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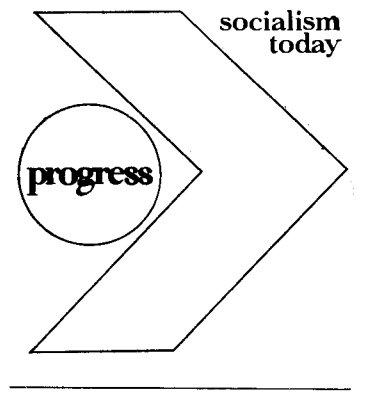


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D. KUKIN

**Lenin's Plan
of Building Socialism
in the USSR**



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in the USSR



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Translated from the Russian by S. Shcherbovich

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ЛЕНИНСКИЙ ПЛАН ПОСТРОЕНИЯ СОЦИАЛИЗМА
В СССР И ЕГО ОСУЩЕСТВЛЕНИЕ

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INTRODUCTION

Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, the great strategist of the socialist revolution, the leader and teacher of the working people of the whole world, elaborated the plan for building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union. This plan strengthened the belief of all the working people in the complete triumph of the new social system. It ideologically armed the Communist Party and the Soviet people for the struggle against the enemies of communism. The complete success of this great cause, Lenin said, depended on correct political leadership by the Communist Party—the vanguard of the working class.

Lenin strongly emphasised the international significance of the plan for building socialism and communism in the USSR. He believed that the Great October Socialist Revolution was the prelude to the world proletarian revolution, and that it showed the road to socialism to all the peoples of the world.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have fulfilled their revolutionary duty and turned Lenin's great ideas into reality. They have built and consolidated socialism, and defended it in the deadly struggle against the nazi invaders. They liberated many peoples of the world from the nazi yoke and helped them to take the road of independent development.

Today the Soviet people are tracing for the first time in the history of human society the new, sure road to communism for all mankind.

Lenin's brilliant ideas and principles have been further developed in the decisions of the Party congresses and the Programme of the CPSU adopted by the 22nd Party Congress. At every congress and at all plenary meetings of the Central Committee the Party improved Lenin's plan step by step and rendered it more concrete. It has always worked for the accomplishment of the tasks set by the plan. In the Central Committee's Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, said: "In his day Lenin emphasised time and again that one of the cardinal tasks of the Party congresses is to sum up the results of practical experience, of all that has been found to be valuable and instructive, criticise shortcomings and find ways of removing them."¹

Proceeding from the ideas expressed by Lenin, the CPSU outlined at its 24th Congress new and majestic plans for building communism. The Party appealed to the entire Soviet people—the workers, the collective-farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia—to work enthusiastically for the prosperity of the Soviet Union and the triumph of communism.

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971, p. 125.

THE MAIN STAGES IN LENIN'S WORK ON THE PLAN FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM

1. THE GROUNDWORK

In charting the road of transition from capitalist society to socialism, Lenin adhered to the laws of social development discovered and formulated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The founders of scientific communism uncovered the natural trends in the succession of the socio-economic formations and proved theoretically that the downfall of capitalism was inevitable. They elucidated the historic role of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism, whose mission is to destroy the capitalist system and build a new society without private ownership of the implements and means of production, without classes and with no exploitation of man by man. They proved the need to set up a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and building the new society.

Marx and Engels examined in detail the question of the basic tasks of the proletarian revolution. In the "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League" (March 1850) they wrote: "It is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power. . . . For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one."²

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 179.

Marx and Engels also indicated the ally of the working class by calling attention to the conjunction of the proletarian revolution and the mass peasant revolutionary movement. This idea was explicitly stated by Marx in his letter to Engels of April 16, 1856. "The whole thing in Germany," he wrote, "will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War. Then the affair will be splendid. . . ."³

Proceeding from the ideas expressed by Marx and Engels, Lenin developed Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and created a genuinely scientific and harmonious theory of the socialist revolution; he successfully upheld it in the uncompromising struggle against Menshevism and its varieties—Trotskyism, opportunism and revisionism of all hues and shades. Taking Marx's idea of the uninterrupted revolution as his starting point, Lenin worked out the theory of the transition of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

Marx and Engels held that the victory of socialism in one country was impossible. But when capitalism entered the stage of imperialism, the situation underwent a drastic change. Lenin made an analysis of the new and higher phase of capitalism—the struggle of the monopolistic groups for markets and spheres of influence, the redivision of the already divided world, the imperialist wars and the sharpening contradictions between labour and capital. He noted the growth and the high level of the revolutionary struggle both of the Russian and the international proletariat. In the article "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe", which was printed on August 23, 1915 by the Party's central organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Lenin came to the conclusion that "uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone".⁴ A year later Lenin once again took up the question, this time in the article "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution". He emphasised that "the development of capitalism

³ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 111.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 342.

proceeds extremely unevenly in different countries. It cannot be otherwise under commodity production. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously *in all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois"⁵.

Lenin's teaching on the possibility of achieving the victory of socialism in one country is the cornerstone of the theory of the socialist revolution. This teaching, as well as the other theses of Leninism, laid down the fundamental principles of the concrete plan for building the new society. The plan has its roots in the period when Lenin was working hard to set up a Marxist party of the working class in Russia. In the Party's Draft Programme, which Lenin prepared in December 1895, it was emphasised that the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie "can only end in the passage of political power into the hands of the working class, the transfer of all the land, instruments, factories, machines, and mines to the whole of society for the organisation of socialist production, under which all that is produced by the workers and all improvements in production must benefit the working people themselves"⁶. Similar tasks were formulated in the Party's first Programme, prepared by the editorial board of Lenin's *Iskra* and adopted by the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) in 1903. Thus, while the revolutionary Marxist party was yet in the making, Lenin was expressing some of the general principles for building the new society.

In many of his works written in the pre-October period, Lenin devotes much attention to the practical tasks which the working class would have to tackle after seizing political power. He examines this problem in such articles as "A Great Technical Achievement", "Iron on Peasant Farms", "A Fashionable Branch of Industry", "The Question of Ministry of Education Policy", "On the Question of National Policy". In one way or another he expressed in these articles the ideas which later, after the establishment of the dictator-

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 95-96.

ship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia, were incorporated and further developed in his plan for building socialism.

Typical in this respect is his article entitled "A Great Technical Achievement". In 1912 the British chemist William Ramsay advanced the idea of turning coal into gas underground.^{6a} In his article Lenin called that a gigantic technical revolution, and stressed that under capitalism such an upheaval would further worsen the position of workers, whereas the profits would be pocketed by Morgan, Rockefeller, Ryabushinsky, Morozov and other money-bags. Ramsay's idea could benefit the working people only under socialism. "Under socialism," Lenin wrote, "the application of Ramsay's method, which will 'release' the labour of millions of miners, etc., will make it possible immediately to shorten the working day for all from 8 hours to, say, 7 hours and even less. The 'electrification' of all factories and railways will make working conditions more hygienic, will free millions of workers from smoke, dust and dirt, and accelerate the transformation of dirty, repulsive workshops into clean, bright laboratories worthy of human beings."⁷

In his works written in February-October 1917 Lenin elaborated important theses for the plan of transition from capitalism to socialism in Russia.

On April 3, 1917 Lenin arrived in Petrograd. His long and forced emigration had come to an end. The working people accorded an enthusiastic welcome to their leader. In a speech which he delivered from an armoured car in the square opposite the Finland Railway Station, Lenin urged the working class to fight for the victory of the socialist revolution. On April 4 he addressed a joint meeting of the Party's Central Committee, the Petrograd Committee and the delegates of the All-Russia Conference of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The theses of Lenin's report entitled "On the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" were printed in the April 7 issue of *Pravda*. In these brilliant April Theses Lenin charted the Party's course in turning the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a social-

ist revolution; he worked out the Party's political and economic platform for the new stage in the revolution.

Recalling the lessons of the Paris Commune and two Russian revolutions, Lenin advanced in the April Theses the idea of the Republic of Soviets as the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He proved that the Republic of Soviets was a better form than the parliamentary republic for the political organisation of society in the transition from capitalism to socialism, "Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to the bottom."⁸

The Theses formulated the Party's economic platform and mapped out a gradual but resolute course towards socialism. In industry the Theses envisaged control by Soviets over social production and the distribution of products, immediate amalgamation of all banks in the country into a single national bank and control of its activities by the Soviets. Lenin regarded the control over the banks, syndicates and other capitalist monopolies as a transitional and preparatory measure for nationalisation, i.e., for turning them into the property of the whole people.

In agriculture Lenin proposed that all landed estates be confiscated and that all lands in the country be nationalised, and placed at the disposal of the Soviets of Peasants' and Agricultural Labourers' Deputies. That was the only correct solution to the agrarian problem. The April Theses envisaged the creation of large farms at the decision of local Soviets. Such farms, set up on the confiscated estates, were to serve as models for the peasantry. Lenin explained the advantages of large-scale farm production and the need for introducing it gradually. "It is necessary," he wrote, "to *think* about going over to large-scale farming conducted on public lines and to *tackle this job at once* by teaching the masses, and in turn *learning from the masses*, the practical expedient measures for bringing about such a transition."⁹

^{6a} First ideas concerning this problem were expressed in 1888 by the Russian scientist Dmitry Mendeleev.

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 62.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 169.

Lenin believed that the organisation of the agricultural proletariat and poor peasants was a cardinal prerequisite for the success of the revolution in the countryside and for the development of agriculture along the socialist lines. In the April Theses and in other works written at about the same time Lenin emphasised that the alliance of workers and poor peasants under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Marxist Party, was the foundation of the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of the new society.

In the programme of transition to the socialist revolution Lenin outlined practical measures to overcome the economic ruin which resulted from the imperialist war and the anti-popular policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government. The war put Russia on the verge of economic disaster. Lenin said that the only way out was to place all power into the hands of the revolutionary proletariat, establish people's control over social production and distribution of products, and implement other transitional measures and steps leading to socialism. That was Russia's only escape from the impending catastrophe. Lenin expressed these ideas in such articles as "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", "Materials Relating to the Revision of the Party Programme", "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" and "The Tasks of the Revolution".

In the articles "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It" and "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" Lenin substantiates the necessity and complete feasibility of the simultaneous nationalisation of banks and modern industry unified by capitalist monopolies. He outlines the methods for socialising the means of production and nationalising them after the victory of the socialist revolution. The property of medium and small capitalists, not unified by monopolies, was to be gradually turned into public property, and they themselves were to be engaged in socially useful labour under the control of the proletarian state.

Thus, the April Theses posed the task of establishing control by Soviets over banks and enterprises, social production and distribution of products; but in the works written on the eve of the October Revolution Lenin put the main emphasis on the nationalisation of banks and big indus-

trial monopolies—the syndicates. In full accordance with Lenin's programme, the Sixth Party Congress envisaged "the nationalisation and concentration of the banking business, the nationalisation of certain syndicates (e. g., oil, coal, sugar and metallurgical enterprises and transport)".¹⁰

Lenin indicated the particularly important role which awaited the nationalised banks in the building of socialism. "A Single State Bank," he wrote, "the biggest of the big, with branches in every rural district, in every factory, will constitute as much as nine-tenths of the *socialist* apparatus. This will be country-wide *book-keeping*, country-wide *accounting* of the production and distribution of goods, this will be, so to speak, something in the nature of the *skeleton* of socialist society."¹¹ Lenin drew up the programme of the socialist revolution and the practical construction of the new society on the basis of all the material prerequisites provided by capitalism. He proved the need to employ state capitalism and bourgeois specialists and to train new specialists in building the socialist economy. "We need," he wrote, "good organisers of banking and the amalgamation of enterprises (in this matter the capitalists have more experience, and it is easier to work with experienced people), and we need far, far more engineers, agronomists, technicians and scientifically trained specialists of every kind than were needed before. We shall give all these specialists work to which they are accustomed and which they can cope with."¹²

Lenin's economic programme allocated a prominent place to workers' control over production and the distribution of products. The control was necessary to arrange the supply of commodities to the population and prepare the working class for independent management of production. Lenin believed that the introduction of universal labour conscription in conjunction with the socialist principle "he who does not work, neither shall he eat" would also serve the interests of the working masses and the proletarian state. In his works

¹⁰ *The CPSU in the Decisions and Resolutions of Its Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee*, Moscow, 1970, Vol. 1, p. 490 (In Russian).

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 106.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 110.

Lenin placed great emphasis on the idea of the co-ordination of production and distribution by workers in the interests of the formerly exploited masses, stressed the importance of democratic centralism in the management of the economy.

The seizure of political power by the proletariat, allied with the poor peasantry, was an essential prerequisite for the implementation of Lenin's economic policy. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie claimed that the Bolsheviks would not dare to take the reins of government or, if they did so, they would not hold out for any length of time. Lenin shattered these allegations and ridiculed the arguments of bourgeois henchmen who asserted that the proletariat and its Party would fail to set the state apparatus in motion and place it under their control.

Lenin pointed out that the proletariat had a wonderful means of retaining the state apparatus—the broad masses of the working people governing the state. Not a single capitalist state could boast of possessing such a means.

Lenin's works were invaluable for the Party's planning of the socialist revolution.

A conspicuous place in Lenin's works is given over to the agrarian problem. In the article "The Tasks of the Revolution", printed at the end of September 1917, he indicated that the revolution was the cause of the whole people, pointed out the correct way to solve the agrarian problem in the interests of the peasantry. The article said that the proletarian state should immediately annul the private ownership of landed estates without any compensation, and transfer the land to the jurisdiction of peasants' committees. That was the cardinal clause in the programme of the Communists on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In the pre-October period a particularly important place in Lenin's work on the plan for building socialism belongs to his brilliant essay *The State and Revolution*. Developing Marx's teaching on the state, Lenin defined the role and significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat in building the new society. "The proletariat," he wrote, "needs state power, a centralised organisation of force, an organisation of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to *lead* the enormous mass of the population—the

peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians—in the work of organising a socialist economy."¹³ Lenin indicated the leading role of the Party. "By educating the workers' party," he said, "Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat, capable of assuming power and *leading the whole people* to socialism, of directing and organising the new system, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working and exploited people in organising their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."¹⁴

In the book *The State and Revolution* Lenin analysed the fundamental questions of the transition from capitalism to socialism and mapped out the plan of how to begin to build the new society. He drew attention to the need to utilise all the material prerequisites created by capitalism for the organisation of socialist production in the interests of workers and poor peasants.

Consequently, when the Communists were making ready for the proletarian revolution, they already had a plan, worked out by Lenin, for the initial steps of the organisation of the new state and social system. However, prior to the October Revolution, the plan was worked out only in principle, because it was impossible to predict the diverse questions that would arise during the building of socialism. Before the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin said, the socialists knew, for example, that capitalist ownership would be replaced by socialist ownership. "We knew this when we took power for the purpose of proceeding with socialist reorganisation; but we could not know the forms of transformation, or the rate of development of the concrete reorganisation. Collective experience, the experience of millions can alone give us decisive guidance in this respect."¹⁵

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin developed his plan for building socialism and made it more specific, on the basis of the generalised experience of the masses and the practical results of the social transformations. The plan was enriched both from the top

¹³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 404.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 410.

(elaboration of the scientific programme and economic policy) and from the bottom (creative activities of the masses).

Thus, Lenin showed the Bolshevik Party, the working class and all the working people of Russia the way to overthrow the exploiters and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and he also mapped out the plan, in general terms, for creating the new society. In his theoretical works, written before and after the October Revolution, Lenin scientifically substantiated the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country and worked out the basic principles of socialist production and the revolutionary reorganisation of society. Lenin's brilliant ideas of the seizure of power by the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry and of building a new social system were the cornerstones of the programme with which the Bolshevik Party undertook the socialist revolution.

2. LENIN'S PLAN FOR THE INITIAL STEPS IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, the period of the revolutionary reorganisation of society. The Bolshevik Party began to implement the political and economic measures which Lenin had worked out on the eve of the revolution. Lenin's plan for remodelling Russia was becoming a reality.

The Second Congress of Soviets, which opened on the evening of November 7, 1917, announced that power had been assumed by the working people—workers and peasants. The Congress passed the first historic decrees of Soviet power. The Decree on Peace laid down the principles of socialist foreign policy and proclaimed Lenin's thesis of the possibility of coexistence between states with different social systems. It denounced the imperialist war as "the greatest crime against humanity". The Soviet Government proposed that all the belligerent countries should immediately conclude a just and democratic peace without annexations or indemnities. From

the very beginning, the Soviet Republic demonstrated to the whole world its peaceful foreign policy.

A vital revolutionary and democratic step was the Decree on Land, which the Congress adopted on Lenin's initiative. The Decree proclaimed all land and its deposits (oil, coal, ores and other minerals) to be the property of the whole people; landed proprietorship was abolished without any compensation. Thus, the centuries-long dream of the peasantry came true. The peasants acquired more than 150 million hectares of land. The Soviet Government released them from their huge debts to banks, landowners, usurers and kulaks (rich peasants), and also from the payment of annual rents, interest and mortgage rates, etc. The Decree incorporated the Peasant Mandate on the Land which envisaged equal land tenure, though the Bolsheviks were against the principle. Lenin and the Party were confident that the peasants would in practice realise that equal land tenure would not save them from want and the kulak yoke, and that it would not help to raise their living standards.

Being consistent Marxists, Lenin and the Bolsheviks opposed the retaining of an economy based on petty ownership. They explained that only large-scale socialised production and a collective economy could ensure the well-being of the peasants.¹⁶

The Soviet Government introduced an 8-hour working day and state insurance against unemployment and illness. The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, which was published on November 15, 1917, proclaimed the fundamental principles behind the nationalities policy, the equality and the sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, and their right to self-determination, including the right of seces-

¹⁶ Public ownership of the land created the prerequisites for the development of socialism in agriculture. Lenin wrote that "the nationalisation of the land has given the proletarian state the maximum opportunity of passing to socialism in agriculture" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 315). It must be said that, in addition to the land, the peasants received machinery, cattle, draught animals and farm implements which had belonged to the landowners. The best landed estates were turned into state farms which became the embryos of socialism in agriculture, setting an example for the peasants around them.

sion and formation of independent states. Making use of their power, the working people destroyed the old order and made revolutionary changes in all spheres of social life.

The Party began to fight for the command posts in the economy. But it is a very difficult and complicated task to transform capitalist ownership into socialist where there is stubborn bourgeois resistance. The factory owners would not co-operate with Soviet power, they sought to disorganise production and cause economic chaos. The proletariat had no experience in managing production. That was why the Soviet government did not immediately nationalise industry *en bloc*, but established workers' control in capitalist-owned enterprises. This control marked in essence the transfer of the country's industry into the hands of the proletariat. Workers' control, which was proclaimed by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on November 27, 1917, covered all aspects of work in enterprises; it was an important step towards state regulation of the economy. From the very first months of the socialist revolution the Soviet government began to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of those who openly opposed it, refused to obey its instructions and decrees, and concealed raw materials, fuel, etc. At the same time the Soviet government began to nationalise industrial enterprises. The first to be nationalised were enterprises of paramount importance for the economy. In December 1917 the Council of People's Commissars set up the Supreme Economic Council (SEC) in order to pave the way for the total nationalisation of heavy industry and to strengthen workers' control. Local economic councils were set up in regions, gubernias and districts. They were entrusted with managing the local economy and production.

On June 28, 1918, after creating the necessary conditions, the Soviet government issued a decree on the nationalisation of all large-scale industry. The Decree was enthusiastically approved by the entire working class. By the middle of 1918 the state had taken over most of the coal, metallurgical, textile, oil, chemical, engineering, and food industries. By August 1918 the number of nationalised enterprises topped the 3,000 mark. Socialist production relations—relations of comradesly co-operation and mutual assistance—were spread-

ing throughout industry. For the first time in human history the means of production had ceased to be instruments for oppressing the working class and had been turned into instruments for defending the workers' interests. The way was laid open for the continuous and accelerated development of the country's productive forces. As for small-scale and craft industries, the Party and the state followed a policy of co-operating them step by step.

Nationalisation of the banks was one of the most important measures which undermined the economic might of the bourgeoisie and which helped to organise the new society. In the first days of the revolution the Soviet Government took over the State Bank; the Decree of December 15, 1917 announced the nationalisation of all private banks in the country and annulled all debts incurred by the tsar and the bourgeois Provisional Government. The state's total debt amounted to 60,000 million rubles, of which 16,000 million were incurred abroad.¹⁷ So the Decree was a heavy blow to international financial capital.

Railways, river and sea merchant fleets became state property; foreign trade became a state monopoly.

Socialist public property was the foundation of the new system in Russia, the basis for building a socialist society.¹⁸

When the Party and the Soviet state began to implement Lenin's plan for the socialist transformation of Russia, they encountered tremendous difficulties. The undertaking had no precedent in human history. Many conceptions had to be checked, reviewed or even rejected. Soviet Russia was following an untrodden path, but, led by the

¹⁷ *Decade of Soviet Power in Figures (1917-1927)*, Moscow, 1928, p. 490 (in Russian).

¹⁸ Important socio-economic and political measures were implemented in the initial period of the socialist revolution (November 1917-February 1918), which Lenin called the period of the Red Guard attack on capital. These measures included socialisation of the principal means of production, destruction of the old state apparatus, creation of the new Soviet state apparatus, destruction of the remnants of the old estate system and the regime of national oppression, abrogation of privileges for the Church, and the abolition of all counter-revolutionary press organs and organisations. The measures were implemented in spite of the complicated international situation and the fierce resistance of the deposed classes and their parties.

Bolshevik Party, her onward march was steady and confident. In November 1917 Lenin urged the working people to take all state power into their hands. "Your Soviets," he wrote, "are from now on the organs of state authority, legislative bodies with full powers.

"Rally around your Soviets. Strengthen them. Get on with the job yourselves; begin right at the bottom, do not wait for anyone."¹⁹

The formation of the new state apparatus and the socialist transformations of the economy greatly strengthened the position of the Soviet government. However, the young Soviet Republic was in a precarious state. Her economy was ruined, the people were exhausted by the war, the old army was demoralised, the Red Army was yet in the making. The country needed a breathing space, and so Lenin and the Party acted accordingly. Having overcome the fierce resistance of the Trotskyites and the "Left-Communists", the Party headed by Lenin succeeded in effecting a truce with Germany. The peace agreement provided the necessary respite for rehabilitating the ruined economy, embarking on socialist construction and building up the country's defences. The period of the "Red Guard attack on capital" came to an end, and a new stage began—the development of the Soviet economy.

In the spring of 1918, having generalised the experience of the socialist revolution and thoroughly analysed the home and foreign situation of the young Soviet Republic, Lenin wrote "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", an impressive plan for building socialism in which he indicated the concrete ways and forms of building the new society. Later he developed these ideas in "The Chief Task of Our Day", "Draft Plan of Scientific and Technical Work", "Left-wing Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality"²⁰ and other articles. During that period Lenin substantiated the plan for building up the socialist economy and specified the economic policy of the Soviet state in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. He stressed that Russia had all the prerequisites for building the new

¹⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 297.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27.

society and becoming a mighty socialist state. "Our natural wealth, our manpower and the splendid impetus which the great revolution has given to the creative powers of the people are ample material to build a truly mighty and abundant Russia."²¹

Lenin's plan indicated the key points for a successful start to the socialist construction and made the organisational task—the administration of the country—the focal point of the further development of the revolution. "We, the Bolshevik Party," Lenin wrote, "have *convinced* Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the working people. Now we must *administer* Russia. And the whole peculiarity of the present situation, the whole difficulty, lies in understanding the *specific features of the transition* from the principal task of convincing the people and of suppressing the exploiters by armed force to the principal task of *administration*."²² Drafting the Communist Party's basic tasks in building socialism, Lenin pointed out that it was necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main instrument for organising the economy of the new society. In the struggle against the Trotskyites, "Left-Communists" and other opportunists Lenin advocated the leading role of the state of workers and peasants in building socialism and communism. He frequently emphasised that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the economy was the crux of the proletarian revolution.

Lenin's scientific programme for the first stage of building socialism took account of the material requirements for the development of Soviet society, and it contained a deep analysis of the economy during the transitional period. Lenin expounded the principal features of the Soviet economy and indicated that it encompassed five socio-economic structures: 1) patriarchal, i.e., essentially a natural peasant economy; 2) small-scale commodity production (incorporating most grain-growing farms); 3) private capitalism; 4) state capitalism; 5) socialism.

All these structures were closely intertwined, and the economy of the transitional period was marked by both

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 242.

socialist features and the vestiges of a dying capitalism. The struggle between socialism and capitalism was the principal conflict in the transitional period.

Lenin explained that the policy the Soviet government should adopt towards the capitalist structure should be that of first restricting and ousting it, and then abolishing it completely. As for small-scale commodity production, however, he advised long and scrupulous preparatory work to set up the conditions for the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. The private economies of small and medium producers would continue to exist for a certain time. Steps towards the creation of big collective farms would be taken after mass co-operation, first, in the field of supply and marketing and then, in the field of agricultural production itself. Lenin set the task of a "gradual but steady transition to joint tillage and large-scale socialist agriculture. . ." ²³

Lenin's plan for a start to building socialism envisaged the final expropriation of the big bourgeoisie. Nationalisation placed the socialist structure in the key position in large-scale industry. In practice, however, the take-over of the expropriated enterprises was proceeding unsatisfactorily. And so in the spring of 1918 Lenin said that the task was not to hurry with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie but to secure the gains already made. That required strict and widespread accounting and control over production and distribution. That, according to Lenin, was the essence of the socialist transformation. Socialism meant accounting. Without accounting it was impossible to ensure the correct functioning of the first stage of the communist society. All political and economic work should be focussed on the organisation of accounting and control in nationalised enterprises and in the entire economy. Accounting and control were an important means of bridling the petty-bourgeois anarchy which was a serious threat to the socialist structure. Lenin wrote: "The programme of this accounting and control is simple, clear and intelligible to all—everyone to have bread; everyone to have sound footwear and good clothing; everyone to have warm dwellings; everyone to work conscientiously; not a single rogue (including those who shirk their work) to be

²³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 153.

allowed to be at liberty, but kept in prison or serve his sentence of compulsory labour of the hardest kind; not a single rich man who violates the laws and regulations of socialism to be allowed to escape the fate of the rogue which should, in justice, be the fate of the rich man. 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat'—this is the *practical* commandment of socialism." ²⁴

Accounting and control spelt NO to the restoration of capitalism; they guaranteed the victory of the new, socialist system. It was the road of gradual transition to socialism.

Lenin then drew attention to the great role of high labour productivity in the creation of modern socialist production. "In every socialist revolution," he said, "after the proletariat has solved the problem of capturing power, and to the extent that the task of expropriating the expropriators and suppressing their resistance has been carried out in the main, there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system superior to capitalism, namely, raising the productivity of labour, and in this connection (and for this purpose) securing better organisation of labour." ²⁵

Higher labour productivity, according to Lenin, should result from the development of large-scale industry, expansion of its material base (production of fuel, iron, engineering and chemical products), and, on that basis, from technical progress. The creation of an advanced technological base, the industrialisation of the country and the electrification of the national economy should be accompanied by a steady rise in the educational and cultural standards of the people. The cultural revolution was indispensable for higher labour productivity. Lenin paid much attention to the need for enforcing labour discipline and a conscientious, socialist attitude to labour.

Lenin held that, alongside methods of persuasion, the dictatorship of the proletariat should resort to measures of compulsion toward idlers, parasites, extortionists, swindlers and all those who sought to benefit themselves at the state's expense. He insisted on an uncompromising struggle against disorganisers of production, hooligans and proponents of capi-

²⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 414.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 257.

italist morals. There could be no talk of raising labour productivity without a new, conscientious discipline or without coercion against all sorts of disorganisers in enterprises. That explains why Lenin and the Communist Party focussed their attention on the question of enforcing labour discipline.

Lenin considered socialist emulation to be instrumental in raising labour productivity and viewed it as an indispensable form of encouraging initiative and activity of the masses and as a powerful means of mobilising the people for the economic and cultural build-up. Socialism, Lenin said, does not extinguish the flame of competition; on the contrary, it offers for the first time an opportunity to conduct the competition on a really mass scale. He pointed out that the emulation of free workers was superior to rivalry as a form of competition in capitalist society. In this connection he paid much attention to the dissemination and utilisation of advanced experience, the publicity of the results of the work of different enterprises, and to the relevant role of the Soviet press. The organisation of socialist emulation became one of the cardinal tasks of the Soviet state.

Lenin placed much hope on bourgeois specialists and their role in the utmost development of the country's productive forces and enhancement of labour productivity. But, he said, it was also necessary to train specialists from among workers and peasants. Many specialists, including such prominent scientists as Michurin, Pavlov, Timiryazev, Gubkin, Vilyams and Komarov decided to work hand-in-hand with the Soviet government in building the new society. They—scientists, engineers, writers and artists who accepted the platform of the Soviet government—greatly contributed to the realisation of Lenin's plan for building socialism.

The plan envisaged the large-scale introduction of state capitalism. "State-monopoly capitalism," Lenin pointed out, "is a complete *material* preparation for socialism."²⁶ The various forms of state capitalism (enlistment of capitalists for service in branch administrations of industry, agreements with the owners of factories which had not yet been nationalised, concessions and bourgeois co-operatives) could contribute to the building of socialist economy.

²⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 359.

The Russian bourgeoisie, however, relying on the support of foreign imperialists, refused, in essence, to work under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even worse, some attempts were made, under the cover of state capitalism, to save certain big industrial enterprises, natural resources and even whole sectors of the economy from nationalisation.

Lenin also elaborated a number of other important problems related to the initial steps of building socialism. He revealed and substantiated the tremendous importance of the economic law of distribution according to the work done and the related material interest of each worker in the results of his labour: he who works better must get higher pay and more material and cultural benefits. Lenin indicated the necessity of one-man management, without which the correct organisation of labour and discipline in enterprises are quite impossible. "Machine industry," he said, "calls for absolute and strict *unity of will*, which directs the joint labour of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. The technical, economic and historical necessity of this is obvious, and all those who have thought about socialism have always regarded it as one of the conditions of socialism. But how can strict unity of will be ensured? By thousands subordinating their will to the will of one."²⁷

In his plan for building socialism Lenin included such measures as the planned and balanced development of the economy, the introduction of the principle of democratic centralism into the management of the economy, state control and regulation of commodity circulation, the development of Soviet co-operatives, self-accounting and the regime of economy. He also indicated the principal goals of the economic policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

Thus, Lenin, in his work "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", formulated a concrete plan for a start to building socialism. It was a scientifically substantiated programme for building the foundations of a socialist economy.

Lenin's plan was approved by the Party's Central Committee and adopted by the All-Russia Central Executive

²⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 268—69.

Committee. It was accepted by all the working people and became a programme of action for the Soviet people, the Communist Party and the state.

In implementing Lenin's plan, the Communist Party mobilised the people for building the foundations of the socialist economy. The socialist sector in industry was being strengthened, and so was labour discipline in nationalised factories and plants; Lenin's instructions to create a large-scale machine-industry on the basis of electrification were being realised. New industrial enterprises, electric power stations and railways were under construction.²⁸ The construction projects in the Urals, the Kuzbas, Petrograd, Moscow and other industrial centres were of great economic importance. They helped to develop the country's productive forces and improve the working people's living standards.

While introducing socialist changes in industry, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government never lost sight of the countryside and continually strengthened the alliance between the working class and the peasantry—the alliance which is the cornerstone of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class struggle in the countryside was spreading. The kulaks and other hostile elements took advantage of the dire food situation to oppose Soviet power. They concealed grain surpluses and created difficulties in supplying workers and soldiers with foodstuffs. The battle for grain, Lenin said, was the battle for socialism. The Party mobilised the proletariat for the war against hunger; workers joined food detachments which went to villages to procure bread and help poor peasants.

The socialist revolution in the countryside was greatly advanced by the poor peasants' committees which were set up following the Decree of June 11, 1918, issued by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. The committees fought shoulder to shoulder with the food detachments against the

²⁸ In the spring of 1918 the Soviet Government planned to build the first electric power stations. Committees on electrification were set up in different parts of the country. In April 1919 the Management of the Supreme Economic Council reported to Lenin that it had set up special agencies for building the Svir, Shatura and Kashira projects. Old electric power stations were repaired and new ones were built, particularly in Volkhov, Shatura and Kashira.

kulaks and confiscated their land, grain, farm implements and cattle for distribution among poor peasants. They backed Soviet power in their localities, helped the local authorities to recruit people for the Red Army and set up the first collective farms—agricultural communes, artels and societies for collective cultivation of the land. The poor peasants committees were reliable instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countryside.

The gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution were proclaimed in the Constitution of the RSFSR which was adopted on July 10, 1918 by the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. It was the first Soviet Constitution. It proclaimed the victory of the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the public ownership of land, factories, banks, railways, water transport and the monopoly of foreign trade. It guaranteed the working people the great right to work, education, rest, and the freedom of association and assembly. These guarantees were backed by material support. The Constitution embodied the principles of Soviet democracy, the supreme form of democracy—for the working people. "What the Soviet Constitution gives us," Lenin wrote, "no other state has been able to give in two hundred years."²⁹

The first Soviet Constitution was a priceless contribution to the consolidation of the Soviet Republic. It was a triumph of Marxist-Leninist theory and the policy of the Communist Party.

3. INTERVENTION AND THE CIVIL WAR

The breathing-space which the Soviet Republic gained at the beginning of 1918 was a short one. American, British, French and Japanese imperialists joined hands with the internal counter-revolutionaries to overthrow the Soviet government and restore the bourgeois-landowner system in Russia. By the middle of 1918 the Soviet Republic found itself in dire straits. The interventionists and the whiteguards seized Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, Central Asia, the Far East, the Urals, Siberia, part of the Volga basin, the Don area, the Ukraine and the Caucasus—nearly three-quarters of the

²⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 511.

country's territory. Their combined actions obstructed the peaceful endeavours of the Soviet Republic. The Communist Party mobilised the working people to fight both home and foreign reaction. Everything was subordinated to the exigencies of war-time. The economy was militarised. The working people devoted all their efforts to defending the Soviet Republic, crushing the interventionists and the white-guards and gaining victory in the Civil War.

Lenin directed military operations and presided over the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence, which was set up on November 30, 1918 to co-ordinate the work of military and civil departments. Lenin and the Party's Central Committee led the armed struggle of the workers and peasants against foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolution. The merciless war between socialism and capitalism compelled the Soviet government to resort to the severe policy of War Communism. All medium and many small enterprises were nationalised. The country's industry was made to work for defence purposes. Other important measures included the nationalisation of private railways, abrogation of the private ownership of property in towns, labour conscription for the entire able-bodied population, extraordinary lump-sum taxes on the bourgeoisie and prohibition of private trade in grain and other prime necessities. During the Civil War the Soviet state confiscated the bulk of the social product.

On January 11, 1919 the Government introduced the surplus-grain appropriation system—one of the most typical aspects of War Communism. Peasants were ordered to deliver surplus grain and other farm products to the Soviet state at fixed prices. Sometimes they were ordered to do so on credit without any compensation. That was the only way to provide the Red Army and workers with foodstuffs, keep industry going and achieve victory in the Civil War. In introducing the surplus-grain appropriation system the Soviet government was relying on the military and political alliance between the working class and the peasantry. Its hopes were fully justified.

The policy of War Communism was a forced but necessary step. Lenin explained it thus: "We could not restore industry when we were blockaded, besieged on all sides, cut off from the whole world and later from the grain-bearing South,

Siberia, and the coal-fields. We could not afford to hesitate in introducing War Communism, or daring to go to the most desperate extremes: to save the workers' and peasants' rule we had to suffer an existence of semi-starvation and worse than semi-starvation, but to hold on at all costs, in spite of unprecedented ruin and the absence of economic intercourse."³⁰

But even then, in spite of the war-time hardships, economic ruin and starvation, the Soviet people did not relent in their labour efforts. The country went on with its plans for electrification, the public sector was strengthening, and socialist principles of work took root in industry and agriculture. The Party made the most of the advantages of the new social system and implemented Lenin's plan.

While continuing to direct the country's defence, Lenin further developed and specified his plan for building socialism in such works as *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (November 1918), *Draft Programme of the RCP(B)* (March 1919), *Left-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder* (March 1920) and also in reports and speeches which he made at that time. In these works he gave a detailed analysis of the experience gained during the Great October Revolution and the first transformations of society along socialist principles, stressed the international significance of this experience which corroborated the general laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and charted the road of building socialism and communism.

Most comprehensive in this respect is *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, in which Lenin exposed Kautsky as a renegade who betrayed the interests of working people, took sides with the bourgeoisie and denigrated the victorious proletarian revolution. Lenin furnished answers to many questions concerning the proletarian revolution and the socialist transformations in Russia; he indicated that they were of great international importance. Lenin vividly expounded the political and economic course of the Soviet state and revealed the difference between the proletarian and bourgeois democracies. "Proletarian democracy," he wrote, "is a million times more democratic than any bour-

³⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 351.

geois democracy; Soviet power is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic.”³¹

Lenin worked out the principal theses of the Party's Programme adopted by the Eighth Congress of the RCP(B) in March 1919. In this Programme he defined the Party's tasks in building socialism and outlined the fundamentals of the Soviet government's economic policy during the entire transitional period. The programme pointed out that the main and decisive task was the development of the productive forces. The target was to complete the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and convert the means of production and distribution into the property of the whole people, to continue with the policy of co-operating local and craft industries, and subject the country's economy to a single state economic plan. In agriculture the programme recommended the setting up of state farms, societies for collective cultivation of the land and agricultural artels, and support agricultural communes, in order to help with the organisation of large-scale socialist agriculture. Specific measures were envisaged to raise productivity on private peasant economies, solve the housing problem and problems concerned with public health and education. All these measures were designed to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and further the building of socialism. The programme mobilised the working people to fight for the victory of the new social system.

After hearing Lenin's report, the Eighth Congress adopted an exceptionally important resolution on the shift from the policy of neutralising middle peasants to a policy of a strong alliance between the proletariat and the middle peasants, with the reliance on the poor peasants in the struggle against the kulaks and for the victory of socialism. That was the Party's third strategic slogan on the agrarian question.³² Speaking about this move, Lenin noted: “The dictatorship of

³¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 248.

³² The Party's first slogan on the agrarian question was: joint action with the whole peasantry against the tsar and the landowners and the neutralisation of the bourgeoisie, for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The second slogan was: joint action with the poorest peasants against capitalism in town and country for the rule of the proletariat, with the neutralisation of the middle peasants.

the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata, an alliance against capital, an alliance whose aim is the complete overthrow of capital, complete suppression of the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie as well as of attempts at restoration on its part, an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism.”³³ Lenin's justification of the switch-over to a strong alliance between the working class and the middle peasants was a great contribution to the Communist Party's theory and policy on the agrarian and peasant question.

The spring of 1919 was marked by the first communist subbotniks—mass voluntary and pay-free labour by workers on Saturdays. The initiative belonged to the Communists and their sympathisers at the Moskva-Sortirovochnaya depot. On Saturday April 12, 1919 they worked overtime and without any pay from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. and repaired three locomotives. Later they decided to arrange communist subbotniks until the complete defeat of Admiral Kolchak, one of the leaders of the counter-revolution.

Lenin regarded the subbotniks as the offshoots of communism. In 1919 he devoted to the subject the remarkable work *A Great Beginning. Heroism of the Workers in the Rear. “Communist Subbotniks”* in which he described the subbotniks as “the beginning of a revolution which is more difficult, more tangible, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits left as a heritage to the worker and peasant by accursed capitalism.”³⁴ Lenin noted that the dictatorship of the proletariat signified not only coercion against the exploiters, and not even coercion as the principal aim. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies a social organisation of labour superior to that under capitalism. In this connection he underlined the great role of communist subbotniks

³³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 381.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

in raising labour productivity and proceeding to a new and conscientious labour discipline.

Lenin was full of praise for the initiative of the Moscow railwaymen and called on the Party and the Soviet press to pay more attention to communist subbotniks and publicise the offshoots of communism and all progressive traits. "Exemplary production," he wrote, "exemplary communist subbotniks, exemplary care and conscientiousness in procuring and distributing every pood of grain, exemplary catering establishments, exemplary cleanliness in such-and-such a workers' house, in such-and-such a block, should all receive ten times more attention and care from our press, as well as from every workers' and peasants' organisation, than they receive now. All these are shoots of communism, and it is our common and primary duty to nurse them."³⁵

Having analysed the role of communist subbotniks in raising labour productivity, Lenin came to the firm conclusion that the victory of communism in the country was inevitable³⁶. At the same time Lenin drew attention to the difference between socialism and communism, and recalled that socialism meant the first stage of the new society, as it was emerging from capitalism, while communism meant a higher stage of that society. Thus, in spite of the raging Civil War, Lenin worked for the country's future and outlined the prospects for building communism.

His work "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (October 1919) contains great ideas about building socialism. The work deals with the basic forms of the country's social economy—capitalism, small-scale commodity production, socialism, and the corresponding classes—the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry

³⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 430.

³⁶ Communist subbotniks were widespread in the country. This patriotic movement gained particular momentum after the directive of the Ninth Congress of the RCP(B) to encourage socialist emulation and the organisation of subbotniks on a mass scale. In 1920, for instance, more than two million people took part in the communist subbotniks in Moscow. Subbotniks played a great role in improving the supply of provisions to front-line troops, overcoming the fuel crisis, organising public services and amenities in towns, assisting villages and the families of Red Army men, and introducing the social organisation of labour.

in particular and the proletariat. The work is concerned with the ways of abolishing classes and building socialism. Lenin points out that socialism means the abolition of classes, but not at a single stroke. One of the most difficult questions was to eliminate the difference between workers and peasants. A distinction should be made, Lenin indicated, between the worker-peasant and the proprietor-peasant, between the peasant worker and the peasant huckster. The essence of socialism lies in these distinctions. These words by Lenin express in a nutshell the Party's policy on the agrarian question in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

During the Civil War Lenin never relinquished his interest in the agrarian question and the problem of the gradual transformation of the countryside on socialist principles. On December 4, 1919 Lenin addressed the First Congress of Agricultural Communes and Agricultural Artels. He called on the delegates to make the communes and artels model enterprises for disseminating communist ideas among the peasantry and showing the advantages of collective work, and spoke of the need to render financial and other state assistance to communes and artels. He said: "We would not be Communists and champions of socialist economy if we did not give state aid to every kind of collective agricultural enterprise."³⁷

Lenin explained that to ensure the victory of socialism it was necessary not only to overthrow the landowners and capitalists and deprive them of their property, but also to abolish all forms of private ownership of the means of production and replace small-scale production by large-scale socialist production. Lenin further elaborated the principles of co-operating peasant farms. He said that the working class should guide small-scale producers (working peasants), re-educate them by gradual and careful organisational work, strictly observe the principle of the voluntary amalgamation of working peasants in agricultural artels and communes, abstain from commandeering and coercion, and make concessions to middle peasants while determining the ways of effecting socialist transformations.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 198.

Lenin's ideas of collective farming formed the basis of the Law on the Socialist System of Land Tenure and the Measures for the Transition to Socialist Agriculture, which was endorsed by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on February 14, 1919. The law laid down the ways of passing from private to collective land tenure, and it determined privileges for state farms and collective farms in the allocation of land, provision of machines, cattle, seeds and all types of land management, agronomical and technical assistance.

In spite of the extremely difficult conditions of the Civil War, hundreds of collective farms, particularly agricultural artels and societies for collective cultivation of the land, were set up. Lenin advised rural Communists to be cautious in setting up communes and to focus attention on the development of collective socialist agriculture.

At the same time Lenin devoted much thought to public education and the polytechnisation of Soviet schools. He indicated, for instance, that the senior forms of secondary schools should produce qualified workers who would be capable of becoming craftsmen and possess a "broad general education".³⁸ Children of workers and poor peasants were given wide access to higher educational establishments. The country was starting to train qualified workers and specialists with secondary or higher education.

The need to create the material and technical basis of communism always preoccupied Lenin. From the very first year of Soviet power he began to direct the drafting of a long-term scientific plan for socialist transformation and technical reconstruction. In April 1918 he instructed the Russian Academy of Sciences to work out "a plan for the reorganisation of industry and the economic progress of Russia"³⁹ on the basis of electrification.

Lenin attached overwhelming importance to the plan of the electrification of Russia, which he regarded as a great programme for creating the economic foundation of socialism and the transition to communism: "*Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.* Otherwise

³⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 534.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 320.

the country will remain a small-peasant country, and we must clearly realise that. We are weaker than capitalism, not only on the world scale, but also within the country. That is common knowledge. We have realised it, and we shall see to it that the economic basis is transformed from a small-peasant basis into a large-scale industrial basis. Only when the country has been electrified, and industry, agriculture and transport have been placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale industry, only then shall we be fully victorious."⁴⁰

Lenin regarded the electrification of Russia as the first important milestone on the road to communist organisation of the economic life of society. The plan's success, he believed, was ensured by the fathomless energy and initiative of the working masses, led by the Communist Party.

During the Civil War the Soviet people took up arms to defend their government and were at the same time engaged in peaceful labour. They embarked on the road indicated by Lenin and continued to build the new social system. Lenin's brilliant ideas illumined the road to a free and happy life, the road to socialism.

4. THE TURNING POINT

The victorious end of the Civil War (1918-20) enabled the Soviet people to devote their efforts to peaceful work, to rehabilitate the ruined economy and develop it. The principal task of the Communist Party and the working people was to build socialism.

The conditions for building socialism were very difficult. When the intervention failed, foreign imperialists began to hatch plans for strangling the world's first state of workers and peasants economically. The country was devastated, and most of the industrial enterprises stood idle for lack of fuel and raw materials. In 1920 Russia produced only 50 per cent of tsarist Russia's agricultural output while large-scale industry produced almost 86 per cent less than in pre-war times. The population, particularly the urban population, suffered from the shortage of bread and other foodstuffs. The

⁴⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 516.

peasants were dissatisfied with the surplus-grain appropriation policy, and that helped the counter-revolution to stage uprisings against the Soviet government.

Under the circumstances, the Communist Party, headed by Lenin, decided to shift over from the policy of War Communism to the New Economic Policy (NEP), which corresponded to the conditions and tasks of peaceful socialist construction. The decision was adopted by the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921. NEP was designed to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry—the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat—and to ensure the victory of socialism in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist sectors. Lenin pointed out that “the essence of this policy is the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the union of the vanguard of the proletariat with the broad mass of the peasants”.⁴¹

In works, speeches and reports written or delivered after the Civil War, Lenin developed ideas that he had expressed in 1918, and worked out a new economic policy of the proletarian state, uniquely suited to the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. He substantiated this policy in his reports and speeches made at the Tenth Party Congress and the Tenth All-Russia Party Conference, the Seventh Moscow Gubernia Party Conference, the 11th Party Congress, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International and the Plenary Meeting of the Moscow Soviet. In the booklet *The Tax in Kind (The Significance of the New Policy and Its Conditions)*, the article “The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism” and other works, Lenin worked out the plan for building socialism in the Soviet Union.

According to Lenin, the Soviet Republic had made too much headway towards socialism during the Civil War, and there was a danger that it could find itself isolated from the rear, i.e., the peasantry. It was necessary to retreat, realign the forces and then to launch a decisive attack on capitalism. Lenin made it plain that it was necessary to “link up with the peasant masses, with the rank-and-file working peasants, and begin to move forward immeasurably, infinitely

⁴¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 171.

more slowly than we expected, but in such a way that the entire mass will actually move forward with us. If we do that we shall in time progress much more quickly than we even dream of today”.⁴²

The most characteristic feature of the New Economic Policy was the abolition of the surplus-grain appropriation system in favour of a tax in kind, as proposed by Lenin and approved by the Tenth Party Congress. That made it possible to establish an economic liaison between socialist industry and the small-commodity peasant economy through commodity circulation, financial resources and the market. The new economic policy opened the road to freedom of trade. This stimulated capitalism in town and country to a certain extent, but there was no danger here, since all industry, banks, railway and water transport, foreign trade and land, i.e., all command positions, were in the hands of the Soviet state. The Party and Lenin believed that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when all command positions were in the hands of the working class, it was possible and necessary to utilise commodity production, the market, trade and money in the interests of building a new, socialist society. State control was established over private capital—non-nationalised enterprises, trade institutions, etc.; the activities of private capital were restricted.

Lenin believed that it was necessary to employ state capitalism—concessions to foreign capitalists, the lease of small state factories to private entrepreneurs, bourgeois co-operatives, etc.—in order to speed up the rehabilitation of industry and the national economy as a whole. Lenin regarded state capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat as a subordinate economic structure in the transitional economy, and saw that it could be advantageously employed for building socialism. As the proprietor of enterprises or natural resources leased to others, the proletarian state controls and regulates state capitalism. “The state capitalism,” he noted, “that we have introduced in our country is of a special kind. It does not agree with the usual conception of state capitalism. We hold all the key positions. We hold the land; it belongs to the state . . . our proletarian state not only owns

⁴² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 271—72.

the land, but also the vital branches of industry."⁴³ State capitalism is a peculiar form of competition between the socialist sector and private capitalism which pursues the aim of strengthening and then ensuring the complete victory of the socialist sector.

Lenin paid great attention to the rehabilitation and development of heavy industry, power supplies, the restoration of electric power stations and the building of new ones. It was a difficult and complicated task. The shortage of fuel, raw materials and finance was a barrier in the rehabilitation of the economy. Addressing the Tenth Party Conference in May 1921, Lenin said: "Our main task is to restore large-scale industry, but in order to approach the task at all seriously and systematically we must restore small industry."⁴⁴ The emphasis was on the rehabilitation of the large-scale industries which produced consumer goods and of the small-scale industries, in order to improve the material well-being of the working people.

The New Economic Policy concentrated, among other things, on the new methods of economic management, the organisation of production and labour, and the mobilisation of the working masses for economic construction. Lenin explained that the new methods of mobilising the masses for the building of socialism and communism should be based on the principle of material incentives and not solely on enthusiasm, but revolutionary enthusiasm was not precluded.

During the NEP years Lenin explored the ways of switching small-scale peasant economies onto the lines of large-scale agriculture. "If peasant farming is to develop," he said, "we must also assure its transition to the next stage which must inevitably be one of gradual amalgamation of the small, isolated peasant farms—the least profitable and most backward—into large-scale collective farms."⁴⁵

Lenin outlined ways of mobilising for the socialist construction the formerly backward peoples and nationalities with survivals of primitive and feudal relations. He substantiated theoretically the possibility of the transition of these peoples

⁴³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, pp. 427-28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 408.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

to socialism (by-passing the capitalist stage), and indicated concrete methods for bringing about a socialist restructuring of a primitive economy. Lenin's policy of industrialising the country and co-operating agriculture generated socialist transformations in the economy of the outlying areas.

Lenin's plan for building socialism also incorporated questions of cultural construction. Underscoring the significance of the cultural revolution, Lenin wrote in 1922: "Our primary and most important task is to attain universal literacy, but we should in no circumstances limit ourselves to this target. We must at all costs go beyond it and adopt everything that is truly valuable in European and American science."⁴⁶ Soviet power, Lenin stressed, created all the prerequisites for raising the cultural level of the people. Workers and peasants longed for education and knowledge.

Lenin's programme for building socialism in the NEP period envisaged definite stages in economic development. Agriculture had to be developed without delay. Lenin wrote: "The most urgent thing at the present time is to take measures that will immediately increase the productive forces of peasant farming. Only *in this way* will it be possible to improve the condition of the workers, strengthen the alliance between the workers and peasants, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat."⁴⁷ It was planned to develop simultaneously small-scale and light industries and then, on that basis, heavy industry. A powerful material and technical base was considered the essential prerequisite for the reconstruction of the national economy. After that the task was to prepare and effect the transition of working peasantry to socialism, and also to eliminate the remnants of capitalism in town and country. This sequence of stages in the building of socialism resulted from the concrete social and economic conditions in the country. It was impossible, for example, to develop heavy industry without rehabilitating agriculture which is, of course, industry's principal market and which supplies industry with raw materials.

While elaborating and enriching the plan for building socialism, Lenin never lost sight of the results of the rehabil-

⁴⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 368.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, pp. 41-42.

itation of agriculture, the development of industry, improvement of the state apparatus and the work of consumer co-operatives, etc. He set the correct course for the Communist Party and the Soviet people towards socialism. Lenin was firmly convinced that "economically and politically *NEP* makes it fully possible for us to lay the foundations of socialist economy".⁴⁸

The New Economic Policy was an important and indispensable step to socialism. "The purpose of this policy," as the Theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU indicate, "was to surmount the economic dislocation, create the foundation for a socialist economy, develop heavy industry, establish an economic link between town and country, strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasants, oust and then abolish capitalist elements, and achieve socialism."⁴⁹

The implementation of the New Economic Policy was accompanied by a sharp struggle between socialism and capitalism. The question "who will beat whom" on the economic front had to be settled. The capitalist elements attempted to take advantage of *NEP* to take over the country, win over the middle peasantry to their side and defeat socialism. Their plan received the support of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

NEP was also attacked by the so-called workers' opposition, the Trotskyites and the Bukharinites. Proceeding from the Menshevik theory of the impossibility of building socialism in one country, the Trotskyites denied the socialist nature of the Soviet economy, claimed that state enterprises belonged to the state capitalist sector, and regarded *NEP* as a retreat to the positions of capitalism. They looked upon the middle peasants as elements hostile to the proletariat and overestimated the power of the bourgeoisie and the kulaks. Bukharin attacked the monopoly of foreign trade and proposed to replace it by a customs policy. Such a position only favoured the kulaks, profiteers and foreign capitalists. The Right-wing opportunists championed the implantation of the bourgeoisie into socialism.

⁴⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 252.

⁴⁹ *50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU*, p. 11.

The Party and Lenin defeated the theories advanced by the opponents of *NEP*. In spite of natural calamity (the drought of 1920—21), the working masses, guided by Lenin's New Economic Policy, successfully rehabilitated the national economy. In the spring of 1921 the peasants, who approved of the replacement of the surplus-grain appropriation system by the tax in kind, increased the acreage of sown lands. The position of the working class was improved, and large-scale industry was reinvigorated. At the 11th Party Congress (March 27-April 2, 1922) Lenin, summing up the results of the first year of *NEP*, said that the retreat was over and posed a new task—the realignment of forces for the onslaught on the capitalist elements.

Lenin's New Economic Policy and its implementation were a major contribution to Marxism-Leninism and the theory of scientific communism. In spite of its peculiar features, the policy reflected the general laws of the socialist transformation of society. As Lenin noted, the three fundamental social structures—socialist, small-commodity and capitalist—would be present in all countries during their transition to socialism. The experience accumulated during the *NEP* years would be useful to all of them. Lenin said that the problem, which was being solved "for the time being on our own, seems to be a purely Russian one, but in reality it is a task which all socialists will face. The new society, which will be based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is inevitable. Sooner or later it will come—twenty years earlier or twenty years later—and when we work on the implementation of our New Economic Policy, we are helping to work out for this society the forms of alliance between the workers and peasants."⁵⁰

Lenin was correct in his scientific forecast. Many countries which have established the power of workers and peasants and taken the road to socialism are availing themselves of the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Following the example of the Soviet Union, they are consolidating the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, developing the socialist economy and applying Soviet

⁵⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 177.

methods of economic development, which ensure the victory of the new social system.

The New Economic Policy developed the country's productive forces and thereby raised the international prestige of the first state of workers and peasants, influencing in this way the world revolutionary movement and the course of world history. The Soviet Union's economic achievements were of tremendous international importance.

The ideas which Lenin expressed in his works, reports and speeches during the introduction and implementation of NEP are an invaluable achievement of creative Marxism and a great contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism. In charting the road to socialism, Lenin was confident of the victory of the new social system. In his last public address, on November 20, 1922, the leader of the Party and the Soviet people said: "We have approached the very core of the everyday problems, and that is a tremendous achievement. Socialism is no longer a matter of the distant future. We have brought socialism into everyday life and must here see how matters stand. That is the task of our day, the task of our epoch. Permit me to conclude by expressing confidence that difficult as this task may be, new as it may be compared with our previous task, and numerous as the difficulties may be that it entails, we shall—not in a day, but in a few years—all of us together fulfil it whatever the cost, so that NEP Russia will become socialist Russia."⁵¹

Lenin's enthusiastic confidence rallied the Party and the state to fulfil this historic task.

5. THE FINAL STAGE OF THE ELABORATION OF THE PLAN

Lenin was gravely ill when from December 1922 till March 1923 he dictated his last impressive articles and letters: "Letter to the Congress", "Granting Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission", "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'", "Pages from a Diary", "On Co-operation", "Our Revolution (Apropos of N. Sukhanov's Notes)",

⁵¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 443.

"How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (Recommendation to the Twelfth Party Congress)", "Better Fewer, but Better". These articles and letters, justly called the leader's political testament, constitute the last stage in the elaboration of the plan for building socialism in the USSR. Lenin made a survey of the Soviet people's creative labour and set down the programme for socialist transformations in the country. The wealth of ideas and theoretical principles they contain gives them a prominent place in Lenin's ideological legacy.

The fundamental question Lenin raised was the future of socialism in the USSR. He scientifically substantiated the programme thesis that the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, could, and should, achieve socialism and build a socialist society. This brilliant conclusion was the logical result of a profound and comprehensive Marxist analysis of the internal and external situation and the correlation of class forces at home and abroad.

Lenin's plan was opposed by the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites, the Democratic Centralists, the Workers' Opposition, and other opportunists. In 1922, for example, Trotsky openly declared that it was impossible to build socialism in a single country in "the national-state framework" and that it could be done only after a victorious proletarian revolution in the principal countries of Europe. Lenin convincingly disproved this defeatist theory.

He also shattered the dogmas of the Mensheviks, foreign reformists and their supporters, who asserted that Russian productive forces and culture had not reached the required level for building socialism. In the article "Our Revolution" Lenin refuted their stale theories. He wrote: "You say that civilisation is necessary for the building of socialism. Very good. But why could we not first create such prerequisites of civilisation in our country as the expulsion of the landowners and the Russian capitalists, and then start moving towards socialism? Where, in what books, have you read that such variations of the customary historical sequence of events are impermissible or impossible?"⁵² Lenin further says that if a certain level of culture is required for building socialism,

⁵² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 480.

then a start should be made by obtaining the prerequisites for this level by revolutionary means, and only after that, relying on the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, can a move be made to overtake the other nations.

Lenin made it plain that the Russian proletariat had every opportunity to tread the first path to socialism in world's history. Russia was a middle-range capitalist country and, therefore, had all the material prerequisites for the transition to socialism; its economic, technical and cultural backwardness could be overcome in the course of building socialism and on the basis of the Soviet system. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the friendship of nations, and the leadership of the Communist Party guaranteed the creation of a socialist economy and culture and the formation of a new social system.

Lenin believed that the public ownership of the main instruments and means of production was an economic prerequisite for the reorganisation of Soviet society along socialist lines. In his last articles, which in effect constitute a single whole, he speaks about the vital link in the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism. The principal task in that respect was the industrialisation and electrification of the country. In the article "Better Fewer, but Better" Lenin pointed to the need, "by exercising the greatest possible thrift in the economic life of our state, to use every saving we make to develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification, the hydraulic extraction of peat, to complete the Volkhov Power Project, etc.

"In this, and in this alone, lies our hope. Only when we have done this shall we, speaking figuratively, be able to change horses, to change from the peasant, muzhik horse of poverty, from the horse of an economy designed for a ruined peasant country, to the horse which the proletariat is seeking and must seek—the horse of large-scale machine industry, of electrification, of the Volkhov Power Station, etc."⁵³

⁵³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 501.

While working out the programme for building socialism on the basis of NEP, Lenin allocated a prominent place to the large-scale machine industry which was producing the means of production. He emphasised that without rehabilitating heavy industry there could be no question of building up any industry at all, and that, without industry, the country was doomed to lose its independence. Lenin indicated the ways and methods for the socialist industrialisation of the country, with the priority development of heavy industry; he called upon the Party and the people to economise in everything in order to achieve this aim. He was happy when in 1922 the Soviet government found it possible to allocate the first 20 million rubles in gold from its trade profits to the rehabilitation of heavy industry. Lenin regarded heavy industry as the key to the introduction of socialist transformations in agriculture and the consolidation of the country's defence.

Lenin enriched and made more explicit his plan for socialist changes in agriculture. The plan is most comprehensively set down in the article "On Co-operation", in which he showed that under Soviet power and with the public ownership of the basic means of production the role of co-operatives changes radically. Under capitalism the co-operatives are capitalist enterprises, but under the dictatorship of the proletariat they become socialist enterprises. "Under our present system," Lenin wrote, "co-operative enterprises differ from private capitalist enterprises because they are collective enterprises, but do not differ from socialist enterprises if the land on which they are situated and the means of production belong to the state, i.e., the working class."⁵⁴

Lenin's co-operative plan shows specific ways and methods for organising the peasantry along the socialist lines. The co-operative offers the peasantry the most simple, easy and practicable path to socialism; the co-operative combines the private interests of the peasants and the interests of the whole of society in the optimal manner. Lenin said that the Soviet state should support co-operatives in every way, offer them material and financial aid, and provide credit and

⁵⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 473.

property privileges. He called upon the Party to encourage co-operatives, increase their membership and develop heavy industry, so as to equip agriculture with new machinery. He wrote: "If the whole of the peasantry had been organised in co-operatives, we would by now have been standing with both feet on the soil of socialism."⁵⁵ Lenin made no secret of the fact that it was a difficult, lengthy and painstaking task. The amalgamating of the peasants into co-operatives was to be conducted on a strictly voluntary basis, no commandeering was to be tolerated; persuasion and demonstration were to be the principal methods.

Lenin's co-operative plan was a creative development of Marxism in new conditions. Lenin charted the only correct way of reorganising villages along socialist lines; it was the road of the collectivisation of agriculture and the elimination of the kulaks, the last exploiter class in the country. The collective-farm movement was the practical implementation of Lenin's co-operative plan.

Lenin attached tremendous significance to the cultural revolution, without which mass co-operation of the peasants was doomed and without which it was impossible to raise the people's educational level. The subject is dealt with in his article "Pages from a Diary", where he speaks about the development of public education, enhancing the role of public teachers and giving them a status unattainable in bourgeois society. Lenin suggested that towns should assume patronage over villages and that urban workers should spread communist ideas in the countryside.

In his last articles he strongly emphasised that the instrument for building socialism was the socialist state, which should be fortified and improved in all ways. The primary task was to improve the state apparatus. He suggested that this should be done by amalgamating the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection with the Central Control Commission and by granting sweeping powers to this new agency in order to improve the state apparatus. Lenin was mindful of the need to enhance the leading role of the Party and consolidate its monolithic unity. That, according to him, was an essential condition for building socialism in the USSR.

⁵⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 474.

In the same articles Lenin also made a survey of the international situation and expressed his confidence in the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, in spite of capitalist encirclement.

It was Lenin's last wish that the Communist Party should follow a policy of safeguarding the existence of the Soviet Republic, frustrating imperialist attempts to crush it, maintaining peace for as long as possible and ensuring socialist transformations in the country.

Lenin was aware of the difficulties which lay ahead of the Soviet people in their advance towards socialism. The imperialists did all they could to stop this onward march. They refused to grant loans or credits, and accepted no concessions in the Soviet Union that could have accelerated the rehabilitation of the ruined economy. The Soviet people were building socialism all alone, but Lenin never doubted that they would succeed in accomplishing this task. He was confident that the Soviet people would overcome the country's technical, economic and cultural backwardness and, in an unprecedentedly short period of time, catch up with other countries.

While working out the plan for building socialism, which included the pertinent political, economic and cultural tasks, Lenin developed the thesis of the two phases of communism and identified the conditions for the transition from the lower to the higher phase of communism. "As we begin socialist reforms," he wrote, "we must have a clear conception of the goal towards which these reforms are in the final analysis directed, that is, the creation of a communist society that goes towards implementing the principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'."⁵⁶

Lenin regarded the building of socialism and communism as an integral process; "socialism is the society that grows directly out of capitalism, it is the first form of the new society. Communism is a higher form of society, and can only develop when socialism has become firmly established."⁵⁷ Socialism and communism share common features: public ownership of the instruments and means of produc-

⁵⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 127.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 284.

tion; no exploiting classes, no exploitation of man by man; planned and balanced development of the economy; the satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the whole of society as the goal of production; participation of all members of society in socially useful work; the complete supremacy of communist ideology and communist morality, etc. But the basic differences are that communism has a higher level of social production, a single form of property—public property, and no distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labour. Labour under communism will become a vital necessity, while the distribution of products will follow the principle: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

Lenin advanced the thesis of the international significance of socialist construction in the USSR, viewing it in the light of the general prospects of the world revolutionary process. He stressed that the Great October Revolution laid open the road to socialism. "This path of ours is the right one, for it is the path which, sooner or later, all other countries must inevitably take."⁵⁸

Lenin urged the Communist Party to avail itself of the opportunities provided by the Great October Revolution and the Soviet system, so as to develop the country's productive forces at lightning speed and prove in practice that "socialism contains within itself gigantic forces and that mankind had now entered into a new stage of development of extraordinarily brilliant prospects."⁵⁹

Lenin was absolutely confident that the successful building of socialism in Russia, the fusion of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries with the national liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples into a single war against the common enemy—imperialism—would quicken mankind's progressive march towards democracy and socialism. According to Lenin, the historical inevitability of the victory of socialism over capitalism stemmed from the fact that the vast majority of mankind was swiftly joining the struggle for its liberation. "In this respect," he wrote, "there cannot be the slightest doubt

⁵⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 161.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured."⁶⁰

Lenin's brilliant plan for building socialism in the Soviet Union is an invaluable contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism. The idea that permeates the plan is: the Soviet Republic has all it needs to build a developed socialist society. Lenin noted that the Communist Party "looks farther ahead: socialism must inevitably evolve gradually into communism."⁶¹ The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is complete and final, and today the country is engaged in preparing the material and technical basis of communism.

The decisions of the 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th Party congresses and the Central Committee's plenary meetings emphasise the tremendous importance of Lenin's plan. The plan embodied the marvellous foresight of the great revolutionary scholar and leader of the working people and his skill in employing Marxist theory in practice. The theoretical theses laid down in the plan are being implemented not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the other countries of the socialist community; they guide the whole of progressive mankind.

In its theses on the centenary of Lenin's birth, the Central Committee of the CPSU noted: "Socialism, turned by Marx and Engels from utopia into science and enriched by Lenin with new conclusions and discoveries, has been embodied in social practice on a world-wide scale and has become the main revolutionary force of our time."⁶²

⁶⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 500.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 35.

⁶² *On the Centenary of the Birth of U. I. Lenin. Theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1970, p. 3, (in Russian).

II

THE COMPONENTS OF LENIN'S PLAN FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

1. THE DECISIVE ELEMENT

In elaborating his plan for building socialism in the USSR Lenin indicated three principal elements. He "elaborated the policy of the proletarian state for the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism. He evolved the New Economic Policy (NEP), designed to bring about the victory of socialism. The main elements of the Lenin plan for the building of a socialist society were industrialisation of the country, agricultural co-operation, and the cultural revolution."¹

The most important component element in Lenin's plan for laying the material and technical foundation of the new society was the development of large-scale industry, primarily heavy industry, and electrification.

According to Lenin, the material and technical foundation of socialism implies the planned organisation of large-scale mechanised production in all fields of the economy in town and country on the basis of advanced engineering and the labour of people free from exploitation. Such a foundation is essential for raising labour productivity and, therefore, for the victory of socialism over capitalism in the economic competition. The transition from capitalism to socialism is inconceivable without a rise in labour productivity in the enterprises of the socialist sector.

¹ *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, p. 457.

Russia was a technically and economically backward country. In 1913, as Lenin noted, she had 75 per cent less modern instruments of production than Britain, 80 per cent less than Germany, and 90 per cent less than the United States. The country had no machine-tool manufacture, no automobile, tractor and some other industries. Russia accounted for only 2.6 per cent of the world industrial output; the per capita industrial production was 21.1 times smaller than in the United States, 14 times smaller than in Britain, and 13 times smaller than in Germany. The first imperialist war and the Civil War inflicted tremendous damage on the country's economy. A peculiar contradiction arose between the world's most progressive government—Soviet power—and the backward technical and economic base inherited from the old landowner-capitalist system. So the historic task was to create a powerful material and technical base for ensuring the economic independence of the Soviet Republic, strengthening its defence capacity and building socialism and communism. This task could be accomplished only on the basis of the country's industrialisation. That was the linchpin of the whole operation. Lenin wrote: "Large-scale industry is the one and only real basis upon which we can multiply our resources and build a socialist society. . . . We can, must and will lay the basis of large-scale industry for our economy. Without it, no real socialist foundation for our economic life is possible."²

Lenin firmly emphasised the decisive role of electrification as the most modern technical basis for the rehabilitation and development of the country's economy. The State Plan for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO), which was drawn up under Lenin's direction and adopted by the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets in December 1920 as the Plan of the Electrification of the RSFSR, contained two sections: A. Plan-minimum—the rehabilitation and modernisation of the existing electric power stations, and B. Plan-maximum—construction of 30 new electric power stations (20 steam and 10 hydropower stations) with a total capacity of 1,500,000 kwh in eight economic regions within the next 10 or 15 years. The plan envisaged a total annual output of

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 408.

8,800 million kwh of electricity against 2,000 million kwh in 1913 (in the country's present boundaries) and 500 million kwh produced in 1920.

The GOELRO Plan envisaged a twofold increase in the output of industrial products over the pre-war level and a tenfold increase over the level of 1920; accelerated development in the ferrous metallurgy, engineering, the power engineering, coal and mining industries; the solution of the fuel crisis, greater output of peat and development of the oil industry; the founding of a national machine industry. By the end of the period covered by the plan the manufacture of the means of production was to exceed the pre-war level by 116.7 per cent, and the production of consumer goods by 47.4 per cent.³ The general theses of Marxism concerning large-scale industry as the material foundation of socialism were incorporated in Lenin's plan for the electrification of Russia as the concrete task of the socialist reorganisation and technical reconstruction of the entire economy on the basis of advanced techniques and the electrification of the country.

Lenin highly assessed the GOELRO Plan. He called it a great plan, a broad and wonderful scientific work, the Party's second Programme. He pointed out that the Programme of the Communist Party should be turned into a programme of economic development. "It must be supplemented with a second Party programme, a plan of work aimed at restoring our entire economy and raising it to the level of up-to-date technical development."⁴

The GOELRO Plan received the full support of the Soviet people. The working people regarded it as the road to Russia's economic revival on the basis of widespread use of electric power and the gradual transition of the economy on to a new technical base—modern large-scale production. Lenin paid a good deal of attention to publicising the plan at home and abroad. He suggested that the GOELRO committee should prepare and print popular booklets for workers and peasants, make use of the propaganda trains of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee ("Kalinin train", etc.)

³ *The Plan of the Electrification of the RSFSR*, 2nd ed., Moscow, 1955 (in Russian).

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 515.

and the special lecturing committees to popularise the idea. On the eve of the Third Congress of the Comintern Lenin advised the State Planning Committee to acquaint the delegates with the plan for the electrification of Russia, prepare for the purpose booklets in three languages and put up in the congress hall one general and a few district maps of electrification and also a map of the location of electric power stations with short explanatory notes in three languages.

The plan evoked comment abroad. It demonstrated to the whole world that the state of workers and peasants was putting to the fore the great tasks of building a new, socialist economy, laying the foundation of communism and of life without capitalists, landowners and merchants, without the exploitation of man by man. The resolution of the 12th Party Congress underlined: "The plan for the electrification of Russia, which was approved by the Soviet government and which must remain the cornerstone of all the economic efforts of the Republic, will serve as the basis for the planned economy for many years to come."⁵

The comments abroad were different. The working class welcomed the courageous undertaking by Soviet power while our enemies predicted failure. Even many progressive-minded intellectuals regarded the plan as a utopia. After visiting the country late in 1920 and meeting Lenin the famous English science fiction writer H. G. Wells wrote the book *Russia in the Shadows*, in which he called Lenin "the dreamer in the Kremlin", and the whole idea a utopia. Wells expressed his doubts to Lenin who asked him to make another trip to Russia in ten years' time and see how matters stood then. Practice proved that Lenin was right. The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, successfully implemented Lenin's electrification plan. In 1925 the electric power stations in the USSR had a capacity of 6,923,000 kwh (including 896,000 kwh in the case of hydroelectric power stations instead of 645,000 kwh as originally planned); the capacity of district electric power stations exceeded by two and a half times the figure envisaged in the GOELRO Plan.

⁵ *The 12th Congress of the RCP(B). Minutes*, Moscow, 1968, p. 672 (in Russian).

The GOELRO Plan was the first to embody the objective law of the development of planned socialist economy—continuous growth of social production on the basis of sustained technical progress. It also reflected the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state. The independent development of the Soviet economy took into account the possibility of economic co-operation with other countries on the basis of mutual advantage.

The GOELRO Plan was of tremendous international significance. It proved to the whole world that the state of workers and peasants was primarily concerned with building the economy of a new society. The economic plan, which included the electrification of Russia, triggered off peaceful economic competition between the Soviet economic system and the world capitalist economy. Lenin was confident that victory in that competition would go to the Soviet system. He wrote: "If Russia is covered with a dense network of electric power stations and powerful technical installations, our communist economic development will become a model for a future socialist Europe and Asia."⁶

It was extremely difficult to rehabilitate the whole of industry in the first year of peace. There was a shortage of raw materials, fuel, finances, food and specialists. That was why Lenin thought it advisable to begin with small-scale industry and those branches of large-scale industry which produced consumer goods. "Our principal productive forces," he wrote, "the peasants and workers, are in such a state of impoverishment, ruin, weariness and exhaustion that for a time we must subordinate everything to this main consideration—increasing the quantity of products at all costs."⁷ In the first place, it was necessary to create market, raw material, and food prerequisites for the development of industry. Nevertheless, the Party and Lenin continued to regard the rehabilitation of industry as the principal task. Lenin paid particular attention to the recovery of the Donbas—the country's main coal and metallurgical centre—and the development of the oil industry in Baku. In September 1922 he wrote to his deputies in the Council of People's Commis-

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 518.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 234.

sars: "The newspapers tell me that the situation in the Donbas and Baku is desperate. . . . Perhaps we should take the risk and allocate *a few millions* from the gold reserve? Perhaps it is wrong to ignore the matter and do nothing about it?"⁸

Lenin was at the centre of all work to rehabilitate the economy, he rejoiced at every minute advance. When in late 1921 the metallurgical industry showed the first signs of revival, he wrote: "We are producing possibly something like six per cent of the pre-war figure. That is the extent of the ruin and poverty to which the imperialist and civil wars have reduced Russia. But we are, of course, making headway. We are building centres like Yugostal. Difficult as our position is, we nevertheless can see tremendous successes in this sphere."⁹

Lenin closely followed the development of metallurgy in the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly district. In April 1922 he wrote to the State Planning Committee that narrow-gauge railways in the Kursk Gubernia should be built not later that spring, the peat bogs should be prepared for the installation of electric power stations and other measures should be taken. He ordered his deputies to quicken the work in the Kursk Gubernia and not to grudge allocations of gold for the purchase of drilling equipment abroad. Lenin was confident that the district of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly had the world's richest deposits which could revolutionise the whole of metallurgy.

From the very first years of NEP the Party gave serious attention to the development of industry not only in the central areas of Russia, but also in the national republics.

The Party took a constant concern about the electrification of the eastern and other outlying regions of Russia. Lenin's electrification plan envisaged, for instance, the erection of eight district electric power stations in the Urals and Volga area, four in the Caucasus, three in Siberia and Turkestan and two in the Northern Caucasus. It was also planned to electrify the Grozny and Baku oil-fields. All this created the prerequisites for the gradual electrification of outlying dis-

⁸ *Lenin Miscellany XXXU*, p. 351 (in Russian).

⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 168.

tricts and their industrialisation. Thus the foundation for the elimination of their economic backwardness was laid.¹⁰

On November 13, 1922, in the report "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution" to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern Lenin said: "The salvation of Russia lies not only in a good harvest on the peasant farms—that is not enough; and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumer goods—this, too, is not enough; we also need *heavy* industry."¹¹

In saying this, Lenin proceeded from the Marxist theory of extended reproduction according to which social production in Group A (production of the means of production) advances and should advance quicker than social production in Group B (production of consumer goods), otherwise there can be no extended reproduction. Lenin wrote: "To expand production (to 'accumulate' in the categorical meaning of the term) it is first of all necessary to produce means of production, and for this it is consequently necessary to expand that department of social production which manufactures means of production."¹² Lenin pointed out that the priority growth of the production of the means of production, as opposed to consumer goods, was an economic law which governed the expansion of socialist production, rising labour productivity and higher living standards.

The development of heavy industry is essential for the sustained growth of agriculture, of the light industry, the food industry, and accumulation of resources in socialist society. The restoration and development of heavy industry is the principal means of elevating the working class, increasing its role in society, consolidating its alliance with the peasantry, increasing its leading role in this alliance, strengthening the proletarian state and enhancing its economic and military capacity.

¹⁰ Before the October Revolution more than three-quarters of all industry was concentrated in the vicinity of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the Urals; industry in Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Far East and Western and Eastern Siberia was poorly developed. The 10th and the 12th congresses of the RCP(B) set the task of industrialising the outlying districts of Russia.

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 426.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 155.

Lenin indicated the ways of solving the difficult problem of finding resources for financing the heavy industry. The capitalist countries, as we know, developed heavy industry on credits from abroad and by plundering other countries and exploiting colonies and semi-colonies. The Soviet state could count only on its own resources and efforts. According to Lenin, the means for industrialisation should be raised by accumulating the internal resources and the profits from the light industry, collecting taxes (particularly from the bourgeois elements and by other NEP capitalists), reducing the maintenance costs of the state apparatus, and by resorting to strict economy.

Lenin taught that heavy industry should be developed on the basis of the inviolable unity of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

From the very beginning of the New Economic Policy the Party and the Soviet Government undertook the rehabilitation, under Lenin's directions, of the country's industry. Lenin was preoccupied with the elaboration of the forms and methods of industrial management, improvement of the management and planning of production. Many enterprises began to work on a self-supporting basis which ensured economic efficiency. Lenin stressed that "trusts and factories have been founded on a self-supporting basis precisely in order that they themselves should be responsible and, moreover, fully responsible, for their enterprises working without a deficit."¹³ The Party resolutely exposed the defeatist programme of Trotsky and his followers, who, in the first years of NEP, insisted that heavy industry should be curtailed because it was unprofitable. The Trotskyites also insisted on the closure of the Putilov, Sormovo, Bryansk and other factories, claiming that economically they were inefficient. Events proved that the Trotskyites were completely wrong: all these and other factories overcame their difficulties and became an important factor in the rehabilitation and development of socialist industry.

Lenin urged the executives to master the art of rational management. In the draft report to the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets (December 1921), Lenin, noting certain

¹³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 546.

successes, wrote: "We began to study more seriously; all of us, the Party, the state bodies and trade unions, began to give more thought, consideration and attention to the art of building up economy, managing industrial enterprises and rehabilitating and operating large-scale industries."¹⁴

The introduction of the self-supporting principle and the new system of wages (wage rates instead of the uniform distribution of products), the bonus system for executive officials of plants and factories, and the encouragement of emulation helped to strengthen discipline and raise labour productivity. Lenin emphasised the need to raise the material interest of working people. "Personal incentive," he wrote, "will step up production; we must increase production first and foremost and at all costs."¹⁵ These and other measures helped to recruit qualified workers and specialists for industry and step up its rehabilitation. In 1921 in the Donbas, for instance, the output of coal reached 350 million poods ^{15a} as against 272 million in 1920. Addressing the Ninth Congress of Soviets, Lenin said: "This is a very, very small figure compared to the maximum pre-war figure—1,700 million. But still it is something. It proves that there is an important advance."¹⁶

Thanks to the constant concern of Lenin, the Party and the Government, the country rehabilitated its oil industry and implemented the Plan for the Electrification of the RSFSR. In his report to the Ninth Congress of Soviets, Lenin noted that in 1920-21 a total of 221 electric power stations of 12,000 kw aggregate capacity were commissioned as compared with only 51 stations of 3,500 kw capacity commissioned in 1918-19. "Of course, when these figures are compared with Western Europe they seem extremely small and paltry. But they show that progress can be made even in face of difficulties such as no country has ever experienced."¹⁷

The restoration of the coal and oil industries and the increase in fuel resources stimulated the rehabilitation of heavy

¹⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. 44, pp. 491—92, Fifth Russ. ed.

¹⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 59.

^{15a} Pood=16 kilogrammes.—Ed.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 168.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 169.

industry, including metallurgy.¹⁸ The Resolution of the 13th Party Congress said, in part: "Since the fuel problem has been solved, transport repaired and the currency reform carried out, it is now the turn of metal."^{18a} In the resolution on the Central Committee's report, the Congress underscored the need to develop metallurgy, without which it was impossible to set the light industry, transport, electric power engineering and agriculture going on a sound basis. The Congress gave the general directive for the priority development of heavy industry. It stressed that to set up the production of the means of production in the USSR was tantamount to creating a firm basis for the development of the socialist economy and to achieving independence from imports of industrial equipment from abroad. That was a great contribution to the rehabilitation and development of the metallurgical industry.

Lenin paid much attention to the introduction of advanced technology and to technical progress. He advised planners and managers to compile economic development plans in keeping with contemporary achievements in science and technology, and he encouraged and supported scientific discoveries and technical improvements aimed at raising the productivity of labour.

Tremendous, unbelievable difficulties stood in the way of rehabilitating and developing heavy industry. But, as Lenin believed, these difficulties could be overcome thanks to the advantages of the socialist mode of production and the new production relations in large-scale industry. "Notwithstanding the ruin, poverty, backwardness and starvation prevailing in our country," he wrote in February 1922. "In the *economics* that prepare the way for socialism we have *begun to make progress*, while side by side with us, all over the world, countries which are more advanced, and a thousand

¹⁸ The need for the quick restoration of the metallurgical industry was indicated in the Decree by the Council of Labour and Defence, which was signed by Lenin on November 2, 1921. The Decree instructed the State Planning Committee to draft within two weeks (three weeks for the Urals) a programme for the production of metals, coke and ores, and expand to the maximum the existing technical opportunities.

^{18a} *13th Congress of the RCP(B). Minutes*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 601-02.

times wealthier and militarily stronger than we are, *are still retrogressing in their own vaunted, familiar, capitalist economic field, in which they have worked for centuries.*"¹⁹

Lenin's instructions and behests became the principal course in the Communist Party's policy of socialist industrialisation. Nearly all Party congresses and conferences discussed the development of heavy industry. The Party spared no effort to achieve the technical and economic independence of the Soviet Union and to put the country in a position to render industrial aid to countries taking the road of socialism.

By the end of the rehabilitation period the country, through implementing Lenin's economic policy, had attained considerable success; by the end of 1925 agriculture was putting out 87 per cent of the pre-war figure. Large-scale industry was fully restored to its former state. The Soviet Union considerably outstripped the principal capitalist countries of Europe in the rate of industrial development. In the financial year 1924-25 the gross industrial output reached 75.5 per cent of the pre-war level; the light industry and the food industry were catching up; the railway transport, the fuel and textile industries were restored. The share of the state and co-operative sectors in the gross output was rising, the share of the private sector was falling. The general volume of internal trade reached 70 per cent of the pre-war figure, and of that volume the private sector accounted for only 25 per cent.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, were successfully implementing Lenin's electrification plan. They built the Kashira, Shatura, Nizhny Novgorod (Balakhna), Red October (in Leningrad) and Kizel electric power stations and the Volkhov Hydroelectric Power Station. The plan was put into effect at an unprecedented rate.

The rehabilitation of the national economy brought out the advantages of the Soviet planned economy. The public ownership of the means of production, the Party's correct policy and organisational work ensured the swift rehabilitation of the country's economy. Relying on the New Economic Policy, the proletariat was ousting the capitalist elements

¹⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 207.

from the economy and consolidating the socialist sector. The question "who will beat whom?" was undeniably being settled in favour of socialism.

But at the same time the country was experiencing serious internal difficulties. Private capitalist elements tried to hold their own, the material position of certain groups of workers remained unsatisfactory, unemployment was rife. The so-called commodity hunger threatened the unity of nationalised industry with the small-commodity peasant economy.

The Communist Party mobilised the Soviet people to overcome these difficulties; it guided them along the road to socialism and defended the country's independent economic development. The consolidation of the Soviet Union's internal and external political situation made the Party and the Soviet people more confident in the feasibility of Lenin's plan for building socialism.

By the end of the rehabilitation period, the international situation had changed. For the time being, capitalism was stabilised and the pace of world proletarian revolution had slackened. Under the circumstances, the dominating questions on the agenda were the prospects for the building of socialism, the victory of socialism, and whether or not it would be complete and final. Relying on Lenin's teaching, the Party came to the conclusion that the Soviet people had everything they needed to build socialism through their own efforts.

The Party pointed out that there were two aspects to the problem of the victory of socialism in one country—the internal and the international aspects, and that the principal point was the question of guarantee from a restoration of capitalism. The internal conditions for the building of socialism in the USSR were quite favourable, but, given capitalist encirclement, the danger of intervention and the restoration of capitalism remained. The 14th Party Conference in April 1925 decided that the Party should "devote all its efforts to building socialist society in full confidence that these efforts can and will be triumphant if we succeed in protecting the country from all attempts at restoration."²⁰

²⁰ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Moscow, 1970, Vol. 3, p. 214.

The Conference once again underlined that the USSR had all the necessary prerequisites for building socialism and that victory could be achieved by a correct policy towards the peasantry in the country, and by a correct foreign policy. The Russian Communist Party had to overcome all the difficulties stemming from the slackening pace of world revolution. The Conference resolutely came out against Trotsky's assertion that it was impossible to build socialism without the state assistance of the European proletariat, and it condemned his position which doomed the proletariat of the Soviet Union to fatalistic passivity. The Conference stated that the Party's task was to build socialism with courage and resolution.

The Conference developed and gave concrete expression to Lenin's teaching about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. Its conclusions about the future of socialism in the USSR and the possibility of building it indicated to the working people the prospects in the struggle for the building and victory of the new society. The Conference was of tremendous significance for the international workers' and communist movement: it inspired the Communists and the proletarians of all countries to fight for a bright future.

History proved the correctness of the Party's conclusions about the building of socialism in the USSR.²¹

The Party's directive for the building of socialism and the economic independence of the USSR was fiercely opposed by opportunists who denied the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. The internal difficulties encouraged Trotsky and his follower Preobrazhensky and also the "new opposition" headed by Zinoviev and Kamenev. In essence, the opportunists wanted to turn the country into an agrarian and raw material appendage of the imperialist states and to cultivate private, particularly foreign, capitalism. Kamenev and Sokolnikov opposed the development of home industry. Sokolnikov frankly declared that the country's economy should be orientated towards the development of agricultural export

²¹ In a new historical situation, in 1959, the 21st Party Congress proclaimed in its decisions that socialism had won a complete and final victory in the USSR.

and the import of manufactured goods from abroad. They wanted to involve the Soviet Union in Dawes' plan.^{21a} The Party unmasked and countered all attempts by followers of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other opportunists to prove that the country's economic and technical backwardness was an insurmountable barrier to socialism. The Party made it plain that the so-called theories and actions of opportunists were nothing but a counter-revolutionary attempt to frustrate the Party's Leninist course of building socialism in the USSR. The Party decided to make the country economically independent of foreign countries in the home market. That required the intense development of heavy industry at home.

In December 1925 the Party held its 14th Congress, which went down in history as the Congress for the country's socialist industrialisation. The Congress noted with great satisfaction the remarkable achievements in the rehabilitation of the national economy. However, the Congress pointed out, that was only the first step in building a firm material and technical foundation for socialism. Economically and technically, the country remained backward, which created a threat that the imperialist countries could enslave the Soviet Union economically, and which endangered the country's defence potential. Economic backwardness prevented the country from showing the great advantages of socialism over capitalism, and that, in turn, slowed down the world revolutionary movement.

The task, therefore, was to surmount the technical and economic backwardness and develop socialist industry, particularly heavy industry. That was in the interests of building socialism in the USSR, and also in the interests of the world proletariat and the working people of all countries.

Being a component of Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR, socialist industrialisation became actually feasible only after the rehabilitation of the country's economy and as a result of the consolidation of the alliance of workers and peasants and the improvement of living standards. On

^{21a} According to the plan drawn up by Dawes in the United States, Germany was to fleece other countries, primarily the Soviet Union, in order to pay the reparation sums. That would have turned the USSR into an economic appendage of Germany.

these grounds the 14th Party Congress proclaimed the course of socialist industrialisation. The Congress approved the Central Committee's policy of priority development of heavy industry. Its directive read: "In building up the economy, the goal should be to change the USSR from a country importing machines and equipment into a country manufacturing machines and equipment, so as to prevent the USSR, in conditions of capitalist encirclement, from becoming an economic appendage of the world capitalist economy, to make the USSR an independent economic unit, built on the principles of socialism and capable, thanks to its economic growth, of serving as a mighty instrument of revolutionising the workers of all countries and the oppressed peoples in colonies and semi-colonies."²²

The Party declared that its general line was that of socialist industrialisation. The Congress underlined with particular force that the course of industrialisation, being one of the most important directives given by Lenin, acquired the character of Party law. The direct and urgent task of the Party, the working class and all Soviet people was the development of heavy industry and its core—machine-building.

By the end of 1927 the industry's gross output surpassed the level of 1913.

Great successes in the country's industrial development were scored during the first two five-year plans. The first five-year plan gave birth to the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station and such major factories as the Stalingrad Tractor Works, the Urals Machine-Building Plant, the Gorky Automobile Works, the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Works, the Rostov Farm Machinery Plant and many others. The fulfilment of the first five-year plan resulted in the creation of new industries—machine-tool manufacture, chemical, aviation, farm machinery and other industries. During the first and second five-year plan periods the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, created the material and technical basis of socialism, and by 1937 the USSR became an advanced industrial state. By that time the country had commissioned

²² *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Vol. 3, p. 245.

6,000 new plants and factories, and the output of industrial products went up 4.5 times. It took the United States, for instance, nearly 40 years (from 1890 to 1929) to reach the level of industrial production which the Soviet Union reached in just 10 years. In 1937 the gross industrial output of large-scale industry topped the figure for 1913 by 8 times. The Soviet Union succeeded in satisfying its needs in machines and equipment, and in 1937 began to export them. The industrialisation helped to create a powerful defence industry, modernise industry and transport on the basis of advanced engineering, and greatly enhance the mechanisation of industrial production. That signified the victory of the Party's general line and the triumph of Lenin's plan for industrialisation.

In 1939 the 18th Party Congress approved the third five-year economic development plan for 1938-42, but its implementation was torpedoed by the treacherous aggression of nazi Germany. The Party's execution of Lenin's programme for industrialisation was an important factor in the defeat of the nazi aggressors and Japanese militarists during the Great Patriotic War.

In the post-war period the country continued to increase its industrial power. In 1950—the last year of the fourth five-year plan—the output of industry was 73 per cent higher than in 1940. More than 6,000 industrial enterprises were repaired or built during the period. Great successes in the development of heavy industry were made in the following years, particularly during the seven-year plan period (1959-65). Industrial production increased by 84 per cent instead of 80 per cent as originally planned; nearly 5,500 big industrial enterprises were commissioned; electric power available per worker in industry was increased by 60 per cent.²³

The implementation of Lenin's plan for industrialisation was marked by tremendous successes. They can be assessed from the following figures. In 1926—the year following the 14th Party Congress—the country produced 2.9 million tons of steel, in 1965, the concluding year of the seven-year plan,

²³ *Documents of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1966, p. 316.

it produced 91 million tons of steel; the output of electric power increased from 3,500 million to 507,000 million kwh, and of oil, from 8.3 million to 243 million tons. New successes in the output of industrial products were scored during the eighth five-year plan. In 1970 the country produced 116 million tons of steel, 740,000 million kwh of electricity, and 353 million tons of oil. These figures were reported by Leonid Brezhnev to the 24th Party Congress. The fact that in 1970 alone the country produced approximately twice as many industrial products as during all the pre-war five-year plans taken together²⁴ is a fine illustration of the increased capacity of socialist production. Today the Soviet Union holds the world's second place in the volume of industrial production, and even the first place in the case of certain types of products.

Another eloquent illustration of the Soviet Union's high industrial level is the fact that it occupies advanced positions in space research, nuclear physics, electronics, radio engineering, metallurgy, rocket engineering, aircraft construction and other fields of science and engineering. Today the Soviet Union possesses modern, first-class military equipment and armaments for the defence of the country and the whole socialist camp against any aggression. Socialist industry has ensured the development of the entire economy of the USSR and an improvement in the living standards of the Soviet people.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union overcomes all difficulties in its way and confidently implements the policy of raising further the level of industry and the entire economy.

During the eighth five-year plan the Communist Party, implementing the economic development plan approved by the 23rd Congress, did much to improve economic management. Addressing the 24th Party Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The Central Committee plenary meetings, CC decisions and those of the Council of Ministers of the USSR resolved major economic problems. Special mention should be made of the importance of the May (1966) and July (1970) Plenary Meet-

²⁴ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 42.

ings, which worked out a comprehensive long-term development programme for agriculture, and of the December (1969) Plenary Meeting, which discussed fundamental questions of the development of our economy, such as the ways to enhance the effectiveness of production and improve management."²⁵

All this convincingly proves that the Party, exercising its guiding role, penetrates deeply into the essence of economic relations in Soviet society and employs the economic laws of socialism for building the material and technical basis of communism.

2. CO-OPERATION—THE PEASANTRY'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM

An important part of Lenin's plan for socialism construction was the co-operation of small-scale peasant economies and their switching onto the socialist lines. In his programme work "On Co-operation" Lenin stressed that the organisation of co-operatives was the only acceptable, simple, easy, comprehensive and feasible road to collective farming. The co-operatives take care of the personal and collective interests of the peasants. He wrote: "And given social ownership of the means of production, given the class victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the system of civilised co-operators is the system of socialism."²⁶

The reason for the socialist transformation of agriculture was that small-commodity production could not free the masses of working peasants from ruin, poverty and the kulak yoke. The kulaks, the last exploiting class, could be abolished only on the basis of the voluntary union of millions of peasant households and the replacement of the peasant small-commodity production by large-scale socialised socialist production in agriculture.

In implementing Lenin's idea of co-operating agriculture, the Communist Party involved millions of peasants in

²⁵ Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 45.

²⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 471.

socialist construction through the simplest forms of co-operatives—marketing, purchasing, supply, and later, when the peasants voluntarily united in large collective farms (*kolkhozy*) through production co-operatives.

The setting up of agricultural co-operatives under NEP was proclaimed by the decree which the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars published on August 16, 1921. The decree, entitled "On Agricultural Co-operation" and signed by Lenin and Kalinin, gave the peasants the right to organise all types of agricultural co-operative societies. It attributed enormous significance to the organisation of co-operatives. All government agencies were instructed to render every possible assistance to the peasants.

Primary attention was focussed on the development of trade between town and country as an essential prerequisite for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. As a result, the economic ties between towns and villages were becoming stronger, the supply of manufactured goods to villages was improved, and that included farm machines and implements (the supply of the latter was wholly in the hands of the state and co-operative organisations). The marketing-and-supply and credit co-operatives in villages were increasing in number and importance; state and co-operative organisations occupied key positions in the procurement and purchases of grain, cotton and sugar beet in villages. The state and co-operative networks provided the peasants with more than half of the manufactured goods they required.

At the same time production co-operatives—communes, artels and societies for collective cultivation of the land—were increasing in number and gathering strength. A total of 900,000 peasant farms had joined simple production co-operatives by October 1, 1927.²⁷ A great contribution to the preparation of the mass collectivisation was made by the state-co-operative machine hire stations. They were very popular with the peasants.

²⁷ *National Economy of the USSR, Statistical Data*, Moscow, 1956, p. 99 (in Russian).

Some middle peasants, however, left the collective farms during the first years of NEP, and fewer peasants joined the artels. The subversive activities of kulak elements struck heavily against the collective farms. The system of land tenure was imperfect and the organisational and economic position of agricultural artels was weak. But the most serious drawback was the fact that the state had no means of fully supplying the peasants with farm machines.

Gradually, thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party and constant assistance from the Soviet Government, the collective farms overcame all difficulties and strengthened their position. The collective farms, being the highest form of production co-operatives, indicated the development prospects for all simple forms of agricultural co-operation. But during the NEP period they themselves were only in the embryo. The conditions for the transition to collective farming began to appear in the second half of 1927, after the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, scored notable successes in the development of heavy industry.

In December 1927 the 15th Congress of the CPSU(B) decided to launch the collectivisation campaign on a mass scale. In its decisions the Congress pointed out that the collectivisation of agriculture was required by the economic laws of development of socialist society, primarily by the fundamental economic law of socialism. As we know, socialist industrialisation, based on the social ownership of the means of production, proceeded at an exceptionally fast rate. But the small-commodity farming, based on private ownership was developing at a relatively slow pace, and lagged visibly behind industry. The economy was seriously unbalanced, and the urgent task was to ensure balanced rates of development of industry and agriculture. That could be done only by reorganising agriculture along socialist lines. In the meantime, the Right-wing opportunists headed by Bukharin attempted to capitalise on the difficulties. They stubbornly defended the position of the kulaks. It was clear to them that the implementation of the decisions of the 15th Congress would usher socialism into the villages, and so, in an attempt to frustrate the Party's Leninist course, they began to spread a false rumour to the effect that the disproportion was caused by the Party's policy which, they claimed,

violated the economic law of balanced sectors, i.e., of the balanced development of the socialist and non-socialist sectors. The Right-wing deviationists refused to co-operate with the Party in implementing the most difficult task of the proletarian revolution after the seizure of power—the re-education of the millions of peasants, introduction of the new mode of production into their economy, consolidation of their alliance with the working class and converting them into active and conscientious builders of socialism.

The Party repulsed the Right-wing opportunists and demonstrated to all that it correctly understood the law of the planned and balanced development of the national economy. In order to eliminate the disproportion, the Party decided to raise the tempo of industrialisation and, simultaneously, to reorganise agriculture on the basis of large-scale machine production, and to amalgamate small and scattered peasant farms into large collective farms on the basis of advanced engineering.

The implementation of the Party's general programme of industrialisation resulted in radical changes in the development of heavy industry in 1926-29, particularly in branches which catered for agriculture. In 1928-29 agriculture was supplied with machines and tractors to the sum of 236.9 million rubles.

Thus, the way towards socialist reorganisation of the countryside lay through the socialist industrialisation of the country. Heavy industry was the key to the reorganisation of agriculture. That was why the Party, having posed the task of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, concentrated its efforts on the development of industry as the principal source which was to nourish agricultural production.

In connection with the policy of the collectivisation of agriculture, proclaimed by the 15th Party Congress, the role of co-operatives was further enhanced. It was precisely the co-operatives that helped the peasantry along the road to socialism. It was necessary to find practical ways of transferring the middle peasants from co-operation in circulation to co-operation in production. The Party did all it could to encourage all types of co-operatives. In 1929 the number of all types of agricultural co-operatives exceeded 100,000 as compared with 54,800 in 1925. More than 55 per cent of all

poor and middle farms were amalgamated into co-operatives; by the end of 1928 rural consumer co-operatives had a membership of nearly 14 million.

The state farms, being consistently socialist enterprises, played an outstanding role in preparing the peasants for collectivisation. In 1926-27 there were 5,864 state farms. Their principal task was to serve as models of large-scale socialist economy, to maintain close links with the local peasantry, win their confidence, demonstrate the advantages of state farms over small-scale economy and popularise modern machines and agronomical methods in agriculture. In addition, they rendered economic, agronomical and other assistance to the villages and organised tractor columns which worked on the fields of artels on a contract basis.

Agricultural communes and artels also made a priceless contribution to the mass collectivisation. They set an example of how to pass from small-scale farming to large-scale collective agriculture. Thus Lenin's words, pronounced at the First Congress of Agricultural Communes and Agricultural Artels in 1919, came true. "We shall bring about a situation when each of the several thousand existing communes and artels will become a genuine nursery for communist ideas and views among the peasants, a practical example showing them that, although it is still a small and feeble growth, it is nevertheless not an artificial, hothouse growth, but a true growth of the new socialist system,"²⁸ said Lenin.

The Party waged a resolute struggle against the Right-wing opportunists who tried to push it on to the road of discord with the middle peasants, the road of neglecting the need to organise the poor peasants, the road of truce with the kulaks. The Party consolidated in every way the alliance of the working class with the middle peasants. It urged them to take up collective farming, become an active force in the struggle against the village usurers, the kulaks—the remaining class of exploiters—and directly participate in the building of socialism.

The countryside was undergoing a process of class differentiation. The sector of the middle peasants, who were becoming the leading force in agriculture, was expanding, but so

²⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 204.

too was the wealthy capitalist upper crust of the peasantry. The kulaks constituted 5.2 per cent of the rural population, the middle peasants 71.9 per cent, the poor peasants 18.7 per cent, and the agricultural proletariat, 4.2 per cent. Describing the situation in the countryside before collectivisation, the 15th Party Congress noted: "As distinct from the capitalist type of development, which finds expression in the *weakening* ('erosion') of the middle peasantry and the growth of the polar groups of poor peasants and the kulaks, we see before us the process of the *strengthening* of the middle peasants with a temporary, though not significant, growth of the kulak group at the expense of the wealthy portion of the middle peasants, and the reduction of the group of poor peasants, a certain portion of whom become proletarians, while another portion, more numerical, gradually passes into the group of middle peasants."²⁹

The peculiar aspects of the class differentiation in the countryside were clearly reflected in the output of farm products. Before the Revolution the kulaks produced 1,900 million poods of grain, but in 1926-27 they accounted for only 617 million poods, while the poor and middle peasants increased their grain production in the same period from 2,500 million to 4,052 million poods.³⁰ The economy of the broad masses of peasants was on the upswing, socialism was successfully ousting capitalism.

After the 15th Party Congress the class differentiation in the countryside was intensified. The shift to the policy of collectivisation required new measures which, in essence, were to increase the pressure on the kulaks. In taxation, that was expressed in progressively higher taxes on wealthy sectors of the village population, complete tax exemption for poor peasants and a reduction of taxes for middle peasants.

The measures taken by the Party and the Government for restricting and ousting kulaks deepened the process of differentiation among the peasants: the number of economically weak farms was decreasing, and so was the number of kulak farms, but the numbers of middle peasants were rising.

²⁹ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1970, p. 55.

³⁰ *Decade of Soviet Power in Figures (1917-27)*, Moscow, 1928.

The Soviet state rendered tangible financial and economic assistance to poor and middle peasants. The union between town and country was established not only in trade, but also in production. The working class, relying on the poor peasants and strengthening its alliance with the middle peasantry, succeeded in enforcing a greater isolation of the kulaks.

During the grain-procurement campaign in 1928 the kulaks concealed grain, refused to sell it to the state at fixed prices, and took their time, waiting for the opportunity to sell the grain at better prices. The Government, supported by the poor and middle peasants, took strict measures against the kulaks. It regarded their refusal to deliver grain at fixed prices as political sabotage and a malicious crime against the people. The resistance of the kulaks was broken, and the alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry was made stronger.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government continued to prepare the countryside for mass collectivisation. The ideas behind collectivisation were widely publicised, and the material and financial aid to the existing agricultural artels was increased; they got more tractors, machines, etc. The state set up bodies to be directly responsible for running the collective farms. Back in 1924 a department of collective farming was formed at the All-Russia Union of Agricultural Co-operatives (Selskosoyuz). In 1925 the Government inaugurated the All-Union Council of Collective Farms which was charged with exercising unified general leadership of the collective-farm movement and organising an exchange of experience of collectivisation in different Union republics. In 1925 the local departments of collective farming were reorganised into autonomous collective-farm sectors in regional and area co-operative unions.

A conspicuous part in preparing and developing the collective-farm movement was played by the Collective-Farm Centre of the RSFSR and similar agencies in the other Union Republics which were founded in 1927. The All-Union Council of Collective Farms and the collective-farm centres of the Union Republics conducted an enormous amount of work with the help of local collective-farm sectors and bureaus. The links between the collective-farm system and

the other systems of agricultural co-operatives were becoming stronger and more numerous; courses were opened to train collective-farm executives, etc.

The old collective farms which emerged before the year of the great change, i.e., before 1929, were growing and becoming stronger, setting an example for the new way of farming. The crop yields on the collective farms were much higher than on private farms, cattle-breeding was better and so was land cultivation. In comparison with 1925 the collective farms of the Central Black-Earth Belt, for example, got 39.8 per cent more winter rye, 37 per cent more winter wheat, 32 per cent more spring wheat, and 40.7 per cent more oats.³¹ The same was true of the other districts in the RSFSR.

By their economic achievements, ties with the local peasants and assistance given to them, the first collective farms proved in action the advantages of the new way of farming and prompted the private peasants to take the road of collective cultivation of the land. In the second half of 1929 the collective-farm movement gained momentum. The following figures illustrate the point: from July 1928 to July 1929 the number of kolkhoz farms increased by 591,000, whereas in just four months in 1929, from July to October, the increase amounted to 911,700.³² Thus, there was a marked increase in the rate of collectivisation. The old collective farms were soon surrounded by a whole network of new collective farms which united the masses of poor and middle peasants.³³

In April 1929 the 16th Party Conference noted that not only poor, but also middle peasants, were beginning to join

³¹ *Collective Farms in the USSR. Statistical Data*, Moscow, 1929, p. 25.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

³³ At first only poor peasants joined the collective farms, while most middle peasants preferred to bide their time and watch the developments. When the collective farms left behind both middle and kulak farms, the middle peasants became bolder and began to join them. They were also prompted by the simplest forms of co-operation, which familiarised middle peasants with the collective way of work, and also by the machine-and-tractor stations which demonstrated the advantages of modern farm machinery over the primitive tools and implements used by individual peasants.

the collective farms. The Conference, however, found that the results of collectivisation were not quite satisfactory. It instructed Communists in the co-operative movement to step up the collectivisation in the countryside and give practical assistance to the primary co-operative production associations. The Conference called on all workers and working peasants to intensify their efforts in building large-scale socialised agriculture.

The collectivisation of agriculture was greatly enhanced by the defeat of the Right-wing opportunist group of Bukharin and Rykov, which presented the principal threat to the Party and which became a mouthpiece of anti-Soviet elements at home and abroad. The Right-wing opportunists wanted to save the kulaks at all costs. Since they denied the possibility of building socialism in the Soviet Union, they opposed the abolition of the capitalist elements and attempted to frustrate the organisation of production co-operatives in the countryside.

The Communist Party routed the Right-wing opportunists. The Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU(B) in November 1928, the April Joint Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee (1929) and the 16th Party Conference condemned the position of the Right-wing faction, and the November Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in 1929 declared the propaganda of Right-wing views to be incompatible with membership in the Party. Having decisively crushed the Right-wing defeatists the Party took the course of mass collectivisation in agriculture.

In the summer of 1929 the countryside arrived at a great turning point; middle peasants began to join the collective farms, and not only in groups: whole villages, *volosts* and districts joined.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government, relying on the support and initiative of the working masses, organised the mass transfer of peasants from simple commodity production to collective, socialist production. The process was not spontaneous, it was conducted according to the plan worked out by the Communist Party which was relying on the fundamental economic law of socialism and acting in conformity with the need of the balanced development of the entire economy.

The Communist Party's policy of organising the collective-farm system and eliminating the kulaks as a class was sealed in the resolution of the CC CPSU(B) of January 5, 1930, "On the Rate of Collectivisation and the State Measures of Assistance to the Collective-Farm Movement".³⁴ This exceptionally important document fixed scientifically substantiated time-limits for the collectivisation of the majority of peasants; collectivisation was to be completed during the first five-year plan. Three groups of areas were established with particular and approximate time-limits for each and with due regard for the peculiarities in the development and economic importance of each area in the country's economy and their readiness for mass collectivisation. The first group—the North Caucasus, Lower Volga and Middle Volga areas—was to complete collectivisation within one and a half years; the second group—the Central Black-Earth Belt, the Ukraine, the Urals, Siberia and the grain-growing regions of Kazakhstan—within two and a half years; and the third group—the Central non-Black-Earth Belt, the Byelorussian SSR, Central Asia and Transcaucasia—within four years.

The collectivisation of peasants was based on the principle of voluntariness and greater unity of the working class and middle peasants against the kulaks. The Party decided that the collective farm (agricultural artel) was to be the basic form of the collective-farm movement. The collective farm is a co-operative, socialist enterprise but is distinct from socialist public enterprises, such as the state farm. The group property in the collective farm belongs to individual collectives, while in the state farm, it belongs to the whole of society, i.e., to the state. The Party, therefore, warned against attempts to introduce in the collective farms the organisational system of management employed in the state farms. The 16th Party Congress stressed: "As *distinct from the state farm*, which is a *state* enterprise, organised on state funds, the collective farm is a voluntary public association of peasants, founded *on the means of the peasants themselves*, with all the consequences this fact entails."³⁵

³⁴ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Vol. 4, pp. 383-86.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

It should be noted that the most simple form of collective farms were societies for collective cultivation of the land. In such societies only land tenure and land cultivation were socialised, while the means of production and cattle were the private property of the collective farmers. The agricultural artel is the highest form of collective farm. Fields, labour, land tenure, all means of production, draught animals and farm premises are socialised there. In the artel, therefore, the private ownership of the means of production is replaced by group, artel, co-operative property. But the farmers are allowed to keep house and garden plots, cattle, poultry and small implements. The communes—the third form of collective farms with no subsidiary farming—proved to be inefficient in the economic conditions of those years. They were replaced by agricultural artels, which were recognised as the principal form of the collective-farm movement.

At the instigation of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite restorers of capitalism, the kulaks fiercely opposed the development of the collective-farm movement. True, there were serious mistakes and excesses during the collectivisation. The principle of voluntariness was often violated, endangering the alliance of the working class and the peasantry; some people ignored to take into consideration the degree of readiness of different districts for collectivisation.

The Communist Party took appropriate steps to prevent the excesses. On March 14, 1930 the CC CPSU(B) adopted a resolution "On the Struggle Against the Distortion of the Party Line in the Collective-Farm Movement", in which it indicated the reasons for the mistakes during the collectivisation and condemned methods of commandeering and coercion against the middle peasants as incompatible with Leninism and Lenin's idea of co-operation in agriculture.

The distortion of the Party's line was a serious blow to the collective-farm movement and it somewhat slackened its pace. However, the healthy principles of collectivisation, worked out during the building of socialism in the country, proved their worth and soon prevailed. In a short time the collective-farm movement, directed by the Communist Party, overcame all difficulties and developed further. The following figures are a fine illustration of collectivisation in the USSR: in June-July 1928 some 1.7 per cent of the peasantry

were collectivised; in 1929 the percentage was 3.9; in 1930—23.6 per cent; in 1931—52.7 per cent; in 1932—61.5 per cent; in 1933—64.4 per cent; and in June-July 1934—71.4 per cent.³⁶

Thus, practice proved the correctness of the plan of collectivisation, adopted by the Party on November 5, 1930, the implementation of which was to be completed in the main by the end of the first five-year plan period.

It should be noted that one of the main results of the reorganisational period in the countryside was the mass transition of poor and middle peasants in the Union Republics to the collective methods of agriculture. In 1934 collectivisation was completed all over the country with the exception of the Tajik SSR, Transcaucasia, Daghestan and a few other insufficiently prepared regions.

Lenin's co-operative plan was realised. So try as they will to discredit the idea of collectivisation in the USSR and depict it as something forced "from the top", Leonard Shapiro, Alfred G. Meyer, Robert Daniels and other Western "experts on Marxism" will never succeed in refuting the undeniable facts that mass collectivisation in the Soviet Union was prepared by the entire course of building socialism, that it was a natural outcome of socialisation and that the poor and middle peasants chose Lenin's plan of collective farming of their own accord.

During the collectivisation and on its basis the country solved the exceptionally important political problem of the elimination of the kulaks—the last class of exploiters in the USSR.

On February 1, 1930, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted a resolution "On Measures for Strengthening the Socialist Reorganisation of Agriculture in Districts with Mass Collectivisation and for Fighting the Kulaks". All laws allowing land-tenure and hired labour on private farms were abolished, the local authorities were empowered to confiscate the property of the kulaks and exile them from districts, ter-

³⁶ *Agriculture in the USSR*, Yearbook (1935), Moscow, 1936, pp. 633-34; *Building of Socialism in the USSR*, Statistical Yearbook, Moscow, 1934, p. 159.

ritories and regions. For this purpose special commissions for dispossession of the kulaks were set up. They were composed of poor and middle peasants, farmhands and workers delegated by trade unions. The kulaks' property was handed over to the collective farms' indivisible funds. By January 1933, when most of poor and middle peasants had joined the collective farms, the kulaks were eliminated as a class.

The state continued to render great assistance in strengthening the co-operative, collective-farm apparatus. At the decision of the November 1929 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, 25,000 regular workers, including many Communists, went to work permanently in collective farms and machine-and-tractor stations (MTS). An important role was played by the political departments in the MTS, which were inaugurated by a decision of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee in January 1933. Some 17,000 Communists, who were sent to the political departments in the MTS, engaged in propaganda and organisational work among collective farmers.

In addition there was a widespread practice of sending workers' teams to villages for organising collective farms and rendering cultural and other aid. By the beginning of the spring sowing in 1929 the worker patronage societies of Moscow and Moscow Region organised 261 collective farms and dozens of machine and other associations.

In 1937 the collective farms unified 93 per cent of the total number of farms and had more than 99 per cent of the ploughlands. Thus it took a little over 10 years to prepare and complete the collectivisation of agriculture. Lenin's vision had become reality.

The implementation of Lenin's co-operative plan radically changed the social and economic structure of agriculture. Some 25 million small farms were replaced by tens of thousands of big collective farms. The situation was favourable for the elimination of the antithesis between town and country.

The victory of the collective-farm system gave birth to a new class—the collective-farm peasantry. Only two friendly classes remained in the country—the working class and the collective-farm peasantry together with the Soviet intelligentsia which emerged from their ranks.

The difference between workers and collective farmers was determined by the difference between the two forms of socialist property: the public ownership of the means of production and the output of production in industry, and the group, collective-farm ownership of the means of production and products on collective farms. The goals of these two classes, however, are common—socialism and communism.

As a result of the victory of the collective-farm system, the question “who will beat whom?” was answered in favour of socialism. NEP had fulfilled its historical mission, the transitional period from capitalism to socialism expired.

The Party and the Government were always concerned with the mechanisation of socialist agriculture. In 1929 there were 18,000 tractors (in terms of 15 hp); in 1933—148,000; in 1941—684,000; the respective figures for harvester combines were 2; 14,000 and 182,000; for lorries 700, 14,000 and 228,000.³⁷ It would be well to recall here that tsarist Russia had no such machines at all; all it had in 1910 were 10 million wooden ploughs, 4.2 million iron ploughs and 17.7 million wooden harrows.³⁸

At a definite stage of the development of collective farming its mechanisation was greatly advanced by the MTS. In November 1929 the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU(B) underlined that “in creating broad possibilities for utilising the advantages of modern machinery on farms, the machine-and-tractor stations must become centres of mass collectivisation of entire districts.”³⁹ The MTS were state, essentially socialist, enterprises. They catered efficiently for collective farms and helped collective farmers to raise the market production of agriculture.

The Communist Party adopted the collectivisation policy which had been scientifically worked out and substantiated by Lenin. During the years of collectivisation the workers and peasants were acquiring greater political maturity. The peasantry realised that only the road of collectivisation could

³⁷ *Forty Years of Soviet Power in Figures, Statistical Data*, Moscow, 1957, p. 150 (in Russian).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

³⁹ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Vol. 4, p. 348.

bring it to a free and happy life and that only its strong and inviolable alliance with the working class and support for Lenin's Party could put an end to poverty and worry for the home and family. The peasants became convinced that collective farming guaranteed them a befitting place in society.

The collective-farm system delivered the peasantry from a hard life, made peasants masters of their own fate and brought them knowledge. However, as Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said, errors were made during collectivisation. “But,” he continued, “these were the mistakes of quest, errors due to lack of experience. The Party itself fearlessly uncovered these errors, openly told the people about them and rectified them. Unfortunately, there are still people about who love to exaggerate the cost of this big revolutionary job.”⁴⁰ The collective-farm system is a great gain made by the Soviet people under the Party's guidance. The Soviet working class, as the political leader of the peasantry and champion of the collective-farm system, supplied the collective farms with tractors and harvesters, lorries, farm machines and tools; at the Party's appeal, it sent its representatives to the countryside. The Soviet intelligentsia—thousands of teachers, doctors, agronomists, technicians—actively helped to consolidate and advance socialist relations in the countryside.

The collective-farm system in the Soviet Union resolved political, economic and social problems. It fortified the essential principle of the Soviet state—the alliance of workers and peasants, ushered in large-scale socialist agricultural production on a modern industrial base and introduced a new system of social relations in the countryside, thus setting the foundation for the complete abolition of class differences in Soviet society.

The collective-farm system justified itself in practice. In the grim years of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet peasants uninterruptedly supplied the country and the army with food, and industry with raw materials. On the average, the total number of workday units per able-bodied collective farmer

⁴⁰ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 233.

increased from 254 in 1940 to 352 in 1942.⁴¹ Thanks to the unstinting work of the collective farmers and the state-farm workers, most Union and autonomous republics, territories and regions succeeded in the very first period of the war in increasing the acreage of ploughland. The acreage in unoccupied areas grew from 62.6 million hectares in 1940 to 66.3 million in 1942, i.e., by 3.7 million hectares, including 2.3 million hectares under grain.⁴²

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the collective farmers overcame the difficulties of the first years of war and successfully accomplished their task throughout the remaining war period. From 1941 to 1945 the collective farms and state farms provided the state with 4,264 million poods of grain.⁴³ That was a more than threefold increase as compared to what Russia had obtained during the four years of World War I.

In the post-war years the collective-farm peasantry scored important successes under the leadership of the Communist Party. Collective farms were quickly re-established in areas liberated from the Nazi invaders. They were reinvigorated and strengthened all over the country. However, the rate of agricultural development was somewhat lower than that of socialist industry. The Party, therefore, took steps for the further development of agriculture. A conspicuous role in this respect was played by the September (1953) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU.

After the Plenary Meeting, the material and financial provisions for agriculture were improved. In 1953 the state budget and other state sources allocated 52,300 million rubles for the purpose. In the same year agriculture was supplied with 139,000 general-purpose tractors (in terms of 15 hp), 18,000 tractor-cultivators, 41,000 grain harvesters and more than 2 million farm implements and machines.

The Party is always concerned with the development of agriculture. The decisions of the 23rd and 24th Party con-

⁴¹ N. Voznesensky, *The War Economy of the USSR During the Patriotic War*, Moscow, 1948, p. 93 (in Russian).

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

gresses and many plenary meetings of the CC CPSU were aimed at the further improvement of agricultural production.

Lenin indicated to the Soviet peasantry the road to socialism through co-operation. In implementing Lenin's plan for co-operation, the Communist Party put into effect mass collectivisation and created large-scale socialist agriculture in the Soviet Union. The collective-farm system triumphed and became stronger, having passed the tests of peace and war. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the collective-farm peasantry, in close unity with the working class, is developing agricultural production and confidently advancing towards communism.

3. THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

When Lenin was working on his famous plan for building socialism in the USSR, he stressed the great importance of spreading culture. He said that the transfer of political power and the basic means of production to the working class was a vital prerequisite for the cultural revolution.

It is well known that the bourgeoisie is not interested in raising the cultural standards of the working people. It extends education to the working class, but only as much as is needed to create a competent labour force. "Neither under the reign of Tsar Nicholas," Lenin wrote, "nor under the Republican President Wilson were the propertyless proletarians at the bench and the peasants at the plough able to get a university education. Science and technology exist only for the rich, for the propertied class; capitalism provides culture only for the minority."⁴⁴ In tsarist Russia, nearly 70 per cent of men and 90 per cent of women were illiterate. In the outskirts of tsarist Russia—in Central Asia, the Caucasus and the North—those who could read and write among the working people were very much the exception. The revisionists—leaders of the Second International—produced the slogan of the so-called cultural level. They claimed that the proletariat should not take power until it had raised its own intelligentsia under capitalist conditions. This false theory

⁴⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 69-70.

was supported by the Mensheviks and the Trotskyites, who asserted that it was impossible to build socialism in illiterate Russia.

Lenin resolutely condemned this opportunist slogan. In the article "Our Revolution" he stressed that such views meant a renunciation of the proletarian revolution, because the working class could not raise its own intelligentsia under the conditions of capitalism. According to him, the technical, economic and cultural backwardness could be successfully overcome in the course of socialist construction.

The victory of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union created all the prerequisites for raising the cultural standards of the working people. At the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets Lenin said: "In the old days, human genius, the brain of man, created only to give some the benefits of technology and culture, and to deprive others of the bare necessities, education and development. From now on all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation."⁴⁵

According to Marxism-Leninism, the complete triumph of the socialist revolution comes when the political upheaval and the revolutionary reorganisation of the economy and social relations are tied up with the rising cultural standards of the people. Lenin made a profound study of the need for the cultural revolution, revealed the concrete content of its processes and worked out the fundamental principles of cultural construction. The cultural revolution, he said, is a whole period of the cultural development of the entire mass of the people; it is the elimination of illiteracy; it is the training of the people's intelligentsia; it is the development of science, literature and the arts; it is a profound revolution in the minds, the ideology and the spiritual life of the working people, and the re-education of the people in the spirit of socialism.

Lenin pointed out that the cultural revolution is not a sum-total of local or superficial measures. "... It will be a distinct historical epoch, and without this historical epoch... we

⁴⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 481-82.

shall not achieve our object."⁴⁶ He also noted that the socialist culture should be based on the intellectual gains of mankind. In changing the world by revolutionary means, the working masses become creators of a new type of culture.

Lenin's teaching on socialist culture and 50 odd years of experience in spreading culture in the USSR have dealt a smashing blow to bourgeois propaganda which claimed that the proletarian revolution destroyed culture once and for all.

The cultural revolution, which is a component of Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR, is noted for its gradual progress over a long period of time on the basis of social and economic transformations. At the Second All-Russia Congress of Political Education Departments in October 1921 Lenin said that the tasks of cultural construction could not be accomplished as quickly as the political or military tasks.⁴⁷

The socialist remoulding of the minds of the people, raising their cultural level and the fostering of the new man became practical tasks from the very first days of Soviet power. It was a great credit to Lenin and the Communist Party that they indicated a clear method for building socialism and the only correct and possible way to spiritually renovate the working people and to create the new man. The Communist Party—the leading and guiding force in Soviet society—mobilised the broad masses of the working people for the creation of the new, socialist culture. The working people regarded the cultural revolution as a vital necessity, and so they willingly participated in the creation of the new culture. It would have been impossible to carry out the cultural revolution without the participation of the broad masses.

As a component of the socialist revolution, the cultural revolution played a great part in the consolidation of the Soviet state. Lenin pointed out that the state "is strong when the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously"⁴⁸ The might of the Soviet state lies in the socialist consciousness of its people.

⁴⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 470.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 256.

The rising culture of the working people and the emergence of an intelligentsia from the ranks of workers and peasants became indispensable factors in the successful accomplishment of the country's industrialisation and electrification, higher labour productivity, collectivisation of agriculture and the technical re-equipment of the Army and Navy. As a result of the cultural revolution, all sectors of the economy and the armed forces were provided with highly trained specialists. The cultural revolution was beneficial to the progress of science, literature and the arts.

What were the tasks of the cultural revolution and how were they accomplished?

Lenin believed that the urgent task of the cultural revolution was to eliminate illiteracy, but that was only the first step. People should make practical application of their ability to read and write. At the First All-Russia Congress on Adult Education (1919) Lenin said that it was necessary to mobilise the literate to fight illiteracy.

In 1918 the first schools for illiterates were opened. In Lenin's decree of December 26, 1919 the elimination of illiteracy was declared a most important political task. The decree said that all the inhabitants of the Soviet Republic aged between 8 and 50 who could not read and write were obliged to learn to read and write in their native language or in Russian; the choice of language was theirs. The decree of the Council of People's Commissars of June 19, 1920 set up the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for the Elimination of Illiteracy under the auspices of the People's Commissariat for Education. Local commissions for the elimination of illiteracy were inaugurated in gubernias, uyezds and volosts.

The commissions accomplished a tremendous amount of work. They opened anti-illiteracy stations all over the country. According to data covering 41 gubernias, in November 1920 there were 12,067 such stations with a student body of 278,637 illiterates. By October 1921 the number of stations had increased to 37,163 with a total of 859,759 pupils.⁴⁹ In 1923 the "Down with Illiteracy!" socie-

⁴⁹ G. G. Karpov, *Soviet Culture and the Cultural Revolution in the USSR*, Moscow, 1954, pp. 111-12 (in Russian).

ty came into being; it had branches and representatives in gubernias, towns and enterprises. The society, headed by Kalinin, did much to eliminate illiteracy.

The Party and the Soviet Government paid much attention to the promotion of culture in the countryside. Reporting to the Eighth Party Congress on the work in the countryside, Lenin noted that in terms of culture the urban proletariat was more advanced than the peasantry. "There is no other country so barbarous and in which the masses of the people are *robbed* to such an extent of education, light and knowledge—no other such country has remained in Europe; Russia is the exception. This reversion of the masses of the people, especially the peasantry, to savagery is not fortuitous, it is *inevitable* under the yoke of the landowners."⁵⁰ It would take many years to raise the cultural standards in the countryside, Lenin said. Implementing political and economic measures in the countryside, the Party did all it could to promote the literacy and the consciousness of the peasant masses. The 12th Party Congress in 1923 stressed that cultural, political and Party work in villages should help to raise the peasantry to the level of literacy and consciousness which could ensure the socialist construction in the countryside.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government made great efforts to develop the culture of the formerly oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia. In the resolution "On the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the Nationalities Question," which the Tenth Party Congress adopted in 1921, it was said that the tsarist policy, the policy of landowners and the bourgeoisie towards non-Russians, had been to Russify them. This had caused underdevelopment, illiteracy and political backwardness among the peoples on the outskirts of tsarist Russia.

The Soviet state proclaimed full equality for all nations and peoples in Soviet Russia; it declared the freedom and inviolability of their creeds, customs and cultural institutions; it did all it could to give the formerly backward peoples access to the achievements of the proletarian material and

⁵⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 139.

spiritual culture. In 1923 the Fourth Conference of the CC CPSU(B) with officials from the national republics drew up a number of measures in the cultural field. It was planned to open clubs and other educational institutions, expand the network of educational establishments, organise literacy societies in local languages, etc. The Party opposed all signs of chauvinism and nationalism, and took steps to ensure the real economic and cultural equality of all nations.

Lenin believed that one of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution was the communist upbringing of the rising generation. In his famous speech at the Third Congress of the Komsomol he called on the young people, to study communism, and enrich themselves with the knowledge acquired by mankind. He said: "... while condemning the old schools, while harbouring an absolutely justified and necessary hatred for the old schools... we must replace the old system of instruction, the old cramming and the old drill, with an ability to acquire the sum-total of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism shall not be something to be learned by rote, but something that you yourself have thought over, something that will embody conclusions inevitable from the standpoint of present-day education".⁵¹ Lenin emphasised that youth should master science and technology so as to become active, really conscious builders of communist society.

Lenin determined the role and tasks of the school in building socialism and communism. His ideas were incorporated in the Programme adopted by the Eighth Congress. In his speeches, Lenin focussed particular attention on the link-up between the school and politics. "The reconstruction of education is no easy matter," he said. "And, naturally, mistakes have been and still are being made, as are attempts to misinterpret the principle of the ties between education and politics and to give it a crude and distorted meaning. Awkward attempts are being made to put politics into the minds of the younger generation when they have not been prepared enough for it."⁵² Lenin stressed that the most important task was the ideological and political direction of education and

⁵¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 288—89.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 408.

upbringing, and that it all depended primarily on the instructors. They were called upon to bring up the young generation in the spirit of communism and also to help the Party in educating the entire population. Lenin showed great concern for teachers, their spiritual maturity and material position. He wrote: "Our schoolteacher should be raised to a standard he has never achieved, and cannot achieve, in bourgeois society. This is a truism and requires no proof. We must strive for this state of affairs by working steadily, methodically and persistently to raise the teacher to a higher cultural level, to train him thoroughly for his really high calling and—mainly, mainly and mainly—to improve his position materially."⁵³

Free and compulsory general and polytechnical education for all boys and girls under 17 was being introduced; a network of pre-school establishments was being organised.

In spite of the difficulties which resulted from the Civil War and the economic chaos, the number of schools in 1918-20 was increased by nearly 13,000 in comparison with 1914-15, and the number of pupils, by almost 2 million.⁵⁴ The problem of training teachers was also being successfully solved. In 1921 there were nearly 60 teachers' training colleges, 154 three-year teachers' courses and 90 one-year courses.⁵⁵

A positive rôle in raising cultural standards was played by the historic decree of the Council of People's Commissars of January 1918, which separated the church from the state and the school from the church.⁵⁶ For the first time in human history religion was proclaimed the private affair of every citizen; the church was deprived of its privileged position and thus culture was freed from the chains which had

⁵³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 464.

⁵⁴ A. F. Orekhanov, *Lenin's Ideas on the Cultural Revolution and Their Implementation in the USSR*, Moscow, 1961, p. 8 (in Russian).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ As in all bourgeois states, the church in pre-revolutionary Russia was a component of the state apparatus and spread anti-scientific, reactionary ideology, superstitions and prejudices; it interfered with the development of science, and opposed the publication and distribution of materialist and atheist literature. In maintaining ties with the school, the church obstructed the cultural development of the masses, and in-

retarded its development. Education was also freed from the influence of the church.

The Party has never been neutral towards religion. The Programme adopted by the Eighth Congress stressed that the Party was not satisfied with the decreed separation of the church from the state and the school from the church, and that it was striving to free the working masses from all religious prejudices.

Guided by Lenin's ideas, the Party launched large-scale anti-religious and scientific propaganda. In 1922 the magazines *Ateist* (Atheist), *Bezbozhnik* (Atheist) and *Religiya i Nauka* (Science and Religion) appeared; the *Bezbozhnik u Stanka* (The Atheist at the Lathe) magazine appeared in 1923. Anti-religious work was stepped up in clubs, libraries, museums, and recreation rooms, atheist circles were organised at enterprises and in villages. The Union of Militant Atheists was founded in 1925, and in 1927-28 in Moscow there were courses for training atheist propagandists.

At the same time the Party stressed that the anti-religious campaign should not be insulting to the believers. In this connection the 12th Party Congress adopted a resolution "On the Organisation of Anti-Religious Agitation and Propaganda" and called upon Communists to conduct deep and systematic anti-religious work.

The separation of the church from the state and the school from the church, the abolition of the estates and the inequality of nationalities, as well as the decrees of the Council of People's Commissars aimed at the emancipation of women and the abolition of all restrictions on their rights, the new system of education and other measures taken by the Party and the Soviet Government opened broad vistas for raising the cultural standards of the working masses. "The working people," Lenin wrote, "are thirsting for knowledge because they need it to win. Nine out of ten of the working people have realised that knowledge is a weapon in their struggle for emancipation, that their failures are due to lack

fused the younger generation of working people with anti-scientific and reactionary ideology, thus bringing up the children of workers and peasants in servility to the exploiters. Relying on the support of the state, the church kept the working masses in ignorance and darkness.

of education, and that now it is up to them really to give everyone access to education."⁵⁷

Lenin and the Communist Party believed that the organisation of higher education was one of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution. Lenin indicated again and again that we needed more specialists with higher and secondary specialised education from the ranks of workers and peasants than tsarist Russia had. On August 2, 1918 the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR adopted, a decree which said, in part, that every person on attaining 16 years of age could become a student of any higher school irrespective of citizenship or sex. The Party's Programme pointed out that it was necessary to fling the doors of higher educational establishments open to all who wanted to study, primarily to the workers. In 1919 on Lenin's initiative workers' faculties were set up, and they produced their first graduates in 1923. In the period from 1923 to 1928 the workers' faculties prepared 35,000 students for higher schools.⁵⁸

In the summer of 1918 the Mining Academy was opened in Moscow, and in the same year universities were opened in Voronezh, Gorky, Dnepropetrovsk, Tiflis and Irkutsk. Lenin was confident that the Soviet Republic would have its own specialists, and he turned out to be perfectly right. In the academic year 1926-27 there were 150 higher educational establishments in the country with a student body of 168,000.⁵⁹

A big contribution to the development of higher education was made by the July Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU(B) in 1928. The meeting pointed out the need to train engineers and technicians and to start in 1928 the organisation of new types of higher schools, particularly those which would train specialists for professions which suffered from a shortage of manpower. It was stressed that these schools should strengthen their ties with production, improve the work of post-graduate courses, create a good material base and intensify the political education of students. The Plenary Meeting also indicated the need to recruit more workers to the higher

⁵⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 88.

⁵⁸ A. F. Orekhanov, *Lenin's Ideas on the Cultural Revolution*, p. 14 (in Russian).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

educational establishments and technical schools. As a result, by the end of the first five-year plan workers and their children accounted for more than 50 per cent of the student body in higher schools.⁶⁰

The Party and the Government invited veteran specialists to train specialists of higher qualifications. The professorial staff included such prominent Russian scholars as Timiryazev, Pavlov, Vilyams, Karpinsky, Gubkin, Zelinsky, Krylov, Chaplygin and Zhukovsky. At the same time new instructors were being trained. In 1921 the Government founded the Institute of Red Professors (IRP).

Thanks to the Party and the Government, the numbers of engineers, agronomists, doctors, teachers and other specialists were increasing. In 1928, for example, more than 28,000 people graduated from higher schools and the same number graduated from technical schools and other secondary specialised educational establishments.⁶¹ The economy, the network of people's education and the cultural institutions acquired qualified specialists brought up in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and loyal to the cause of communism.

Lenin, the Party and the Government paid much attention to the development of science. While recognising the great contribution of Russian science, Lenin underlined that it could really blossom only under socialism. In April 1918 he wrote his "Draft Plan of Scientific and Technical Work" for the Academy of Sciences. The Academy of Sciences was of paramount importance in solving the problem of the location of the country's industry and the development of the productive forces.

Lenin was always sympathetic to the needs of scientists who devoted their energy and knowledge to the cause of socialism. Having read the book *Science and Democracy* which K. A. Timiryazev had sent him in April 1920, Lenin wrote to him:

"Dear Klimenty Arkadyevich,

"Many thanks to you for your book and kind words. I was simply delighted to read your remarks against the bourgeois-

⁶⁰ A. F. Orekhanov, *Lenin's Ideas on the Cultural Revolution*, p. 15.

⁶¹ *Forty Years of Soviet Power in Figures*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 277, 279.

sie and for Soviet power. I shake your hand very warmly and with all my heart wish you health, health and health again!"⁶² On January 24, 1921 Lenin signed the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR for creating normal conditions of work for I. P. Pavlov and for publishing his books.

Lenin's ideas about science and its role in building socialism and communism were further developed in the Party's decisions and implemented in the Party's practical guidance of scientific work.

Literature and the arts are components of Soviet culture and important elements in the ideological and political education of the people. Lenin, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government paid particular attention to literature and the arts. In February 1918 the People's Commissariat for Education adopted a resolution on the publication of Russian classical literature, while the Soviet Government adopted a resolution "On Declaring State Rights of Property on Scientific, Literary, Musical and Artistic Works".

Before the October Revolution Lenin advanced the principle of party spirit in literature. He wrote that literature "must become party literature. In contradistinction to bourgeois customs, to the profit-making, commercialised bourgeois press, to bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, 'aristocratic anarchism' and drive for profit, the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of *party literature*, must develop this principle and put it into practice as fully and completely as possible."⁶³ The Soviet creative intelligentsia strictly adheres to Lenin's instructions.

In the summer of 1925 the CC CPSU (B) adopted a resolution "On Party Policy Towards Literature" which stressed that the Party regards writers as the ideological leaders of Soviet literature and that the arts must serve the interests of the proletariat. In 1932 the Party's Central Committee adopted a resolution "On the Reorganisation of Artistic and Literary Societies". It was decided to abolish the associations of proletarian writers and to group all writers who supported the

⁶² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 445.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 45.

platform of Soviet power and who wanted to take part in building socialism into a single Union of Soviet Writers with a Communist faction, and to reorganise all the other artistic societies on similar lines.

A remarkable contribution to the development of Soviet literature was made by the First Congress of Soviet Writers which took place in August-September 1934 in Moscow. It was opened and addressed by Maxim Gorky. The Congress summed up the achievements of Soviet literature—the most revolutionary and high-principled literature in the world—and outlined its future development.

Thanks to the Party's concern, Soviet literature made great headway in the first few decades after the Great October Revolution. Books by such Soviet writers and poets as Alexei Tolstoy, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Dmitry Furmanov, Alexander Serafimovich, Boris Lavrenev, Demyan Bedny, Mikhail Sholokhov and Fyodor Panfyorov were popular at home and abroad. In 1923 the Soviet Union printed 85 million copies of books.⁶⁴

The cinema, the theatre, music, art and amateur arts are prominent in the lives of Soviet people. The cinema is particularly important. Lenin stressed that in the hands of real socialist art workers the cinema would become a mighty means for educating the masses.⁶⁵ In point of fact, the Soviet cinema has become a mighty instrument for the communist education of the broad masses of the working people. In 1913 there were only 1,500 film projectors in the country, compared with 7,300 in 1927;⁶⁶ the number of theatres increased from 177 in 1914 to 512 in 1957.⁶⁷ The other arts also made great progress.

Libraries, clubs, houses of culture and recreation rooms are indispensable in the cultural and political education of the masses. In 1914 there were only 237 clubs (people's houses) in the country (within the modern boundaries of the USSR), and only 94, in rural areas. In 1929 their numbers

⁶⁴ *Forty Years of Soviet Power in Figures*, p. 293.

⁶⁵ V. Bonch-Bruyevich, "Lenin and the Cinema" (Personal Reminiscences), *Nauka i Zhizn*, No. 4, 1970, p. 65.

⁶⁶ *Forty Years of Soviet Power in Figures*, p. 289.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

were increased to 34,500, including 30,000 in villages.⁶⁸ The number of libraries grew from 76,000 in 1914 to 116,000 in 1935.⁶⁹

In his report to the Eighth Party Congress Lenin devoted much space to aspects of socialist culture. He warned that one of the most difficult tasks was the critical interpretation of bourgeois culture and the utilisation of its achievements.

The development of socialist culture was impeded by the bourgeois intelligentsia, particularly the reactionaries from the Proletkult (Proletarian Culture) organisation. In the letter "About the Proletkults" (December 1920) the Party's Central Committee pointed out that after the establishment of Soviet power Proletkult, which had come into being before the October Revolution, was permeated with alien petty-bourgeois elements; under the guise of "proletarian culture" they spread bourgeois philosophical concepts (Machism) and in the arts—ridiculous and perverted tastes, and questionable "new" forms of culture and arts, such as futurism and cubism. Proletkult denied the importance of the cultural legacy for the creation of socialist culture.

Lenin resolutely condemned the attempts by Proletkult to create its own "culture". These attempts were based on erroneous theoretical concepts, and, from the political viewpoint, they were harmful. He pointed out that the working class "does not want the *invention* of a new proletarian culture; what the working class needs is the *development* of the best examples, traditions and results of the *existing* culture *from the viewpoint* of Marxism and the conditions of the proletariat's life and struggle in the epoch of its dictatorship".⁷⁰

The struggle of Lenin and the Communist Party against Proletkult was of great importance for the creation of Soviet socialist culture. In the course of this struggle Lenin and the Party upheld the cultural legacy of the past and demonstrated its tremendous significance in creating the culture of the new, socialist society. As distinct from capitalist culture, which expresses the interests of the exploiter classes, social-

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁷⁰ *Lenin Miscellany XXXU*, p. 148.

ist culture relies on the most advanced and progressive ideology—Marxism-Leninism, which expresses the interests of the working class and all the working people.

Lenin's teaching about culture, socialist in content and national in form, remains the cornerstone of cultural development in the Soviet Union.

The socialist remodelling of the minds of millions of people and the formation of a new world outlook and culture is a complicated and difficult process. Under the Soviet social system it cannot be spontaneous, it cannot be conducted without the Party's multifarious educational work and without a struggle against bourgeois ideology. That was why Lenin and the Party decidedly rebuffed Proletkult, which opposed the Soviet state's leading role in cultural construction, challenged the Party and attempted to divorce culture from the proletariat's general struggle for the new, socialist society.

The Soviet state is the direct organiser and sponsor of the cultural development and the education of the masses in the spirit of communism. It guides public education, the development of science, literature and the arts, and the educational and cultural work among the population; it takes care of the expansion of the material base for culture, assists the trade unions and creative associations of the intelligentsia in their cultural and educational work, plans the development of culture and ensures the fulfilment of plans for cultural development.

Lenin's Party has always been the leading force in the communist education of the masses and the country's cultural development; it arms the masses with the advanced ideas of scientific communism and the knowledge of the laws of social development essential for the construction of the new society. The Party is the decisive force which brings up the working people in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The diffusion of the materialist outlook and the ideological and political education of the masses are mighty weapons against old habits and customs, a means of raising the man of the communist future.

Under the leadership of Lenin's Party, the state achieved considerable successes in the development of culture in the very first years of Soviet power. Illiteracy was completely eliminated by 1937. That was one of the major achievements

of the cultural revolution and an important prerequisite for the further cultural progress of the Soviet people.

Another major gain of the cultural revolution was the creation of the new, Soviet system of public education. On July 25, 1930 the Party's Central Committee, acting in accordance with the directives of the 16th Congress of the CPSU (B), adopted a resolution "On General and Compulsory Primary Education"; in August of the same year the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR took the corresponding decision.

The Party did much to improve the quality of educational work in schools. The question was taken up in a special resolution of the CC CPSU (B) in September 1931 which was aimed at raising the role of schools and teachers and ensuring that sound instruction was given to the pupils. Another resolution, dated August 25, 1932, exposed shortcomings in the curricula and instructed that they should be eliminated. The resolution helped to improve the educational work and the conduct of the pupils.

In 1934 the country had a sound system of public education which comprised primary, incomplete secondary and secondary schools.

Secondary specialised and higher education was also being successfully developed during the first five-year plan periods. There were 450 secondary specialised schools in 1914/15, compared with 1,037 in 1927/28; in the same period the number of higher schools increased from 105 to 148.⁷¹ One of the greatest achievements of the cultural revolution was the training of specialists from the ranks of workers and peasants. At the same time the Party invited many old specialists and scientists to render their services to the people. The scientific base was expanding, the number of researchers was growing.

A revolution took place in literature and the arts. A leading role in the organisation and development of Soviet literature was played by Maxim Gorky, the great proletarian writer. Labour came to be the principal theme in fiction. The topic was taken up by Leonid Leonov, Marietta Shaginyan, Fyodor Gladkov, Valentin Katayev, Konstantin Paustovsky

⁷¹ *Forty Years of Soviet Power in Figures*, pp. 275, 278-79.

and many other writers. Collectivisation in the countryside was described by Fyodor Panfyorov in his "*Bruski*" *Farm* and Mikhail Sholokhov in his *Virgin Soil Upturned*.

The cinema made striking progress. Nationwide renown came to such films as *Chapayev*, *Deputy from the Baltic*, *We Are from Kronstadt*, *Lenin in October*, *Maxim in His Youth*, *The Man With the Rifle*, *The Circus*, and *Volga-Volga*.

More and more cultural and educational establishments sprang up. Mass political, cultural and educational work was carried on in clubs, houses of culture, libraries, cottage reading-rooms and recreation rooms. They all were seats of the new culture.

Radio became a powerful instrument in the hands of the Party and the state for raising cultural standards. The number of radio loud-speakers increased from 32,000 in 1928 to 2 million in 1932. Radio was becoming a household necessity. In 1931 the USSR Council of People's Commissars inaugurated the State Committee for Broadcasting. The Committee was charged with guiding all the political and scientific educational work in broadcasting. It directed central and local broadcasting, and co-ordinated research work in the field. A wide network of radio stations was set up in the Arctic in the mid-1930s; it contributed to the development of the Northern Sea Route and the conquest of the North Pole.

The press and publishing were promoted. In 1913 the country (in its modern boundaries) was printing 1,472 magazines, in 1937—1,880; newspapers—1,055 and 8,521, respectively; in 1913 the newspapers came out in 3.3 million copies, in 1937—in 36.2 million copies.⁷² In 1913 the country printed 89.1 million copies of books, in 1937—nearly 700 million copies.⁷³ Works by Marx, Engels and Lenin and books on social and political subjects were published in millions of copies. Works by Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgenyev, Nekrasov, Gorky, Chekhov, Balzac, Shakespeare, Hugo and other Russian and foreign authors were published in dozens of languages of the USSR.

⁷² *Cultural Development in the USSR, Collection of Statistics*, Moscow, 1956, p. 322 (in Russian).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

Thus, the revolutionary reorganisation of the old culture and the creation of the new, socialist culture were in the main completed in 1937. The country where the majority of the population had been illiterate made a gigantic leap to the peaks of science and culture. The considerable rise in the general educational, cultural and technical level of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry helped to diminish the differences between mental and manual labour.

A genuine culture of the people was created during the cultural revolution. In spite of the general and cultural backwardness of the country and an acute shortage of qualified specialists, the Party persistently stimulated the upsurge of science and culture. Its efforts resulted in the emergence of the new, worker-and-peasant intelligentsia absolutely loyal to the cause of socialism. At the joint session of the CC CPSU, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet dedicated to the 50th anniversary of Soviet power, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Public education is promoted on a mammoth scale. The number of students in general-education schools, secondary specialised schools, institutions of higher learning and vocational schools is now drawing close to 60 million. That is one of the main achievements of the socialist system."⁷⁴

The victory of socialism and the cultural revolution radically changed the life of the Soviet people. A new world, the world of new, socialist relations, was created in the USSR under the leadership of the Communist Party. The mental horizons of the Soviet citizen became broader, his moral make-up and his attitude to labour and society underwent a change. Under socialism the Soviet people have every opportunity to reveal their talents and abilities. Just one example is sufficient to illustrate the point: socialism and the cultural revolution have emancipated women. They were given equal rights with men, and besides they have been given unprecedented opportunities for developing their talents. Soviet women are active in all fields, they work honestly and selflessly for the benefit of their socialist country.

The tasks of the cultural revolution, however, are becoming more complicated as our society moves towards commu-

⁷⁴ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 30.

nism. At the 24th Party Congress Leonid Brezhnev said that, in order to pass on to communism, it is necessary "to achieve a higher level of development not only in the economic field but also in the culture of society as a whole."⁷⁵

The Programme of the CPSU and the Party's decisions posed the task of introducing universal secondary education. The country has increased the numbers of secondary general-education schools (day and evening), specialised educational establishments and vocational schools, where young people receive a complete secondary education. Although, as Leonid Brezhnev said at the 24th Party Congress, the task was not accomplished during the eighth five-year plan period, "we have drawn much closer to it: today about 80 per cent of the pupils finishing an eight-year school go on to receive a complete secondary education".⁷⁶ During the Eighth Five-Year Plan the country opened 60 new higher schools, including nine universities. Universities function not only in all the Union Republics, but also in many Autonomous republics. In the past five-year plan period the country prepared more than 7 million specialists with higher or secondary specialised education. The number of researchers increased by 40 per cent to a total of 930,000. Many of them are doctors or candidates of sciences. Research centres are going up in the Urals, the Far East and the North Caucasus. In his report to the 24th Party Congress Leonid Brezhnev said: "Extensive and fruitful work has been accomplished during the past five years by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which determines the strategy of scientific quests, brings to light the most promising trends and forms of research needed by society and unites the efforts of our scientists."⁷⁷

Today the cultural revolution has reached a remarkable point. It is now faced with the tasks without the accomplishment of which no progress towards communism is possible. Thanks to the efforts of scientists, engineers and workers, we now have high-class automatic lines, laser techniques, computers and systems of computers which help the advance-

⁷⁵ *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 99.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

ment of the economy and enhance its efficiency. New major deposits have been discovered recently, breakthroughs have been made in space research—prolonged group flights in the manned *Soyuz* spaceships and the soft landings of Soviet automatic devices on the Moon. Similar devices have brought back lunar soil. A Soviet spaceship has landed on Venus, having covered tens of millions of kilometres.

During the eighth five-year plan period the Party paid much attention to the social sciences. In this connection the CC CPSU took a special decision which extended and made more precise the tasks of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU. A number of new institutes for the humanities were opened by the Academy of Sciences. This gives an opportunity to intensify the study of the social and economic development of the USSR and foreign countries, and also of the development of the world revolutionary process. Literature, the arts, radio broadcasting, television and all the organisations and institutions of the ideological and cultural front are faced with new tasks.

Victorious socialism and the cultural revolution gave the people access to cultural values and made them participants in, and creators of, culture. "Striking evidence of this is the unparalleled scale of folk art. Today there are 13 million adults and 10 million schoolchildren in amateur art groups."⁷⁸

The Soviet people are an educated people, which means that they read and show keen interest in economy, politics, literature and art. Books, newspapers and magazines come out in thousands of millions of copies; exhibitions are regular affairs; hundreds of theatres and thousands of cinemas are open; radio and television are accessible everywhere in the country.

Lenin was perfectly right when, exposing the ill-starred critics from the Second International, the Trotskyites and the Mensheviks, he refuted their claims that the proletariat, given no culture, would not succeed in holding on to power even if it managed to seize it. Revolutionary theory, he said, looked upon the problem thus: first seize power and destroy

⁷⁸ *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 104.

the domination of the bourgeoisie, and then, after creating favourable conditions, advance with "seven-league strides" along the road of education, science and technology.

The force, the majesty and the justice of these words are particularly evident today, when the Soviet people, armed with knowledge, confidently advance towards communism under the banner of great Lenin.

4. THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people struggled for the implementation of Lenin's great plan for transforming the country. As a result of the Party's titanic organisational, political and ideological work and the selfless labour of workers, peasants and the Soviet intelligentsia, it became possible to overcome the country's economic backwardness in a historically short period of time, to carry out the industrialisation programme, create a highly developed socialist agriculture, prepare specialists for the various fields of economy and achieve striking successes in the development of science, culture, literature and the arts.

The Communist Party rallied the Soviet people under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and scored a major victory in the struggle for turning the country into a mighty industrial and collective-farm state. In the uncompromising ideological struggle the Party crushed the Trotskyites, the Zinovievites, the Bukharinites and other anti-Leninist groups; it succeeded in welding a monolithic unity and the solidarity of their ranks in support of the Central Committee.

A prominent place in the Party's struggle for the implementation of Lenin's plan for building socialism belongs to the 17th Congress of the CPSU (B), which was held in January 1934. The Congress discussed the reports of the CC CPSU (B), the Central Auditing Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection; the second five-year plan; and organisational questions (development of Party and Soviet life). It also elected the Party's central organs. Reports were made by J. Stalin, M. Vladimirovsky, Y. Rudzutak and D. Manuilsky.

It was noted in the reports and speeches that the building of socialism in the USSR was being conducted in a complicated international situation—capitalist encirclement. This called for measures to strengthen the country's economic and defence potential and to wage a resolute struggle in the international arena against the plots of imperialist reaction. The task was to imbue the Soviet people with the sense of vigilance and readiness to repulse foreign enemies.

In its decisions the Congress indicated that it was necessary to safeguard peace and develop business relations with all countries. At the same time the Congress drew up detailed plans for strengthening the economic and defence capability of the USSR and raising the combat potential of the Red Army; it called for vigilance against the plots of international reaction and, if need be, readiness to strike a crushing blow against those who would dare to violate the borders of the Soviet Union.

The delegates noted with satisfaction that the first five-year plan had been completed ahead of time and that the internal situation in the Soviet Union had become stronger and more stable. The basis of the Soviet economy—heavy industry—and its key branch—engineering—were advancing. Major successes had been achieved in agriculture. The collective-farm system had won in the countryside. The millions of small and scattered farms had given way to socialist collective farms. Tangible successes were in evidence in the field of culture. Economic achievements were helping to considerably improve the material position and the cultural standards of the working people.

One of the major achievements was made in 1930, when the country was delivered forever from unemployment. Life became better for the peasants, the victory of the collective-farm system put an end to poverty and misery.

Thus, having mobilised the Soviet people for the struggle to build the new society, the Communist Party ensured the victory of socialism in all fields. The successful fulfilment of the first five-year plan laid the foundation of the socialist economy.

However, not all the problems of building socialism had been solved. Ferrous metallurgy was lagging behind, new machinery was not fully assimilated and there was a short-

age of qualified workers, particularly of medium and senior specialists. The task for the second five-year plan was to complete the socialist reconstruction of all branches of the economy on the basis of new machinery, and also to complete the collectivisation of peasant farms, some 35 per cent of which continued to stay out of the collective farms.⁷⁹ The task in the field of culture was to fully eliminate illiteracy of the adult population and train sufficient numbers of educated specialists from the ranks of workers and peasants.

These and other tasks were accomplished during the new stage of the country's evolution—the stage of completing the socialist reconstruction of the national economy.

The 17th Party Congress approved the work of the Central Committee and instructed all Party organisations to be guided in their work by the tasks and provisions outlined in the Central Committee's report.

The Congress approved the second five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1933-37. The principal political task was to complete the elimination of capitalist elements, remove all causes which generated antagonistic classes and the exploitation of man by man, overcome the vestiges of capitalism in the minds of the people and make all working people active builders of the socialist society.

The principal economic task was to complete the technical reconstruction of the economy, develop on that basis the productive forces and strengthen the country's defence potential. The plan fixed definite targets for the various sectors of the economy. The fulfilment of the second five-year plan ensured the final abolition of private ownership of the means of production and guaranteed the exclusive domination of the socialist mode of production.

In this connection the Party had to solve the urgent problem of improving its ideological and organisational leadership. The work of all Party, Komsomol, trade union and other mass organisations had to be reorganised. A concrete programme of such a reorganisation was laid down in the Congress' resolution on organisational questions. "Now," it said, "when the Party's general line has triumphed, when

⁷⁹ *The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Minutes*, Moscow, 1934, p. 21 (in Russian).

the Party's policy has been tested in practice... it is the time to raise the organisational work to the level of political leadership."⁸⁰

The 17th Party Congress went down in the history of the CPSU as the congress which summed up the results of the struggle for the foundations of socialism and which determined the programme for the further struggle of the Communist Party and the Soviet people for completing the reconstruction of the economy and for building the socialist society.

In implementing the decisions of the 17th Congress, the Soviet people, guided by Lenin's Party, scored many new successes. During the second five-year plan the country created such industries as the manufacture of caterpillar tractors, synthetic rubber and other chemicals, and non-ferrous metals; it commissioned such industrial giants as the Krivoi Rog Metallurgical Combine and the Novo-Lipetsk and Novo-Tula metallurgical factories. The Uralo-Kuznetsk Combine—the second coal and metallurgical base—was completed in the main. Enterprises of non-ferrous metallurgy were going up in the Urals, Central Asia and elsewhere; Soviet engineering, the power industry and transport were being developed. The construction of the Moscow Metro (underground railway), the Moskva-Volga Canal and the Byelomorsko-Baltiisky Canal were important events.

Socialist industry was rapidly gaining strength, and it served as the base for the development and consolidation of the collective-farm system. Socialist agriculture was being amply supplied with new farm machinery. Soviet peasants completely discarded capitalist relations in the countryside and, guided by the working class, took the road to socialism. Collective farms became larger, they improved their organisational structure, the farmers became more conscious and disciplined. A great role in strengthening the collective farms and state farms organisationally and economically and in rallying the peasants in support of the Communist Party was played by the political departments in the MTS and state farms.

⁸⁰ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Vol. 5, pp. 152-53.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, were successfully developing the national economy. The second five-year plan was completed ahead of schedule, on April 1, 1937, i.e., in four years and three months. As a result, the Soviet Union came second in the world and first in Europe in the volume of industrial production. It left all capitalist countries behind in the rate of industrial development. The technical reconstruction of the national economy was in the main completed.

Tremendous successes were achieved in agriculture. The triumph of the collective-farm system opened up broad vistas for the development of productive forces in agriculture. This victory opened the way to the elimination of essential distinctions between town and country, it further fortified the union of the working class and the peasantry.

The successes in industrial and agricultural development increased the national income and improved the material position of working people. Compulsory primary education in all languages of the USSR was introduced; the number of secondary schools and higher educational establishments increased; the press, literature and the arts made headway.

The implementation of the Party's policy, aimed at the country's industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture, brought about radical changes in the economic and social structure of Soviet society. By the end of the second five-year plan socialist property accounted for 99.1 per cent of the national income, 99.8 per cent of the gross industrial output, 98.5 per cent of the gross agricultural output and 100 per cent of the retail trade turnover of trade enterprises.⁸¹ This meant that the socialist system had become the dominant force in the Soviet Union's economy. Private ownership of the means of production had been abolished, state (public) and collective-farm and co-operative socialist ownership had triumphed. Thenceforth this ownership became the economic basis of Soviet society.

Radical changes occurred in the class structure. The capitalist elements were completely eliminated, 36.2 per cent of the population were factory and office workers, 57.9 per cent—collective farmers and co-operated handicraftsmen,

⁸¹ *Forty Years of Soviet Power in Figures*, p. 14.

5.9 per cent—individual peasants (no kulaks) and unco-operated handicraftsmen and artisans.⁸² All the causes generating human exploitation were eradicated.

Overcoming great difficulties, crushing and repelling the enemies of Leninism, the Communist Party brought the Soviet people to the victory of the new social system. The transitional period from capitalism to socialism ended.

The victory of socialism in the USSR was proclaimed in its new Constitution adopted by the Eighth Extraordinary Congress of the Soviets of the USSR. The new Constitution (the Fundamental Law) incorporated the great gains of the Soviet people. It stated that the socialist ownership of the means of production shall constitute the economic foundation of Soviet society, and that the Soviets of Working People's Deputies shall constitute the political foundation. Distribution shall follow the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". Soviet society shall comprise two friendly classes—workers and peasants; there shall be no antagonistic classes in the country. The Constitution marked the triumph of democracy. It specified that all organs of state power—from rural Soviets to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—shall be elected by the people on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The new Constitution extended and guaranteed unprecedented political, social and economic rights to Soviet citizens: the rights to work, rest and leisure, free education and medical services, maintenance in old age, political freedoms and the right to unite in mass organisations. The Constitution says that the more active and politically conscious citizens unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to build communist society. The existence of only one party, the CPSU, is explained by the fact that there are no antagonistic classes in the USSR, and by the community of interests of workers and peasants. The policy and the practical activities of the CPSU express the fundamental and vital interests of all working people. The Communist Party is the political leader of the people, the organiser and inspirer of the builders of socialism and communism.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The Constitution placed serious responsibilities on Soviet citizens. Every citizen of the USSR is obliged to honestly fulfil his duty before society, respect the rules of socialist community living, safeguard and multiply socialist property and defend the socialist Motherland. The defence of the Motherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR.

The Soviet Constitution summed up the results of the socialist gains of the people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The victory of socialism in the USSR is a historic revolutionary feat of the Soviet people. It is the triumph of Lenin's ideas as laid down in his great plan for building the socialist and communist society in the Soviet country. The new, most progressive social system was created for the first time in the history of mankind, a system without any exploitation of man by man and without capitalists and landlords. The Programme of the CPSU adopted by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU says: "As a result of the devoted labour of the Soviet people and the theoretical and practical activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, *there exists in the world a socialist society that is a reality and a science of socialist construction that has been tested in practice. The highroad to socialism has been paved.* Many peoples are already marching along it, and it will be taken sooner or later by all peoples."⁸³

The new Constitution meant a turning point in the country's life: further development of socialist democracy. The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the basis of the new Constitution were announced for December 12, 1937. In July 1937 a session of the USSR Central Executive Committee approved the Statute of Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. On December 7, 1937 the CC CPSU (B) published an appeal "To All Electors, Workers, Working Women, Peasants, Peasant Women, the Red Army, and the Soviet Intelligentsia". The Central Committee noted that the Party was coming out in a bloc with non-Party workers, peasants and intellectuals, and called upon the electors to unanimously vote on December 12 for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people.

⁸³ *The Road to Communism*, p. 463.

The electorate warmly responded to the Party's appeal and expressed their boundless trust in the Party. The elections were held in an atmosphere of enthusiasm; of the total of 94 million voters, 91 million attended the elections, and of that number 90 million voted for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people.⁸⁴ No such active voting is possible in any capitalist country. The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR demonstrated the complete unity of the Leninist Party with the non-Party working people, the cohesion of the Soviet people and their readiness to achieve new successes in building socialism.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, continued to achieve more and more successes in the development of the economy and in raising material and cultural standards of the people. The main functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the economic, organisational, cultural and educational functions—were fully developed. The socialist state embarked upon a new stage, the stage of the gradual transition of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the state of the entire people.

An important milestone was the 18th Party Congress in March 1939, which posed the task of completing the construction of socialism and beginning the gradual transition from socialism to communism. The Congress examined and approved the third five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1938-42. The plan envisaged a further development of all branches of the economy, culture and science, and a rise in living standards. The main economic task posed by the 18th Congress was to catch up with and oustrip the principal capitalist countries in per capita production. The country had all that was required to accomplish the task. For 12 years, from 1918 to 1929, the average annual growth rate of production stood at 6.9 per cent, but in the subsequent 11 years, from 1930 to 1940, it jumped to 16.5 per cent. In the United States the growth rate stood at 3.1 and 1.2 per cent, respectively.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *Pravda*, December 17, 1937.

⁸⁵ *USSR-USA (Facts and Figures)*, Moscow, 1961, p. 35 (in Russian).

In its decisions the Congress pointed out that the accomplishment of the main economic task required a further development of heavy and power industries, higher labour productivity, development of science and technology, training of engineers and technicians and a growth of the cultural and technical level of the working class.

Important tasks were set for raising the living and cultural standards. "Today," it was said in the decision, "the task is to raise the living and cultural standards to the level required by the higher demands of the Soviet people, the level unattainable by the richest capitalist countries, the level which signifies a real blossoming of the forces of socialism, a blossoming of the new, socialist culture."⁸⁶ It was planned to introduce universal secondary education in towns and complete the transition to universal seven-year education in the countryside and in all Union republics. The number of pupils in primary, seven-year and secondary schools was to be increased by more than a third to a total of 40 million by the end of the five-year period. The number of students in higher schools was to reach 650,000.⁸⁷ It was also planned to step up the training of qualified workers and foremen in vocational schools and various courses. Income was to go up by 80 per cent,⁸⁸ and public consumption by 50 to 100 per cent.

The 18th Party Congress worked out majestic tasks for the economic and cultural development of the USSR, and these tasks were being successfully accomplished by the Soviet people. In three and a half years the country commissioned some 3,000 major industrial enterprises⁸⁹ and founded new industrial centres in the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The gross industrial output went up considerably, the national income was growing, the cultural and living standards were rising and Soviet democracy was being strengthened.

The Soviet people were fulfilling the third five-year plan in a complicated international situation. The new economic crisis which broke out in the principal capitalist countries

⁸⁶ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Vol. 5, p. 362.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 362.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

⁸⁹ *Forty Years of Soviet Power in Figures*, p. 214.

aggravated the contradictions of imperialism. The bourgeoisie sought a way out in a new offensive against the working people and in wars. The threat to peace was greatest from such capitalist countries as Germany, Italy and Japan, which openly adhered to an aggressive policy supported by reactionary circles in the USA, Britain and France. In 1938 Nazi Germany seized Austria; soon came the Munich deal of the rulers of Britain, France, Italy and Germany. As a result, Czechoslovakia was betrayed into the grip of the Nazis. The participants in the shameful Munich deal rejected the system of collective security proposed by the Soviet Union, and gave the aggressors a free hand. The imperialists wanted to deliver the main blow against the Soviet Union. The aggravation of the struggle between the imperialist states triggered off World War II on September 1, 1939, when Nazi Germany attacked Poland. Britain and France, fearing that their turn would be next, declared war on Germany. World War II became a reality.

In such a complicated situation the Soviet Union was actively strengthening its defence potential and taking measures to safeguard its western borders. Of tremendous significance in this respect were the reunification of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia with the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet republics in 1939 and the establishment of Soviet power in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in 1940. The Communist Party attributed great importance to the country's economic development and the equipping of the Army and Navy with modern armaments. In the international arena the Soviet Union firmly and consistently followed a peaceful policy.

However, the peaceful labour of the Soviet people was interrupted by the treacherous attack of Nazi Germany on June 22, 1941.

The Great Patriotic War began. The Soviet people rose to a man against Nazi Germany, which had encroached upon the honour, freedom and independence of their socialist country.

Relying on the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, the Communist Party took advantage of the Soviet social and state system and in a short period of time reorganised production so as to ensure the superiority of the Red

Army over the enemy in armaments and the art of warfare.

The Party became the organiser and the inspirer of the Soviet people's struggle against the nazi invaders. Soldiers and workers in the rear selflessly defended the world's first state of workers and peasants, their cherished socialist country.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people gained a military, moral and political victory over nazi Germany. The Red Army, relying on its mighty home front, liberated the Soviet Union and unfurled the banner of victory over Berlin.

During the war the nazi invaders caused a tremendous loss to the country's economy—to the sum of 679,000 million rubles (in state prices of 1941). They destroyed 1,710 towns and townships, more than 70,000 villages and hamlets, tens of thousands of factories, and ruined 98,000 collective farms, 1,876 state farms and 2,890 MTS.⁹⁰

Even before the war ended, the Party mobilised the Soviet people for the rehabilitation of the economy in the liberated areas. On August 21, 1943 the Party's Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted a resolution "On Immediate Measures for the Rehabilitation of the Economy in Areas Liberated from the Nazi Invaders". That was the signal for the rehabilitation of industry, transport, agriculture, cultural and communal institutions and housing.

In August 1945 the State Planning Committee, acting on the instructions of the Party CC and the Soviet Government, began to work out the fourth five-year plan for 1946-50. The main economic and political tasks of the fourth plan, which was approved in March 1946 by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, were to rehabilitate the war-devastated areas, exceed the pre-war level of production to a considerable extent and further develop the economy, science and culture.

The Soviet people, inspired by the great victory over nazi Germany and militarist Japan, began to accomplish the tasks of the fourth five-year plan. The working class embarked on

⁹⁰ *Forty Years of Soviet Power in Figures*, p. 21.

nation-wide socialist emulation. Collective farmers worked enthusiastically to get bumper harvests and develop livestock breeding.

The Communist Party stood at the head of the nation-wide drive for the rehabilitation and development of the economy and an improvement in living standards. It reorganised its ranks and improved inner-party work in accordance with the requirements of peacetime. Thanks to the multifarious activities of the Party and its Central Committee, many local Party organisations raised the level of their political work and consolidated their ranks by incorporating demobilised Communists. Under the Party's leadership, the Soviet people made visible progress in economic development. By the end of the five-year period (1950) the volume of industrial output topped the pre-war level by 73 per cent instead of 48 per cent as originally planned. More than 6,000 big industrial enterprises had been repaired or built anew. The Soviet Union began to produce 27 million tons of steel, more than 91,000 million kwh of electric energy, 261 million tons of coal and close to 38 million tons of oil.

In spite of all the difficulties, agriculture was forging ahead. The collective farms, state farms and MTS became stronger organisationally and economically. The technical equipment of agriculture became much better. In 1949 it was provided with 150-300 per cent more tractors, harvesters and other farm machines than in 1940. That helped to raise the quality of cultivation, expand the acreage of sown lands and bring gross production to the level of 1940.

By rehabilitating and developing the economy, the Soviet people prepared the required conditions for raising their well-being. The growing productive forces and labour productivity increased the national income, the real incomes of the factory and office workers and the incomes of the peasants. In 1947 the food rationing was annulled, in the period from 1947 to 1950 the Government reduced prices on consumer goods three times. The material position of the working people was steadily improving; medical service, public education, science, literature and the arts were making progress.

After fulfilling the fourth five-year plan, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, devoted themselves to new

tasks. A nation-wide drive was launched for the fulfilment of the fifth five-year economic development plan of the USSR (1951-55). In 1952 the country commissioned the Lenin Volga-Don Canal; new factories, mines and oil-fields were going up.

The successful development of all sectors of the economy signified actually that the tasks posed by the 18th Party Congress were accomplished, but new and complicated problems were yet to be solved.

The 19th Party Congress in October 1952 summed up the Party's activities during the war and the period of post-war rehabilitation, and set new targets for the Party and the people. The delegates represented more than 6 million Party members and over 868,000 candidate-members. By the time of the Congress the Party became stronger ideologically and organisationally, its bonds with the people became firmer.

The Congress adopted a series of decisions, including the Directives for the Fifth Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1951-1955. The Directives envisaged an average annual growth rate of 12 per cent in industry, 13 per cent in the manufacture of the means of production, and 11 per cent in the output of consumer goods.⁹¹ They fixed concrete targets for each branch of industry, insisted on the employment of new machines and means of mechanisation so as to accelerate technical progress and agricultural development.

The Congress adopted a decision to change the name of the Party. It resolved that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—CPSU (B)—should thenceforth be named the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—CPSU. The Party Rules were also revised, and one clause, for instance, gave a short but clear definition of the word "party": "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union shall be a voluntary and militant association of like-minded Communists, organised from representatives of the working class, working peasants and working intelligentsia."⁹² The Rules also incorporated the amendments introduced by the Congress in the structure

⁹¹ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Vol. 6, p. 343.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 367.

of the Party's central organs. The Presidium of the Central Committee replaced the Central Committee's Politburo.⁹³

Implementing the decisions of the 19th Congress, Communists mobilised the Soviet people for the struggle to fulfil and overfulfil the five-year plan. Steps were taken to improve the work of building agencies, industry and transport. The Party devoted much attention to agriculture, and drew up specific measures to step up agricultural production and raise the efficiency of agricultural executives. In response to the Party's appeal, more than 20,000 Communists left towns and workers' settlements to work as chairmen of collective farms; 120,000 agricultural specialists also moved to villages.⁹⁴ Labour discipline on collective farms was strengthened, and farmers' material interest was raised. As a result, in 1955 the gross production of grain exceeded the level of 1954 by 22 per cent; the production of sunflower exceeded the 1954 level by 95 per cent, of sugar beet by 54 per cent, and flax by 74 per cent.⁹⁵

Industry fulfilled its five-year assignment in four years and four months. In 1955 the industrial output exceeded the level of 1950 by 85 per cent, the production of the means of production went up by 91 per cent, and the production of consumer goods by 76 per cent.⁹⁶ The engineering and power industries were developing at fast rates, thousands of new industrial enterprises and major electric power stations were commissioned, including the world's first atomic power station. The Soviet Union was the first to employ atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

In July 1955 the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU examined the questions of technical progress, the further development of industry and the improvement of the organisation of production. It decided to press for higher labour produc-

⁹³ The change in name, as practice proved, was unjustified, and so the 23rd Party Congress reinstated the former name—Politburo of the CC CPSU—because it reflected most fully the character of the activities of the Party's supreme political organ in the period between the plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

⁹⁴ *20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Minutes*, Moscow, 1956, Vol. 1, p. 55 (in Russian).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 56.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 417.

tivity, and underlined that the priority development of heavy industry could be realised only on the basis of continuous technical progress.

The Plenary Meeting decided to call the 20th Party Congress, endorsed the agenda, the norms of representation and the procedure for electing the delegates, and it also fixed the time limits for convening regional and territorial Party conferences and congresses of Communist parties in the Union republics.

The news that it had been decided to call the 20th Congress aroused a mighty wave of political and labour activity. The socialist emulation devoted to the 20th Congress spread throughout the country.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU opened on February 14, 1956, in Moscow and closed on February 25. It was attended by 1,355 delegates with casting-votes and 81 delegates with consultative votes representing 6,795,896 members and 419,609 candidate-members.⁹⁷

The Congress was attended by guests from 55 foreign Communist and Workers' parties.

The Congress adopted the following agenda: 1) Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU; 2) Report of the Central Auditing Committee of the CPSU; 3) Directives of the 20th Congress of the CPSU on the Sixth Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1956-60; 4) elections of the Party's central organs.

The Report of the CC CPSU, the debates on the Report and the Resolution adopted by the Congress summed up the results of the Party's and the people's activities after the 19th Congress, produced a profound analysis of the international situation and indicated the prospects for the Soviet Union's further advance. The Congress stressed that the main feature of our epoch is the transition of socialism beyond the bounds of one country to the world arena.

The Directives on the five-year economic development plan of the USSR, approved by the Congress, specified the main trends and targets in the country's development over the coming five years. They said, in part: "*The principal*

⁹⁷ *20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Minutes*, Moscow, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 3, 98.

tasks of the sixth five-year economic development plan of the USSR are to ensure the further mighty growth of all sectors of the economy, boost agricultural production and considerably raise the Soviet people's living standards and cultural level on the basis of the priority development of heavy industry, continuous technical progress and rising labour productivity."⁹⁸

The Directives envisaged a 65 per cent increase in the industrial output, a 70 per cent increase in the output of the means of production and a 60 per cent increase in the production of consumer goods.⁹⁹ Particular attention was paid to the further development of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, oil, coal and chemical industries.

The Congress drew up a programme for the further development of agriculture. It was planned to develop agricultural production at faster rates than during the preceding five-year plans. Agricultural workers were assigned important tasks in raising crop yields and the output of animal products.

The Congress discussed in detail problems of improving the work of Soviets and all mass organisations, and also questions of extending the rights of the Union republics, strengthening of Soviet legality and the Communist education of the working people, as well as urgent topics in ideological work.

The 20th Congress instructed the Central Committee of the CPSU "to consistently implement measures so as to overcome completely the cult of the personality, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism; eliminate its consequences in all fields of Party, state and ideological work; and ensure strict observance of the norms of Party life and the principles of collective Party leadership worked out by Lenin."¹⁰⁰

The 20th Congress indicated the need to consolidate the ranks of the Communist Party and strengthen its leading role in Soviet society. The Congress instructed Party organisations and Party executives to improve the style and methods of

⁹⁸ *20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 435.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

Party organisational work and intensify their work with the masses.

The delegates stressed the need to further fortify the ideological and organisational unity of the Party and raise the activity of all its members and candidate-members.

The 20th Congress was a major historical event. It drafted a majestic plan for the economic development of the USSR, improvement of the material well-being of the people and reinforcement of the country's defence.

The 20th Congress produced a telling impact on the development of the world communist and workers' movement. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and the creative approach to the development of the theory and to the generalisation of the great practice of the CPSU and the entire world revolutionary movement enabled the Congress to furnish answers to the most burning questions which troubled the Communists of all countries and the whole of mankind. This contributed to the dissemination of the ideas of communism and helped many Communist and Workers' parties to draw up new programme theses and correct policies and tactics for a successful struggle in present-day historical conditions.

The decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU were unanimously approved by Communists and all the Soviet people. They were also approved by the plenary meetings and congresses of foreign Communist and Workers' parties.

Communists and the Soviet people enthusiastically set about implementing the decisions of the 20th Congress. Socialist emulation was given a new impetus. The coal-miners of the Kuzbas, the oilmen of Bashkiria and the workers of the timber industry of Udmurtia initiated the movement for the successful fulfilment of the sixth five-year plan. Employees at enterprises in Chelyabinsk undertook to fulfil the plan ahead of schedule. A campaign was started for the reduction of costs and the rational utilisation of funds and material resources.

The Party took steps to mobilise all people and material resources for the development of heavy industry and for accelerating technical progress. Much attention was devoted to new industrial projects. Hundreds of thousands of young patriots responded to the Party's appeal and went to work

at construction sites. Industry was being modernised at an accelerated rate.

In December 1956 the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU summed up the first results of the Party's and the people's struggle for the fulfilment of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Plenary Meeting noted that all branches of socialist industry had stepped up their output, but the production of coal, metal, cement and timber in 1956 had fallen below the target figures; the commissioning of production capacities in those branches and in housing construction had also fallen short of the target figures. The Plenary Meeting took measures to eliminate the shortcomings.

The decisions of the 20th Congress on agriculture were being implemented, collective and state farms received qualified specialists, labour productivity on farms was raised. But there were still many difficulties and shortcomings, and so the Party took steps to raise agricultural output.

Science and engineering were making rapid progress. The utilisation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, the launching of the atomic ice-breaker *Lenin* on December 5, 1957, the world's biggest turboprop passenger airliner, the TU-114, and the launching of the first artificial earth satellite on October 4, 1957, were among the many proofs of the rapid development of Soviet science and technology.

The celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution were a great event in our country as well as for all progressive mankind. A jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was held on November 6, 1957 in Moscow. The session summed up the results of 40 years of Soviet power. The results were really remarkable! The volume of industrial output in the USSR had increased 33-fold, whereas in the United States it increased by only 140 per cent, in France by 70 per cent, and in Britain by 60 per cent. That was an undeniable testimony to the advantages of the socialist economic system over the capitalist one. The following figures give an idea of the mammoth industrial growth in the USSR: in 1913 tsarist Russia produced only 29.1 million tons of coal, in 1957 the USSR produced 462 million tons. The production of pig iron, steel and oil was growing at exceptionally fast rates.

The Party and the Soviet Government took advantage of the mighty socialist industry and, fulfilling Lenin's co-operative plan, created a powerful socialist mechanised agriculture.

The jubilee session noted that the successes of the Soviet people were due to the fact that they were led by the Communist Party, united and monolithic, armed with the knowledge of the laws of social development, and loyal to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

During the anniversary celebrations representatives of Communist and Workers' parties held their conferences in Moscow; one conference was attended by the delegates of Communist and Workers' parties who adopted the Declaration, the other, by the delegates of all parties who succeeded in coming to Moscow. At the latter conference representatives of Communist and Workers' parties of 64 countries adopted the Peace Manifesto. These documents were of historic importance, they signified a great ideological and political victory of the world communist and workers' movement.

The USSR had all the material prerequisites for accomplishing the main economic task set by the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It was only a matter of qualified management of production and the mobilisation of the masses. The question was taken up in the resolution of the December (1957) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU, devoted to the work of trade unions. The resolution outlined the tasks of increasing the role of trade unions in the nation-wide struggle for building communist society, stepping up their activities in encouraging working people to participate in the management of production, and improving their guidance of socialist emulation. The Party required of the trade unions to mobilise the masses for the further development of the economy, strengthening of the country's defence capacity, for fulfilment and overfulfilment of economic plans, technical progress and higher labour productivity. In implementing the decisions of the Plenary Meeting, the Soviet trade unions became stronger and rallied closer in support of the Communist Party; their role as Lenin's school of administration, a school of economic management, a school of communism was elevated.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people achieved tremendous successes in the development of economy, science and culture, in raising the material welfare of the working people, in consolidating the country's might and defence potential. Industry made another step forward. In 1958 the volume of industrial output increased by 10 per cent as compared to the 1957 level. The country produced 39.6 million tons of pig iron, 54.9 million tons of steel, 496 million tons of coal, 113 million tons of oil, and 233,000 million kwh of electricity. More than 800 major industrial enterprises, 57 mines and open-cut mines and seven blast furnaces were commissioned among other important projects. All the Union republics made an outstanding contribution to the development of industry.

Agriculture also scored important successes. In the four years from 1954 to 1957 the state provided agriculture with 908,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p.), 293,000 grain harvesters, 467,000 lorries and many other machines.¹⁰¹ Thanks to the measures taken by the Party agriculture was gathering force. The gross intake of grain went up by 27 per cent compared with the preceding four-year period.¹⁰² The collective farms and state farms became stronger. The decisions of the February (1958) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU on the further development of the collective-farm system and the reorganisation of the machine-and-tractor stations were aimed at the improvement of agricultural production.

In the five-year period agriculture made considerable progress. In 1958 it produced 8,500 million poods of grain; the number of cattle increased by 13.6 million, pigs by 13.6 million and sheep by 29.2 million.

Progress was made in the training of qualified specialists for the economy. In 1958 more than 4 million people attended 765 higher educational establishments and 3,500 technical schools and other secondary specialised schools in the USSR.

The material level of the Soviet people was rising on the basis of economic achievements. Real incomes went up. A

¹⁰¹ *The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions...*, Vol. 7, p. 318.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 317.

new law on state pensions was adopted, which enhanced social security; housing construction was intensified.

In the bitter struggle against the nazi invaders the Soviet people, led by the Leninist Party, upheld the gains of socialism. In the post-war period the Soviet people not only completely rehabilitated the economy, but also made a great step forward—they completed the building of socialist society. The great victories scored under the Party's leadership laid the foundation for the swift development of the entire economy and prepared the way for the accomplishment of the fundamental economic task of the USSR and for new labour feats by the Soviet people to the glory of their socialist country, which is confidently marching along the road to communism.

III

FOLLOWING LENIN'S COURSE TO THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM

1. THE COMPLETE AND FINAL VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

The final elimination of the exploiter classes, the greater welfare of the Soviet people, the all-round development and consolidation of the Soviet state, the advancement of socialist democracy, the triumph of Lenin's nationalities policy, the consolidation of the moral and political unity of the people, the development of socialist culture and the domination of Marxist-Leninist ideology signified the complete victory of socialism in the USSR. But the USSR continued to be the only socialist country in the world, it was surrounded by capitalist countries. So the danger of military intervention and the restoration of capitalism by the forces of world imperialist reaction was still there. The victory of socialism, therefore, could not be considered final.

The Soviet Union was building the new society at the time when world imperialism attempted over and over again to throttle the world's first state of workers and peasants by the force of arms. Lenin repeatedly warned the Party and the people that they were encircled by enemies and that vigilance was the duty of all. Subsequent events fully confirmed his words. Military clashes occurred at Lake Khasan and on the river Khalkhin Gol, Finnish reaction provoked war with the USSR in the north-west and nazi Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union in 1941. In a grim and bloody war the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, upheld the honour, freedom and independence of their socialist country and saved the peoples of Europe from the "brown plague". The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet

Union against the nazi invaders ended in the historic victory of the Soviet people and their armed forces. The crushing defeat of Germany and militarist Japan helped to establish people's democracies in several countries of Europe and Asia, and made a great impact on the national liberation struggle of peoples in colonies and dependent countries.

More than 1,500 million people threw off the colonial yoke. In 1919 the colonies, semi-colonies and dominions accounted for 72 per cent of the earth's territory and 69 per cent of its population. By the beginning of 1967 the colonies accounted for only 4 per cent of all territory and 1.1 per cent of the world's population.¹

The countries of Central and Southeastern Europe which broke away from capitalism formed, together with the Soviet Union, the mighty system of socialism. A new balance of forces was established in the world arena. The following figures convincingly illustrate this point. Before World War II the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic accounted for only 17 per cent of the planet's territory, approximately 9 per cent of its population and 10 per cent of all industrial output; after the war the socialist system accounted for 26 per cent of the territory, nearly 35 per cent of the population and over a third of the world's industrial production.

A large group of countries which have won independence are pursuing a peaceful policy. They refuse to join imperialist military blocs. These countries and the socialist camp have formed a vast zone of peace.

The formation and development of the world socialist system and the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism have reduced the economic and political domination of capitalism and aggravated the general crisis of the capitalist system. The influence of Communists in the capitalist countries and the respect they enjoy are growing, the workers' movement is spreading, the working people are intensifying their struggle against the monopolies, reaction and the aggressive actions of the imperialist circles. The

¹ *Fifty Years of Soviet Power, Collection of Statistics, Moscow, 1967, p. 11 (in Russian).*

national liberation struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism is mounting in intensity.

The radical changes in the international situation after World War II made the phrase "capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union" obsolete as a historical, political and geographical concept. It no longer exists. There is no sense in saying that geographically the Soviet Union is surrounded by capitalists when most of the countries with which the Soviet Union has common land borders are members of the world socialist system. The modern correlation of forces in the international arena rules out any restoration of capitalism in the USSR. No one can crush the socialist system.

The theoretical conclusion to this effect was made by the Extraordinary 21st Congress of the CPSU in January-February 1959. It said that there were two world social systems—moribund capitalism and thriving socialism which enjoys the sympathies of the working people of all countries.

The 21st Congress subdivided the question of the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR into: 1) guarantees against the restoration of capitalism in the USSR; 2) guarantees against imperialist wars against the socialist camp. In the first case, the reliable guarantee against the restoration of capitalist ways is provided by the economic and military might of the world socialist system, its material and technical basis, the unity and solidarity of the peoples who have embarked on building a new life. This guarantee makes futile any attempt by the imperialists to turn back the wheel of history. The community of the vital interests of the peoples who build socialism and communism ensures the final victory of socialism in the entire socialist camp, where the question "who will beat whom?" is already decided in favour of socialism.

Like any other socialist country, the Soviet Union has no guarantee against possible aggression by the imperialist states, the reactionary circles of which still dream of restoring the bourgeois-landowner system in the socialist countries.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries, therefore, urge the working people to consolidate and develop their armed forces which guard the peaceful labour of the free peoples, they urge the working people to heighten their revolutionary vigilance, nip the subversive activities of

imperialists in the bud, and be always prepared to defend the gains of socialism with arms in hand. The economic and defence capacity of the countries of the socialist camp, their unity, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and readiness to selflessly defend the people's power are a guarantee that any imperialist attempt to unleash aggression against any socialist country will suffer a complete fiasco.

The 21st Congress also arrived at important theoretical conclusions, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching, about the laws governing the transition from socialism to communism, about the ways of development and merging of collective-farm and state property, the political organisation of society and the growth of the leading role of the Communist Party and the socialist state in the period of transition to communism, the ways of solving the fundamental economic task of the USSR, and the principle of the distribution of material benefits in conditions of socialism and communism.

While examining the two aspects of one and the same problem of building socialism in the USSR—the possibility of the complete victory of socialism and the question of its final victory—the CPSU has always underlined the importance of the unity and the indissolubility of the national and international tasks of the working class. The complete victory of socialism in the country paves the way for and hastens its final victory on the international scale. Lenin repeatedly stressed that proletarian internationalism required an indissoluble combination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country with the interests of this struggle in other countries and the interests of the entire international working-class movement.

The achievements made in the course of building socialism and communism in the USSR have decisively influenced the course of world history, and inspired the working people of all countries.

The 21st Congress of the CPSU summed up the results of the great victories of the Soviet people in building the new society. The delegates noted with great satisfaction that the Soviet Union had become a mighty socialist state with a highly developed economy and advanced science and culture.

The 21st Congress approved the control figures for the economic development of the USSR in 1959–65. The seven-year economic development plan was a programme for a new and mighty advance in the economy, culture and material welfare of the people.

The achievements in all fields of socialist construction which the Soviet people attained under the leadership of the Communist Party made feasible the task of creating the material and technical basis of communism. This main economic task of building communism is now being tackled in conditions of a developed socialist society.

2. THE PARTY'S COURSE FOR BUILDING COMMUNISM

Socialist society develops in conformity with the laws of dialectics. It realises its possibilities ever more fully, it develops and improves itself and at the same time creates the prerequisites for transition to the highest phase—communism. The development of socialism and the building of communism is a single, uninterrupted process, every new stage of which, though closely linked with the preceding one, is superior to it; it is the progressive advance of society.

Socialist society naturally grows over into communist society. Communism, Lenin noted, “is a higher form of society, and can only develop when socialism has become firmly established”.² The public ownership of the means and implements of production, the mighty productive forces, planned economy, freedom from exploitation, compulsory labour for all, provision of work for all, socialist democracy, the social, political and ideological unity of society, the achievements of science and culture—all these gains of socialism are a reliable foundation on which to build communism. Communism, however, does not emerge spontaneously, it is the result of the deliberate efforts of the whole people and the continuous search for the correct solution to the problems which arise. Communist society can be built through the efforts of millions of working people led by the Communist Party, which is armed with the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist theory.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 284.

Marxism-Leninism says that the transition to communism requires an adequate material and technical basis. The conditions which will provide the possibility of implementing the principle of communism "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" are as follows: a rise in labour productivity, abundance of material and spiritual benefits, eradication of the essential differences between town and country and between mental and manual labour, and the triumph of the scientific world outlook and communist morality.

The Communist Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, and creatively develops it. It has worked out and substantiated the country's road to communism. This road is outlined in the new Party Programme which the 22nd Congress of the CPSU adopted in Moscow in October 1961.

The Congress was attended by 4,408 delegates with casting-votes and 405 delegates with consultative votes who represented almost 10 million Communists. The number of delegates was three and a half times greater than at any of the three previous congresses.³ The guests represented 80 foreign Marxist-Leninist parties.⁴ This was a vivid demonstration of the strong solidarity between the CPSU and the Communist and Workers' parties of other countries.

The 22nd Congress discussed the Report of the Party's Central Committee, the Report of the Central Auditing Committee, the report of the changes in the Rules of the CPSU, and it adopted the new Programme and elected the Party's central organs.

The Congress scrupulously discussed the basic questions of the international situation and the urgent problems of building communist society. The Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the delegates noted the great achievements which the Soviet people had made in the development of the economy, science, culture, and in the strengthening of the Soviet socialist state under the leadership of the Communist Party.

³ *The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 424 (in Russian).

⁴ The 20th Congress of the CPSU was attended by representatives of 55 Communist and Workers' parties, the 21st Congress by 70.

The Soviet Union became a country of advanced science and technology. The resolution of the Report of the CC CPSU noted with satisfaction that in the past six years "industry and agriculture have advanced rapidly to high levels, the economic might and defence potential of the country have been still further strengthened, the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people have been more fully satisfied".⁵

The resolution also contains a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and the international position of the Soviet Union. It summed up the results of the development of the two opposite systems—the socialist and the capitalist—and stressed that socialism was firmly established in the great socialist community. The system of socialism had become a dominating factor in the evolution of human society, its share in the world industrial output had increased. Thenceforth, not imperialism but socialism was determining the main trend of world development. The Congress decided that the further consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and enhancement of its might and defence potential remained the Party's and the state's most important task. In the field of international relations, the Congress found it necessary to consistently and perseveringly implement Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The 22nd Congress solemnly declared that "*the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will do everything necessary to preserve and consolidate peace and friendship among the peoples, so that the lofty ideals of social progress and the happiness of the peoples should triumph*".⁶

The Congress analysed the national liberation movement in the countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America and pointed out that the colonial system had collapsed. It noted that the imperialist forces were striving to hang onto their position and were inventing new and sophisticated forms of colonialism. But the peoples of the former colonies were becoming ever more convinced that the final liberation from all forms of political and economic dependence was possible only through non-capitalist development.

⁵ *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, p. 419.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

Only this could offer their countries real freedom, prosperity and happiness.

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU summed up the results of the historic victories of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, outlined new tasks in the development of science, economy, technology, culture and the arts, and unfurled before the working people the majestic prospects for building communist society.

The adoption by the 22nd Congress of the Party's third Programme—the Programme for building communism in the Soviet Union—was an event of paramount importance for the Party, the whole Soviet people and the world communist and working-class movement. The Programme elevated the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific communism to new heights. It announced for the first time the practical task of building communism in the USSR.

The working class, led by the Communist Party, is passing through three historic stages in its revolutionary struggle: the overthrow of the domination of exploiters and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the building of socialism, and the creation of communist society. At every stage the Party works out a new Programme and determines its tasks scientifically. Lenin wrote: "A programme is a brief, clear, and precise statement of *all the things a party is striving and fighting for.*"⁷

The Party's first Leninist Programme, adopted in 1903 by the Second Congress of the RSDLP, posed the task of overthrowing the Russian autocracy and bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1917 the Programme was accomplished. In February 1917 tsarism was destroyed, and in October of the same year the bourgeoisie was overthrown; Soviet power was proclaimed for the first time in history, the country of the triumphant dictatorship of the proletariat emerged. A new era dawned in human history—the era of the downfall of capitalism and the consolidation of socialism.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, Lenin's Party became the ruling party, and it was confronted with new tasks: the organisation of the Soviet

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 398.

state and the practical building of the socialist society. These tasks were scientifically formulated in the second Programme of the Communist Party, adopted by the Eighth Party Congress in 1919. The Programme was intended for the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. It stated its main target to be the building of socialism in the country. The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, successfully implemented the Party's second Programme, drawn up by Lenin. Socialism in the Soviet Union triumphed completely and finally.

The tasks for the period of building communist society are set down in the Party's third Programme which, like the two earlier programmes, is based on the great teaching of Lenin, takes into account objective laws and accords with the fundamental requirements of social development. It is a new landmark in the history of the Leninist Party and Soviet society. The third Programme gives a deep scientific account of the transition from capitalism to socialism, which constitutes the principal feature of modern times. The Programme put forward the practical task of building the communist society in the Soviet Union, it indicates clear ways for achieving this great and noble aim. It lays down the tasks of the Communist Party in all fields of communist construction. In the economy it is to create the material and technical basis of communism, which is described in detail. The Programme emphasises the idea that the ensuring of the Soviet Union's superiority over the developed capitalist countries in labour productivity is the most important prerequisite for the victory of the communist system. The Party, therefore, gave priority to the comprehensive development of the country's productive forces. Further, the Programme sets the task of eliminating the differences between classes, town and country, mental and manual labour, the task of creating a classless society, consolidating the economic and ideological community of nations and bringing up, on the basis of the moral code of builders of communism, a new man with a harmonious combination of lofty ideological principles, a broad education, moral purity and physical perfection. In the field of politics, the Programme envisages a broad development of socialist democracy and the enlisting of all working people in the administration of society. This would

result in the gradual transformation of state power into organs of public self-administration.

The Programme stresses that the Communist Party has become the vanguard of the Soviet people, the Party of the whole people, and that it influences all aspects of public life.

The new Programme of the CPSU gives a deeply scientific analysis of the contemporary international situation, the two social and economic systems, the working-class and national liberation movements, peaceful coexistence and the struggle for universal peace. It says: "Our epoch, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, is an epoch of struggle between the two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system, an epoch of the transition of more and more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale."⁸

The Programme of the CPSU provides clear and precise answers to all questions of the theory and practice of building communism. It reiterates that the Communist Party and the Soviet people consider the building of communist society in the USSR their principal internationalist duty. It says: "*The Party regards communist construction in the USSR as the Soviet people's great internationalist task, in keeping with the interests of the world socialist system as a whole and with the interests of the international proletariat and all mankind.*"⁹

When Lenin was working on the theory of the socialist revolution, he pointed out the significance of the example of socialist construction in the USSR. The successes inspire the working people at home and abroad. Lenin said that the proletariat should rebuff the exploiter classes not only in words but also in deeds and convince the entire gigantic mass of peasants and petty-bourgeois elements in Russia and in other countries of the fact that the working class is capable of creating a communist society. When determining the international tasks of the socialist revolution Lenin repeatedly

⁸ *The Road to Communism*, p. 449.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

stressed that the Soviet Republic should manifest itself as a force capable of resisting military encroachments and as a force capable of providing an example of building socialism.

In May 1921 Lenin formulated the well-known thesis: "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy. The working people of all countries without exception and without exaggeration are looking to the Soviet Russian Republic. This much has been achieved. The capitalists cannot hush up or conceal anything. That is why they so eagerly catch at our every economic mistake and weakness. The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem, we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale."¹⁰

Implementing the decisions of the 22nd Congress, and the October (1964) and subsequent Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, achieved marvellous successes in a short period of time.

The results of the Party's and the people's struggle to build communist society after the 22nd Congress were summed up by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in March-April 1966. The Congress was attended by 4,943 delegates, of which 4,620 had casting-votes, and 323 consultative votes. After the 22nd Congress the Party deepened and broadened its ties with the masses of the working people, its authority among the people rose higher. This is borne out by the fact that after the 22nd Congress it increased its ranks by 2,755,074 to a total of 11,673,676 members and 797,403 candidate-members.¹¹

The 23rd Congress was held at a time when the economic and political might of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community continued to grow, when there was a mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, intensified struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and the growing resistance of the broad masses of the people to the destructive forces of aggression.

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437.

¹¹ *The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Minutes*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1966, p. 280 (in Russian).

The 23rd Congress discussed the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Report of the Central Auditing Committee of the CPSU, approved the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1966-70 and elected the Party's Central organs.

The Report of the CC CPSU dwelt at length on the Party's and the people's struggle for the creation of the material and technical basis of communism in the USSR. In the previous seven years the national income, employed for accumulation and consumption, increased by 53 per cent, and the volume of industrial production by 84 per cent. The fixed production assets in the economy were increased by 92 per cent. Industry produced 46,000 million rubles' worth of commodities over and above the plan. In 1965, the concluding year of the seven-year plan, industry produced 5 times more steel than in 1940, almost 5.5 times more rolled metal, almost 8 times more oil, nearly 13 times more cement, 4.2 times more automobiles, over 11 times more tractors and 10.5 times more electric power.¹²

Agriculture, an important sector of the Soviet economy, also made headway. The production of the most important types of farm products was increased, but the growth rates went slightly down. The problem was examined by the March (1965) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU, the decisions of which improved the situation in agriculture. The 23rd Congress stressed that the development of agricultural production was a pressing task for the Party and the whole Soviet people.

The achievements in the development of the economy raised the material welfare of the Soviet people. In the period under review the average wages of factory and office workers went up by 19 per cent, and wages in the servicing branches were increased. That included workers in education, medical services, culture, trade and communal housing agencies. The incomes of collective farmers went up, and the population began to receive more payments and privileges from the social consumption funds. The Party and the Gov-

¹² *The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Minutes*, Vol. 1, pp. 48-49.

ernment turned their efforts to housing construction. In the five concluding years of the seven-year plan period 393 million square metres of housing were built in towns, workers' settlements and state farms, and more than 2 million houses were built in collective-farm villages.¹³ A rise in the sales of food and manufactured goods also indicated higher living standards. In 1965 the retail trade turnover amounted to 104,600 million rubles—a 34 per cent increase over the 1960 level.¹⁴

Science, technology, literature and the arts were forging ahead. On the eve of the 23rd Congress there were 4,650 research institutions; they and the higher educational establishments had an army of more than 660,000 scientists—a quarter of the world's entire force.¹⁵ Unprecedented successes were made in space research. The soft landing of the automatic Luna-9 station on the Moon and the transmission of pictures of the lunar landscape back to Earth were of tremendous scientific importance. Another victory scored by Soviet science were the flights of the Venera-2 and the Venera-3 automatic stations to Venus. They delivered a pennant with the state emblem of the USSR and transmitted back to Earth a wealth of scientific information.

The Party developed the country's productive forces and at the same time improved socialist social relations. The Soviet social system became stronger. The public and collective-farm and co-operative forms of socialist property were consolidated. The social wealth was multiplied, the democratic principles of the management of production were extended and socialist democracy was enhanced.

The delegates to the Congress discussed the report delivered by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Alexei Kosygin, on the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1966-70. The report summed up the country's economic and cultural achievements in the seven-year period and enumerated the specific tasks for the future. The basic

¹³ *The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 72.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

economic task in the eighth five-year economic development plan was to make full use of the achievements of science and technology and the development of the entire social production (higher efficiency of production and higher labour productivity) and raise considerably industrial production, ensure high and stable rates of agricultural development and, on that basis, to considerably raise the living standards and satisfy more fully the material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people.

The results of the fulfilment of the eighth five-year plan were summed up by the 24th Congress of the CPSU on March 30, 1971. The Congress was in session until April 9. It was attended by 4,963 delegates (4,740 with casting-votes and 223 with consultative votes), representing 13,810,089 members and 645,232 candidate-members.

The 24th Congress adopted the following agenda: 1) Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, to be made by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev; 2) Report of the Central Auditing Committee of the CC CPSU, to be made by the Chairman of the Central Auditing Committee of the CPSU, I. Sizov; 3) Directives of the 24th Congress for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-75, to be reported by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Alexei Kosygin; 4) Elections of the Party's central organs.

The delegates and the numerous guests—members of the fraternal Communist, Workers' and Socialist parties—heard with deep attention and great interest the Report of the Party's Central Committee.

The Report contained a profound and comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international position of the USSR, the foreign policy of the USSR and the development of the world communist and national liberation movement. It threw light on the principal aspects of the Party's economic policy in modern times, some questions of inner-Party life, the social and political development of Soviet society, and the Party's tasks; it outlined ways to further consolidate the Party.

In his Report the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, analysed the selfless struggle of the Soviet people for the accomplishment of the mammoth tasks of

communist construction during the eighth five-year plan and outlined the grand programme for the new stage of building communism in the USSR.

Summing up the results achieved during the five years following the 23rd Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said that those were years of intense creative labour on the part of the Soviet people.

"In implementing the plans outlined by the Party," he said, "the Soviet people have scored great successes along all the main lines of communist construction.

"These have been years in which our socialist economy took another great stride forward. The volume of industrial production has increased considerably. Agriculture has been growing steadily. New frontiers have been reached in the development of science and technology, and their latest achievements are being applied on an ever growing scale. On this basis we have succeeded in materially advancing in the direction which ultimately expresses the main meaning of our Party's activity—towards further raising the level of the welfare and culture of the whole Soviet people.

"These have been years of successful development of socialist social relations and Soviet democracy, years of the further flourishing of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR and of considerable strengthening of the political and defence might of our great country—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."¹⁶

In the international arena these years were marked by big social and political changes, when the antagonism "between the forces of peace, freedom and progress, and the forces of oppression, reaction and aggression"¹⁷ was growing deeper and more acute. Leonid Brezhnev underlined that the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries had made a great contribution to the struggle for peace and security of the peoples, and pointed out that the role of the world system of socialism had been greatly enhanced, and the union of the three principal revolutionary forces of modern times—socialism, the international working-class movement and the na-

¹⁶ Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 5.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

tional liberation movement of the peoples—had become much stronger.

The preceding five-year period, Leonid Brezhnev said, further consolidated and expanded the CPSU. It was a period of the further strengthening of the Party's ties with the people and the growth of its leading role in the life of Soviet society. In those years the Party had to solve complicated problems. Having summarised the practice of building communism, the Party worked out a realistic, principled course in politics, which was unanimously supported by the Soviet people.

Those were the years which saw the tremendous political upsurge and labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people associated with the great anniversaries—50 years of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the centenary of Lenin's birth. They were also years of rising activity by the broad masses of the people in the practical implementation of the plans drafted by the Party. All Soviet people welcomed the 24th Congress of the Communist Party as an outstanding event in their life. They greeted it with solid achievements.

"At its 24th Congress, our Leninist Party finds itself full of vigour, enriched with new experience, and monolithically united, fully aware of the scale and importance of what has already been achieved, and confident in its strength and the correctness of the prospects mapped out for our further advance."¹⁸

Analysing the principal questions of the Party's economic policy at the modern stage, Leonid Brezhnev pointed out that the Soviet people "have brought the eighth five-year plan to a fitting completion, thereby taking another major step forward in building the material and technical basis of communism, in strengthening the country's might, and in raising the people's living standards."¹⁹

In summarising the results of the eighth five-year plan, Leonid Brezhnev drew attention to the considerable expansion of the entire economy, the accelerated development and rising efficiency of all its sectors. The Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU were successfully fulfilled in

¹⁸ Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 6.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

KEY INDICES OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DURING
THE 7TH AND 8TH FIVE-YEAR PLANS
(IN COMPARABLE PRICES; ABSOLUTE INCREASE IN 1,000
MILLION RUBLES)

	7th Plan (1961-65)		8th Plan (1966-70)	
	absolute increase	1965 as percentage of 1960	absolute increase	1970 as percentage of 1965
Aggregate social product	113	137	175	142
National income employed for accumulation and consumption	45	132	77	141
Industrial output, including:	84	151	125	150
Group A	66	158	91	151
Group B	18	136	34	149
Agricultural output (average annual production compared with the preceding five years)	7.1	112	14	121
Capital investments (total for the five-year period)	77	145	104	142
Freight turnover of all types of transport, in 1,000 million ton/km	878	147	1,061	138
Retail trade turnover	26.1	134	50.2	148

all the main economic indices. The national income increased by 41 per cent, the industrial output went up by 50 per cent. The assignments concerning the most important indices in raising the living standards were overfulfilled. "On the whole," Leonid Brezhnev said, "the eighth five-year period has yielded considerably greater results than the preceding one."²⁰

The country's national income employed for consumption and accumulation was increasing at an average rate of 7.1 per cent against 5.7 per cent in the preceding five-year period. Labour productivity—the most important indicator of the efficiency of production—increased by 37 per

²⁰ Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 40.

cent against 29 per cent in the seventh five-year plan period.

Heavy industry was further developed. The electric power industry, the chemical and petro-chemical industries, engineering, particularly radio-electronics and instrument making, were given priority development. The share of these industries, which determine technical progress, in the general volume of industrial production increased from 28 to 33 per cent. The light industry and the food industry were advancing quickly. Over the five years the output of consumer goods went up by 49 per cent.²¹

In posing such high targets the Party took into consideration the fact that the basis of our economy was becoming stronger. The tasks and their accomplishment during the eighth five-year plan were determined by the growing requirements of Soviet society, the actual level of the socialist economy and the real opportunities which the country had for the further expansion and development of social production.

In agriculture the main task was to considerably increase the output of farm and animal products, and ensure high and stable rates of development. The average annual volume of the overall agricultural output increased by 21 per cent compared with the preceding five years, and the average annual production of grain increased by 37 million tons, or by 30 per cent. There was a marked increase in the output of meat, milk, eggs and other products.²² As Leonid Brezhnev noted, agriculture continued to be the most complicated and difficult sector of the economy.

Particular attention was paid during the eighth five-year period to the improvement of the work of transport and communications, capital construction, development of foreign economic relations and the rise of the Soviet people's living standards and cultural level. The assignment for the transport freight turnover was fulfilled. Large-scale construction permitted the country to commission nearly 1,900 major industrial enterprises and projects. Leonid Brezhnev said: "A good reserve has been created for a further build-up of

²¹ *Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 41.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

production capacities in the early years of the current five-year period."²³ Balanced construction improved the distribution of the productive forces and increased the economic potential of Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. These territories are making a solid contribution to the solution of the economic problems faced by the state.

During the eighth five-year plan the Party devoted its energies to a radical improvement of living standards. Taking into account that the main factor here is higher wages for factory and office workers and higher incomes for collective farmers from social production, the Party succeeded in raising per capita real incomes by 33 per cent, instead of 30 per cent as originally planned in the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

The minimum wages of factory and office workers went up by 26 per cent to 60 rubles a month. The incomes of collective farmers went up by 42 per cent. The collective farmers were accorded a guaranteed remuneration for labour, their pension age was reduced and they were given sick-leave and disablement allowances.

In 1970 the social consumption funds stood at 64,000 million rubles, i.e., they had increased by 50 per cent in the five-year period.

The introduction of the five-day working week (two days off) while retaining the 41-hour working week, was a major social and economic measure which offered additional opportunities for improving working conditions and the rational utilisation of free time by factory and office workers. Simultaneously, the Government increased the length of paid vacations for many categories of working people.

The higher per capita consumption of meat, milk and other goods, sales of fabrics, clothes, knitted wear, etc., as well as the expansion of housing construction are impressive evidence of the growing welfare of the people. In his Report Leonid Brezhnev said that in 1966-70 the retail trade turnover had gone up by 48 per cent, and the structure of consumption had been considerably improved. In 1970 as compared with 1965 the per capita consumption of meat increased by 17 per cent, milk and dairy products by 22 per cent,

²³ *Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 42.

eggs by 23 per cent, fish and fish products by 33 per cent, sugar by 14 per cent; the consumption of bread stuffs and potatoes fell. Sales of household articles went up, particularly durable goods, such as radio and television sets, washing machines and refrigerators.²⁴

In dealing with the vital problem of housing, the Soviet state spent nearly 60,000 million rubles and built more than 500 million square metres of housing. "This means," Leonid Brezhnev said, "that an equivalent of more than 50 large cities with one million population each were built in the country."²⁵

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government paid a great deal of attention to public education and health. During the period, the army of doctors was replenished by 151,000 people. The network of medical institutions was considerably developed.

The resolution of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, unanimously adopted on the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, noted that "as a result of the consistent and steadfast effort to fulfil the Programme of the CPSU and the tasks set by the 23rd Congress major successes have been achieved in communist construction. An important accomplishment of the period under review is that the further development of the national economy and the strengthening of the country's defences have gone hand in hand with a considerable rise in the working people's living standards in town and country. Socialist social relations and Soviet democracy have developed successfully. The moral and political unity of the workers, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia, and the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR have become even stronger."²⁶

The Soviet people unanimously support the Party's political and economic policy. The people are infinitely loyal to the Party's great ideas. Under the Communist Party's Leninist banner the working people of the Soviet Union are advancing towards the new victories of communism.

²⁴ *Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 43.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

²⁶ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, pp. 210-11.

The grandiose successes which the Soviet people achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party in implementing Lenin's plan for building socialism and communism in the USSR were summed up in the Theses of the CC CPSU "On the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" published early in June 1967 and in the report "Fifty Years of the Great Victories of Socialism" which Comrade Brezhnev delivered at the joint session of the Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses devoted to the 50th anniversary of Great October.

These documents trace the heroic road from the assault on the Winter Palace in 1917 to November 1967 which the working people of our country traversed under the leadership of the Leninist Party—the guiding and leading force of Soviet society. These ideas were further developed in the Theses of the CC CPSU "On the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin" and in Leonid Brezhnev's report devoted to this great and outstanding event.

In the 50 years of Soviet power the country became a mighty industrial and collective-farm state with the world's most advanced science and technology and the most progressive culture in history. Our successes in the development of the economy and culture and in raising the material prosperity of the people astonish the world and generate a feeling of pride among our friends and apprehension among the imperialists. Let us turn to the facts. In 1913 Russia accounted for a little more than 4 per cent of the world industrial output, but in 1967 the USSR was producing close to one-fifth of the world industrial output.

While giving priority to the development of heavy industry, the Communist Party has now decided to accelerate the development of the industries, which directly satisfy the people's material and cultural requirements; the Party set about modernising these industries and strengthening their raw material and power basis. The conjunction of the growth rates of the production of consumer goods and the production of the means of production are important aspects of the modern structural changes in the national economy.

Labour productivity is steadily rising. In 1966 the productivity of labour in industry exceeded the level of 1913 by

14.7 times, and in machine-building and metal-working by more than 30 times.²⁷ That was made possible mainly through the increase in the power and electricity available per worker. As a by-product, the conditions of work were also greatly improved.

Thanks to the implementation of Lenin's plan for building socialism, radical changes took place in agriculture. The victory of the collective-farm system has transformed the face of the countryside. Before the beginning of mass collectivisation in 1927 there were 14,800 collective farms, 1,400 state farms, 23.7 million individual farms and 1.1 million kulak farms. Collectivisation completely changed the picture. In 1940 there were 236,900 collective farms, 4,200 state farms, 3.6 million individual farms and no kulak farms at all. As a result of increases in size, the number of collective farms was reduced in 1966 to 37,100, while the number of state farms increased to 12,200. There were only 40,000 individual farms.²⁸

The achievements of socialist industry afforded an opportunity to improve the technical equipment of collective farms and state farms and to increase the level of agricultural production. By the end of 1966 the machine pool consisted of 1,660,000 tractors and 531,000 grain harvesters. The power capacity surpassed the pre-revolutionary level 10 times.²⁹ Now all collective farms and state farms are provided with electric power.

It should be noted, however, that the development of agriculture was negatively affected by violations of the economic laws of socialist production, of principles of material incentives, of the correct combination of social and private interests, and by subjectivism in the management of agricultural production.

The Communist Party took vigorous steps to eliminate mistakes and shortcomings in the management of agricultural production. The March (1965) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU worked out a system of economic and political

²⁷ *Fifty Years of the USSR, Collection of Statistics*, p. 63.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

measures. After the March Plenary Meeting there was a marked rise in the output of farm produce.

Transport, of course, plays a signal role in the development of economy. Its significance is particularly great in the Soviet Union, which has a territory of 22.4 million square kilometres, or almost a sixth of the earth's surface. The tsarist government, however, was little concerned with the development of transport; the network of railways was extending at a snail's pace, many rivers were unnavigable. Export-import goods were delivered mostly by foreign ships. World War I and the Civil War seriously damaged existing transport, backward as it was.

The nationalisation of transport after the victory of the Great October Revolution changed its social and economic character and opened up new possibilities. During the years of Soviet power the Government created road and air transport and a pipeline system; it strengthened the material and technical basis of rail, sea and river transport.

In 1966 there were 132,500 kilometres of rail track in operation, compared with only 71,700 in 1913.³⁰ The length of airline routes was also considerably extended—from 9,300 km in 1928 to 474,600 in 1966.³¹ In the period from 1918 to 1966 the average annual growth rates in freight turnover excluding overseas routes were nearly 160 per cent higher than in the United States, and in 1951-66—almost 200 per cent higher.³² All types of transport were radically modernised, most railways have been adapted for electric or diesel locomotion. The world knows the excellent qualities of Soviet airliners, sea and river vessels. The Party and the Government do all they can to develop transport so as to meet adequately the needs of the economy and of passengers.

In the years of Soviet power the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, scored unparalleled successes in the development of heavy industry, socialist agriculture, transport, communications and construction. More than 40,000 major industrial enterprises were built or rehabilitated dur-

³⁰ *Transport and Communications in the USSR, Collection of Statistics*, Moscow, 1967, p. 95 (in Russian).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

³² *Fifty Years of the USSR*, p. 169.

ing the 50 years of Soviet power.³³ Radio broadcasting, television and telephone and telegraph communications were developed extensively. In 1965 the world's first space communication link was established between Moscow and the Far East with the help of the Molniya-1 man-made satellite. All sectors of the economy are advancing in step on the basis of modern science and technology.

The growth of socialist production provided a stable foundation for raising the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The per capita real incomes in industry and construction exceeded the pre-revolutionary level by 6.6 times, and the incomes of farmers exceeded that level by 8.5 times. The average monthly wages of factory and office workers, together with payments and privileges from the social consumption funds, went up from 40.6 rubles in 1940 to 134 rubles in 1966.³⁴ The incomes of farmers are catching up with the wages of factory and office workers.

The housing problem, a sharp one, is being successfully dealt with. In the period from 1950 to 1966 more than 155 million people received new flats or improved their housing conditions.³⁵

The victory of socialism in the USSR was accompanied by sweeping achievements in all fields of culture. Free education was introduced in all schools, institutes and universities, secondary specialised schools and other educational establishments. In 1966 there were 73.6 million students in the Soviet Union, i.e., one out of every three people (not counting children of pre-school age) were studying. In 1930 the country introduced universal and compulsory primary education; today we are witnessing the transition to universal secondary education. In 1966 there were over 4 million students in the higher educational establishments of the USSR—3.5 times more than in Britain, France, the FRG and Italy taken together.³⁶ There are 8,000 newspapers and more than 4,000 magazines; books are printed in millions of copies, and the network of libraries, theatres, cinemas, mu-

³³ Fifty Years of the USSR, p. 188.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 8, 277.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

seums and other cultural and educational institutions has been expanded. The Party does all it can to satisfy the cultural requirements of the Soviet people. It is greatly concerned with the Marxist-Leninist upbringing of the people. This finds unquestionable proof in the following fact. In the period from 1917 to 1967 the USSR printed 85 million copies of works by Marx and Engels and 335 million copies of works by Lenin.³⁷

The Soviet Union's accomplishments in science and technology are generally known. In 1914 Russia had only 11,600 research workers. Compare that with 800,000 in the USSR in 1968.³⁸ There are 20 academies of sciences—the USSR Academy of Sciences, the academies of sciences of the Union republics and academies of sciences specialising in definite fields. The USSR Academy of Sciences comprises 194 research centres with a body of 27,000 scientists.³⁹

The achievements in the development of the economy, culture, science and technology contributed to the build-up of the Soviet Armed Forces, which together with the armies of the fraternal countries, vigilantly guard the peaceful labour of the builders of communism and socialism. The Soviet Army and Navy, equipped with rockets and nuclear weapons and modern armaments, are ready to repulse any aggressor who would dare to encroach on the borders of the Soviet Union or the socialist community.

The Communist Party, implementing Lenin's nationalities policy, has perseveringly advanced the economy and culture of all the fraternal republics of the USSR. During the years of Soviet power the peoples of the Soviet Union have achieved enormous successes in the economy, culture, science, the arts, education, medical services and living standards. In the Tajik SSR, for instance, in spite of its tremendous power resources, there were no electric power stations before the revolution, but in 1966 the republic produced 2,100 million kwh of electricity, i.e., as much as was produced

³⁷ Fifty Years of the Soviet Press, Statistical Survey, Moscow, 1967, pp. 21-22.

³⁸ Problems of Peace and Socialism, No. 5, 1969, p. 100; Fifty Years of the USSR, p. 283.

³⁹ Fifty Years of the USSR, p. 285.

in the whole of Russia before the Revolution.⁴⁰ The production of cotton increased nearly 20-fold. Cotton yields are the highest in the world—2.7 tons per hectare in 1966.⁴¹

The Turkmen SSR has scored no less important successes in its economic and cultural development. It has founded such new industries as oil processing and the chemical, gas, confectionery and canning industries. In 1966 the production of oil exceeded the level of 1913 more than 80 times. Before the revolution Turkmenian schools were attended by only 7,000 pupils; in 1966, by 455,000. Before the Revolution there were no institutes or secondary specialised schools; now there are 33 institutes and secondary specialised schools with a total of 48,000 students.⁴²

The flourishing of the economy and culture of all the Union and autonomous fraternal republics and the inviolable friendship of the peoples of the USSR are clear proof of the victory of the Leninist nationalities policy of the Communist Party. History had never known such a wonderful solution of the nationalities problem in a country inhabited by more than 100 nationalities and peoples. The USSR is a multinational state, the peoples of which, working jointly in a united family, built socialism, upheld it in the armed struggle against the nazi invaders and are now erecting the majestic edifice of communism.

Implementing the decisions of the 23rd Congress, the working people of the Soviet Union scored ever new successes in the further development of the economy, science and culture, and in raising living standards. By the end of 1967 they had fulfilled ahead of schedule the annual plan for the production of steel, the major fuels, instruments, and the products of the chemical, light, food and other industries. The growth rate of industrial output amounted to 10 per cent instead of 7.3 per cent as originally planned. Nearly 7,000 million rubles' worth of products were put out over and above the plan. Some 7,000 industrial enterprises, which accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the industrial output, were transferred to the

⁴⁰ *Fifty Years of the USSR*, p. 301.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

new system of planning and economic incentives.⁴³ By the end of 1968 the new system encompassed 27,000 industrial enterprises, which produced 72 per cent of the industrial output and more than 80 per cent of profits.⁴⁴

Socialist agriculture also advanced. In spite of the unfavourable weather conditions in some major grain-growing areas, the gross agricultural output in 1967 exceeded the level of the 1966 bumper-harvest year, and topped the average for 1961-65 by 17 per cent.⁴⁵ The plan for state purchases of the staple farm produce was fulfilled.

Speaking about the fulfilment of the economic development plan of the USSR in 1967, it should be mentioned that the specific feature of that year was the accelerated growth of production of consumer goods (Group B). That permitted a considerable increase in supplying the market with many important types of products, invigoration of the commodity turnover and an improvement in services. The national income, employed for accumulation and consumption, increased by 6.7 per cent compared with 1966.⁴⁶ All that further raised the people's living standards. It is sufficient to say that the average monthly wages of factory and office workers in the economy went up by 4 per cent and, taking into account the payments and privileges from the social consumption funds, reached 139.5 rubles against 134.2 rubles in 1966.⁴⁷

New victories were achieved in 1968. Enthusiastically implementing the measures worked out by the 23rd Congress and the Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU aimed at higher efficiency of social production and further promotion of the people's welfare, the working people of town and country achieved great successes in all fields of communist construction. In 1968 the USSR produced 107 million tons of steel, 309 million tons of oil and 638,000 million kwh of electricity. The gross production of grain amounted to 10,300 million poods—30 per cent over the average annual figure in 1961-65.⁴⁸

⁴³ *Pravda*, January 25, 1968.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1969.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, January 25, 1968.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1969.

As from January 1968, important measures were implemented to further raise the living standards of the Soviet people. The minimum wages of factory and office workers in all fields of the economy were raised from 40-45 rubles a month to 60 rubles and even to 70 rubles in the case of certain categories. Remoteness increments were granted to those in the Far East and the European North who did not enjoy them before. Basic wage rates were increased for lathe operators in machine-building and metal-working enterprises and shops in all branches of the economy. Privileges were extended for people working in the Far North and areas with the same status. Factory and office workers who formerly had a 12-day vacation were granted an additional 3 days. Temporary disability allowances were increased, and old-age maintenance for factory and office workers and collective farmers was improved. Taxes on wages in the 60-80 rubles a month bracket were lowered by 25 per cent on the average.

In 1968 the average monthly wages of factory and office workers were raised by 7.5 per cent. The incomes of collective farmers were going up rapidly. Payments and privileges from the social consumption funds amounted to 55,000 million rubles.⁴⁹

All that is an eloquent testimony to the swift rates of development of socialist economy, culture and science, and to the rise in the people's incomes. The specific feature of the socialist system is the high growth rate of production, far superior to the growth rates of the capitalist economy. The following examples prove the point. In the period from 1951 to 1967 the average annual growth rate of industrial production in the USSR amounted to 10.5 per cent against 4.5 per cent in the USA, 2.8 per cent in Britain and 5.5 per cent in France. In 1960 the volume of industrial production in the USSR was 55 per cent of that in the USA, but by 1968 it had risen to about 70 per cent.⁵⁰ Thus Lenin's words "the Soviets will overtake and outstrip the capitalists

⁴⁹ *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, No. 5, 1969, p. 10.

⁵⁰ L. I. Brezhnev, *For Greater Consolidation of Communists, For a New Upsurge of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle*, Moscow, 1969, p. 51 (in Russian).

and that our gain will not be purely economic one"⁵¹ are coming true.

The Soviet Union celebrated its 50th anniversary in full vigour and energy. Throughout these years the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, had been steadfastly following the road indicated by the October Revolution.

In his report "Fifty Years of the Great Victories of Socialism", Leonid Brezhnev said that to follow the road of the October Revolution "means to strengthen the economy of our country, heighten labour productivity, improve the living standards and raise the cultural level of the people.

"To follow the road of the October Revolution means to promote socialist democracy, consolidate the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, persistently educate the people in the spirit of high communist principles, and to cherish the unity of the Party and the people, as the apple of the eye.

"To follow the road of the October Revolution means to work consistently for the unity of the international communist movement, for the cause of socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace in the world.

"By following the road of the October Revolution we achieved the victory of socialism! By following the road of the October Revolution we will achieve the victory of communism!"⁵²

In August 1968 the Central Committee of the CPSU adopted a resolution "On Preparations for the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin", which brilliantly portrayed the greatness of Lenin and the inexhaustible vital force of his teaching. The resolution outlined a broad programme of ideological and organisational work for Lenin's centenary in 1970.

Lenin's name is infinitely dear to every Soviet citizen and to all fighters for the freedom and happiness of peoples. "Modern history is wholly and inseparably linked to Lenin's name," the resolution said. "Lenin was the great successor to the revolutionary teaching of Marx and Engels, he was

⁵¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 458.

⁵² L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 76.

the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leader of the greatest social revolution and builder of the world's first socialist state. Lenin's ideas profoundly influenced and continue to influence the entire course of world development."⁵³

Lenin and his titanic work are inseparable from the struggle of the working class, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the international communist and workers' movement. He revealed and substantiated the leading role of the Communist Party in the proletariat's struggle for power and in building socialism and communism. The Communist Party, founded and steered by Lenin, was victorious and continues to be victorious because it perseveringly follows his teaching and behests. Armed by the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union succeeded in ensuring the success of the revolutionary transformations, which turned the USSR into a mighty socialist state. The complete and final victory of socialism, the beginning of communist construction, the glorious 50 years of socialism are the materialisation of the ideas of Leninism, the triumph of the general line of the Leninist Party.

The Soviet Union, the peoples of the socialist countries and all progressive mankind celebrated as a great event the centenary of Lenin, the leader of the working people of Russia and the international working class, the great designer of the plan for building socialism and communism.

In the report at the joint session of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR devoted to Lenin's centenary, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The scope of Lenin's thoughts and deeds was so vast, his understanding and expression of the pressing needs of his epoch were so profound that even today Lenin's ideas are a powerful weapon in the hands of the fighters for the happiness of peoples. There is no place on earth where Lenin's name does not ring as a fiery call to struggle against oppression, deprivation and exploitation, as a symbol of fighting unity, as an earnest of victory in the historical battle for the triumph of communist ideals."⁵⁴

⁵³ *Pravda*, August 10, 1968.

⁵⁴ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 252.

Today the Soviet society is a mighty socialist state with a highly developed industry, agriculture, science, culture and art. "Everything we have," Leonid Brezhnev said, "everything we live by and take pride in is the result of the struggle and working endeavour of our working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, of the whole Soviet people."⁵⁵

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that Communists always looked far ahead of the times. Having built and consolidated socialism, they launched a gigantic and multifarious campaign for building communism. A great role in this, as Leonid Brezhnev remarked, belonged to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and subsequent Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee.

The Party follows Lenin's directives and relies on the new, gigantic reserves accumulated in the country. It employs ever more fully the advantages of developed socialism. On this basis it follows the course of comprehensive development of the productive forces and relations of production, of the social, ideological and political life of Soviet society.

The 24th Congress determined the further development of the Soviet socialist economy. In his report to the Congress, Leonid Brezhnev drew attention to the features of the present stage of the country's economic development and linked them up with the tasks of the new five-year plan.

The Communist Party has always kept in mind Lenin's directive written down in the initial version of *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*: "... the task of administering the state is primarily a purely economic task"⁵⁶, the task of "economic reorganisation" of the country.

Lenin laid particular emphasis on the international significance of the economic development in the Soviet Republic. The complete and final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union meant checkmate for capitalism.

But in those years the task was to rehabilitate and build anew the country's industry, electrify the country, reorganise agriculture, develop transport, eliminate the economic backwardness of the Union republics and strengthen the country's defence potential, whereas now, in the epoch of

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 71.

the complete and final victory of socialism and the all-out building of the material and technical basis of communism, the situation is completely different. The Soviet economy has to solve simultaneously a wider range of problems: "While securing resources for continued economic growth, while technically re-equipping production, and investing enormously in science and education, we must at the same time concentrate more and more energy and means on tasks relating to the improvement of the Soviet people's wellbeing. While breaking through in one sector or another, be it ever so important, we can no longer afford any drawn-out lag in any of the others."⁵⁷

Today greater demands are made on planning, management, devising new methods of work, applying scientific forecasts, economic modelling, etc. The process of the economic integration of the socialist countries is also important. The economy, science and technology are major battlefields between socialism and capitalism in their peaceful competition.

Summing up these modern features of economic development, Leonid Brezhnev said in his Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU: "Translated into political tasks, we could describe them briefly as follows: the vast scale of the national economy, the greater economic possibilities and social requirements pose the imperative of greatly improving the standard of all our economic work, substantially raising the effectiveness of our economy, turning our entire vast economy into a still better working, well-gearred mechanism."⁵⁸ In working out the Directives for economic development in 1971-75, the CC CPSU took all that into full account: "*The main task of the five-year plan is to secure a considerable rise in the living standard and cultural level of the people on the basis of high rates of growth of socialist production, increase in its effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and accelerated growth of the productivity of labour.*"⁵⁹

This means that the Party unswervingly advocates Lenin's thesis of the imperative development of heavy industry, only

⁵⁷ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 48.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

on the basis of which is it possible to accomplish the main task of the ninth five-year plan—the rise in the material wellbeing of the working people.

The Party, relying on highly developed industry and its core—heavy industry,—speeds up the development of the consumer sectors of the economy.

This, however, does not imply any relaxation of attention to heavy industry. Only the consistent development of socialist industry and its core—heavy industry, on the basis of which the USSR became a mighty socialist state,—affords the opportunity to develop the production of consumer goods. Only a highly developed heavy industry can ensure genuine progress in all sectors of economy and guarantee a peaceful life for millions of people. Consequently, the role of heavy industry rises. The tasks it faces grow in number, and the Party, therefore, as Leonid Brezhnev said at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, sets intensive tasks: "to raise the output of electricity to over 1,000,000 million kilowatt/hours, oil to 480-500 million tons, gas to 300-320 thousand million cubic metres and steel to 142-150 million tons. The output of the engineering, metal-working, chemical and petro-chemical industries is to go up 70 per cent."⁶⁰

Leonid Brezhnev noted that the growth rate of the entire economy and the rate of raising the wellbeing of the people depended to a great extent on the successful development of agriculture; he vividly described all the Party's efforts in this direction.

The decisions of the 23rd Congress and the Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU created a most favourable situation and excellent conditions for accomplishing the tasks of building communism. They enabled, as Leonid Brezhnev noted in his report at the October (1968) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU, the collective farms and state farms, the agricultural agencies, the Party and Soviet organisations to display initiative, and that helped to "strengthen the socialist principle of incentives for farms and rural workers in developing social production".^{60a}

⁶⁰ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 57.

^{60a} L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 104.

In the period from 1965 to 1967 the state invested over 5,000 million rubles more in agriculture than in the previous three years.

Following Lenin's directive that agriculture could not be left without financial assistance from the state, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government used these allocations to provide farmers (in 1967) with 287,000 tractors (including 107,000 plough tractors), some 96,000 grain harvesters, close on 134,000 lorries, many machines, fertilisers, etc.⁶¹ That was accompanied by substantial social measures, such as guaranteed monthly pay in collective farms and better old-age pensions for collective farmers and workers in state farms.

While complimenting the successes of agriculture, which in 1968 produced more than 162 million tons of grain and overfulfilled the plan of sales to the state, the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU noted that "there were shortcomings and unsolved problems in agriculture".⁶² Having indicated that in the output of certain products and in labour productivity agriculture had failed to reach the level envisaged by the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee instructed the Central Committees of Communist parties in the Union republics, the territorial, regional, area and district Party committees, the Soviet organs, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Conservancy, Selkhoztekhnik Department of Agricultural Machinery, their local organs, Party organisations and managers of collective farms and state farms, "to take steps to eliminate the shortcomings in the development of agriculture".

Thus, the Communist Party, persistently devoting its efforts to the development of agriculture, employed Party and state means to ensure the fulfilment of the eighth five-year plan.

The Party mobilised all forces and means to further develop and re-equip agriculture; bearing in mind Lenin's directive that no economic build-up is possible without a highly

⁶¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 104.

⁶² L. I. Brezhnev, *The Fulfilment of the Decisions of the 23rd Congress and the Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU on Questions of Agriculture*, Moscow, 1968, p. 54 (in Russian).

developed agriculture, the Communist Party regards this task as a call to arms for Communists and all Soviet people. Of paramount importance in this respect was the decision of the July (1970) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU.⁶³ In the concluding year of the eighth five-year plan agriculture scored new successes.

In the report which the General Secretary of the CC CPSU delivered to the Plenary Meeting of the CC he made a survey of the situation in agriculture and said that in the preceding four years the gross assets of collective farms amounted to 20,000 million rubles, and of state farms to 24,000 million rubles. However, Leonid Brezhnev focussed particular attention on the new requirements which the successful endeavours of working people in creating the material and technical basis of communism posed before agriculture. There was, he pointed out, only one way of solving that task and that was "the intensification of agricultural production and its technical re-equipment, which is the decisive factor determining its further rate of development".⁶⁴ So it is a question of strengthening the material and technical basis of collective farms and state farms. The Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU expressly urged state and Party organs to improve the management of agriculture.

The resolution adopted by the Plenary Meeting of the CC noted that agriculture had made serious progress, but if it was to be assessed from the viewpoint of satisfying "the country's growing requirements in foodstuffs and raw materials for industry, then the present level of agricultural production cannot be called adequate. The growth rates of the Soviet economy and the steady rise of the living standards confront agriculture with new and higher demands".⁶⁵

⁶³ It should be borne in mind that during the eighth five-year plan the CC CPSU, the Politburo and the Plenary Meetings of the CC repeatedly discussed the situation in agriculture. In March 1965 the Plenary Meeting of the CC took steps to render the required assistance to agriculture, and in May 1966 it adopted a decision on the expansion of land reclamation and on many other questions.

⁶⁴ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Party's Immediate Tasks in Agriculture*, Moscow, 1970, p. 9 (in Russian).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Having outlined these tasks, Leonid Brezhnev noted in his Report at the 24th CPSU Congress that the CC CPSU "has laid special stress on creating stable economic conditions stimulating the growth of agricultural production".⁶⁶ The CC CPSU and the Soviet Government fixed stable procurement plans for collective farms and state farms and introduced a system of price incentives for products delivered above the fixed quota, so as to stimulate the growth of agricultural production and raise the material interest of collective farmers and state-farm workers.

The Party did not restrict itself to the search for individual measures and their implementation. It took into consideration the whole complex of problems which determined the development of agriculture, "including those of supplying the countryside with the necessary machinery and fertilisers, expanding capital construction, land improvement, personnel training, and improving the organisation of production. This has necessitated a concrete analysis of the needs of agriculture and finding the means to meet them".⁶⁷

On the basis of these decisions, the July (1970) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU worked out a broad, long-term comprehensive programme for agricultural development. The Party is well aware that the solution of all agricultural problems is a long and complicated matter, requiring great expenditures of energy and material resources, but the task is a common one, it is the cause of the whole people.

In the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Party Congress Leonid Brezhnev, summing up the results of the eighth five-year economic development plan of the USSR, said that the Party's and the Government's great attention to agriculture, the financial and technical aid, hard work of farmers and industrial workers had been crowned with a major success.

In 1970 agriculture produced 186 million tons of grain and 6.9 million tons of cotton. Those were record harvests in the country's history. The average yields of these crops stood at 1.56 and 2.5 tons per hectare, respectively.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, pp. 57-58.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Determining the general direction of the growth of the entire economy and the rate of raising the wellbeing of the Soviet people, the 24th Congress of the CPSU, implementing and improving the previously planned measures, fixed new goals for agricultural development. "While dealing with the current tasks," Leonid Brezhnev said in the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th CPSU Congress, "we must at the same time take a big step forward in the new five-year period in building up the material and technical basis of agriculture, which will help us in future to resolve completely the problems of agricultural production and of the transformation of the countryside, and to reduce the dependence of farming on the elemental forces of nature".⁶⁹

The Central Committee believes that it is necessary to substantially increase the production of fabrics, clothes, footwear and knitted goods, and to improve their quality; so far as consumer durables are concerned—radio and TV sets, refrigerators and washing machines—the demand should be satisfied today. In 1975 the production of cars will be nearly four times higher than the 1970 level.

In the ninth five-year plan the state almost doubles the funds allocated for the development of light industry—8,700 million rubles; for the development of the food, dairy, meat and fish industries the allocations amount to almost 14,000 million rubles. As soon as the economic prerequisites are there, the state will reduce retail prices. The Party's Congress, as the resolution on the CC Report says, attributes great importance to these measures because they are directly concerned with higher living standards; it is absolutely clear that trade and the services should be developed and improved.

Leonid Brezhnev's report contained a severe, but just, criticism of people who were reluctant to improve the supply of consumer goods and who violated the principles of Soviet trade and the rules of public catering and public services. Taking into consideration the growing requirements of the population in public services and the need to satisfy them, the ninth five-year plan envisages a twofold increase in the volume of paid services.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

To accomplish this really grandiose task, the Soviet Government decided to invest approximately 129,000 million rubles (as much as the aggregate investments during the previous two five-year periods) in agriculture during the ninth five-year plan. These allocations are intended to ensure an average annual grain production of 196 million tons. Purchases according to the fixed state plan together with overfulfilment (at incentive prices), will amount to 80-85 million tons. The average annual production of meat will exceed 14 million tons, and of milk 92 million tons. All the other indices of agricultural production will also rise significantly.

"Increasing the area of meliorated land and introducing crop rotation in Central Asia, particularly Uzbekistan," Leonid Brezhnev said, "will help increase the production of so valuable a crop, so essential for the country, as cotton".⁷⁰ In tying up the solution of the routine tasks in agriculture with its long-term development, Leonid Brezhnev emphasised that the goal was the further technical re-equipment, mechanisation and chemicalisation of agriculture and the melioration of lands.

Such are the majestic prospects for further development in agriculture. The road of development was long and complicated, nevertheless agriculture has reached remarkable heights. A new man—the collective farmer—has appeared in the villages. The collective farmer is successfully developing agricultural production.

The delegates to the 24th Congress of the CPSU listened attentively to the report of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Alexei Kosygin, "On the Directives of the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-75".

In his report Alexei Kosygin noted that all the economic development plans of the USSR pursued the great goal of building communist society. The draft Directives were published on the eve of the Congress. They were fully endorsed by the people. That was a vivid manifestation of the fact that the people fully appreciate the Party's policy. The people, as Alexei Kosygin noted, are active participants in the solution of all problems in the development of Soviet

⁷⁰ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 61.

society. Their great activity is a guarantee that the grandiose programme of the new five-year plan will be fulfilled.

Reporting to the Congress the results of the eighth five-year plan, Alexei Kosygin said that the political and the main social and economic tasks had been successfully accomplished. The national income had risen to the mammoth sum of 1,166,000 million rubles. Alexei Kosygin reminded the delegates that in the period from 1961 to 1965 the national income amounted to 840,000 million rubles, and in the five pre-war years, from 1936 to 1940, to only 154,000 million rubles (in comparable 1965 prices).⁷¹ He said: "... 518 thousand million rubles of the wages and salaries of the workers in the production sphere and of the incomes of the collective farmers has gone into consumption.

"One hundred and ninety-nine thousand million rubles has gone into education, public health and the satisfaction of other cultural and everyday needs of the population and of social requirements.

"Nearly 80 thousand million rubles has gone into the maintenance of incapacitated persons (disabled and pensioned workers, war invalids, and temporarily incapacitated persons) and also into scholarships and grants to students.

"Forty-one thousand million rubles has gone into science."⁷²

To sustain such a high level, and provide for an even higher level, of consumption, Alexei Kosygin noted, we must persevere in developing social production. Accordingly, a portion of the national income to the sum of 186,000 million rubles was directed to augment the fixed production assets of plants, factories, railways and other industrial enterprises.

The expansion of the housing fund, the network of schools, hospitals and cultural establishments cost 62,000 million rubles.

"In the present international situation, the Soviet state must show unceasing concern for strengthening the country's defence capability. In the five years, 80 thousand million rubles has gone for the need of defence.

⁷¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 136.

⁷² Ibid.

"In our country, the distribution of the national income is carried out in accordance with the principles of socialism, and the objective regularities governing the development of the socialist economic system, which rests on the unshakeable basis of social ownership of the means of production. These principles, scientifically elaborated in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, are incorporated into our Party's Programme, and serve as the basis for socialist economic management."⁷³

The rise in the national income made it possible to increase the average wages of factory and office workers by 26 per cent instead of the 20 per cent as originally planned; collective farmers' incomes, in cash and kind, increased by 42 per cent instead of 35-40 per cent as planned originally. The retail commodity turnover was 153,600 million rubles, a 48.4 per cent rise over the 1965 level. In the preceding five years the country built 11,350,000 new flats. There was no other country in the world, Alexei Kosygin pointed out, which had built so many flats in the last five years.

Successes marked all sectors of the national economy. "Summing up the overall result," Alexei Kosygin said, "it is safe to say: our country has been successfully advancing in the political, economic and social respects along the way of communist construction."⁷⁴

Commenting on the Directives for the Ninth Five-Year Plan, Alexei Kosygin said that the document was a programme for the implementation of the Party's economic policy and the solution of urgent social and economic problems at the present stage of the development of the socialist society.

In the ninth five-year plan period the average annual national income will reach 325,000 million rubles against 233,000 million rubles in the eighth five-year plan. The national income in the five years will total 1,625,000 million rubles.

The strong material base affords the state an opportunity to raise the people's living standards. The ninth five-year plan envisages a total of 75,000-81,000 million rubles of

⁷³ 24th Congress of the CPSU, pp. 136-37.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 144.

consumption funds against 57,000 million rubles in the eighth five-year plan.

The Directives adopted by the Congress fix the most important targets for the development of social production. They ensure a high rate of development throughout the economy and a continual rise in the people's wellbeing:

	1970	1975	Increase during the 5 years	
			1966-70	1971-75
National income (in comparable prices) '000 million rubles	266.3	365-373	77.2	99-107
of which:				
consumption fund	197.2	272-278	56.8	75-81
accumulation fund	69.1	93-95	20.4	24-26
Industrial products (in comparable prices) '000 million rubles	373	528-544	125	155-171
Agricultural products (average annual production in comparable prices for the corresponding five-year period) '000 million rubles	80.3	96-98	14	15.7-17.7
Rise of labour productivity, per cent, in industry	—	—	32	36-40
in agriculture (collective farms and state farms)	—	—	35	37-40
in construction	—	—	22	36-40

Over the five-year period the national income will increase by 37-40 per cent, the volume of industrial production by 42-46 per cent, and the average annual agricultural production by 20-22 per cent. It is planned to increase the production of the means of production by 41-45 per cent and the production of consumer goods by 44-48 per cent.⁷⁵

Keeping in mind Lenin's thesis that socialism would win the economic competition with capitalism by improving production and through higher labour productivity, the Congress recorded in the Directives: "*Labour productivity shall be*

⁷⁵ 24th Congress of the CPSU, pp. 146-47.

increased at an accelerated rate. Labour productivity in industry shall rise by 36-40 per cent over the five years, with 87-90 per cent of the total increment of production to be obtained from this source.”⁷⁶ The increment in agriculture will amount to 34-40 per cent.

A great stride forward will be made in the ninth five-year period towards the application of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, since it exercises a growing impact on social production and opens up new opportunities for reorganising production, creating highly efficient implements of labour and new industries, and raising the efficiency of the entire productive process.

All that will be done for the benefit of the people. In capitalist countries the achievements of science and technology are utilised only for the benefit of the bourgeoisie and for the purpose of extorting exorbitant profits. The growth of labour productivity in the capitalist countries through technical progress increases unemployment. This is borne out by the increasing number of strikes.

In the ninth five-year period the output of products in the key industries which determine technological progress will go up by 67 per cent. The growth of production and its efficiency will create a reliable basis for the realisation of the large-scale social programme which envisages an increase of 72,000 million rubles in real incomes—a rise of approximately 30 per cent in per capita real incomes.⁷⁷

In his report Alexei Kosygin noted that the fast growth rate of the country’s industrial potential vividly indicated the great possibilities and the obvious advantages of the socialist system.

The Directives for the Ninth Five-Year Plan envisage a comprehensive programme for the development of all sectors of material production.

The basic task of industry lies “... in the extension and improvement of the industrial base for the development of the socialist economy, especially agriculture and allied sectors, the raising of the technical level and effectiveness of

⁷⁶ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 255.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 153.

production, and a fundamental improvement of the quality of products.”⁷⁸

In 1975, the concluding year of the five-year plan, the output of industrial products will reach 528,000-544,000 million rubles (in 1965 the output stood at 248,000 million rubles). This means that the Soviet Union will have more than doubled its industrial output compared with 1965.

The production of electricity will amount to 1,030,000-1,070,000 million kwh, oil—480-500 million tons, gas—300,000-320,000 million cubic metres and coal—685-695 million tons.⁷⁹

These colossal tasks will require the commissioning of new capacities. For example, 65-67 million kwh of electricity will be produced by atomic electric power stations. New deposits of oil will be developed and the coal industry will be modernised.

The production of steel, plastics and synthetic resin, fibres, cellulose, paper, cement, and ferrous and non-ferrous metals will rise considerably. The production of mineral fertilisers will reach 90 million tons. “The *engineering industry*,” Alexei Kosygin said, “is the material foundation for the technical re-equipment of the entire national economy. Its principal task is to supply highly efficient machines and equipment to all industries. The productivity of the new machines must be higher and the cost per unit of capacity must be reduced.”⁸⁰

To implement these important tasks, the Directives for the Ninth Five-Year Plan said: “*In the engineering and metal-working industry* output in the five years shall be increased by 120 per cent, including the output of consumer goods by 120 per cent. Priority shall be given to the development of the production of instruments and means of automation, agricultural machinery, building and land-improvement machinery, the most progressive types of metal-working and electrical engineering equipment, gas turbines, equipment for atomic power stations, the chemical industry,

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 254.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 156.

⁸⁰ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 160.

the light and food industries, railway rolling stock, and motor industry products."⁸¹

In order to fully meet the population's demand for clothes, footwear and other light industrial articles, the Directives envisage a 35-40 per cent increase in the output of these commodities in 1975 to a total of 10,500-11,000 million square metres of fabrics and 800-830 million pairs of shoes.⁸² There will be a considerable rise in the production of knitted goods, clothes, glazed earthenware and other household items. It is planned to modernise light industry and improve the quality and packing of commodities.

The Congress set the task of increasing labour productivity in light industry by 34 per cent.

Serious tasks were put before the meat, dairy and fish industries—to increase production by 33-35 per cent, including meat by 40-43 per cent, dairy products by 29 per cent, sugar by 34 per cent and edible fish products by at least 47 per cent. Labour productivity is to be raised by 30-33 per cent. The production of household articles will be further stepped up. The local, microbiological, milling and medical industries will be developed.

The CC CPSU, as Leonid Brezhnev noted in the Report, attaches great significance to the full satisfaction of the people's demand for consumer goods, particularly today when living standards are rising.

There can be no contradiction between consumption and production under socialism. The Soviet Union continuously develops its productive forces so as to raise the people's consumption. But in the case of the capitalist states there is the contradiction, as Lenin said, between capitalism's desire "to develop the productive forces to an unlimited extent and the limitation of this drive by the proletarian condition, the poverty and unemployment of the people."⁸³

The Directives posed a formidable task before agriculture—an average annual increase in production of 20-22 per cent compared with the preceding five-year period. The task is to enlarge the yields of all crops by raising the fertility of

⁸¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 262.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁸³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 165.

the soil through scientific and technological methods, applying mineral and organic fertilisers and introducing machines, land reclamation and plant protection. "During the ninth five-year period," Alexei Kosygin said, "agriculture must yield an average annual increase of 16-18 thousand million rubles' worth of output over the preceding five years, mainly within the same areas."⁸⁴

The Directives envisage an annual average production of 14.3 million tons of meat (slaughter weight), 92.3 million tons of milk, 46,700 million eggs and 464,000 tons of wool.⁸⁵ The production of potatoes and vegetables is also to go up.

To achieve these ends, the Directives propose that in 1975 the supply of mineral fertilisers to agriculture should be increased to 72 million tons, and of fodder phosphates to 3 million tons.

To improve the technical base of agriculture it is intended to supply "1,700,000 tractors (including 705,000 plough tractors), 1,100,000 lorries, 1,500,000 tractor trailers, 87,000 excavators, 82,000 bulldozers, 42,500 scrapers, and 15,000 million rubles' worth of farm machinery, including 541,000 grain harvesters, 230,000 silage-harvesters and 60,000 sugar-beet combines, and 6,000 million rubles' worth of machinery for mechanising labour in livestock-farming and the production of feeds."⁸⁶

It is planned to substantially raise the electric power available per worker in agriculture and improve the supply of spares for tractors and machines. "State capital investments amounting to 82,200 million rubles shall be allocated for the development of agriculture, including the building of production premises, dwelling houses and public service establishments and the purchase of machinery.

"Material and technical resources shall be provided for collective-farm capital investments amounting to 46,400 million rubles."⁸⁷

The broad programme of agricultural development, the consolidation of the material and technical basis of collective

⁸⁴ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 164.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 278-79.

farms and state farms and the intensification of agricultural production have aroused the enthusiasm of agricultural workers.

The per capita real incomes will be increased by approximately 30 per cent, the pay of factory and office workers by an average of 20-22 per cent, and the wages of collective farmers by 30-35 per cent. The minimum pay has been raised to 70 rubles a month. The wage rates for people in the middle pay-bracket have also been increased.

Corresponding increments have been introduced in Western Siberia, the Urals, some areas in Kazakhstan and Central Asia and in several districts of the Far East and Eastern Siberia, so as to encourage people to stay and work in those areas with good economic prospects. Additional privileges are enjoyed by people working in certain areas of the European North.

In the non-production sphere wages have already been increased to doctors, teachers and instructors in pre-school establishments.

Income tax for workers and office employees is being lowered. The redeeming of the internal state debt has been started. The payments and benefits out of the social consumption fund will go up by approximately 40 per cent; children's allowances will be introduced for big families. The network of children's pre-school institutions will be expanded. Invalid's pensions and payments to families that have lost their breadwinner will rise.

3. THE GROWTH OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE CPSU

The practice of building the new society shows that the role of the Communist Party as the tested vanguard of the working class and the whole people, as the highest form of social organisation is growing and that in the process of the gradual transition to communism its content becomes richer. The Programme of the CPSU says: "The period of full-scale communist construction is characterised by a further *enhancement of the role and importance of the Communist Party* as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society."⁸⁸ This

⁸⁸ *The Road to Communism*, p. 583.

is due to the growing scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction, which require a higher level of political and organisational leadership, greater creative activities of the masses, mobilisation of millions of working people for the management of production and state affairs, further development of socialist democracy, a greater role of mass organisations, and extension of the rights of Union republics and local organisations. It is due to the growing significance of the theory of scientific communism, its creative development and diffusion, the need to intensify the communist education of the working people and the struggle against the remnants of the past in people's minds. The growing role of the Party's leadership and its impact on the development of the whole of Soviet society is a law-governed process stemming from the conditions of building socialism and its growth into communism.

The gradual transition of socialism into communism is an objective process. Socialism and communism are different phases of one and the same socio-economic formation. They are distinguished by the degree of their economic and cultural maturity. What unites them is that socialism and communism are developing not spontaneously, but on the basis of the conscious activities of the broad masses of the people, led by the Marxist-Leninist Party. This is due to features of the economic system of the communist formation, which is based on the social ownership of the means and implements of production.

As Leonid Brezhnev said in the Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, when the Central Committee was drafting the Party's policy and organising the colossal construction work, it proceeded from the premise that "the Party's policy yields the required results only when it fully takes into account both the interests of the entire people and the interests of various classes and social groups, and directs them into a single common channel".⁸⁹

Marxism-Leninism says that the people are the creators of history at all stages of the development of human society. Their labour creates all the wealth of society and they help

⁸⁹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 87.

to develop the productive forces which are the basis of social progress. But the role of the masses as creators of history is not limited to their objective activities, which are sometimes automatic; their role is enhanced by enlisting people for the conscious creation of history, turning the people into history's subject. The socialist revolution, as Lenin noted, can be successfully accomplished only as a result of the independent historical creative activities of the majority of the people, primarily the majority of the working people.

Socialism and communism are built by the multimillion masses of the people, led by the Communist Party, which is armed with a deep knowledge of the laws of social development. Under socialism, for the first time in human history, millions and tens of millions of people are involved in the conscious and independent creation of history. Lenin said: "Socialism can be built only when ten and a hundred times more people themselves begin to build the state and the new economic life."⁹⁰

The Party's policy, therefore, is aimed at rallying the working class, collective farmers and the intelligentsia; it aims, as Leonid Brezhnev pointed out, at "erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between brainwork and manual labour. This is one of the key sectors in the building of a classless communist society."⁹¹

This is why the attempts of modern revisionists to counterpose the Party's political leadership to the initiative and independence of the working class are wholly unfounded; the same is true of the assertions to the effect that the emergence of socialism is supposedly the result of "spontaneous action" which only requires full elbow-room. The practice of building socialism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries refutes all assertions to this effect. The Party's leadership is the strength of the working class and the whole people, it is an imperative prerequisite for building socialism; the Party's strength lies in its inviolable unity with the working class and all the working people. After the complete and final victory of socialism and the consolidation of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the Party be-

⁹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 403.

⁹¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 87.

came the advocate of the fundamental interests of the Soviet people, their leader, organiser and educator. In this sense, the CPSU is a party not only of the working class but also of the whole people, and that is a vivid illustration of its growing role in the building of communist society. At the same time, the Party retains its class character, since it continues to fulfil the historic mission of the working class and relies in its activities on Marxism-Leninism—the ideology of the working class. In guiding Soviet society along the road to communism, the Party relies on the leading role of the working class in society, its alliance with the working peasantry, and the moral and political unity of the whole Soviet people.

Leonid Brezhnev said: "Our society's political foundation is the alliance of the working class with the *peasantry*. The Party's policy and its practical measures to promote both industry and agriculture have led to a further consolidation of this great alliance."⁹²

The Party implements its political line through the socialist state; it is the guiding centre of all state and mass organisations. The Party directs their work, but does not supplant the organs of power and does not deal with problems that are under their jurisdiction. In the course of socialist and communist construction, the political organisation of society is becoming more diversified and flexible, its mass social base is expanding. The Party's role grows on this strong and expanding basis.

During the construction of communism the productive forces, the production relations, the political organisation of society and social consciousness rise to a higher level; deep qualitative changes occur in all spheres of public life. This requires a higher level of Party leadership and greater theoretical, political, ideological and organisational work, so as to comply with the historic task of the transition to communism.

Thus, the growing role of the Communist Party as the guiding and leading force in Soviet society is the most important law during the period of communist construction.

⁹² *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 89.

The Communist Party firmly adheres to the Leninist course and honourably fulfils its role as the political leader of the working class, the working people, the entire Soviet people.

Thus, in the period of communist construction the Communist Party's role as the highest form of social and political organisation and its guiding influence in all sectors of communist construction are enhanced; the unity of the Party and the people is strengthened; the Party's ties with the masses become stronger; and, finally, inner-Party democracy develops, the activity and initiative of Communists rise and the unity of the Party's ranks becomes further consolidated.

The basic prerequisite for the transition to communism is the creation of the material and technical basis to ensure an abundance of material benefits and general wellbeing. The Party, therefore, does and will focus its attention on economic problems. In doing so, the Party proceeds from the objective conditions, it relies on the actual economic opportunities and the material resources which the Soviet state commands at the present time. The continued expansion of these opportunities and resources helps to solve technical, social and economic problems of ever increasing dimensions.

The Programme of the CPSU defines the essence and the basic features of the material and technical basis of communism from the scientific viewpoint. These comprise, primarily, the complete electrification of the country and the development, on this basis, of the techniques, technology and organisation of production; comprehensive mechanisation and greater automation of production processes; greater application of chemicals in the national economy; development of new, economically efficient types of production; introduction of new materials and employment of new sources of power; closer ties between science and production, fast rates of scientific and technical progress, high cultural and technical level of the working people, and rational utilisation of labour, material and natural resources.

The practice of building socialism and communism in the USSR convincingly proves that the utilisation of material, technical and economic opportunities depends on the employment of economic laws. The Party, therefore, steadfastly

adheres to the policy of the scientific approach to the solution of the tasks of communist construction.

The growing role of the conscious element is a logical result of the nature of the manifestation of economic laws in socialist society. At the modern stage the growing role of the awareness and organisational capacity of the masses in building communism primarily signifies the further promotion of the leading role of the Communist Party and the socialist state.

At the highest stage of the development of communist society the conscious regulation of the production processes will be conducted by the various organs of communist self-administration.

Questions of economic development and the building of socialism and communism have always been in the centre of the Leninist Party's attention. Determining the basic tasks in this field is an inalienable part of the guiding activities of the Communist Party. At its congresses and plenary meetings the Party outlines the main goals for the country's economic development and poses the tasks for Party organisations, Soviet bodies and all the working people.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU instructed all Party and Soviet bodies to improve the management of the economy and the consistent implementation of the Party's decisions on improving the planning and economic incentives, expanding the initiative and economic self-dependence of enterprises and raising the material interest of the workers in the results of their labour. The Congress called the attention of all Party, Soviet and trade union organisations to the fact that the fulfilment of the ninth five-year plan would require a consistent solution of the problems posed by the Party—the thorough development of the democratic principles of management parallel with the consolidation and improvement of the centralised and planned management of the national economy. The Congress pointed out that all the Party organisations should focus their attention on the successful fulfilment of the five-year economic development plan; the Party organisations should employ their usual methods of organisational and educational work, and not supplant Soviet and economic organs or practise petty tutelage over them.

During the transition to communism the Leninist principle of democratic centralism in the management of the economy acquires greater importance, and so does the role of Party organisations; their responsibility for all sectors of communist construction rises. "The Congress emphasises that strict observance of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism must remain an immutable law of the Party's life, as the decisive condition of its strength and ability to act."⁹³

When creating the Bolshevik Party, Lenin put forward democratic centralism as its main organisational principle. This means that in the Marxist-Leninist Party democracy and centralism are a single whole. The Party has a single Programme, single Rules and a single Party discipline. The Party's supreme organ is its congress; in the interim period the Party's work is conducted by its Central Committee. The minority in the Party is subordinated to the majority, the lower organs to the higher. This leading principle gives rise to the highest principle of Party leadership—collectivity. The Rules of the CPSU state the electivity and accountability of Party organs, fix the terms of their powers and the role of plenary meetings of Party committees, meetings of primary organisations and Party activists, etc. Inner-Party democracy is the basis for developing criticism and self-criticism, which are inherently connected with the Party's nature and revolutionary spirit; they are important norms of Party life.

In the course of building communism, the strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party life and the principles of Party leadership acquires growing significance. It strengthens the Party's solidarity and unity, ensures the successful implementation of the Programme of the CPSU, and enhances the activity and militancy of all Party organisations and the Party as a whole.

Local Party organs and primary Party organisations in enterprises, construction sites, collective farms and state farms thoroughly study economic problems, carry on great organisational, ideological and political work among the working people, mobilise them for the successful fulfilment of economic plans and ensure the leading role of Commun-

⁹³ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 233.

ists in production. Setting an example in work and leading the masses, Communists act as Lenin taught them. He said: "A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass of the people it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward. Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction."⁹⁴

The Party's growing leadership in the country's political, economic and cultural life in conditions of a gradual transition to communism is due to the consolidation of its ideological and organisational unity, the expansion of its ties with the masses, and the quantitative and qualitative growth of its ranks. The Party has a membership of more than 14 million, a good half of whom are workers and peasants.⁹⁵ This is convincing proof of the people's infinite trust in the Party and of the Party's close ties with the masses.

The Party's expanding ties with the masses are a decisive factor in its development and consolidation. The Communist Party, being the vanguard of the working class and the whole Soviet people, is able to successfully solve its tasks only given indissoluble bonds with the multi-million masses of the working people. Therein lies its force and invincibility. In recent years the Party's bonds with the masses have grown much stronger, and this has enabled it to mobilise the people for the successful accomplishment of the gigantic tasks of communist construction.

The Party relies on experienced executives well versed in their work; the majority of Communists who occupy leading posts in the economy, Party and the Soviet organisations are prominent specialists. They have accumulated great experience in diverse fields of economic work, and can carry out any assignment from the Party.

In 1918 Lenin said that "the task of administering the state, which now confronts the Soviet government, has this special feature, that, probably for the first time in the modern history of civilised nations, it deals pre-eminently with

⁹⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 227.

⁹⁵ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 111.

economics rather than with politics".⁹⁶ Lenin's words are of particular relevance today, when the Soviet country's progress towards communism depends on the mighty development of productive forces and the expansion of production.

The struggle for the material and technical basis of communism has increased the volume of the Party's economic work. Major qualitative changes are taking place in all sectors of the economy. An economic reform is taking place in industry, agricultural production is expanding, and the scope of capital and housing construction is growing. All over the land workers, peasants and the intelligentsia are working hard for the victory of communism.

The Party is faced by great and historically important tasks in the political field—it must prepare society for a new form of administration—self-administration. This requires the involvement of millions of people in the administration of public affairs, further enhancement of their activity, awareness and culture, and the instruction of the masses in the habits and methods of administration. The transition to communism, Lenin said, will become possible when every member of society has learned to administer and manage social production and public affairs in practice. The Party's role in this field is growing.

In the Central Committee's Report Leonid Brezhnev stressed that the principal direction of the development of the socialist statehood is the all-out consolidation of socialist democracy. The modern historical stage reduces the need for compulsion, but that does not signify any weakening of the role of the state. This was underlined in the decisions of the 23rd Congress; the Congress called attention to the need to upgrade the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, so that they would most fully make use of their opportunities. Leonid Brezhnev said that during the period under consideration "the powers of the district, town, rural and settlement Soviets have been extended also in such an important field as co-ordinating, within the limits of their competence, the work of factories and economic organisations situated in their territories".⁹⁷

⁹⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 71.

⁹⁷ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 93.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is implemented through the comprehensive system of state and mass organisations. The system comprises the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, trade union and other mass organisations. The Communist Party directs the work of all these organisations, and co-ordinates their activities towards the common goal. The working class cannot govern society without the leading role of the Communist Party.

The historical experience of the Soviet Union shows that the guarantee of success lies in the Party's guidance of all state and mass organisations, both in the transitional period and during the construction of socialism and communism.

The growth of the leading role of the Communist Party is accompanied by the increasing role of the numerous mass organisations, which are gradually assuming certain functions of the state apparatus. The Party improves the socialist statehood by drawing millions of people into the administration of economic and cultural affairs. The following figures vividly illustrate the point. More than 25 million people, or nearly a quarter of the gainfully employed population, are either deputies of Soviets or activists who help them in their work. The trade unions have a membership of over 80 million. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the trade unions serve as school of administration and economic management, a school of communism. The Leninist Komsomol, which has a membership of 23 million young men and women,⁹⁸ is the Party's faithful ally in the communist education of the youth and in mobilising it for the solution of the specific tasks of communist construction.

In the Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organisations, which are the Party's reliable assistants, the Soviet people learn statesmanship, protection of society's interests and the administration of state affairs.

As the role of mass organisations in the administration of the state increases, the Party's responsibility for the guidance of these organisations grows in step with the development of socialist democracy. Only the Leninist Party is capable of unifying and directing to the common goal the multifarious activities of state and mass organisations.

⁹⁸ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 28.

Thus, the principle of the Party's leading role in the entire system of Soviet statehood was, and remains, one of the most important constitutional principles of the Soviet state. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the highest form of social and political organisation in the country. It executes its leading role through Communists who work in all government, co-operative and mass organisations.

In the period of building communism, when the communist upbringing of the people is just as decisive as the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the Party's role in ideology and culture grows. The mighty development of productive forces and the steady improvement of living standards change the people's outlook; the communist outlook accelerates the solution of all economic problems. This is borne out by the movement of communist labour teams which vie for success in work, education and everyday life. Addressing the 24th Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "*The formation of a communist world outlook in the broad mass of the people and their education in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are the core of all ideological and educational work by the Party.*"⁹⁹

But there are still some remnants of the past. The Party, therefore, devotes much effort to the eradication of vestiges of capitalism in the minds of people; together with the material base it creates spiritual prerequisites for the transition to communism. The principal task of the CPSU in the field of ideology is to intensify ideological and educational work among the people and stimulate a communist outlook, primarily among the younger generation. The Party's ideological work in modern circumstances is aimed at educating the Soviet people in the spirit of collectivism and industriousness, in the spirit of patriotism and socialist internationalism, in the spirit of adherence to high moral principles of the new society.

The eradication of the vestiges of the past, the bringing up of the new man and the formation of society's spiritual life in accordance with the principles of communism constitute a very difficult task. It is, as Lenin said, a matter of many years and decades. The changes in social being occur

⁹⁹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 100.

more quickly than in social consciousness. But under victorious socialism and thanks to the Party's tremendous ideological work, this lag is being quickly reduced. The socialist outlook of the broad masses is rising to a higher level, thanks to the achievements in communist construction, improvement of the living standards and the Party's varied ideological work. This is the expression of a new historical tendency in socialist society. The expression of this tendency rests on the further intensification of the Party's guidance of ideological work.

The leadership of the Communist Party is a most important condition for the development of Soviet culture. The Party helps workers in literature and art to make closer contact with life and put their talents at the service of the people who are building communism; it helps scientists to combine the theory with the practice of communist construction.

Contemporary revisionists advocate the principle of spontaneous development in culture. They accuse the CPSU of administration by mere injunction and claim that the influence of political interests adversely affects the progress of literature, art, science and other spheres of spiritual life. Such assertions play into the hands of the enemies of socialism. The attempts to belittle the role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the guidance of culture lead inevitably to the loss of principles; it fills people's minds with bourgeois ideology.

The CPSU has always played the leading role in the country's cultural life. The Party's congresses and the decisions of the plenary meetings of its Central Committee constantly underline the importance of Party leadership of society's spiritual life and the necessity of further enhancing ideological work among the working class, collective-farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia.

The resolution of the 24th Congress says that all means of making an ideological impact on the masses—oral propaganda and agitation, the press, radio and television—should be employed to assist communist construction. The Party calls for greater co-ordination between ideological work and the solution of practical tasks in building communism. Therein lies the strength of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Party's guidance in the field of culture is becoming stronger and more flexible. As in all other areas of public life, the Party encourages initiative and greater creative activity among the Soviet intelligentsia. The Party believes that literature and art are important instruments for educating the people in the spirit of communism. It calls on writers and artists to describe the wonderful present-day achievements of the Soviet people, base their work on positive facts, show the enthusiasm of labour and stimulate the Soviet people to march ahead to a bright future. Everything that obstructs progress towards communism should also be illustrated.

In enhancing its leading role in literature and art, the Party helps some representatives of the artistic intelligentsia to overcome the incorrect interpretations of the freedom of art, interpretations which are alien to the Soviet people. The Communist Party has repeatedly stressed that its ideological leadership is essential for the progress of socialist literature and art. This leadership does not imply decreeing or imposing an alien will; it is the expression of the will of the people.

The Party takes into account the specific nature of literature and art. It does not meddle with the process of artistic creation. Such methods are alien to the CPSU. The Party increases its ideological influence on workers in literature and art, it helps them to determine the principal direction of their work, defend and advance the method of socialist realism in literature and art—Lenin's principle of the Party spirit, loyalty to communist ideology and commitment to the people.

In the Central Committee's Report to the 24th Congress, Leonid Brezhnev noted with great satisfaction that Lenin's centenary was marked by many interesting novels, plays, and films which were "permeated with the revolutionary passion and the spirit of devotion to Leninism".¹⁰⁰

Public education is also at the centre of the Party's attention. In recent years it has carried out a number of measures to improve the methods of education in primary and secondary schools, technical schools and other secondary spe-

¹⁰⁰ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 105.

cialised schools and higher educational establishments. In fulfilling its leading role in public education, the Party insists on bringing up harmoniously developed builders of communism.

The theoretical conclusions of the Party Programme, Party congresses and CC CPSU plenary meetings serve as a mighty incentive for the promotion of ideological work and the progress of all social sciences. Many textbooks and comprehensive works on the history of the CPSU, the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, on Marxist philosophy and political economy have appeared in recent years. Millions of Soviet people are studying Marxist-Leninist theory and the laws of social development. This inspires them to strive for new achievements in communist construction.

The Communist Party creatively develops the revolutionary theory; it defends its purity and resolutely opposes modern revisionism, dogmatism, sectarianism and nationalism.

The creative development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the communist education of the working people are of particular importance in the ideological struggle, when the enemies of socialism are directing their efforts towards undermining the ideological position of socialist society from the inside.

The Party and the Soviet Government follow the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This, however, does not imply any weakening of the struggle between the two ideologies. There can be no peaceful coexistence in the ideological field. At the 24th Congress Leonid Brezhnev said that we live "under conditions of unabating ideological struggle, which imperialist propaganda is waging against our country, against the world of socialism."¹⁰¹

In line with the instructions of the CC CPSU, Party organisations have launched a resolute offensive on the entire ideological front; they expose the essence and methods of anti-communist propaganda, and promote the political vigilance of the working people. They popularise the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the ideals of communism, reveal their vital force and superiority to bourgeois ideology; they

¹⁰¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 109.

educate the working people in the spirit of irreconcilability towards bourgeois ideology.

The extension of the tasks of communist education and the increasing complexity and intensity of the struggle against bourgeois ideology account for the growth of the Party's leading role in all fields of society's spiritual life. This, in turn, affects processes in the Party's internal life and the forms and methods of its work. The Programme of the CPSU says: "Being the vanguard of the people building a communist society, the Party must also be in the van in the organisation of internal Party life and serve as an example and model in developing the most advanced forms of public communist self-government."¹⁰²

The 24th Congress of the CPSU dwelt at length on the growth of the Party's leading role in communist construction and the higher level of its organisational, political, ideological and educational work. The Congress pointed out the need to further consolidate the unity and solidarity of its ranks, ensure their purity, activate the primary Party organisations, enhance the role of Communists as executives of Party decisions and foster strict observance of the norms of Party life and collective leadership. The Congress drew attention to the development of inner-Party democracy and stressed that the Party adhered to the principle of electivity and accountability of the leading organs, the spirit of collective leadership and collective work. Questions of Party activity are discussed and solved on the broad basis of democracy. The 24th Congress accepted the programme thesis of the Party's growing role and made a step forward in the theoretical and practical extension of this thesis.

In line with its Programme and the decisions of its congresses, the Party successfully accomplishes its tasks. There is no material or spiritual sphere of life in Soviet society uninfluenced by the Party beneficially. The CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee keep constant track of all large and complicated problems—in politics and economics, theory and practice, science and culture.

The natural growth of the Party's leading role is manifested in the Soviet Union's home and foreign policies. The

¹⁰² *The Road to Communism*, p. 584.

Party's general line in foreign policy is based on Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The 24th CPSU Congress stressed in its decisions that the Party's principal aims in foreign policy are to ensure peaceful conditions for building communism in the USSR and for the development of the world socialist system, relax international tension and develop fraternal ties with Communist and Workers' parties in all countries.

The CPSU co-ordinates its efforts with those of all detachments of the world communist movement in the joint struggle against imperialism, for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union took an active part in the work of international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

The CPSU made a great contribution to the preparation and the work of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which was held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969. The Meeting, attended by representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' parties, demonstrated the great successes of the communist, working-class and liberation movements. It adopted tremendously important documents on the struggle against imperialism at the present stage, on the unity of action of Communist and Workers' parties and of all the anti-imperialist forces, and it also indicated ways of intensifying the struggle against imperialism and organising the actions of the broad masses all over the world.

The documents adopted by the Meeting and its participants generalised the tremendous experience of the communist movement; they deeply analysed the modern situation and made an important contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Practice has fully confirmed the correctness of the conclusions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1969) to the effect that the world system of socialism is a decisive force in the struggle against imperialism. At the same time fighters against imperialism are worried by the anti-Leninist, great-Han chauvinistic course of China's present rulers, who are seeking to undermine the

unity of revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, thereby damaging their cause.

Having discussed on June 26, 1969 the results of the International Meeting, the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU approved the documents adopted by the Meeting, and set down in its resolution: "On the basis of the results of the Meeting, to continue the consistent policy of the CPSU in consolidating the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; to develop in every way the ties with the Communist parties in all fields; to struggle against bourgeois ideology, Right-wing and "Left"-wing revisionism and nationalism, for the purity of Marxist-Leninist teaching."¹⁰³

The Party and all the Soviet people unanimously supported the position of the delegation of the CPSU, expounded at the Meeting by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, on the struggle for the consolidation of communist and a new upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement. Communists and all working people of the Soviet Union expressed solidarity with the world communist movement and fully supported the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The CPSU regards the construction of communism in the USSR as the Soviet people's great internationalist duty to the world socialist system, the world proletariat and all progressive mankind. Addressing the Conference, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The defence capability of the Soviet Union and, to no small extent, of the entire socialist community, and the possibility of countering the imperialist policy of aggression and war depend on our economic achievements. Our possibilities of supporting the revolutionary and liberation movement throughout the world likewise depend on these achievements. The force of the example of the new social system, which is becoming the best agitator for socialism both among the working people in the capitalist countries and the peoples who have shaken off the yoke of colonialism, also depends on them."¹⁰⁴

In the international field, one of the Party's principal

¹⁰³ *Pravda*, June 27, 1969.

¹⁰⁴ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 192.

tasks is to strengthen the world socialist system and the community of fraternal peoples. The relations of the socialist countries, like the relations between Communist and Workers' parties in the communist movement, are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CPSU does all it can to advance these principles, to strengthen the friendship and co-operation of all the fraternal parties, to reinforce the socialist camp and make it invincible. The CPSU, following Lenin's teaching, has always advocated a correct combination of national and international tasks. The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out this fact. The resolution of the June Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU said: "The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties confirmed that the principal direction of consolidating the socialist system is the consistent implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism, correct combination of national and international tasks of the socialist states, and the development of fraternal mutual assistance and support. The Meeting resolutely declared that the defence of socialism is the internationalist duty of Communists."¹⁰⁵

In full conformity with these conclusions, the 24th Congress of the CPSU noted that many plans of the imperialist aggressors had been frustrated thanks to the existence and activity of the world socialist system. This is an absolute guarantee of the progress and flourishing of socialism.

The historical experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties indicates that the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party is an essential condition for the seizure of power by the working class and the construction of socialism and communism. The Communist Party, armed with a revolutionary theory, embodies the unity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism with the organisational might of the people, who in practice change the world along communist lines. The Party's guiding role is a mighty factor for accelerating the progress of history, which leads to the triumph of communism—the highest and most just social system.

The practice of building socialism and communism in the USSR shows that the Party's leading role grows with the

¹⁰⁵ *Pravda*, June 27, 1969.

increasing complexity of the tasks of building a new society. This is a natural tendency. The Communist Party indicates to the Soviet people the scientifically substantiated road of progress, awakens gigantic energy in the masses, organises and mobilises the working people for the struggle to implement the majestic programme of building communism.

4. THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LENIN'S IDEAS FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM IN THE USSR

The creation of a developed socialist society in the USSR is the greatest result of the Communist Party's activities in implementing Lenin's plan. Colossal social and economic reforms ensured the absolute domination of the socialist economic system and the socialist ownership of the means of production in the country's economy. The Soviet Union became a mighty state of socialist industry and collective-farm agriculture, a state with the world's most advanced science, technology and culture.

In the course of building socialism, the Soviet Union gained tremendous experience, which is of great international significance. Lenin wrote: "When a country has taken the path of profound change, it is to the credit of that country and the party of the working class which achieved victory in that country, that they should take up in a practical manner the tasks that were formerly raised abstractly, theoretically. This experience will never be forgotten. The experience cannot be taken away, no matter how difficult the vicissitudes the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution may pass through. It has gone down in history as socialism's gain, and on it the future world revolution will erect its socialist edifice."¹⁰⁶

The Theses of the CC CPSU on the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution say: "Soviet society has demonstrated in practice that the implementation of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism fully meets the vital interests of the workers and peasants and all working peo-

¹⁰⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 413.

ple, that all-round social progress is possible only through the socialist development of society, bringing the people social and national liberation, real democracy, sound peace and freedom. Socialism has replaced exploitation and oppression by friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance between toiling classes and between nations; anarchy and *laissez-faire*—by planned development of the economy and every sphere of social life; it has instituted truly popular government where the toiling majority was once deprived of political rights."¹⁰⁷

The following regularities emerged during the construction of socialism in the USSR: first, leadership of the toiling masses by the working class, the nucleus of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, in the proletarian revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; second, alliance of the working class with the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; third, abolition of capitalist ownership of the basic instruments and means of production; fourth, gradual socialist reorganisation of agriculture; fifth, planned development of the economy for building socialism and communism and raising living standards; sixth, ideological and cultural revolution, formation of a new intelligentsia loyal to the working people and the cause of socialism; seventh, elimination of national oppression and establishment of the equality and fraternal friendship of people; eighth, defence of socialism from the encroachments of internal and external enemies; finally, the solidarity of the country's working class with the working class of other countries, proletarian internationalism.

These general regularities, discovered by Marx and Lenin by an analysis of social progress, are common to all countries which build socialism. The attempts of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists of all stripes to prove that Russia's example of building a new life is of no significance because it was a backward, peasant country are, therefore, completely unfounded.

Claims to this effect are convincingly refuted by the experience of building socialism in the countries of Eastern Europe and Asia which join the socialist camp. However, in

¹⁰⁷ *50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, p. 26.

building socialism it is essential to take into consideration national and historical peculiarities and to enforce socialist reforms by the most expedient methods, since the mechanical imitation of practices in another country runs counter to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The role of national peculiarities, however, should not be exaggerated; that would cause great damage.

The experience of building socialism in the USSR confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat. It proved that the state of the transitional period cannot be anything but the state of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The domination of the working class is essential to overcome the resistance of the bourgeoisie and begin the construction of the socialist, and then the communist society. The working class is the only class in history which takes power not to perpetuate its domination but to destroy the exploitation of man by man and eradicate all forms of oppression, so as to create a new, classless society. "The full triumph of the socialist cause all over the world is inevitable," Leonid Brezhnev said. "And we shall not spare ourselves in the fight for this triumph, for the happiness of the working people."¹⁰⁸

The proletariat, once it becomes the ruling class, employs its dictatorship, first, to suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiter classes, to defend the country against the encroachments of bourgeois states to restore the old order, to strengthen peace between peoples and consolidate international ties with the proletarians of other countries; second, to ensure the complete break-away of the working and exploited masses from the bourgeoisie, to consolidate the alliance of the proletariat with the mass of working people and mobilise them for the construction of socialism under the leadership of the working class; and third, to ensure the construction of socialism and eradicate all classes.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a new and unprecedented type of socialist democracy, the democracy of the working people. "The Soviet system," Lenin wrote, "provides the maximum of democracy for the workers and peasants; at the same time, it marks a break with *bourgeois* democ-

¹⁰⁸ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 29.

racy and the rise of a *new*, epoch-making *type* of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹⁰⁹

The dictatorship of the proletariat rests on the alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry under the leadership of the working class, which is the most progressive, organised and united class in modern society. It is precisely the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry that ensured the victory of the new social system in the USSR; having become the political foundation of the socialist society, it is a guarantee of new achievements in the construction of communism.

The correct, Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationalities question is an important prerequisite for the accomplishment of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Soviet Union the equality of all peoples is not a formal declaration, it is a fact. The achievements of the national republics, regions and areas in the economy and culture are unparalleled in human history. The CC CPSU Theses on the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution state: "The experience of the development of the USSR, a union multinational socialist state, reveals the essence and significance of socialism in solving the nationalities question; it embodies the triumph of the ideas of proletarian internationalism in practice."¹¹⁰ The Soviet Union's experience in the solution of the nationalities question serves as a basis for the activities of all Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries.

The leading and organising role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat belongs to the Communist Party. It is only the Communist Party, which is closely linked through mass organisations with the people, that can direct the efforts of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the whole people towards one goal—the building of socialism and communism.

It is not surprising, therefore, that revisionists and other enemies of the working class want to build socialism with-

¹⁰⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 54.

¹¹⁰ 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, p. 8 (in Russian).

out Communists. What does this actually mean? It means the loss of the gains made by the working class and all the working people. This is why the revisionists are backed by all the reactionary forces in the world.

The experience of the USSR and the countries of Europe and Asia which, having thrown off the yoke of capitalism, took the road of socialism has confirmed the correctness of Marxist-Leninist teaching about the dictatorship of the proletariat. This experience proves that the construction of socialism requires the eradication of capitalist elements in town and country, a strong alliance of the working class and the peasantry, a Leninist nationalities policy, consolidation of the ideological and organisational unity of the Communist Party and enhancement of its role in the construction of socialism.

The other general regularities of building socialism include the creation of a mighty socialist industry, large-scale socialist agriculture and new, socialist culture. Thanks to this, the Soviet people succeeded in building socialism, and now they are confidently building communism.

Socialist industrialisation ensured the defence capacity of the Soviet state and afforded an opportunity to equip the Army and Navy with modern weapons for the defence of the gains of the October Revolution. The creation of a powerful industry in the national republics furnished the opportunity to eliminate the inequality of the formerly oppressed peoples. Socialist industrialisation ensured the continued development of light industry and agriculture and the rising material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

The Soviet method of industrialisation, rested on the priority development of heavy industry; the industrialisation was carried out rapidly on the basis of internal accumulations and state planning. In spite of certain peculiarities, the method has proved to be the only correct one for countries which took the road of socialism. Therein lies the international significance of the Soviet method and practice of socialist industrialisation.

It is quite logical, though, to assume that the question of industrialisation and accelerated rates of industrial development will not be so acute in the highly developed capitalist

countries, which sooner or later will take the road of building socialism. But in the case of countries with a medium level of industrial development, particularly the developing countries, industrialisation for the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism will remain a question of primary importance.

The countries of Eastern Europe and Asia which took the road of socialism much later than the Soviet Union follow the only correct plan, Lenin's plan, for building socialism. They make wide use of Soviet practice in socialist industrialisation and are developing their industry, particularly the production of the means of production. This helps them to achieve successes in all fields of the economy and raise living standards. New industries are created in conformity with a single national plan on the basis of internal accumulations.

A great contribution to industrial development is being made by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which co-ordinates the distribution of industries, the specialisation of regions according to their raw material resources, etc.

The Soviet Union renders great and selfless assistance to the socialist countries. It has helped to build 1,400 projects. The Soviet Union supplies the CMEA countries with a third of their requirements in machines and equipment, two-thirds of their need for coal, nearly all requirements in oil, three-quarters of their requirements in oil products, 85 per cent of their requirements in iron ore and 97 per cent of their requirements in pig iron.¹¹¹

This assistance is growing. In the Central Committee's Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev said that the Soviet Union had always helped, and would continue to help, the socialist countries. That is an internationalist duty of the Soviet people.

Having adopted the Soviet method of industrialisation, the socialist countries have scored great successes in their industrial development. In the GDR, for example, the output of industrial products increased fourfold in 1965 compared with 1950; the republic occupies one of Europe's lead-

¹¹¹ *Pravda*, September 2, 1968

ing places in the per capita production of electricity, and it has left the FRG and France behind.¹¹² This gives the lie to the allegations of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists who claim that the experience of the Soviet Union is valid only for backward countries and that it cannot be utilised in the highly developed countries.

Following the Soviet Union's example, Rumania is developing her industry with emphasis on the accelerated development of the production of the means of production. In the period from 1948 to 1957, that is, in 10 years, the output of producer goods went up by 493 per cent, and the production of consumer goods by 344.2 per cent. During the first five-year plan the average annual growth rate of the production of the means of production stood at 15 per cent, and of consumer goods at 12 per cent.¹¹³ People's power turned backward Rumania into an industrial and agrarian country with modern industry.

Poland has scored great successes in the development of her industry. In 1968 the gross industrial output (excluding handicrafts) exceeded the level of 1938 by more than 13 times. It is planned to increase industrial output in the period from 1971 to 1975 by 48-50 per cent. The national income will go up by 38-39 per cent, from 756,000 million zloty in 1970 to 1,045,000-1,052,000 million zloty in 1975.¹¹⁴ Industrialisation helped the Polish people to overcome chronic backwardness and multiply their economic potential.

Of great significance is the Soviet Union's experience in the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. The Programme of the CPSU says: "The introduction in the Soviet countryside of large-scale socialist farming meant a *great revolution in economic relations, in the entire way of life of the peasantry*. Collectivisation forever delivered the countryside from kulak bondage, from class differentiation, ruin and poverty. The real solution of the eternal peasant question was provided by the Lenin co-operative plan."¹¹⁵

¹¹² *The Countries of Europe*, Moscow, 1967, pp. 95, 97 (in Russian).

¹¹³ *The World Socialist System of Economy*, Moscow, 1958, p. 369 (in Russian).

¹¹⁴ *Pravda*, September 9, 1971.

¹¹⁵ *The Road to Communism*, p. 458.

Many socialist countries adopted Lenin's co-operative plan and reorganised their agriculture. Before the establishment of people's power, agriculture in these countries was backward, the masses of peasants led a beggarly life. The landowners had enormous estates while the peasants, who accounted for the bulk of the rural population, had meagre allotments; they had no opportunity to use machines and scientific methods of agriculture.

The Communist and Workers' parties in those countries mobilised the people for the solution of the agrarian problem. The peasants' struggle for land, against exploitation and ruin made them reliable allies of the working class. The agrarian reform raised the political activity of the toiling peasantry, mobilised them for the struggle against the home reaction and rallied them around the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In spite of certain peculiarities in each country, the agrarian reform in general boiled down to the confiscation of land from war criminals, big landowners and kulaks, and its distribution among the toiling peasants. Cattle, implements and buildings were also confiscated.

In Bulgaria landed proprietorship was abolished late in the 19th century, when the country was liberated from the Turkish yoke, and the agrarian reform was aimed at establishing a land maximum (from 20 to 30 hectares) for peasants working on their farms. It was not anti-feudal but anti-capitalist in character, aimed against big kulaks in the interests of poor and middle peasants.

The reform in the German Democratic Republic put an end to the big feudal-Junker and landowners' estates which were the pillars of reaction and nazism.

The land reform in the other socialist countries was also marked by certain specific features. In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for instance, land was confiscated only from colonialists and the so-called malicious landowners-despots; land owned by democratically-minded landowners and landowners who took part in the resistance movement was redeemed on a 10-year instalment basis.

As distinct from the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, the countries where people's power was established after World War II did not nationalise all the

land during the agrarian reform; most landed estates were handed over to the peasants in line with the concrete conditions in the countryside and the nature of the people's revolution. Thus, the practice in those countries has proved that there is no imperative need for the nationalisation of land in introducing the principles of socialism into agriculture. This, however, does not imply any rejection of the socialisation of land, because no socialism can be built on the basis of private ownership.

The agrarian reform was of great political and economic significance. It helped to abolish the system of landed proprietorship and to consolidate the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. At the same time, the agrarian reform was an important link in the co-operation of the peasantry. The co-operative, socialist transformation of agriculture was an objective necessity—small private farms could not meet industry's growing need for raw materials and the people's demand for food; they were incompatible with the socialist system.

The Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries availed themselves of the experience of collectivisation in the USSR and the Soviet Union's assistance, and gradually began to reorganise agriculture along socialist lines. Of great importance was the development of the non-production agricultural co-operatives (in the sphere of circulation). Such co-operatives implanted the habits of collectivism, helped to overcome reluctance in the socialisation of the means of production and paved the way for collective production.

That was followed by the organisation of peasant production co-operatives. Simple production associations appeared; only labour was socialised in such co-operatives, and that enabled poor and economically weak peasants to cultivate land by joint efforts. In Poland, for instance, the simplest form of peasant association is the agricultural society, where the peasants retain the ownership of land and all means of production. The societies jointly use machines for cultivating the land of their members, render services to the peasants and provide them with high-grade seeds and pedigree cattle; they help to fight pests and weeds. These embryonic forms of production co-operatives, different in different countries, gave birth to the initial public ownership

of land. "We believe," said Georgi Dimitrov at the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, "that with the gradual attraction of poor and middle peasants into labour co-operative agricultural farms, with the development of the machine-and-tractor stations, and as a result of the prohibition of land-tenure, reduction and subsequent prohibition of the sale and purchase of land, reduction and subsequent abolition of rents on the decision of the co-operated peasants themselves, when the conditions will become ripe, *the question of nationalisation of land will be practically solved and it will be given over to the peasants for their use in perpetuity.*"¹¹⁶

Having united the peasants in the simplest forms of co-operatives, the Communist and Workers' parties took them along the socialist road to the highest type of production co-operatives, resembling the collective farms in the Soviet Union.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, for example, creatively developed the experience of collectivisation in the USSR, and founded the labour agricultural co-operatives which are best suited for the specific conditions in the country.

The socialist reorganisation of the countryside in the people's democracies was accompanied by a bitter class struggle. The enemies of the new system fiercely opposed the co-operative movement. They committed acts of arson, murdered activists, tried to intimidate the peasants and attempted to undermine their trust in production co-operatives.

An important role in the struggle against the last and most numerous class of exploiters—the kulaks—was played by the correct class policy followed by the Communist and Workers' parties which relied on the support of the poor peasants and strengthened their alliance with the middle peasants. The essence of this policy was the containment and gradual elimination of kulak farms and their production, trade and profiteering activities; as a result, most of the kulaks were compelled to hand over their land and other means of production to co-operatives and to work for their own livelihood.

¹¹⁶ Georgi Dimitrov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1957, p. 670 (in Russian).

Taking into consideration the new correlation of class forces resulting from mass co-operation in the countryside, the Communist and Workers' parties in the people's democracies permitted the kulaks to join, on certain conditions, the economically strong co-operatives, so as to re-educate them through collective labour. The co-operatives accepted them individually, and in each case the decision had to be endorsed by the district authorities. That was a special feature of agricultural co-operation in the countries of people's democracy. It had, of course, nothing to do with the "implanting of kulaks into socialism", because they had been defeated in a bitter class struggle, thanks to the flexible policy of compulsion and punishment applied to the rabid enemies of the new system.

Thus, the co-operation of agriculture in the people's democracies was marked by individual forms and methods. The general features, however, were common—public ownership of production, socialist reorganisation on the basis of Lenin's plan of co-operation, elimination of capitalist elements in the countryside, voluntariness, the principle of material incentive, etc.

In the countries of people's democracy Lenin's plan for co-operation was carried out in much more favourable conditions than in the Soviet Union. The decisive factors of success were the mighty socialist system of economy, exchange of experience and close co-operation between the countries, and the experience and the assistance offered by the Soviet Union. That is a brilliant illustration of the historic significance of Lenin's plan for the co-operation of peasants in countries with a triumphant dictatorship of the proletariat.

The cultural revolution, as we mentioned, is an inseparable component of Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR. Lenin believed that, in order to build socialism and communism, it was necessary to raise the people's cultural level and imbue their minds with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Communist Party was guided by Lenin's thesis that socialist culture can be created on the basis of the critical assimilation of its spiritual wealth of the past and the achievements of world culture, and by overcoming the ideology

of the exploiter classes and all the vestiges and prejudices of the past.

Experience in the USSR has proved that the cultural revolution is a long and complicated process. The education of the new man and the victory of socialist ideology over bourgeois ideology require great efforts on the part of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The cultural revolution in the USSR is of tremendous international significance. The working class and the broad masses of the people in any capitalist country, even though it may be highly developed economically and culturally, are deprived of the opportunities which the exploiter classes have in getting an education. These opportunities emerge only after the working class comes to power.

The Soviet experience of promoting culture is utilised in all the socialist countries. The problem of general primary education has been solved in the Asian countries of people's democracy, where the rural population was completely illiterate.

Before the victory of the system of people's democracy, nearly half the population of Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland was illiterate; now illiteracy has been almost completely wiped out, and these countries have introduced universal and compulsory education.

In Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary, where the percentage of literates and the cultural level had been quite high before the revolution, the number of students was increased by several times and the network of schools was expanded; these countries introduced compulsory 8-year education.

Secondary specialised and higher education was enhanced in the socialist countries, the number of students and higher educational establishments went up. In Bulgaria, for example, there were only five institutions of higher learning in 1939 with a student body of 10,000, most of whom came from the propertied classes; now there are 80,000 students and 26 higher educational establishments. Bulgaria holds one of the world's leading places in the number of students in relation to the population. In 1967/68 there were 101 students per 10,000 people as compared with only 59 in Austria, 63 in Britain and 57 in Italy. In 1965/66 the entire student

body stood at 1,630,000. There are also 296 secondary specialised and 301 vocational schools.¹¹⁷

In general, the process of the formation of the new intelligentsia in the people's democracies followed the pattern in the Soviet Union. The best representatives of the old intelligentsia who took sides with the new government were employed in the service of the people; the young intelligentsia from the masses accumulated experience and knowledge. They were imbued with the spirit of progress and they infinitely believed in the victory of socialism.

Following the example of the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries are expanding the network of research institutions and cultural establishments in towns and villages. In their effort to raise the general level of culture, the Communist and Workers' parties focus attention on the upbringing of the younger generation and all working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, patriotism and socialist internationalism.

The cultural revolution in the socialist countries is, however, being carried out in circumstances different from those in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union launched the cultural revolution when it was all alone in the face of the capitalist world; the socialist countries do so within the mighty system of world socialism. They rely on the assistance and support of the Soviet Union, and they help one another. Take, for instance, the progress of science. Not a single socialist country has to solve scientific problems already solved in one of the other socialist countries. All scientific achievements and knowledge, all modern equipment are utilised according to plan. The socialist countries are widely co-operating in all fields of science, technology and culture. The leading role in this co-operation belongs to the Soviet Union; it shares its great experience generously.

The experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union is important not only for the socialist countries, but also for all the working people in the world.

The Soviet Union's successes in the economy, culture, science and technology and its achievement in raising the living standards of the people make a great impact on the

minds of millions of people all over the world. They influence the solution of many important problems in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism. The Great October Socialist Revolution, the construction of developed socialism in the USSR and the formation of the world socialist system greatly contributed to the downfall of the colonial system of imperialism and the upsurge of the national liberation movement.

The Soviet Union is showing the way to a new life and a happy future. Addressing the grand session in Moscow devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, Dolores Ibárruri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, said: "The ice, broken in 1917, continues to move along the current of history, carrying away the obsolete reactionary regimes. Slavery, poverty, oppression and want of culture are disappearing together with this ice. Man is emancipating himself from a cruel yoke and from misery.

"Not only peoples, nations and states, but whole continents rise against imperialism; they are looking for the way to freedom and independence, their eyes are turned with hope and trust to Moscow, to the Soviet Union."¹¹⁸

Communist construction in the USSR makes a great impact on the working class and all the working people in the capitalist world. It inspires them for the resolute struggle against the domination of the monopolies and for the triumph of the new social system. This is borne out by the mighty movement of the working class and all the working people in Italy, France and the other capitalist countries. In France, for example, nearly 10 million people went on strike in May and June of 1968, in Italy 18 million people were on strike in February 1969. In the period from 1960 to 1968 more than 300 million people were on strike in the developed capitalist countries (compared with 150 million people in the preceding 14 years).¹¹⁹ In the United States the strikes and demonstrations of working people in 1961-65 resulted in the loss of nearly 220 million man-days in the national economy.

An outstanding feature of our epoch is that socialism, having proved its advantages over capitalism, is becoming a

¹¹⁸ *Pravda*, November 5, 1967.

¹¹⁹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, pp. 168-69.

¹¹⁷ *The Countries of Europe*, p. 55; *Pravda*, July 14, 1969.

decisive factor of world progress. This greatly facilitates the struggle of the masses in the capitalist countries for the establishment of the socialist system because they have the support of the Soviet Union and all the socialist states.

Socialist construction in the other countries, particularly in industrially developed countries, will proceed at a quicker rate when power in those countries is assumed by the working class under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties. In making this forecast, Lenin thought it necessary to accumulate practical experience. He wrote: "We must show the European workers exactly what we have set about, how we have set about it, how it is to be understood; that will bring them face to face with the question of how socialism is to be achieved. They must see for themselves—the Russians have started on something worth doing; if they are setting about it badly we must do it better. For that purpose we must provide as much concrete material as possible and say what we have tried to create that is new."¹²⁰

Today the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries are availing themselves of the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This was stated in the decisions of recent congresses of the Communist and Workers' parties in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, the GDR and other countries.

The historical significance of the implementation of Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR lies in the fact that Marxist-Leninist teaching was fully and convincingly confirmed by the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people. Soviet society proved in practice that the implementation of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism corresponds fully to the vital interests of workers, peasants and all working people, that all-round social progress is only possible along the road of socialist development, and that only socialism brings people social and national freedom, genuine democracy and lasting peace.

The experience of building socialism in the USSR proved that the essential prerequisites for the victory of socialism are loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, consistent and resolute implementa-

tarian internationalism, consistent and resolute implementation of these principles and the defence of them against all enemies and opportunists. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union carries high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The CPSU and the Soviet people honourably fulfil their internationalist duty. This was what János Kádár, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, said on that score in June 1969 at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow: "Having carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution and everything that came after it, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people have assumed not only the advanced, honourable, and arduous mission of pioneers, but also the ensuing sacrifices and deprivations; they have always been honourably accomplishing this mission."¹²¹

Following Lenin's behests, the multinational Soviet people have scored really historic successes in the building of socialism under the Party's leadership. The Resolution of the CC CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the USSR says: "*The heroic efforts of the Soviet people are worthily crowned by the creation of a developed socialist society in the USSR.*"¹²²

Under the Leninist Party's leadership, the Soviet people are concentrating their efforts on the construction of communism. They believe that their internationalist duty is to create the material and technical basis of communism, strengthen the economic and defence potential of their country and of the whole socialist system, and struggle for peace and the security of all peoples. The construction of communism in the USSR is of great importance for the development of the world revolutionary process. The Resolution of the 24th Congress of the CPSU on the Central Committee's Report says: "The new five-year plan is of immense international significance. Its fulfilment will be a big contribution to the common cause of enhancing the economic might of the socialist states and consolidating the positions of the

¹²⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 137.

¹²¹ *Pravda*, June 12, 1969.

¹²² *Ibid.*, February 22, 1972.

world socialist system in the economic contest between socialism and capitalism."¹²³

The Communist Party and the Soviet people, infinitely loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, are following the road charted by Lenin. True to Lenin's behests, the Soviet people are devoting their efforts to the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. They are rallying closer around the Communist Party. In following Lenin's course, they are erecting a wonderful monument to Lenin—the edifice of communism, the great and noble embodiment of his immortal ideas.

REQUEST TO READERS

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¹²³ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 225.

On the basis of an analysis of Lenin's writings, documents and factual material, the author shows how the Soviet people, guided by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, brought about the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of its agriculture, and the cultural revolution. He traces the Soviet people's heroic battle for the complete and final victory of socialism, underlines the international significance of this victory and exposes slanderous allegations about the building of socialism in the Soviet Union.



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