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## MOLOTOV - KAGANOVICH - MALENKOV.

## FULL TEXT OF SOVIET RESOLUTION.

The daily newspapers have been full of "news" about the removal of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Shepilov from their leading positions in the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Columns and columns have been published - speculation about the "real meaning" of these events, analysis by "experts" in the West, and false rumours of alleged arrests which had subsequently to be retracted. But nowhere, except for a few disjointed and out-of-context extracts, could these newspapers find space for the text of the official resolution of the Central Committee.

Yet the resolution itself is obviously of the first importance to anyone wishing seriously to study and assess developments in the Soviet Union.

The South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, as its name indicates, is an organisation devoted to the furtherance of the basic concept that peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems is possible and desirable. Today, that concept has become a universally-recognised essential for the future - perhaps for the very survival - of humanity.

This is a matter which affects every living soul: and the people cannot understand it aright, unless they are given the opportunity to read objective reports of what is actually said and done in the Soviet Union today.

It is in this belief that the Society now makes the full text of the resolution available, for the first time, to the South African public.

RESOLUTION OF PLENARY MEETING OF

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF C.P.S.U.

ON THE ANTI-PARTY GROUP OF G.M. MALENKOV, L.M. KAGANOVICH AND V.M. MOLOTOV.

At its meeting of June 22 - 29, 1957, the plenum of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considered the question of the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov which had been formed within the presidium of the central committee of the C.P.S.U.

At a time when the party, led by the central committee and supported by the people as a whole, is doing tremendous work to put into effect the historic decisions of the 20th Congress, designed further to develop the national economy and steadily raise the standard of living of the Soviet people, to re-establish Leninist standards in party life, to do away with the violations of revolutionary law, to extend the link between the party and the masses, to promote Soviet socialist democracy and consolidate friendship among the Soviet peoples, to pursue a correct national policy and, in the sphere of foreign policy to ease international tension in order to secure a lasting peace, and when notable progress has been made in all these fields - progress well known to every Soviet citizen - the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov came out against the party line.

Seeking to change the party's political line, this group used anti-party factional methods in an attempt to change the composition of the party's leading bodies, elected by the plenary meeting of the central committee of the C.P.S.U.

This was not accidental.

Over the last three or four years, during which time the party has been steering a resolute course towards rectifying the errors and shortcomings born of the cult of the individual, and has been waging a successful struggle against the revisionists of Marxism-Leninism, both in the international sphere and inside the country - years during which the party has done considerable work to rectify the distortions of Leninist national policy committed in the past - the members of the anti-party group, now revealed and fully exposed, have been offering constant opposition, direct and indirect, to this course, approved by the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. The group attempted, in effect, to oppose the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems, of easing international tension and establishing friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and all the peoples of the world.

They were against the extension of the rights of the Union republics in the sphere of economic and cultural development and in the sphere of legislation, and against enhancing the role of the local Soviets in carrying out these tasks. Thereby the anti-party group resisted the party's firm course towards a more rapid devlopment of the economy and culture in the national republics - a course ensuring the further promotion of Leninist friendship among all the peoples of our country. Far from understanding the party's measures aimed at combating bureaucracy, at reducing the inflated state apparatus, the anti-party group opposed them. On all these points it came out against the implementation by the party of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

The group persistently opposed and sought to frustrate such an exceedingly important measure - approved by the whole party and people - as the reorganisation of the management of industry and the setting up of economic councils in the economic areas. They refused to understand that, at the present stage, when progress in socialist industry has assumed tremendous scale and is continuing at a high speed, with the development of heavy industry receiving priority, it was essential to find new and better forms of industrial management which would bring out greater reserves and guaran-

tee an even more powerful rise in Soviet industry. The group went so far as to continue its struggle against the reorganisation of the management of industry even after these measures had been approved in the course of countrywide discussion and a law had subsequently been passed at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

With regard to agricultural problems, the members of the group showed lack of understanding of the urgent new tasks. They would not recognise the need to increase material incentives for the collective-farm peasantry in expanding output of agricultural products. They objected to the abolition of the old, bureaucratic system of planning on the collective farms and the introduction of a new system of planning which would release the initiative of the collective farms in carrying on their economy - a measure which has already yielded positive results. They drifted so far away from reality that they were unable to see the real possibility of abolishing, at the end of this year, compulsory deliveries of farm produce by collective farmers from their individual plots. The carrying into effect of this measure, which is of vital importance for the millions of the working people of the Soviet Union, has been made possible by substantial progress in the socially-owned livestock breeding on the collective farms. Instead of supporting this urgent measure, the members of the anti-party group opposed it.

They carried on an entirely unjustified struugle against the party's appeal, vigorously supported by the collective farms, the regions and republics, to overtake the United States in the next few years in the output of milk, butter and meat per head of the population. Thereby the members of the anti-party group showed a high and mighty attitude to the urgent, vital interests of the broad masses of the people and a lack of faith in the enormous potentialities of the socialist economy, in the countrywide movement now going on for a speedy increase in milk and meat production.

It cannot be considered an accident that Comrade Molotov, a member of the anti-party group, who has shown a conservative and narrow-minded attitude, far from realising the necessity of making use of virgin lands, resisted the bringing into cultivation of 35 million hectares (approximately 86½ million acres) of virgin land - an undertaking which has acquired such tremendous importance in our country's economy.

Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov put up a stubborn resistance to the measures which the central committee and the whole of our party were carrying out to do away with the consequences of the cult of the individual, to eliminate the violations of revolutionary law that had been committed, and to provide conditions that would preclude their recurrence.

While the workers, collective farmers, our glorious youth, our engineers and technicians, scientific workers, writers and all our intellectuals unanimously supported the measures which the party was putting into

practice, in accordance with the decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.; while the entire Soviet people had joined in the vigorous effort to carry those measures into effect, and while our country is going through a powerful rise in the activity of the people and a fresh upsurge of creative energy, the members of the anti-party group have continued to turn a deaf ear to this creative movement of the masses.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the group - and in particular Comrade Molotov - showed narrow-mindedness and hampered in every way the implementation of the new and urgent measures intended to ease international tension and promote world peace.

For a long time Comrade Molotov, in his capacity as Foreign Minister, far from taking, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, measures to improve relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, repeatedly came out against the measures which the presidium of the central committee was carrying out to improve relations with Yugoslavia. Comrade Molotov's erroneous stand on the Yugoslav issue was unanimously condemned by the plenary meeting of the central committee of the C.P.S.U. in July, 1955, "as not being in line with the interests of the Soviet state and the socialist camp, and not conforming with the principles of Leninist policy."

Comrade Molotov raised obstacles to the conclusion of the State Treaty with Austria and the improvement of relations with that country, which lies in the centre of Europe. The conclusion of the Austrian Treaty has been largely instrumental in generally easing international tension. He was also against the normalisation of relations with Japan, while that normalisation has played an important part in easing international tension in the Far East. He opposed the fundamental propositions worked out by the party on the possibility of preventing wars in present conditions, on the possibility of different ways of transition to socialism in different countries, on the need to strengthen contacts between the C.P.S.U. and progressive parties abroad.

Comrade Molotov repeatedly opposed the Soviet government's essential new steps in defence of peace and the security of the nations. In particular, he denied the advisability of establishing personal contacts - essential for the achievement of mutual understanding and better international relations - between Soviet leaders and the statesmen of other countries.

On many of these points, Comrade Molotov's opinion was supported by Comrade Kaganovich, and in a number of cases by Comrade Malenkov. The presidium of the central committee, and the central committee as a whole, patiently corrected them and combated their errors, hoping that they would draw proper lessons from their errors, that they would not persist in them and would fall in step with the whole of the party's leading body. Nevertheless, they maintained their erroneous, non-Leninist positions.

What underlies the attitude of Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, which is at variance with the party line, is the circumstances that they were, and still are, shackled by old notions and methods, that they have drifted away from the life of the party and country, that they fail to see new conditions, the new situation, that they take a conservative attitude, clinging stubbornly to obsolete forms and methods of work that are no longer in keeping with the interests of the advance towards communism, rejecting what is born of reality itself and is suggested by the interests of the progress of Soviet society, by the interests of the entire socialist camp.

Both in internal problems and in matters of foreign policy they are sectarian and dogmatic, and they employ a scholastic, inert approach to Marxism-Leninism. They fail to realise that, in the present conditions, living Marxism-Leninism in action and the struggle for communism manifest themselves in the execution of the decisions of the 20th Party Congress, in the steady carrying out of peaceful co-existence, the struggle for friendship among the peoples, and the policy of the all-round consolidation of the socialist camp, in better management of industry, in the struggle for the fullest possible advancement of agriculture, for an abundance of food, for large-scale housing construction, for the extension of the rights of the Union republics, for the flourishing of national cultures, for the all-round encouragement of the initiative of the masses.

Seeing that their erroneous statements and actions were being constantly rebuffed in the presidium of the central committee, which has been consistently putting into practice the line set by the 20th Party Congress, Comrades Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov embarked on a group struggle against the party leadership. Entering into collusion on an anti-party basis, they set out to change the policy of the party, to drag the party back to the erroneous methods of leadership condemned by the 20th Party Congress. They resorted to methods of intrigue and entered into collusion against the central committee. The facts revealed at the plenary meeting of the central committee show that Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, and also Comrade Shepilov who joined them, having embarked on the path of factional struggle, have violated the party statutes and the decision of the 10th Party Congress "On Party Unity" drafted by Lenin, which says:

"In order to effect strict discipline within the party and in all Soviet work and to achieve maximum unity in eliminating all factional activity, Congress empowers the central committee to apply, in cases of breach of discipline or of a revival or toleration of factional activity, all party penalties, including expulsion from the party, and in respect of members of the central committee their reduction to the status of alternative members or even, as an extreme measure, their expulsion from the party. A precondition for the application of this extreme measure to members of the central committee, alternate members of the contral committee and members of the control commission shall be the convening

of a plenary meeting of the central committee, to which all alternate members of the central committee and all members of the control commission should be invited. If such a general meeting of the most responsible party leaders recognises by a two-thirds majority the necessity of reducing a member of the central committee to the status of alternate member or his expulsion from the party, then that measure shall be carried out immediately."

This resolution of Lenin's makes it obligatory for the central committee and all party organisations to consolidate party unity tirelessly, to rebuff with determination every evidence of factional or group activity, to ensure that the work is indeed carried out by joint effort, that it indeed expresses the unity of will and action of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class.

The plenary meeting of the central committee notes with great satisfaction the monolithic unity and solidarity of all members and alternate members of the central committee and the members of the central auditing commission of the C.P.S.U., who have unanimously condemned the anti-party group. Not a single member of the plenum of the central committee supported the group.

Faced with the unanimous condemnation of the anti-party activities of the group by the plenary meeting of the central committee, in a situation in which the members of the plenum of the central committee unanimously demanded the removal of the members of the group from the central committee and their expulsion from the party, they admitted the existence of collusion and the harmful nature of their anti-party activities, and committed themselves to complying with the party decisions.

In view of the foregoing, and guided by the interests of the allround consolidation of the Leninist unity of the party, the plenary meeting of the central committee of the C.P.S.U. has resolved:

- 1. To condemn as incompatible with the Leninist principles of our party the factional activities of the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, and of Shepilovo who joined them.
- 2. To exclude Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov from membership of the presidium of the central committee and from the central committee; to remove Comrade Shepilov from the post of secretary of the central committee and to exclude him from alternate membership of the presidium of the central committee and from membership of the central committee.

The unanimous condemnation of the factional activities of the anti-

party group of Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov by the central committee of the party will serve further to consolidate the unity of the ranks of our Leninist party, to consolidate its leadership, and to help the struggle for the general line of the party.

The central committee of the party calls on all communists to rally still more closely around the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism, to exert all their energies for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of communist construction.

(Adopted on June 29, 1957, by the unanimous vote - with one abstention, in the person of Comrade Molotov - of all the members of the central committee, alternate members of the central committee and members of the central auditing commission.)

The plenary meeting excluded G.M. Malenkov, L.M. Kaganovich and V.M. Molotov from membership of the presidium of the central committee of the C.P.S.U. and removed D.T. Shepilov from the post of secretary of the central committee of the C.P.S.U. and excluded him from alternate membership of the presidium of the central committee and from membership of the central committee.

The plenary meeting elected the presidium of the central committee of the C.P.S.U., which is composed as follows:

Members of the Presidium: A.B. Aristov, N.I. Belyaev, L.I. Brezhnev, N.A. Bulganin, K.E. Voroshilov, G.K. Zhukov, N.G. Ignatov, A.I. Kirichen-ko, F.R. Kozlov, O.V. Kuusinen, A.I. Mikoyan, M.A. Suslov, E.A. Furtseva, N.S. Khrushchov and N.M. Shvernik;

Alternate Members of the Presidium: N.A. Mukhitdinov, P.N. Pospelov, D. Korotchenko, J.E. Kalnberzin, A.P. Kirilenko, A.N. Kosygin, K.T. Mazurov, V.P. Mzhavanadze and M.G. Pervukhin.

The plenary meeting replenished the secretariat by electing O.V. Kuusinen secretary of the central committee of the C.P.S.U.

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# RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961** 

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