the most labor-consuming operations, increasing crop yields and livestock productivity the state farms must ensure a further increase in output for the market and considerably reduce production costs.

Highly important for the further development of agriculture is irrigation and protective afforestation. Many big irrigation systems equipped with modern machinery were built before the war, and old irrigation systems were reconstructed; as a result, the area of actually irrigated land in the republics of Central Asia and other parts of the U.S.S.R. rose one and a half times, which made it possible to accomplish so important a task as that of considerably increasing cotton production. The planting of shelter belts was begun.

In the postwar years the construction of irrigation systems and the planting of forest shelter belts assumed still greater proportions. Extensive irrigation systems are being built in the republics of the Transcaucasus, where the area of actually irrigated land will, as a result of this work, increase more than one and a half times in the next few years. The work of irrigating the highly fertile but drought-ridden land in the central black-earth zone—the Kursk, Orel, Voronezh and Tambov regions—so that guaranteed harvests of grain, industrial and other crops may be obtained, has been in progress since 1947. The work of creating extensive state shelter belts in the steppe and forest-steppe regions of the European part of the U.S.S.R., windbreaks on collective and state farms, and ponds and reservoirs, has been in progress on a large scale since 1948. In the past three and a half years the collective and state farms and forestries have effected protective afforestation on an area of 2.6 million hectares and built over 12 thousand ponds and reservoirs. In the areas of excessive moisture, primarily in Byelorussia and the Baltic republics, a great deal is being done, as was the case before the war, to drain swamps and marshland.

Broad horizons open up before agriculture in consequence of the construction of the gigantic hydroelectric stations and irrigation systems on the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper and the Amu-Darya and of the commissioning of the Volga-Don Navigation Canal named after V. I. Lenin. The construction of these stations

and irrigation systems will make it possible to irrigate more than six million hectares of land and to bring water to pastures, by sectional irrigation, on 22 million hectares; it affords extensive opportunities for the electrification of farming, the introduction of electric ploughing, the use of power combines and other electrically-driven agricultural machines.

In addition to large-scale irrigation construction, a new system of irrigation is being introduced successfully on all the irrigated lands; under this system the irrigated sectors are considerably enlarged by improving the distribution of the branch canals of the irrigation network, reducing the number of permanent irrigation canals on the fields and replacing them by temporary canals, thus making possible fuller use of the irrigated land and of the water and creating more favorable conditions for the mechanization of farming on the irrigated land.

The accomplishment of the outlined large-scale work for developing irrigation, creating shelter belts and draining marshland will lift our agriculture to a higher plane, and the country will be protected forever against the vagaries of the weather. The task is to carry out the work of developing irrigation, of planting forest shelter belts and draining swamps successfully and within the periods specified. Party, Soviet and economic organizations must give this work special attention.

It is also very important to take measures to improve crop yields in the non-black-earth regions of the European part of the U.S.S.R. It is well-known that the non-black-earth regions have great possibilities for the successful development of soil cultivation and animal husbandry, since they have favorable climatic conditions and a sufficient amount of moisture. However, crop yields in the non-black-earth belt are still low. To obtain big and stable harvests here it is necessary, first of all, to organize on a large scale the liming of acid soils with the simultaneous introduction of sufficient amounts of organic and mineral fertilizers, to develop the sowing of grasses in every way and improve soil cultivation.

In the process of restoring and developing agriculture, our Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies have in the postwar years improved their guidance of the collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms. However, there are still mistakes and shortcomings in this work.

What are these mistakes and shortcomings in the guidance of

agriculture and what are the tasks in this connection?

First of all, it must be said that some of our leading workers, especially in connection with the merging of the smaller collective farms, were guilty of a wrong, narrow utilitarian approach to questions of collective farm development. They proposed the hasty, mass resettlement of villages to form big collective farm towns, the scrapping of all the old farm buildings and the farmers' homes and the setting up of big "collective farm towns," "collective farm cities," "agro-cities" on new sites, regarding this as the most important task in the organizational and economic strengthening of the collective farms. The error these comrades make is that they have forgotten the principal production tasks facing the collective farms and have put in the forefront subsidiary, narrow utilitarian tasks, problems of amenities in the collective farms. Amenities are, undoubtedly, of great significance but, after all they are subsidiary, subordinate, and not principal tasks and can be solved successfully only on the basis of developed common production. Forgetfulness or underestimation of the principal production tasks may lead all our practical work in the countryside along incorrect lines, may impede the further development of the collective farms and do harm to both amenities and to the entire work of socialist construction. The Party took measures in good time to overcome these incorrect tendencies in the sphere of collective farm development. The Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies must continue to show constant concern for strengthening and developing the common enterprise in the collective farms, which is the collective farms' main strength, and on this basis ensure an increase in collective farm production for the market and a further rise in the material and the living conditions of the collective farmers in general.

It must be noted further that the practice of setting up subsidiary enterprises producing bricks, tiles, and other industrial items has become widespread in many collective and state farms. Experience has shown that this increases the cost of building materials and manufactured goods and, what is most important, it distracts the collective and state farms from the solution of agricultural production problems and is an impediment to the development of agriculture. This state of affairs must be rectified and all the efforts of the collective and state farms must be concentrated wholly on the further development of diversified farming in order to fully utilize their economic potentialities and natural conditions

for the utmost increase in output of grain, cotton, sugar-beet, flax, potatoes, meat, milk, eggs, wool, vegetables, fruit, tea and other farm produce. As for building materials and other manufactured goods, our state industry and producer co-operatives are in a position to provide and must fully provide the collective and state farms with all these at cheaper prices.

It must further be admitted that there still are instances of collective farm property being squandered and of other violations of the Rules of the Agricultural Artel. Some workers in Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies instead of guarding the interests of the collective farms' common enterprise themselves engage in pilfering collective farm property, flagrantly violate Soviet law, engage in arbitrary practices and commit lawless acts in relation to collective farms. These workers take advantage of their official position to occupy collective farm land, make collective farm boards and chairmen supply them with grain, meat, milk and other commodities free of charge or at low price, they exchange their own low productive stock for high productive and more valuable cattle belonging to the collective farms, and so on. All these anti-collective farm, anti-state actions inflict serious harm on the collective farm peasantry, impede the further organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms and undermine the prestige of the Party and Soviet state. It is necessary resolutely to put an end to violations of the Rules of the Agricultural Artel, to punish as enemies of the collective farm system persons guilty of pilfering collective farm property with all the severity of the laws of the socialist state.

It must further be noted that Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies are dealing unsatisfactorily with such important questions as the organization of labor in the collective farms. In the field of collective farm labor organization some leading workers, as is known, followed an incorrect course by introducing detached teams in the collective farms and doing away with production brigades, which was actually directed against the mechanization of grain farming and led to weakening of the collective farms. The work done to eliminate these mistakes and distortions made it possible considerably to improve the organization of labor in the collective farms and to strengthen the production brigade. Nevertheless there are still essential shortcomings in this field. In many collective farms there are no permanently composed production brigades; means of production are not attached to particular bri-

gades and this leads to the elimination of personal responsibility; much working time is wasted because of faulty administration which lowers the labor productivity of the collective farmers and leads to a lag in farm work. Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies must exert themselves daily to improve the organization of labor in collective farms. A more progressive system of distributing incomes should be introduced in the collective farms under which the collective farm's income is distributed among its members in accordance with the number of work-day units credited to the collective farmer and directly depending on the actual amount of farm produce obtained by the brigade, team, or individual collective farmer. This will considerably increase the collective farmers' labor productivity, completely eliminate leveling in payment and further enhance the value of the work-day unit.

It must be pointed out furthermore that a stereotyped, formal approach to many practical questions has not yet been eliminated in the leadership of agriculture. Party, Soviet and agricultural leaders not infrequently disregard local, concrete conditions and issue the same instructions for all districts, collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms regarding agrotechnique, livestock farming, labor organization and other questions relating to agriculture; such instructions, correct and necessary for certain districts and farms, are often useless, and, at times, even harmful for other districts and farms. There are still quite a few people among Party, Soviet and agricultural functionaries who judge agriculture and try to direct it on the basis of so-called average indices. These people judge crop yields by average statistics, and livestock productivity in the same way. Anyone satisfied with average indices cannot notice the districts, collective farms and state farms lagging behind, whose affairs are in a bad state; it is impossible to take timely and effective measures to give them the necessary assistance. On the other hand, behind these average indices it is impossible to see the districts, collective and state farms that have advanced far ahead, for whom assignments based on average indices are not a stimulus to better work, but a retardment and hindrance to their development.

Finally, mention must be made of the existence of substantial shortcomings in introducing the achievements of science and advanced methods in farming. We have many leading collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms; there are thousands of foremost workers in agriculture who are making big head-

way in raising yields and productivity of livestock by creatively applying the achievements of science. However, the popularization and application of the best experience in collective and state farm production are still unsatisfactory. Our agricultural science has made a big contribution ensuring the advance of agriculture. Anti-scientific and reactionary ideas have been exposed and defeated in agricultural science which is now developing on the only correct basis—on a materialistic, Michurin basis—equipping our workers in their efforts to advance agriculture. But notwithstanding the achievements registered, agricultural science still lags behind the needs of collective farm and state farm production. The socialist system of agriculture opens wide vistas to science, it makes it possible rapidly to disseminate the achievements of science and advanced experience and to make them available to all collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms. It is a most important duty of Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies to foster in every way the creative initiative of scientists and workers in agriculture, to swell the ranks of farmers noted for obtaining big yields and high productivity in livestock farming, to uphold all that is advanced and progressive, to accelerate the application of the achievements of science and advanced experience in agriculture in all spheres of collective farm and state farm production.

Comrades, we all rejoice at the colossal growth of our socialist agriculture. Our field and stock farming is now on a new, powerful upgrade. There is no doubt that within the next few years our collective farms, machine and tractor stations, state farms, well equipped with machinery, will score still more significant successes in developing agriculture, and we shall have an abundance of food-stuffs for the people and plentiful supplies of raw materials for the rapidly growing light industry.

### C. TRADE, TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS

With the development of the country's industry and agriculture there was also an advance in trade. In the postwar years state and cooperative trade has increased 2.9 times and considerably surpassed the prewar level. In 1951, compared with 1940, the state and co-operative stores sold the population: 80 per cent more meat and meat products, 60 per cent more fish and fish products, 80 per cent more butter, nearly twice as much vegetable oil and

other fats, 70 per cent more sugar, 80 per cent more fabrics, and 50 per cent more footwear. The network of retail state and co-operative trade expanded, the assortment of goods was substantially increased and the quality improved. However, there are still many serious shortcomings in our trade. The trading organizations still make little study of the public demand; they commit mistakes in the delivery and distribution of goods among the regions and republics. Service is poor in a number of places. The task is, in a short time to eliminate the shortcomings and to elevate Soviet trade to a new, higher plane. The draft directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan provide for an increase in retail state and co-operative trade by the end of the Plan by approximately 70 per cent compared with 1950.

The growth in production and trade was accompanied by the development of all types of transport and freightage.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War our transport, railroad transport in particular, coped successfully with the difficult task of ensuring the conveyance of freights for the Army as well as the freight for the national economy. In the postwar years all types of transport have not only been restored but have made considerable advances as against prewar. In the current year compared with 1940 the rail freight carriage is approximately 80 per cent greater, riverborne and seaborne freight carriage—60 per cent greater, road transport 3.1 times as great, airborne freight carriage increased 9.2 times. The average daily car loadings on the railroads in the current year is 40 per cent above 1940.

Today all forms of transport have a more solid technical base. The carrying capacity of the major trunk lines has been increased by the restoration and new construction of second tracks, the expansion of sidings, the laying of heavy rails, the extension of automatic bloc systems and other measures; new railroads have been built and commissioned; the work of electrifying lines with the heaviest freight traffic has been continued; the rolling stock has been greatly increased, especially with regard to powerful locomotives and cars of large freight carrying capacity.

In water transport the length of the inland waterways utilized for navigation in 1951 was greater than that of 1940 by 23,000 kilometers. Sea and river transport has been augmented with new cargo and passenger ships. The degree of mechanization of loading and unloading work has considerably increased since 1940; in 1951 it was 83 per cent higher for the Ministry of the Inland



Waterways and 90 per cent higher for the Ministry of the Merchant Marine.

Road transport is equipped with new and better lorries and passenger cars. The network of motor roads with improved surface has expanded by 3.1 times compared with 1940.

In the postwar years such means of communication as the post, telegraph, telephone and radio have been further developed. The country's telephone and telegraph system has been expanded and the capacity of urban telephone exchanges increased. Today all the district centers have telephone and telegraph connections with the regional centers; and the equipment of village Soviets and machine and tractor stations with telephones has in the main been completed. The radio-receiving network is at present nearly twice as large as in 1940. The postal service has considerably expanded; the length of the postal air lines increased 2.5 times.

Along with the achievements, there are serious shortcomings in transport and communications. Many railway lines and shipping and motor agencies do not fulfill the plans assigned them for loading and carrying freight. There is still much idle time in the loading and unloading of railroad cars and vessels. Irrational and exceedingly distant rail freighting has not yet been eliminated. The work of road transport is as yet poorly organized, the idle time of the lorry park excessive and empty runs too frequent. Among the shortcomings in communication should be classed the still inadequate service rendered to the national economy and the population by the communication agencies.

It is necessary further to develop and improve the work of all modes of transport and communications, to take care of transport facilities and constantly see to it that they are kept in good order, to develop and strengthen the technical facilities of all types of transport, and to improve in every way the work of the post, telegraph and telephone services.

#### **D. REGIME OF ECONOMY—VITAL LEVER FOR FURTHER ADVANCE OF NATIONAL ECONOMY**

The development of the national economy in the U.S.S.R. is effected by means of its own resources, by means of its internal sources of accumulation. For this reason our Party has always given and gives now close attention to observing the strictest econ-

omy, regarding a regime of economy as a vital condition for creating accumulations within the national economy, and for correct utilization of the means accumulated. The exercise of economy as a method of socialist management played a big role in the industrialization of the country. Now that in our country a new, powerful advance of the national economy is being effected and simultaneously with this prices of consumer goods systematically reduced, the exercise of economy acquires still greater significance. The more fully and rationally the resources of industry are utilized, the more thriftily and economically we manage our affairs—the greater will be our successes in developing all branches of the national economy and the greater the results in raising the material and cultural level of the people.

Yet, there are serious shortcomings in mobilizing and properly utilizing the internal resources of the national economy.

First of all, it is necessary to point to the heavy losses and unproductive expenditure in industry. In a number of branches production capacities are still poorly utilized. Many ministries determine the capacities of enterprises with an eye on the "bottle-necks" in production. When capacities are computed, low norms of productivity of the equipment are often fixed; quotas for the amount of labor required in the production of articles are established with no consideration shown for the advanced technology and improved methods of labor organization. Instead of increasing output by making more efficient use of the internal resources of the enterprises the ministries not infrequently demand capital investments by the Government for the construction of new enterprises. Many enterprises tolerate heavy losses arising from mismanagement and irrational use of materials, raw materials, fuel, electric power, tools and other material values; the established quotas for expenditure, moreover, are often violated; perfectly good substitutes are not used in adequate measure; there is still a great deal of spoilage in production. During 1951, for example, losses and unproductive expenditure in establishments of national significance totaled 4,900 million roubles, including 3,000 million due to spoilage.

As a result of the unsatisfactory use of production capacities, and heavy losses owing to mismanagement, many industrial enterprises do not fulfill their assignments as regards lowering production costs and they allow excessive expenditure. Serious violations in the matter of planning production costs occur in enterprises. Some executives motivated by narrow interests of their own

particular line, and to the detriment of state interests, artificially create "reserves" in the plans for production costs by raising the quotas for expenditure of raw materials and auxiliaries and by increasing, needlessly, the quotas of labor required for the production of various items. This way of planning production costs at some enterprises, which is harmful to the state interests, indicates that the ministries do not exercise proper control over this matter. Instead of making a real study of production conditions at each enterprise and adopting the measures necessary for ensuring systematic cuts in production costs, the ministries allow production costs to be planned without verification and without approval of planned computations.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the exercise of economy is especially unsatisfactory in building. Our construction is still expensive. The builders lag considerably behind industrial workers in the matter of lowering production costs. There are major shortcomings in the organization of building work: unsatisfactory use is being made of the machinery, labor productivity is low, irrational use of materials is tolerated, overheads are extremely high. A major shortcoming in capital construction is the dispersal of forces and means among numerous building organizations, which include a great many small building organizations that do not make effective use of machinery. All this leads to higher building costs, to inflating office staffs, to heavy overhead charges; in 1951, for example, the overhead expenses in building in excess of estimates amounted to more than 1,000 million roubles, and instead of a planned profit of 2,900 million roubles, the construction organizations incurred in that year a loss of 2,500 million roubles.

Further. Big losses and unproductive expenditure occur also in agriculture. Agriculture is at present equipped with machines on a far greater scale than before the war. But there still are major shortcomings in the use of tractors and agricultural machines. Matters are unsatisfactory in many machine and tractor stations and state farms with respect to maintenance of the machine and tractor fleet, as a result of which agricultural machinery is prematurely worn out and considerable excess expenditure on the repair of machines is incurred; there is heavy excess expenditure of fuel and lubricants. All this raises the cost of tractor work. Mismanagement has not yet been done away with in many machine and tractor stations, collective farms and state farms; poor organization of work leads to harvests being below plan and to big crop

losses; care of collective farm property is unsatisfactory; owing to poor care of cattle there are big losses in stock and low productivity of animal husbandry in many collective farms.

In transport, too, there are heavy losses and unproductive expenditure. On many railways, shipping lines and motor transport organizations, owing to failure to fulfill freightage plans, considerable idle time of cars, ships and trucks, to excess expenditure of fuel and losses due to mismanagement, there have been considerable excess expenditure and losses. There are still many cases of a negligent attitude towards rolling stock, ships and trucks, with great damage to the state.

Furthermore, extremely heavy overhead expenditure is incurred in purchasing, storing and marketing agricultural products; marketing expenses of trade organizations are also large. Staffs of the purchasing, selling and distribution organizations are unduly inflated. At the center and in the localities there are many purchasing and distributive organizations frequently engaged in the purchase and sale of the same products and raw materials. Shortcomings in planning the purchasing and selling of goods lead to irrational and unduly long-distance shipments. High overhead expenditure in purchasing, storing and marketing agricultural products is due to the fact that the ministries in charge of the purchasing and distributing organizations do not give the proper attention to the matter of reducing overhead expenditure, do not verify the costs of the purchased products. Lack of control on the part of the ministries creates the ground for various abuses, makes it possible for purchasing organizations to include all losses and waste in the purchasing expenses and thus camouflage their mismanagement. The lack of proper order, and failure to exercise economy in organizing purchasing, supply and marketing cause a loss of several billion roubles to the state.

Lastly, overhead administrative expenditure is still high. Office staffs in a number of state administration organs have been cut repeatedly in recent years. But this was done mainly on orders from the top, from the administration. The question of cutting expenditure on office staffs has not yet become a matter of daily concern to the executives of the establishments and organizations. Many ministries and departments permit the employment of personnel in excess of stipulated staffs. There is considerable excess personnel also in the offices of the regional, city and district establishments and organizations.

Experience shows that improvement in the work of managerial and office staffs, as well as improvement in the organization of purchasing and marketing, result and will continue to result in the release of a part of these workers. It is the duty of the economic and Party organizations to make the proper use of the released workers in the interests of developing the national economy. The corresponding ministries, the Ministry of Labor Reserves, the Party and trade union organizations must see to it that these cadres acquire the necessary industrial skill and are able to apply their abilities in those branches of economy whose development requires more personnel.

The excessive expenditure of materials, money and labor resources observed in all branches of the national economy, indicates that many executives have forgotten the need for exercising economy, that they do not concern themselves with the rational and economical expenditure of state funds, that they do not devote proper attention to improvements in financial and managerial matters in the enterprises and establishments in their charge, while the Party organizations do not notice these shortcomings and do not correct these executives.

The task is to put an end to the indifferent attitude of the economic executives and Party organizations to mismanagement and squandering; the question of enforcing the strictest economy must always be the focal point in all our economic and Party activities. We must constantly be concerned with educating the Soviet people in the spirit of a careful attitude towards public, socialist property. It is necessary to eliminate all excess expenditure of materials, labor and monetary resources, and systematically to ensure fulfillment and overfulfillment of the assignments for lowering production costs. It is necessary to intensify the struggle against mismanagement, to effect drastic cuts in overhead expenditure in industry, building, transport, agriculture, in the trading, purchasing and marketing organizations, to take resolute steps to simplify the state and economic apparatus and reduce the cost of its maintenance, to strengthen, through the medium of the financial departments, the control exercised by the rouble over fulfillment of economic plans and observance of economy; our executive personnel must master to perfection the methods of socialist management, they must enhance their technical and economic knowledge, systematically improve production methods, seek, find and utilize the reserves latent in the national economy.

For the successful accomplishment of the tasks of developing the national economy, the further unfolding of socialist emulation is of enormous importance. The Party has always devoted great attention to organizing this emulation and held that the main thing in socialist emulation is to raise the lagging workers to the level of the best, to emulate the example of the latter. In the conditions prevailing in our society, good example in labor plays a most important part in every sector of socialist construction. The Soviet people are convinced daily through their own experience that the best example of production organization, the introduction of new machinery, of various improvements and inventions inevitably lightens labor and leads to a rise in the standard of living of the people. On all sectors of socialist construction we have numerous examples of the creative initiative of the working people aimed at ensuring uninterrupted growth and improvement of socialist production. Our people have long been famed for their creative initiative, resourcefulness and inventiveness.

The enemies of Socialism and their yes-men of all hues portray Socialism as a system for crushing individuality. Nothing could be more primitive and vulgar than these assertions. It has been proved that the socialist system has emancipated the individual, ensured the flowering of individual and collective endeavor and that it has created favorable conditions for the all-round development of the talents and abilities latent in the very depths of the popular masses.

In our country honest work is highly valued and readily encouraged. The Party and the Government widely practice the system of bonuses and awards to working people for achievements and successes in their work in all fields of national economy and culture. Since the end of the Patriotic War orders and medals of the U.S.S.R. have been awarded to 1,346,000 workers, collective farmers, scientists, engineers and technicians, office employees, doctors, teachers and other workers. And in recognition of the outstanding innovations made by 6,480 working people of our country they were honored with the high title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

It is the task of the Party, Soviet and economic organizations, of the trade union and Komsomol organizations to extend the emulation movement in all sectors of socialist construction, to give every encouragement to good examples in work and to progressive undertakings by leading workers and innovators, to promote the most widespread use of advanced experience by the masses of the workers in order to help bring up the lagging workers to the

level of the advanced. In the struggle between the new and the old, between the advanced and the backward, it is important not only to see the forces which create the new social system, but to develop these forces constantly, to work for their all-round advancement, tirelessly to organize and perfect them in the interest of the successful march forward.

## *2. Further Rise in Standard of Living, Health Protection and Cultural Level of the People*

The achievements in all branches of the national economy brought about further improvement in the living and cultural standards of Soviet society. This is quite natural. There could have been no other result because in our country socialist production is developed for the purpose of satisfying to the highest degree the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of society.

The main index of the rising standard of living of the Soviet people is the steady growth of the national income. Between 1940 and 1951 the national income of the U.S.S.R. rose by 83 per cent. As distinct from the capitalist countries, where more than half the national income is appropriated by the exploiting classes, in the Soviet Union the entire national income is the property of the working people. About three-quarters of the national income is used for satisfying the personal material and cultural needs of the working people of the U.S.S.R. and the remainder goes for expanding socialist production and for other state and social needs.

A vital source of the growth of the real earnings of industrial and office workers and of the real incomes of the peasants is the policy of reducing prices on general consumer goods consistently pursued by the Government. As a result of the five reductions in state retail prices effected in 1947-52, prices of foods and manufactured goods are at present on the average fifty per cent lower than in the fourth quarter of 1947.

As is known, industrial and office workers in our country receive, at state expense, social insurance benefits, pensions, accommodation in sanatoriums, rest homes and child establishments free of charge or at a considerably reduced cost, and paid annual vacations. All working people of town and country receive free medical assistance. The state pays, in town and country, allowances to mothers of large families and to unmarried mothers; it ensures free tuition in

the elementary and seven-year schools and allocates stipends to students. The sum of 40.8 billion roubles was paid out in 1940 and the sum of 125 billion roubles in 1951 in the above-mentioned benefits and allowances to working people in town and country.

As a result of the rise in nominal wages and salaries and in the incomes of the peasants in cash and in kind, as a result of the reductions in prices of general consumer goods and of the increase in other state payments to the population, real incomes of the industrial and office workers increased, per worker, by about 57 per cent in 1951 as against 1940, and the corresponding real incomes of peasants, assessed per working peasant, rose approximately 60 per cent.

The draft directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan provide for an increase of at least 60 per cent in the national income of the U.S.S.R. during the five-year period, for an increase of at least 35 per cent in real wages and salaries, taking into account the retail price reductions, and for an increase in the incomes of the collective farmers in cash and in kind (expressed in terms of money) of at least 40 per cent.

Large-scale housing and municipal construction is being carried out in our country. During the postwar years alone new dwellings with a total of more than 155 million square meters of floor-space have been built in the cities and industrial settlements, and over 3.8 million homes—in rural localities. The scale of housing construction has been especially large in districts which were under occupation during the war. But notwithstanding the large scale of housing construction, an acute shortage of housing is still felt in our country. Many ministries and local Soviets have failed year after year in carrying out the plans set them for house building, and the funds allocated by the state for this purpose have not been fully utilized. The default in the last two years alone due to non-fulfillment of the housing program was more than four million square meters. We still have economic executives and Party functionaries who are inclined to regard the housing needs of the working people as a secondary matter, and who take no steps to carry out plans for the construction and repair of dwellings. The task is to expand housing construction to the utmost. The draft directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan provide for approximately a twofold increase in capital investments in state housing construction as compared with the fourth Five-Year Plan.

The Party and the Government have always displayed, and



continued to display, great concern for the health of our people. State expenditure on health protection, including the expenditure for this purpose from the social insurance funds, rose from 11.2 billion roubles in 1940 to 26.4 billion roubles in 1951. On this basis, further improvement and expansion of the medical and health services for the population have been achieved. In 1951 there were 30 per cent more hospital beds in the towns and rural localities than in 1940. The network of sanatoriums has been enlarged. The number of doctors in the country has increased by 80 per cent.

As a result of the rise in the material and cultural level of the people and the improvement of the public health services, the mortality rate in our country has dropped. In the last three years the net population increase was 9,500,000.

Expenditure on education increased from 22.5 billion roubles in 1940 to 57.3 billion roubles in 1951, that is, by more than two and a half times. In the postwar years alone, 23,500 school buildings have been erected. The number of people attending school in the U.S.S.R. is now 57 million, or nearly eight million more than in 1940. Seven-year and ten-year schooling has been considerably expanded: from 1940 to 1951 inclusive, the number of pupils in 5-10 grades increased by 25 per cent. The number of pupils in secondary technical schools and other specialized secondary schools increased by 40 per cent, and the number of students attending establishments of higher learning increased by 67 per cent. In 1952 alone the higher education establishments graduated 221 thousand young specialists for the various branches of the national economy and enrolled 375 thousand new students. Now working in the Soviet Union are approximately 5.5 million specialists with diplomas from higher schools and specialized secondary schools, that is, 2.2 times more than before the war.

Taking into account the ever-increasing significance of science in the life of our society, the Party displays daily concern for its development. The Soviet state launched the construction and equipment of a big network of scientific research institutions and has created the most favorable conditions for the flowering of science; it has ensured large-scale training of scientific personnel. The number of research institutes, laboratories and other scientific institutions in the U.S.S.R. increased from 1,560 in 1939 to 2,900 by the beginning of 1952. The number of scientific workers almost doubled during the same period. State expenditure for the promotion of science between 1946-1951 amounted to 47.2 billion roubles.

During the period under review the network of cultural and educational establishments in the towns and rural localities was expanded on a broad scale. At the present time the country has 368,000 libraries of various types. Since 1939 the number of libraries has increased by more than 120,000. Annual book printings have reached 800 million copies, an increase of 1.8 times since 1940. In the period since 1939 the number of sound film installations in the towns and villages has been almost trebled.

Literature and art constitute an integral and most important component of Soviet culture. We have recorded major achievements in developing Soviet literature, the fine arts, the theatre and the cinema. A striking illustration of this is the annual award of Stalin Prizes to numerous gifted workers in these spheres. The high title of Stalin Prize Winner has been conferred upon 2,339 men and women of literature and art.

It would, however, be incorrect not to see, because of the great achievements, the big shortcomings in our literature and art. The point is that despite important successes in developing literature and art, the ideological and artistic level of many works is still not high enough. Many mediocre and dull works, and sometimes simply potboilers which distort Soviet reality, still crop up in literature and art. In the work of some writers and artists, the vibrant and variegated life of Soviet society is portrayed in a spiritless and boring manner. The shortcomings in the cinema, that important and popular form of art, have not been eliminated. Our film people know how to make good pictures, pictures of high educational value, but their number is still small. Our cinematography has every possibility for making plenty of good films of various kinds but this possibility is poorly utilized.

The fact that the ideological and cultural level of the Soviet man has risen immeasurably must be taken into account; the Party helps him to improve his tastes by placing at his disposal the best works of literature and art. The Soviet public does not tolerate dull, empty and false works, and it makes high demands on our writers and artists. In their works our writers and artists should pillory the faults, shortcomings and unhealthy phenomena to be met with in society; they must create positive artistic images of the men and women of the new type in all their splendor and human dignity, and thereby promote the inculcation in the people of our society of traits, habits and customs free from the ulcers and vices to which capitalism gives rise. Yet in our Soviet fiction and drama-

turgy, just as in cinematography, such types of works as satire are non-existent to this day. It would be incorrect to think that our Soviet reality does not provide any material for satire. We need Soviet Gogols and Shchedrins whose scorching satire would burn out all that is negative, decaying and moribund, everything that acts as a brake on our march onward.

Our Soviet literature and art must boldly portray life's contradictions and conflicts, must skilfully employ the weapon of criticism as an effective means of education. The strength and the significance of realistic art are that it can and must bring to the fore and disclose the lofty spiritual qualities and typical positive traits of character of the ordinary man, create a vivid artistic image of him that would be worthy of being an example and an object of emulation to others.

In creating artistic images, our artists, writers and art workers must always remember that the typical is not only that which is most frequently encountered but that which most fully and pointedly expresses the essence of the given social force. In the Marxist-Leninist understanding, the typical by no means signifies some sort of statistical average. Typicalness corresponds to the essence of the given social-historical phenomenon; it is not merely the most widespread, frequently-occurring and ordinary phenomenon. Conscious hyperbole and accentuation of an image does not exclude typicalness but discloses it more fully and emphasizes it. The typical is the basic sphere of manifestation of the Party approach in realistic art. The problem of typicalness is always a political problem.

The lofty and noble task confronting workers in literature and art can be successfully resolved only if we conduct a decisive battle against hack-work by our artists and writers, if falseness and rottenness are mercilessly rooted out of works of literature and art. A tremendous responsibility in the great struggle to nurture that which is new and radiant and to extirpate that which is decrepit and moribund in the life of society, rests with our workers in literature and art. It is the duty of our writers, artists, composers and cinema workers to study the life of Soviet society more deeply, to create major works of art worthy of our great people.

Comrades, we have won big successes in improving the Soviet people's material well-being and in advancing their culture. But we cannot rest content with what has been achieved. The task is, on the basis of the development of the entire national economy to ensure a further steady rise in the material and cultural level

of the Soviet people. Our Party will continue to display unceasing concern for satisfying to the maximum the constantly growing requirements of the Soviet people, because their welfare and their prosperity is the supreme law for our Party.

### *3. Further Consolidation of the Soviet Social and State System*

In the period since the XVIII Party Congress, our Soviet state has continued to grow, develop and gain strength.

The economic foundation of our state—socialist ownership of the means of production—has grown and gained in strength. In this period the friendly co-operation of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, comprising the Soviet socialist society, has become still stronger.

In the face of the greatest difficulties, our social and state system proved, as the experience of the war showed, to be the firmest, the most resilient and stable in the world. The indestructible might of the Soviet socialist system is due to the fact that it is a genuinely people's system, created by the people themselves, that it enjoys their powerful support and ensures the progress of all the material and spiritual forces of the people.

The enemies and vulgarizers of Marxism advocated the theory, most harmful to our cause, of the weakening and withering away of the Soviet state in conditions of capitalist encirclement. Smashing and rejecting this rotten theory, the Party advanced and substantiated the thesis that in conditions when the socialist revolution has been victorious in one country while capitalism dominates in the majority of others, the country where the revolution has triumphed must not weaken, but strengthen its state to the utmost, that the state is preserved even under Communism should the capitalist encirclement remain. We could not have achieved the successes in our peaceful construction of which we are proud today had we allowed our state to be weakened. We would have found ourselves disarmed in the face of the enemy and in danger of military defeat if we had not strengthened our state, our army, our punitive and security organs. The Party has made the Soviet land an indestructible fortress of Socialism because it strengthened in every way and continues to strengthen the socialist state.

When the fascist invaders attacked our country, they counted on

the internal instability of the Soviet social and state system, on the weakness of the Soviet rear. But, as is known, the war upset these calculations. The historic statement of Comrade Stalin that in the event of war the front and rear in our country, owing to their oneness and internal unity, would prove to be stronger than in any other country, was fully confirmed. In the course of the war the armed forces and rear of the Soviet power grew stronger. The selfless labor of Soviet men and women in the rear and the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army and Navy at the front have gone down into history as an unprecedented exploit of the people in defense of the homeland. Our Army and Navy were built up and they grew strong and fought under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin. A captain of genius and organizer of the historic victories of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, Comrade Stalin created the advanced Soviet military science, and taught our Army the art of victory. Our people love their Army and Navy, and accord them constant solicitude and attention. The armed forces of the Soviet Union were, are, and will always be the reliable bulwark of the security of our homeland.

The Great Patriotic War and the ensuing years of peaceful development showed once more that the Soviet social system, built under the leadership of the Party, is the best form of organization of society, that the Soviet state system is a model of a multi-national state. Many of our enemies and ill-wishers in the bourgeois camp endlessly repeated that the Soviet multi-national state was an unstable state, they placed their hopes on dissension between the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and predicted the inevitable collapse of the Soviet Union. They judged our state by the standard of their own bourgeois countries, in which national contradictions and strife are inherent. The enemies of Socialism are unable to understand that as a result of the Great October Revolution and of the socialist transformations all the peoples of our country are linked with one another by ties of firm friendship on the basis of complete equality. Our Party, unservingly implementing the Lenin-Stalin national policy, strengthened the Soviet multi-national state, developed friendship and mutual co-operation among the peoples of the Soviet Union, supported, ensured and encouraged in every way the progress of the national cultures of the peoples of our country, waged an uncompromising struggle against all and sundry nationalist elements. The Soviet state system, which withstood the severe trials of the war and became for the whole world an example and

a model of genuine equality and co-operation among nations, demonstrates the great triumph of the Lenin-Stalin ideas on the national question. Our Party guards and will continue to guard as the apple of the eye the unity and friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., it has strengthened and will continue to strengthen the Soviet multinational state.

In the period under review, the Soviet family was joined by other peoples. The Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics were formed. The entire Ukrainian nation was reunited in a single state. Byelorussia brought together the entire Byelorussian nation into a single family. In the Northwest we now have new borders which are more just and more in conformity with the interests of the country's defense. In the Far East the Soviet Union regained Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, formerly severed from Russia. Now the state frontiers of the Soviet Union correspond as never before to the historically evolved conditions in which the peoples of our country have developed.

With the assistance of the peoples of the fraternal republics, the new union republics have within a short space of time not only advanced far ahead in the matter of industrialization, they have also effected the transfer of small peasant economy onto the path of Socialism, have completed collectivization and are successfully developing socialist agriculture.

In the postwar period the basic function of our state—the function of economic-organizational and cultural-educational work — has been developed and strengthened still more. The sweeping advance of socialist construction and the tasks of bringing the Party and Soviet leadership still closer to the districts, towns and villages, made it necessary to introduce a number of changes in the administrative-territorial system of our state by forming new regions, areas and districts. The growth of the national economy called for further changes in the organizational forms of state administration of various branches of industry, agriculture and other aspects of the national economy. This found reflection in the reduction in size of central bodies of state administration and in the creation of new ones.

Of the greatest significance for strengthening our state was the unswerving observance of the principles of socialist democracy which underlies the Stalin Constitution. Election were held twice in the postwar period to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics,

and the local Soviets of working people's deputies. These elections were marked by a great political upsurge and served as a new expression of the unity of our people, of the boundless confidence the people place in our Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

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The tasks of the Party in the sphere of internal policy are:

1) To continue steadfastly to strengthen the economic might of our state, organizing and directing the peaceful labor of the Soviet people towards fulfillment and overfulfillment of the great tasks set forth in the fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R., which constitutes an important stage in the transition from Socialism to Communism;

2) To promote the further advance of industry and transport. Introduce more widely into industry, building and transport the latest achievements of science and technology, to increase in every way the productivity of labor, strengthen discipline in fulfilling state plans, ensure high quality production. To reduce steadily costs of production, this being the basis for systematic reduction of wholesale and retail prices for all goods;

3) To bring about a further advance in agriculture in order to create in our country within the briefest space of time an abundance of foodstuffs for the population and of raw materials for light industry; to ensure the implicit fulfilment of the principal task in agriculture—the utmost increase in yields of all crops and growth in the head of livestock while simultaneously raising its productivity, an increase in gross and marketable production of crop growing and animal husbandry. To improve the work of the machine and tractor stations and state farms. To raise the labor productivity of the collective farmers, further strengthen the commonly-owned economy of the collective farms, multiply their wealth and on this basis ensure further improvement of the material well-being of the collective-farm peasantry;

4) To effect the strictest regime of economy in all spheres of the national economy and in all branches of administration;

5) To develop further the advanced Soviet science with the object of advancing it to first place in world science. To direct the scientists' efforts towards a more rapid solution of scientific problems pertaining to utilization of the tremendous natural resources of our country, to strengthen the creative co-operation of scientists and industrial workers, remembering that this co-operation enriches

science with practical experience, and helps practical workers to solve more rapidly the tasks facing them;

6) To develop to the utmost the creative initiative of the working people of our country, broaden the socialist emulation movement, work tirelessly for the purpose of multiplying the positive model examples of organization of labor in a new way in all fields of socialist construction, disseminate these examples of model work persistently among all working people so that the example of the best workers of our society is followed by more and more men and women on the labor front;

7) To improve further the material well-being of our people; to increase steadily the real wages of industrial and office workers, improve housing conditions for the working people; to help in every way to increase the incomes of the peasants. To develop Soviet culture; to improve public education and the health services; to give constant attention to the further development of Soviet literature and the arts;

8) To strengthen to the utmost our social and state system. To further the political activity and strengthen the patriotism of Soviet people, strengthen the moral-political unity and friendship of the peoples of our country;

9) To keep vigilant watch for machinations by the warmongers. To strengthen in every way the Soviet Army, Navy and security organs.



### III

## THE PARTY

The steady growth in the might of our Soviet homeland is the result of the correct policy of the Communist Party and of its organizational work in implementing that policy. The Party, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, saw to it that the country prepared in good time for active defense, directed the people's efforts towards smashing the enemy during the war years and to the cause of ensuring a new, powerful economic upsurge in the postwar period.

The historic victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, pre-schedule fulfillment of the fourth Five-Year Plan, the continued development of our national economy, the rise in the material well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people, the reinforcing of the moral-political unity of Soviet society and of the friendship of the peoples of our country, the rallying of all the forces of the camp of peace and democracy around the Soviet Union—such are the main results confirming the correctness of our Party's policy.

The period under review has been one of continued strengthening of the Party and of consolidation of the complete unity and oneness of its ranks. This unity of the Party won in fierce struggle against the enemies of Leninism, is the characteristic feature of the position inside the Party, of its inner life. Therein lies the source of our Party's strength and invincibility.

The unity of the Party ranks was the decisive condition for

the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. In the most trying and difficult days of that war, when the destinies of our homeland were in the balance, our Party acted as a single fighting organization, knowing neither vacillation nor differences. In the light of the results of the war, there stands out in all its greatness the significance of the irreconcilable struggle which our Party waged for many years against each and every enemy of Marxism-Leninism, against the Trotskyite-Bukharinite degenerates, against the capitulators and traitors who endeavored to divert the Party from its correct path and disrupt the unity of its ranks. It has been proved that these foul traitors and treason-mongers were only waiting for a military attack on the Soviet Union, calculating that at the most difficult moment they would stab the Soviet state in the back, and thus play into the hands of the enemies of our people. By crushing the Trotskyite-Bukharinite underground, which was the rallying center for all the anti-Soviet forces in the country, by purging our Party and Soviet organizations of enemies of the people, the Party thereby destroyed, in good time, any possibility of a "fifth column" appearing in the U.S.S.R. and prepared the country politically for active defense. It will readily be understood that had we not done this in good time then our position during the war would have been that of people under fire from the front and the rear, and we might have lost the war.

For the unshakable unity of its ranks the Party is indebted in the first instance to our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, who upheld the Leninist unity of the Party. Unity of the Party ranks was, is and always will be the foundation of its strength and invincibility. Tempered in the crucible of the grim ordeal of the war and in the struggle to overcome the postwar difficulties, the Party has come to this Congress with even greater strength and unity, rallied as never before around its Central Committee.

The strength of our Party lies in its organic ties with the broad masses, in the fact that it is a genuine people's party whose policy corresponds to the vital interests of the people. Such mass organizations as the Soviet trade unions and the Komsomol (Y.C.L.) are now playing a much bigger role in rallying the working people around the Party and in training them in the spirit of Communism. In the struggle for freedom and independence of our homeland, for the construction of Communist society, our Party has come into even closer kinship with the people and has strengthened its contact with the broad masses of working

people. The Soviet people unanimously support the policy of the Party and repose complete confidence in it.

Striking evidence of the closer contact between the Party and the masses, of its growing prestige among the Soviet people, is provided by the growth of Party membership. At the time of the XVIII Congress the Party had 1,588,852 members and 888,814 probationary members, making a total of 2,477,666. On October 1, 1952 the figure was 6,882,145, of whom 6,013,259 are members, and 868,886 probationary members.

During the Great Patriotic War, despite the heavy losses of the Party on the battlefronts, its membership, far from declining, actually increased by more than 1,600,000. The Party was joined by the staunchest Soviet people from the ranks of the Soviet Army and Navy who displayed valor in battle, by advanced members of the working class, of the collective farm peasantry and of the Soviet intelligentsia whose self-sacrificing labor in the rear paved the way for victory over the enemy.

After the war, the Central Committee of the Party decided to slow down somewhat admittance of new members, but still admittance proceeded at an accelerated pace. The Party could not but notice that this rapid growth of its ranks had certain negative features, leading to a certain lowering of the level of political consciousness of the Party ranks and to a certain decline in the qualitative composition of the membership. A certain disparity appeared between the quantitative growth of the Party and the level of political training of its members and probationary members. To eliminate this disparity and to further improve the qualitative composition of the Party, the Central Committee decided not to force growth of membership and to concentrate the attention of Party organizations on raising the political level of members and probationary members. On the instructions of the Central Committee, Party organizations began more carefully to select new members, raising the requirements for applicants and undertaking extensive work to promote political training of the Communists. The result has been an undoubted advance in the political level of Party members, in the Marxist-Leninist consciousness of our cadres. However, it cannot be said that the task set by the Party of eliminating the lag in the political training of Communists compared with the growth of the Party's ranks has already been accomplished. Consequently we must continue the policy of restricting admission and improving the work of political training and Party tempering

of the members, for the strength of the Party lies not only in the size of membership, but above all in its quality.

Strengthening of the Party bodies, improving their activity and intensifying the work of the Party organizations acquired a special significance in the postwar period.

The new tasks that confronted the country in connection with the conclusion of the war and the transition to peaceful construction, called for a big improvement in inner-Party work and a higher standard of leadership by the Party organizations of state and economic work. The fact of the matter is that wartime conditions had necessitated certain specific methods of Party leadership and had given rise to serious shortcomings in the work of the Party bodies and Party organizations. This found expression above all in the fact that the Party bodies devoted less attention to Party organizational and ideological work, with the result that in many Party organizations this work was neglected. There was a certain danger of the Party bodies losing contact with the masses, and that from militant organs of political leadership, displaying their own initiative, they would turn into something in the nature of administrative-management offices incapable of countering the sundry local, narrow-departmental and other anti-state tendencies, and failing to notice outright distortions of the Party's policy in economic upbuilding and violations of state interests.

To avert this danger and successfully to cope with the work of strengthening the local Party bodies and of advancing the activities of the Party organizations, it was necessary to do away with the neglect of Party organizational and ideological work and to put an end to such practices as introducing administrative methods of leadership in the Party organizations, leading to bureaucratization of Party work and to slackened activity and initiative on the part of the membership.

The Central Committee focused the attention of Party organizations on the task of consistently adhering to inner-Party democracy, of unfolding criticism and self-criticism, and, on this basis, to enhance control by the Party membership over the work of Party bodies, since this was the key to heightening the entire work of the Party, to raising the activity and initiative of the Party organizations and Party members. The measures carried out by the Party to develop inner-Party democracy and self-criticism helped its organizations to overcome, to a considerable degree, the defects in Party-political work and played an impor-

tant part in raising this work to a higher level. This led to greater activity and initiative by the Party members, strengthened the lower Party organizations in industry, on the collective farms and in offices, invigorated their activities, enhanced control by the membership over the work of leading Party bodies and elevated the role played by the plenary meetings of Party committees and by the meetings of the Party Active.

However, it would be a mistake not to see that the level of Party-political work still lags behind the requirements of the situation and the tasks set by the Party. It must be admitted that there are shortcomings and errors in the work of the Party organizations; that there are still not a few negative, and very often, unhealthy practices in the life of our Party organizations which it is necessary to know, to see and expose so that they can be eliminated and overcome and the way cleared for further successful progress.

What are these shortcomings, mistakes, negative and unhealthy practices and what are the Party's tasks in this connection?

1) *Self-criticism and particularly criticism from below have by no means been developed in full measure and by no means in all Party organizations, as the principal method of disclosing and eliminating our mistakes and shortcomings, our weaknesses and our ills.*

Underestimation of the role of criticism and self-criticism in the life of the Party and state and persecution and reprisals for criticism are still to be met with in Party organizations. Often one meets functionaries who never tire of professing their devotion to the Party, but who in actual fact are intolerant of criticism from below, stifle it and wreak vengeance on the critics. Not a small number of facts is known of a bureaucratic attitude towards criticism and self-criticism, causing much damage to the Party's work, killing the initiative of Party organizations, undermining the prestige of the leadership among the Party membership and, in the case of individual Party organizations, leading to the assertion of anti-Party customs and practices by bureaucrats, sworn enemies of the Party.

The Party cannot ignore the fact that where criticism and self-criticism are neglected, where mass control over the activities of the organizations and establishments is weakened, the inevitable result is such ugly developments as bureaucratism, rottenness and even disintegration in individual links of our apparatus. Such things, of course, are not widespread. Our Party is strong and healthy as never before. But we must realize that these dangerous illnesses have not become widespread only because the Party,

using the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, openly and boldly, and in good time, disclosed these evils and dealt resolute blows at concrete manifestations of conceit, bureaucracy and decay. The wisdom of leadership consists precisely in being able to discern the danger in the embryo and to prevent it from developing to a degree that it becomes a menace.

Criticism and self-criticism are the Party's tried and tested weapon in the battle against shortcomings, mistakes and unhealthy phenomena which undermine its sound organism. Criticism and self-criticism do not weaken, but strengthen the Soviet state, the Soviet social system, and this is a sign of its vigor and vitality.

It is particularly important at this juncture to develop self-criticism and criticism from below, relentlessly to combat, as the Party's bitterest enemy, everyone who obstructs the development of criticism of our shortcomings, stifles criticism and permits persecution and reprisals for criticism. The fact of the matter is that as a result of the victorious conclusion of the war and the big achievements in postwar economic development, there has appeared in the Party an uncritical attitude towards shortcomings and mistakes in the work of Party, economic and other organizations. Facts show that the successes have engendered in the ranks of the Party sentiments of complacency, ostentation and philistine smugness, a desire to rest on one's laurels and live on past services. No small number of functionaries have appeared who believe that "everything is easy," "a walk-over," that "all is well" and that there is no need to indulge in so unpleasant a task as disclosing shortcomings and mistakes in the work, or combating negative and unhealthy practices in our organizations. These sentiments, harmful in their consequences, have got the better of some of our cadres who lack proper training and party staunchness. Leaders of Party, Soviet and economic organizations not infrequently turn meetings, meetings of activists, plenary sessions and conferences into ceremonial affairs, into occasions for self-praise with the result that mistakes and shortcomings in the work, maladies and defects are not disclosed and not subjected to criticism, and this simply adds to the complacency and smugness. Careless attitudes have found their way into Party organizations. There have been cases of blunting of vigilance by functionaries of Party, economic, Soviet and other organizations, cases of carelessness, and of Party and state secrets being divulged. Some functionaries have become so engrossed in economic matters and are so carried away by the successes, that they begin to forget

that the capitalist encirclement still exists and that the enemies of the Soviet state are persistently trying to smuggle their agents into our midst and to use the unstable elements in Soviet society for their sordid purposes.

To ensure the further advance of our cause we must resolutely combat all negative practices and concentrate the attention of the Party and of all Soviet citizens on eliminating shortcomings in our work. This requires that self-criticism, and particularly criticism from below, be extensively developed.

The active participation of the broad masses of the working people in the struggle against shortcomings in our work and negative sides in the life of our society is striking evidence of the genuine democratism of the Soviet system and of the high degree of political awareness of the Soviet people. Criticism from below is an expression of the creative initiative and activity of millions of working people, of their concern for strengthening the Soviet state. The wider we develop self-criticism and criticism from below, the fuller will we bring out the creative potential and energies of our people and the greater and stronger will be the feeling of the masses that they are the masters of the country.

The view that criticism from below can develop of itself, automatically, is erroneous. It can develop and extend in scope only on the condition that every person who offers sound criticism can be confident that he will find support in our organizations and that the shortcomings he reveals will actually be eliminated. What we need is that Party organizations and Party functionaries, all our leading workers, give guidance in this and set an example of a sincere and conscientious attitude to criticism. Every leading worker, and especially Party worker, is in duty bound to create the conditions that will enable all honest Soviet citizens boldly and fearlessly to criticize shortcomings in the work of our organizations and establishments. Meetings, plenary sessions, meetings of activists and conferences arranged by all organizations must become real open forums for bold and trenchant criticism of shortcomings.

Persistent struggle to eliminate shortcomings and unhealthy practices in the work of Party, Soviet, economic and other organizations must be the daily task of the entire Party. A Communist has no right to be indifferent to unhealthy practices and shortcomings in our work, let alone conceal them from the Party. Every Party member is in duty bound, if he finds that one or another organization is not functioning properly, if damage is being done to the interests

of the Party and state, to bring all such shortcomings, irrespective of whom it may concern, to the notice of the leading Party bodies, right up to the Central Committee of the Party. That is the duty of every Communist, his supreme obligation to the Party. Some leading workers take the view that if their subordinates report shortcomings to the Central Committee of the Party, they are thereby hampering them in their work of leadership and undermining their prestige. We must resolutely put an end to these harmful and profoundly anti-Party views.

The Party's task is to develop criticism and self-criticism to the utmost, to eliminate everything that hampers and obstructs them. The more we draw the masses of people into this effort to eliminate shortcomings in our work, and the stronger the rank and file control over the work of all our organizations, the more successfully will we advance in every field. Consistent implementation of the slogan of criticism and self-criticism calls for resolute struggle against all who obstruct the development of criticism and who visit reprisals on the critics. Functionaries who do not promote criticism and self-criticism are a hindrance to our forward movement. They have not matured for the function of leaders and cannot count on the confidence of the Party.

*2) Party and state discipline is still lax among a section of Party, Soviet, economic and other functionaries.*

Among our cadres we have not a few functionaries who take a formal attitude to decisions of the Party and the Government, display no activity and persistence in carrying them out. Nor are they perturbed by the fact that their work proceeds unsatisfactorily and the country's interests suffer thereby. A formal attitude to Party and Government decisions and a passive attitude to their implementation are evils which must be eradicated in the most merciless manner. What the Party needs is not officials steeped in routine, indifferent people who place their personal tranquillity above the interests of the job entrusted to them but men who place state interests above all and who work devotedly and indefatigably in carrying out the directives of the Party and the Government.

One of the most dangerous and pernicious infringements of Party and state discipline is concealment by some functionaries of the true state of affairs in the enterprises and offices under their charge, and the practice of embellishing the results of their work. The Central Committee and the Government have brought to light instances of some functionaries who, placing narrow departmental



and local interests above the interests of the state and concealing from the Government, on the pretext of looking after the enterprises in their charge, material resources at their disposal, took the path of violating Party and state laws. Facts are also known of business executives, with the connivance of Party organizations, submitting obviously inflated lists of required raw materials and supplies, and of doctoring output reports to conceal non-fulfillment of production program. Quite a few functionaries, forgetting that the enterprises entrusted to their supervision and leadership are state enterprises, try to turn them into their own private domains where this sort of an executive, if such he can be called, does everything that "his left leg tells him." Another major evil is that we have not a few officials who seem to think that Party decisions and Soviet laws are not binding on them and imagine that we have two kinds of discipline: one for the rank and file, and the other for the leaders. These "leaders" think that everything is permitted them, that they can disregard state and Party regulations, violate Soviet law and engage in all kinds of arbitrary action.

The Party demands of all its members, and even more so of leading cadres, that they be truthful and honest, that they scrupulously discharge their duty to the Party and the state. The Party cannot have confidence in men whose actions are inimical to the interests of the state, who try to be too clever for the Government, who try to deceive the Party and the state. Any deception of the Party and the state, no matter in what form, any attempt at deceit, whether by concealing or distorting the truth, cannot but be regarded as the gravest of crimes against the Party. It is high time to realize that our Party has one discipline, binding alike on rank and file members and leaders, that Soviet laws are equally binding on all Soviet citizens, whatever office they may hold. High office does not carry with it exoneration for executives guilty of an unscrupulous attitude to Party and Government decisions or of committing unlawful and arbitrary actions.

The task is resolutely to put an end to all breaches of Party and state discipline, acts of irresponsibility and laxity, of a formal attitude towards decisions of the Party and Government, constantly to raise the sense of duty to the Party and the state of all our functionaries, to eradicate ruthlessly untruthfulness and dishonesty. Any attempt to conceal the truth from the Party and to deceive the Party is incompatible with Party membership. It is the paramount duty of every Party and Government worker constantly to watch

over the interests of our homeland, actively and tirelessly to carry out Party and Government decisions.

3) *The precept of the great Lenin to the effect that the main thing in organizational work is the correct selection of people and verification of fulfillment of decisions, is not yet being carried out satisfactorily.*

Facts prove that the correct selection of people and verification of fulfillment of decisions are a long way from being the main thing in the leading activities of the central and local Party, Soviet and economic organizations.

Poor organization of actually carrying out directives from the center and of their own decisions, lack of proper verification of their fulfillment is one of the most widespread and deeply rooted shortcomings in the practical work of Soviet, economic and Party organizations. Our organizations and establishments issue decisions, directives and orders in far greater numbers than is required, but they are little concerned about whether and how these decisions are carried out. And yet the essence of the matter is that they should be carried out correctly and not bureaucratically. An unconscientious, irresponsible attitude towards fulfillment of directives issued by leading bodies is the most dangerous and evil manifestation of bureaucratism. Experience shows that even good workers, when left to themselves, without control and without verification of their activities, tend to deteriorate and to become bureaucratic.

It is a most important task of the Party to strengthen to the utmost control and verification of fulfillment of decisions in the entire system of leadership, in the work of all organizations and establishments, from top to bottom. To this end, it is necessary to increase the personal responsibility of the leaders of all organizations and establishments for verifying fulfillment of decisions of the Party and the Government, seriously to improve the work of the control and inspection apparatus both at the center and in the localities, to reinforce its personnel with the object of assigning this work to authoritative, experienced and politically astute people, capable of strictly protecting the interests of the state. It is necessary greatly to enhance the role of Party control, to concentrate the attention of the Party bodies on verifying fulfillment of Party and Government decisions. In all their activities connected with verifying fulfillment of decisions, our leading organs must rely on the broad masses of the working people, on the Party, trade union and Kom-somol organizations, on the Active of the local Soviets. Only veri-

fication of fulfillment from the top combined with control from below by the Party and non-party masses will ensure the timely elimination of shortcomings in the work of our organizations and establishments and give rise to a situation in which decisions and directives are carried out in time and with precision, in a Bolshevik manner.

Cadres are the decisive force in Party and state leadership; without proper selection and training of cadres it is impossible successfully to implement the political line of the Party. The main task in selecting cadres is to improve in every way the qualitative composition of the Party workers, to reinforce our Party, Government and economic organizations with people devoted to the interests of the Party and state, people thoroughly versed in their work and capable of advancing it.

As a result of the work done by the Party the composition of the leading personnel has improved considerably. This, however, does not mean that the problem of improving the qualitative composition of the leading personnel has been solved completely. Now that all branches of economy have been equipped with up-to-date technique and that the cultural level of the Soviet people has been raised beyond measure, the demands made on leading cadres have changed, have become greater. At the helm in industry and agriculture, in the Party and state apparatus, we must have cultured people, experts in their work, capable of infusing fresh vigor, of promoting all that is advanced and progressive, and of developing it constructively. We have all the possibilities for doing this, because the base for selecting and promoting leading cadres corresponding to these standards has become broader than formerly.

Today the further strengthening of the body of leading cadres depends mainly on properly organizing the study and selection of workers, and for this it is necessary first of all to eliminate the shortcomings, mistakes and distortions in the work with cadres. And in this respect we have not a few shortcomings.

The main shortcoming is that in selecting cadres some executives are guided not by their political and professional qualifications, but by considerations of kinship, friendship and cronyship. It often happens that honest workers, people who know their job but who are critical and refuse to tolerate shortcomings, thereby causing annoyance to the leadership, are dismissed on various pretexts and replaced by people of dubious worth, or by people en-

tirely unsuited for the work, but advantageous and pleasing to some leaders. Such distortions of the Party line in selecting and promoting cadres have given rise in some organizations to the formation of a closed circle of people who shield one another and who place the interests of their group above those of the Party and state. Small wonder that such a situation usually leads to corruption and decay, as was the case, for example, in the Party organization in Ulyanovsk, where a section of the economic, Soviet and Party workers in the leadership of the regional organization became demoralized and took the course of embezzlement, of stealing and pilfering state property.

A formal, bureaucratic approach to the matter of studying and selecting workers is highly detrimental to efforts to further improve the composition of the leading bodies. Workers are frequently selected on the basis of questionnaires and formal papers without serious verification of their professional and political qualities. The faulty practice of approving appointments or appointing people to jobs without seeing them has become rooted in the work of selecting cadres. Clearly on the basis of such a formal bureaucratic approach to the selection of cadres it is impossible to decide correctly whether the given person is suitable for the work for which he is recommended. Without establishing the merits and shortcomings of a person it is impossible to decide which post affords the greatest scope for his individual abilities.

It is the duty of the Party organizations to see that the principles established by our Party with regard to selecting and allocating cadres are strictly observed in all the links of our apparatus. An uncompromising struggle must be waged against relations based on nepotism and mutual guarantee, an end must be put to the bureaucratic attitude to the matter of studying and selecting cadres. The work of the Party bodies in studying and selecting cadres must be raised to a higher level and party control over the state of affairs in this sphere in Soviet and economic organizations must be strengthened considerably.

The task is to make the selection of people and verification of fulfillment of decisions really the main thing in the executive activities of central and local Party, Government and economic organizations. It should be remembered that the purpose of verifying fulfillment is primarily to disclose shortcomings, to bring to light lawless acts, to assist honest workers with advice, to punish the incorrigible and to secure fulfillment of adopted decisions, to

study experience and on this basis to ensure the most correct, advantageous and economical solution of the given task. A bureaucratic approach to the question of verifying fulfillment must not be permitted; we must not be afraid to cancel or correct any decision if it transpires that it was a wrong or inaccurate decision. Verification of fulfillment is inseparably connected with the task of eliminating shortcomings in the matter of selecting cadres; in accordance with the results of verification inefficient, unsuitable, backward, unconscientious workers should be removed and be replaced by better, suitable, advanced, honest people; the verification of fulfillment should help bring forward new people capable of advancing the work, people who stand guard over the interests of the state.

4) *In many Party organizations there are instances of underestimation of ideological work, with the result that this work lags behind the tasks of the Party, and in some organizations is in a state of neglect.*

Ideological work is a primary duty of the Party, and underestimation of this work may cause irreparable damage to the interests of the Party and the state. We must always remember that any weakening of the influence of socialist ideology signifies strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology.

In our Soviet society there is not nor can there be a class basis for the domination of bourgeois ideology. Dominant in our country is socialist ideology, the unshakable foundation of which is Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, we still have survivals of bourgeois ideology, hangovers of private property psychology and ethics. These survivals do not die away of themselves; they are highly tenacious and capable of growth, and a resolute struggle must be waged against them. Likewise we are not ensured against the penetration of alien views, ideas and sentiments emanating from without, from capitalist states, or from within, from the remnants of groups hostile to Soviet rule and not yet completely eradicated by the Party. It must not be forgotten that the enemies of the Soviet state seek to spread, foster and fan all kinds of unhealthy sentiments, to corrupt ideologically unstable elements in our society.

Some of our Party organizations, immersed in economic affairs, forget ideological questions, put them aside. Even in such leading Party organizations, as, for instance, the Moscow organization, insufficient attention is paid to ideological work. And this is not

without its consequences. Wherever there is relaxation of attention to questions of ideology, favorable soil is created for reviving views and concepts hostile to us. People alien to us, all types of elements from the dregs of anti-Leninist groups smashed by the Party, seek to lay their hands on those sectors of ideological work which for one reason or another are neglected by Party organizations and where Party leadership and influence have weakened, in order to utilize these sectors for dragging in their line and reviving and spreading various kinds of non-Marxist "viewpoints" and "conceptions."

Underestimation of ideological work is in large measure the result of the failure of some of our leading personnel to deepen their consciousness, broaden their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, to draw on the historical experience of the Party. Without this one cannot become a fully valid, mature leader. He who lags behind ideologically and politically, who lives according to formulas learned by rote and who does not have any sense of the new, is unable correctly to appraise the internal and external situation, he cannot head and is unworthy of heading the movement, and sooner or later he will be thrust aside by life. Only a leader who constantly improves his education, masters Marxism-Leninism creatively, trains and perfects in himself the qualities of a leader of the Lenin-Stalin type—only such a leader can measure up to the tasks of our Party.

Party organizations still devote inadequate attention to the matter of improving the ideological and political training of members and probationary members, they do not properly organize and control their study of the Marxist-Leninist theory with the result that many members lack the necessary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Improving the political knowledge of members and candidate members is an indispensable condition for enhancing their leading role in all fields of life, for further activizing the Party ranks and improving the work of the Party organizations.

Owing to insufficient leadership of ideological work and lack of control over its content, serious errors and distortions often creep into books, newspapers and magazines and into the work of scientific and other establishments in the ideological field. As a result of intervention by the Central Committee of the Party, habits and traditions alien to Soviet people have been disclosed in many branches of science, instances of caste exclusiveness and intolerance towards criticism have been brought to light, and diverse manifestations of bourgeois ideology and all kinds of distortions by vulgar-

izers exposed and rooted out. The generally known discussions in relation to philosophy, biology, physiology, linguistics and political economy revealed serious ideological flaws in various spheres of science; they gave an impetus to the development of criticism and conflict of opinions and played an important part in advancing science. The Arakcheyev regime which held sway on many sectors of the scientific front has been done away with. Nevertheless, in a number of branches of science the monopoly of separate groups of scientists who hold up the advance of the growing, fresh forces, barricade themselves against criticism and seek to decide scientific questions by administrative means, has not yet been completely eradicated. No branch of science can successfully develop in the musty atmosphere of mutual praise and of hushing up mistakes; attempts to establish monopolies of separate groups of scientists inevitably give rise to stagnation and to retrogression in science.

The ideological work of the Party is called upon to play an important role in ridding the minds of men of the survivals of capitalism, of prejudice and of the pernicious traditions of the old society. In the future, too, it will be necessary to develop in the masses a high sense of public duty, to educate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and friendship of the peoples, in the spirit of concern for the interests of the state, to develop the finest qualities of the Soviet people—confidence in the victory of our cause, and readiness and ability to overcome any difficulty.

It is the task of the Party organizations to put a resolute stop to this harmful underestimation of ideological work and to intensify this work in all spheres of Party and state activity, tirelessly to expose all manifestations of ideology alien to Marxism. It is necessary to develop and perfect socialist culture, science, literature and art, to mobilize all means of ideological and political education, our propaganda, agitation and the press, for improving the ideological training of the Communists, for raising the political vigilance and the political consciousness of the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia. All our Party workers without exception must study in order to raise their ideological level and master the wealth of the party's political experience so as not to lag behind life and to be equal to the tasks of the Party. The Party organizations must conduct constant work among the members and probationary members, raise their ideological level, teach them Marxism-Leninism and develop them into politically educated, conscious Communists.

Our tasks in the matter of further strengthening the Party are as follows:

1) To continue to improve the qualitative composition of the Party, not to permit any drive for numbers but to concentrate on raising the political level and Marxist tempering of the members and probation members; to enhance the political activity of the members; to make all members staunch fighters for implementation of the policy and decisions of the Party, irreconcilable in relation to shortcomings in work, and capable of persistent work for the elimination of these shortcomings; to improve and perfect the work of the trade unions and of the Komsomol organization, daily to strengthen contact with the masses, remembering that the strength and invincibility of our Party lie in its unbreakable bonds of kinship with the people;

2) To put an end to self-satisfaction and smugness which are harmful and dangerous for our cause, eliminate manifestations of ostentation and complacency in the ranks of the Party; boldly and resolutely to disclose and eliminate shortcomings and weaknesses in our work; consistently to implement inner-Party democracy, extend the unfolding of self-criticism and criticism from below, ensure for all honest Soviet people the possibility to criticize boldly and without fear shortcomings in the work of our organizations and establishments, to wage relentless struggle against all attempts at suppressing criticism, against persecution and reprisals for criticism; to strengthen in every way Party and state discipline, to eradicate the formal approach to decisions of the Party and the Government, to wage relentless struggle against lack of discipline, against violation of state interests;

3) To elevate to a higher place the work of the Party organs as regards correct selection, allocation and training of cadres, observe strictly the principles laid down by the Party for the correct selection of cadres, wage an irreconcilable struggle against those who violate these principles, mercilessly combat any bureaucratic approach in selecting cadres, improve the qualitative composition of the leading cadres, to promote more boldly to leading posts people devoted to the interests of the Party and the state, who know their work well and are able to advance it further, to remove bad, unsuitable, backward and unconscientious workers; to strengthen in every way control and verify fulfillment of decisions in the entire system of leadership from top to bottom, raise the personal responsibility of the heads of all organizations and establishments for



verifying fulfillment of Party and Government decisions, combine such verification from above with verification from below on the part of the Party and non-party masses; to ensure that correct selection of people and verification of fulfillment of decisions really become the main element in the guiding activity of the central and local Party, Soviet and economic organizations;

4) To put an end to underestimation of ideological work, to wage resolute struggle against liberalism and complacency in regard to ideological mistakes and distortions, systematically to improve and perfect the ideological and political training of our cadres; to direct all means of exerting ideological influence, our propaganda, agitation and the press, for the Communist education of the Soviet people; to elevate to a still higher level Soviet science, promoting criticism and the conflict of opinions in scientific work, remembering that only in this way can Soviet science fulfill its mission—to occupy first place in world science.

5) To continue to guard as the apple of the eye the Leninist unity of the Party ranks which is the foundation of the strength and invincibility of our Party.

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Comrades!

In our epoch the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin light for all mankind the path of development of world civilization.

Our Party is strong because in all its activities it is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Its policy is based on scientific knowledge of the laws of social development.

The historic role of our great teachers, Lenin and Stalin, is that, having profoundly studied the theoretical foundations of Marxism and having acquired perfect mastery of the dialectical method, they defended and upheld Marxism against all distortions and brilliantly developed the Marxist teaching. At every new turn of history, Lenin and Stalin always applied Marxism to the specific practical tasks of the epoch, demonstrating by their creative approach to the teaching of Marx and Engels that Marxism is not a dead dogma, but a living guide to action.

The Marxist-Leninist theory has been the object of Comrade Stalin's unrelenting concern. During the whole of the past period, Comrade Stalin's activities in the theoretical field have centered on problems of world-historic significance—the development of socialist economy and the gradual transition to Communism. By creatively enriching and developing the science of Marxism-Leninism, Com-

rade Stalin equips the Party and the Soviet people ideologically in the struggle for the triumph of our cause.

Comrade Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," just published, is of the greatest importance for Marxist-Leninist theory and for all our practical work. This work contains an all-round investigation into the laws of social production and the distribution of material benefits in socialist society. It defines the scientific principles of the development of socialist economy and indicates the ways and means for the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. By his elucidation of the problems of economic theory, Comrade Stalin has greatly advanced Marxist-Leninist political economy.

Comrade Stalin has formulated the program theses about the basic preliminary conditions for preparing for the transition to Communism. To prepare the way for the actual transition to Communism, Comrade Stalin teaches us, at least three basic prerequisites are required.

"It is necessary, first, firmly to ensure . . . the uninterrupted growth of social production as a whole, with priority to the growth of means of production. Priority to the growth of means of production is necessary not only because it will supply equipment to its own enterprises and to the enterprises in all other branches of the national economy, but also because without it extended reproduction is, in general, impossible." (J. Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.")

"It is necessary, second, by means of gradual transitions, carried out in a way that is advantageous to the collective farms and, consequently, to society as a whole, to elevate collective-farm property to the level of national property, and to replace commodity circulation, likewise through gradual transitions, by a system of exchange of products, so that the central authority, or some other social-economic central body, will be in a position to embrace the whole of social production in the interests of society." (Ibid.)

Certainly, at the present stage, commodity circulation and collective-farm property are being used successfully to develop socialist economy and undoubtedly are advantageous to our society. Their usefulness will continue in the near future too. But we must see our development in perspective.

" . . . Neither an abundance of products capable of meeting all the requirements of society," Comrade Stalin points out, "nor transition to the formula, 'to each according to his needs,' can be achieved

so long as such economic facts as collective-farm group property, commodity circulation, etc., remain in force." (Ibid.)

So long as the socialist economy retains its two basic productive sectors—the state sector and collective farm sector—commodity circulation with its "money economy" must continue to operate as an essential and useful element in our national-economic system. The existence of commodity production and commodity circulation determines also the existence under Socialism of the law of value, although under our system it has ceased to be the regulator of production.

But commodity circulation, like the law of value, is not eternal. When the two basic forms of socialist production—national and collective farm—give way to a single all-embracing productive sector, commodity circulation will disappear, together with its "money economy" and the law of value. The view held by some that commodity circulation will persist under Communism has nothing in common with Marxism. Commodity circulation is incompatible with the perspective of the transition from Socialism to Communism.

Comrade Stalin has theoretically substantiated the question of the measures necessary to elevate collective-farm property to the level of national property, and the gradual transition to a system of exchange of products between state industry and the collective farms. The present embryonic forms of exchange of products, as expressed in "remuneration" in goods for the output of cotton-growing, flax-growing, beet-growing and other collective farms, will develop into a comprehensive system of exchange of products.

"Such a system," Comrade Stalin points out, "will require a tremendous increase in the output of goods with which the city supplies the countryside, and for this reason will have to be introduced without undue haste, commensurate with the accumulation of city-made products. But introduced it must be, persistently and without hesitation, reducing step by step the sphere of commodity circulation and extending the sphere in which exchange of products operates.

"Such a system, by reducing the sphere of commodity circulation, will facilitate the transition from Socialism to Communism. In addition, it will make it possible to include the basic property of the collective farms and their products into the overall system of national planning.

"This will be the effective and decisive means of elevating collective-farm property to the level of national property under our

contemporary conditions." (Ibid.)

The system of exchange of products is undoubtedly advantageous to the collective-farm peasantry because they will receive from the state much more goods, and at lower prices, than under commodity circulation. Those collective farms now exchanging their products for manufactures—and this is the embryo of the exchange of products—are receiving tangible evidence of the tremendous gains and superiority of this system. It is known that many of these collective farms rank among the wealthiest.

In order to prepare the basic prerequisites for the transition to Communism, Comrade Stalin points out, "it is necessary, thirdly, to achieve such a cultural growth of society as will ensure all its members an all-round development of their physical and mental powers, enable members of society to acquire an education sufficient for active participation in the process of social development and allow them freely to choose an occupation and not be tied down all their lives, as is the case under the existing division of labor, to any particular occupation." (Ibid.)

"To achieve this, it is necessary first of all to reduce the working day to at least six and subsequently to five hours. This is essential in order that the members of society have sufficient free time for acquiring an all-round education. For this it is necessary, further, to introduce universal compulsory polytechnical education to enable the members of society freely to choose an occupation and not to be tied down all their lives to any particular occupation. To achieve this, it is necessary, further, radically to improve housing conditions and at least double, if not more, real wages and salaries both through direct increases in monetary wages and, especially, through further and systematic reduction of prices for goods of mass consumption." (Ibid.)

Only after all these preliminary conditions have been fulfilled, Comrade Stalin teaches us, will it be possible to hope that labor, instead of being the heavy burden it was under capitalism, will be transformed in the eyes of the members of society into a vital necessity, and public property be evaluated by all members of society as the inviolable and sacred foundation of the existence of society. Only after all these preliminary conditions, taken together, have been fulfilled will it be possible to switch from the formula of Socialism—"from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor"—to the formula of Communism—"from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Comrade Stalin insistently warns against frivolous running ahead, against going over to higher economic forms without first creating the prerequisites necessary for that transition.

Comrade Stalin has provided a scientific solution of such great social problems and program questions of Communism as the elimination of the distinction between town and country, between physical and mental labor, and has also elaborated a question that is new in Marxist science—the question of abolishing the essential distinctions between them which still exist in socialist society.

Hence, the Party's plans for the future, defining our perspective and the path of our forward movement, are based on knowledge of economic laws, on the science of the building of Communist society, elaborated by Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin's substantiation of the objective character of economic laws is of the greatest importance from the standpoint of principle. Comrade Stalin teaches us that the laws of economic development, the laws of political economy—irrespective of whether we are examining capitalism or Socialism—are objective laws, reflecting the process of economic development and proceeding independently of man's will. Man can discover these laws, fathom them, utilize them in the interests of society, but he cannot destroy the old or create new economic laws. Economic laws are not created at the will of man: they arise on the basis of new economic conditions.

Profoundly erroneous are the views of those who believe that the laws of economic development can be created or abolished at will, that in view of the special role which history has conferred on the Soviet state, it can change existing laws of political economy, "mold" new ones or "transform" existing laws. Negation of objective laws in economic life under Socialism would lead to chaos and fortuity. It would lead to the elimination of political economy as a science, for no science can thrive and develop if it does not recognize and study objective laws. Negation of the objective character of economic laws is the ideological basis of adventurism in economic policy, and of utter arbitrariness in the practical direction of the economy.

Comrade Stalin's discovery of the fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism and of the fundamental economic law of Socialism is a tremendous contribution to Marxian political economy. The fundamental economic law defines the essence of the given mode of production, its main facets and the cardinal processes

of its development; it furnishes a key to the understanding and explanation of all the laws of the given economic system.

Comrade Stalin has proved that the principal features and requirements of the basic economic law of contemporary capitalism are "securing of maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, the ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of a given country, through enslavement and systematic plunder of the peoples of other countries, especially the backward countries, and, lastly, by means of wars and militarization of the national economy which are used to ensure the highest possible profits." (Ibid.) This law discloses and explains the crying contradictions of capitalism, and lays bare the causes and roots of the aggressive predatory policies of the capitalist states. The functioning of this law tends to deepen the general crisis of capitalism and leads to the inevitable maturing and exploding of all the contradictions of capitalist society.

The very opposite of decaying capitalism is the ascending and flowering system of Socialism. The essential features and requirements of the fundamental economic law of Socialism, discovered by Comrade Stalin, are: "ensuring the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the uninterrupted development and perfection of socialist production on the basis of the latest technique." (Ibid.) Comrade Stalin has demonstrated that the aim of the socialist mode of production is not profits, but man and his requirements, the satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements. Ensuring the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the whole of society is the aim of socialist production, while the uninterrupted growth and perfection of socialist production on the basis of the highest technique is the means of achieving that aim. The operation of this law leads to an upsurge of the productive forces of society, to prosperity for that society, to the steady rise in the material well being and cultural level of the working people.

Comrade Stalin's discovery of the fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism and of the fundamental economic law of Socialism deals a devastating blow to all apologists of capitalism. These fundamental economic laws testify that, whereas in capitalist society man is subordinated to the ruthless law of extracting maximum profit, and for the sake of this profit people are doomed to

fearful suffering, poverty, unemployment and sanguinary wars, in socialist society all production is subordinated to man and his constantly growing requirements. Therein lies the decisive superiority of Communism, the new social system that is vastly superior to capitalism.

Communism arises as the result of the conscious, creative endeavor of the millions of working people. The theory of spontaneity is profoundly alien to the entire economic system of Socialism. Capitalist economy, in view of the operation of the law of competition and anarchy in production, is rent with the sharpest contradictions. Comrade Stalin has shown that on the basis of socialization of the means of production, there arose in our country the law of balanced (proportional) development of the national economy.

The law of balanced development of the national economy is not the basic economic law of Socialism, and our practical planning activities cannot in themselves produce the required positive results if they are not guided by the cardinal aim of socialist production and if they do not rely on the fundamental economic law of Socialism. To ensure the steady and uninterrupted growth of social production as a whole, and to create in our country an abundance of products, it is necessary fully to master the art of planned and rational utilization of all material, financial and labor resources, proceeding in this from the requirements of the law of balanced development of the national economy and adapting all our activities to the requirements of the fundamental economic law of Socialism.

In his works on the economic problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. Comrade Stalin has illustrated the entire complexity of the tasks we shall have to solve in the struggle to overcome the difficulties confronting us, and in solving the contradictions arising in the course of building Communism.

Comrade Stalin discovered the objective economic law of the obligatory conformity of the production relations to the character of the productive forces, and substantiated the tremendous cognitive and transforming role of that law. Brilliantly disclosing the processes taking place in our economy, Comrade Stalin showed how deeply erroneous are the views alleging that under Socialism there are no contradictions whatever between the production relations and the productive forces of society. Contradictions unquestionably exist and will exist, inasmuch as the development of the production

relations lags behind the development of the productive forces and will continue to lag. It goes without saying that in socialist society things usually do not reach the stage of conflict between the production relations and the productive forces, but it would be dangerous not to notice that contradictions between them can and do exist. We are obliged to note these contradictions in good time, and, by pursuing a correct policy, to overcome them in good time so that the production relations fulfill their role as the main and decisive force determining a powerful development of the productive forces.

The tasks of our forward movement oblige Party workers and workers of the social sciences, and economists in the first place, being guided by Comrade Stalin's program directives, to make an all-round elaboration of problems of Marxist-Leninist theory in their inseparable connection with practical creative work.

Comrade Stalin's works are a vivid indication of the outstanding significance which our Party attaches to theory. Revolutionary theory was, is and will be an unfading beacon illuminating the pathway of the advance of our Party and our people to the complete triumph of Communism.

Comrade Stalin unceasingly advances Marxist theory. In Comrade Stalin's classical work, "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics," fundamental propositions of Marxist theory on the laws of social development are raised to a new and higher level, and the questions of the economic basis and the superstructure of society, of the productive forces and production relations, receive all-round elaboration. Dialectical and historical materialism, as the theoretical foundation of Communism, is developed further. Comrade Stalin disclosed the role of language as an instrument for the development of society and pointed to the perspectives of further development of national cultures and languages. In that work Comrade Stalin enriched Marxist-Leninist science with new propositions and opened up new perspectives for progress in all branches of knowledge.

The works of Comrade Stalin on economic problems and on problems of linguistics mark a new stage in the development of Marxism; they are splendid examples of the creative approach to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Comrade Stalin teaches us that a dogmatic approach to theory is impermissible and can be highly detrimental to the work of political education of the masses. Comrade Stalin's theoretical discoveries are of world-historic sig-



ificance; they equip all peoples with knowledge of the ways of revolutionary reconstruction of society and with the vast wealth of experience accumulated by our Party in the struggle for Communism.

The enormous significance of Comrade Stalin's theoretical works is that they warn us against skimming over the surface, go deep into the heart of phenomena, into the very essence of the processes of the development of society; teach us to see in embryo the phenomena that will determine the course of events, make Marxist prevision possible.

The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin impart to our Party invincible force, the ability to blaze new trails in history, clearly to see the goal of our forward movement, quicker and more firmly to win and consolidate victories.

The Lenin-Stalin ideas shed the bright light of revolutionary theory on the tasks and perspectives of the struggle of the masses in all lands against imperialism, for peace, democracy and Socialism.

Comrades!

The Soviet state is now no longer a solitary island surrounded by capitalist countries. We are marching forward together with the great Chinese people, with the million-fold masses of the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic. All progressive mankind sympathizes with us and supports us. Together with all these forces we are upholding the cause of peace and friendship among the nations.

Our mighty homeland is in its prime and is advancing toward new successes. We possess everything that is necessary for building a complete Communist society. The natural wealth of the land of Soviets is inexhaustible. Our state has demonstrated its ability to utilize this tremendous wealth for the benefit of the working people. The Soviet people have demonstrated their ability to build the new society and they look with confidence to the future.

At the head of the peoples of the Soviet Union stands the tried and battle-tested Party, which unswervingly pursues the Lenin-Stalin policy. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the world-historic victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. was won and the exploitation of man by man abolished forever. Under the leadership of the Party the peoples of the Soviet Union are successfully working towards realization of the great goal of building Communism in our country.

There are no forces in the world capable of halting the onward movement of Soviet society. Ours is an invincible cause. We must take firm hold of the helm and pursue our course, yielding neither to provocations nor to intimidation.

Under the banner of the immortal Lenin, under the wise leadership of the great Stalin, forward to the victory of Communism!

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