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A Collection of reports on the...

20TH. CONGRESS OF THE

C.P.S.U.

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Containing:

1. Resolution On The Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.
2. Editorial from "PRAVDA" : Why the Cult of the Individual is alien to the Spirit of Marxism-Leninism.
3. Togliatti on : "Stalin and Collective Leadership."
4. Harry Pollitt on : "The Role of Stalin".
5. Summary of an Editorial from the "Peking Peoples' Daily" based on discussions of the Polit Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.
6. Resolution of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party.

PRICE

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## 20th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

No serious Marxist can fail to study with the closest attention the reports, speeches and resolutions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B). Detailed material for such study has been printed abroad and is becoming available. In the meantime the full text of the main resolution which is attached, will be of great value.

Special interest has been aroused throughout the world by the discussions during and after the conference on the cult of the individual and the part played by J.V. Stalin. It will help students to understand these questions by reading the comments of leading Marxists abroad. A few of such comments are attached.

### RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U.

The following resolution was approved unanimously by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on February 24th:

Having heard and discussed the report by Comrade N.S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., on the work of the Central Committee, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decides wholly and completely to approve the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and to approve the proposals and conclusions contained in the report.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that, as a result of the Leninist policy of the Central Committee of the party, the Soviet Government, and the heroic labour of the Soviet people, in close co-operation with all the socialist countries, tremendous success has been achieved in the struggle for building communism in our country and for world peace.

The congress wholeheartedly approves the correct and timely measures carried out by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. during the period under review in the spheres of industry and agriculture - measures which ensure the farther growth of the might of our country, a new and powerful advance of the socialist economy and a substantial rise in the well-being of the Soviet people.

The congress stresses that the successful activity of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was based on the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, strict observance of the Leninist principles of collective leadership and inner-party democracy, steadfast adherence to the Leninist directives concerning the unbreakable contact between our party and the people. Throughout these years the party has held aloft the great banner of the immortal Lenin.

The congress notes that in the sphere of international relations the period under review has been marked by a certain easing of international tension and the appearance in the international arena of real prospects for consolidating peace. The Soviet Union, together with the Chinese People's Republic and the other people's democracies, took a number of timely and important measures in the field of foreign policy aimed at reinforcing peace and security. These measures were actively supported by all peace-loving forces.

The entire course of events strikingly shows that radical changes have taken place in international life in favour/strengthening the positions of socialism. The main feature of our epoch is the emergence of socialism from the boundaries of one country and its transformation into a world system, with capitalism powerless to interfere with this world-historic process.

In the Soviet Union, and also in the Chinese People's Republic, in the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, in the Mongolian People's Republic and in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the mighty economic and cultural advance is continuing, the standard of living of the working people is rising, the moral and political unity and solidarity of the peoples around the communist and workers' parties and the freely elected peoples' governments, are growing stronger. Big achievements in socialist construction have also been recorded in Yugoslavia. Expansion of the economy in the countries that are stepping out along the socialist road is taking place on a sound basis and in conditions of ever-growing equal co-operation and fraternal mutual aid.

The situation in the capitalist world, the zone of which has narrowed to a significant degree, is characterised by the further sharpening of profound contradictions. A certain increase in production recorded by the capitalist countries in the ten postwar years, thanks to such factors as militarisation of economy and the arms drive, intensified economic expansion abroad, renewal of basic capital and sharply intensified exploitation of the working people, has not imparted stability to the economy of capitalism. On the contrary, the capitalist economy has become still more unstable. The general crisis of the capitalist system continues to become deeper. The main contradiction of capitalism - the contradiction between the modern productive forces and the capitalist relations of production - is becoming more acute; the contradictions between the capitalist countries competing for markets and spheres of influence are likewise growing; social contradictions are growing and becoming deeper. As a result of the intensified exploitation of the working class, the rise in the cost of living, the sharply increased taxation for military purposes and the chronic unemployment in a number of capitalist countries, the standard of living of the working people is falling; the fight of the working class and of the broad masses of the people for their vital rights and interests is being waged with greater intensity. Capitalism is steadily heading towards new economic and social upheavals.

In this situation two main, diametrically - opposed trends have become clearly defined in international life.

On the one hand, the imperialist powers headed by the American reactionary circles began shortly after the war to pursue the "Policy of strength", which reflects the strivings of the more aggressive elements of these powers to crush the working-class, democratic and national liberation movements, to undermine the camp of socialism and establish their world domination. In practice this policy signifies an unrestrained arms drive, building American military bases along the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies, and also forming aggressive blocs directed against the countries of the socialist camp, prosecuting the "cold war" against the socialist countries and the preparation of new bloodbaths.

On the other hand, the forces acting in the world arena for lasting peace and security for the peoples are steadily growing and becoming stronger; they are developing active struggle against the danger of war, for the peaceful co-existence of countries with different economic and social systems. Of decisive importance in this respect is the steady strengthening of the international camp of socialism, whose influence on world events is growing all the time. The forces of peace have multiplied considerably as a result of the appearance in the world arena of groups of peace-loving countries in Europe and Asia which have proclaimed non-participation in military

blocc as a principle of their foreign policy. Thus, a farflung zone of peace has emerged which includes both socialist and non-socialist peace-loving countries in Europe and Asia and embraces nearly half the population of the globe.

A world-historic event of the postwar period is the crumbling of the colonial system of imperialism. The national liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples has been crowned with great victories during the past ten years. More than 1,200 million people - half the population of the world - have been liberated from colonial and semi-colonial dependence. The complete abolition of the colonial system is now the order of the day. The new period in world history foreseen by the great Lenin, has set in - the period when the peoples of the East, now taking an active part in deciding the destiny of the whole world, are becoming a new and powerful factor in international relations.

The Communist Parties, which are in the very thick of the struggle for safeguarding peace, for the interests of the working people and the national independence of their countries, are the most active and consistent fighters against the danger of war. At the same time, an anti-war stand is being taken by many other sections of society. In the interests of strengthening peace it is extremely important that all the forces acting against war should form a united front and not weaken their efforts in the fight to preserve peace. In this connection enormous importance attaches to the healing of the split in the working class movement and the establishment of businesslike contact between the communist and socialist parties, and also between other parties that are really desirous of upholding peace, fighting against imperialist oppression and defending the national interests of their people, democracy and independence.

The congress approves the peace-loving foreign policy carried out by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government, thanks to which a big success has been achieved in reducing international tension, consolidating peace and strengthening the positions of the democratic forces.

The 20th Congress of the party considers that the line of the Central Committee and the Soviet Government, which, on the basis of the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence aims at improving relations, strengthening confidence and developing co-operation with all countries, is absolutely correct. A big role in this can be played by the five principles of international relations recognised by many countries and broad sections of the public - mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, development between states of relations based on equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation. In the present conditions these principles constitute the best formula for relations between states with different social systems and could serve as the basis for stable peaceful relations between all countries.

Relations of firm friendship between the Soviet Union and the United States, as the two biggest world powers, and also between the Soviet Union and such great powers as Britain and France, would be of enormous importance for ensuring peace throughout the world.

The Congress notes the timely and correct measures taken by the Soviet side for achieving this aim and fully approves them.

The interests of lasting peace and security for the European peoples call for further improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the western countries, on the other. The Soviet Union, like Britain, France, Italy, and also Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Greece, Austria, and all the other European countries, is vitally interested in preventing the outbreak of a new war in Europe, whose territory saw the main battles of the first and second world wars. The German people, too, are keenly interested in this. Thus, all the countries and peoples of Europe are united by the common interests of the struggle to prevent new military conflicts.

Extension and strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the countries of the East which are called upon to play a big role in the present international situation. Attaching great importance to this, the 20th Congress approves the recent establishment of good, friendly relations with the Republic of India and also with Burma, Afghanistan, and Egypt.

Consolidation of peace and democracy corresponds to the ever-growing strivings of the peoples of the Arab countries to uphold and re-inforce their national independence.

The 20th Congress notes with satisfaction that friendly, good-neighbourly relations have been established between the Soviet Union and nearly all the countries bordering on it. Without doubt, normal relations between the U.S.S.R. and Iran, Turkey and Pakistan would be in keeping with the vital interests of these countries, with the peace and security of the peoples.

A big part in widening the basis for co-operation between the countries is played by international trade and cultural contact.

The 20th Congress notes that such fundamental questions of international life as peaceful co-existence of the two systems, the possibility of preventing wars in the present epoch, and the forms of transition to socialism in different countries, are attracting special attention.

The general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union was and remains the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems.

Our party, guiding the building of communist society in our country, is acting resolutely against war. The party takes as its starting point the invariable Leninist thesis that the establishment of a new social system in one or another country is purely a matter for the people of that country. The congress notes with satisfaction that the principle of peaceful co-existence is meeting with increasingly wide recognition.

An important task of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and all peace-loving countries, of the broad masses of the people in all countries, is to preserve and strengthen peace and prevent a new war and fresh aggression. In modern international conditions there are real possibilities of preventing the aggressive forces of imperialism from hurling the peoples into a new war, which in view of the level of military technique, would bring the peoples incalculable losses and devastation. The capitalist system is no longer the only system in the world. There is the powerful peace loving socialist camp in which the peace loving forces have not only the moral but also the material means for preventing aggression. In addition, there is a large group of countries, with a population of hundreds of millions, which are actively fighting against war. There is the powerful world-wide movement of peace supporters. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries has become a mighty force.

In these conditions, of course, the Leninist thesis holds good that so long as imperialism exists, the economic basis giving rise to wars will also prevail. That is why it is necessary to maintain the keenest vigilance. As long as capitalism remains in the world the reactionary forces, representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies, will continue to seek military adventures and aggression, and might attempt to unleash war. But war is not inevitable. There are now mighty social and political forces which have at their disposal important means for preventing the imperialists from starting war and should they attempt to do so, for giving the aggressors a fitting rebuff and frustrating their adventurist plans. For this it is necessary that all the forces acting against war be vigilant and mobilised, that they act as a united front and do not relax their struggle to preserve and strengthen peace.

In connection with the deep-going historical changes in the international arena new prospects are opening up for the transition of countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union bases itself on the Leninist thesis that "all nations will arrive at socialism - that is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy, its own variation of dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life." (Works Russian Edition, Vol. 23, p. 58.)

The historical experience of the development of all countries taking the road of socialism has fully confirmed this Leninist thesis. At the present time, together with the Soviet form of reconstructing society along socialist lines, there is the form of people's democracy; it has been thoroughly tested during the past ten years and has completely justified itself. In the people's democracies there are also not a few shades and differences corresponding to the conditions in each country. The People's Republic of China, whose economy prior to the victory of the revolution was extremely backward and was of a semi-feudal, semi-colonial character, is contributing many special features to the forms of socialist construction. Having won the decisive commanding positions, the people's democratic state is taking the line of peaceful transformation of private industry and trade and is gradually turning them into a component of the socialist economy.

It is perfectly understandable that the forms of transition of the countries to socialism will be even more varied in the future. Nor is it absolutely obligatory that realisation of the forms of transition to socialism will, in all circumstances, be linked with civil war. Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes never voluntarily relinquish power.

However, a greater or lesser degree of class struggle during the transition to socialism, the use or non-use of violence during this transition, depends not so much on the proletariat as on the degree of resistance offered by the exploiters to the will of the overwhelming majority of the working people, on the use of force by the exploiting classes themselves.

There can be no doubt that for a number of capitalist countries, where capitalism is still strong and where it still has at its disposal a huge military and police apparatus, bitter class struggle is inevitable.

At the same time, as a result of the radical changes in favour of socialism in the international arena and the enormous growth in socialism's power of attraction among the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia, more favourable conditions are being created for the victory of socialism. In a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has, in present conditions, real possibilities of uniting under its leadership the overwhelming majority of the people and of ensuring the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. The right-wing bourgeois parties and the government formed by them are suffering bankruptcy more frequently. In these conditions the working class, uniting around itself the working peasantry, big sections of the intelligentsia, all the patriotic forces, and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, to win a solid majority in parliament and turn it from an organ of bourgeois democracy into an instrument of the real will of the people.

The congress underlines that the more favourable conditions for the victory of socialism in other countries have become possible thanks only to the fact that socialism has triumphed in the Soviet Union and that it is winning victories in the people's democracies. The triumph of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the consistent and resolute struggle against the ideology of reformism, opportunism, were the necessary condition for this victory.

The congress sets before the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. the following tasks in the sphere of foreign policy:

Steadily to pursue the Leninist policy of the peaceful co-existence of countries, irrespective of their social systems. Active struggle for peace and security of the peoples, for establishing confidence between the countries and for transforming the reduction in international tension into lasting peace.

To strengthen in every way our fraternal relations with the Chinese People's Republic and all the people's democracies, bearing in mind that the more united and powerful the socialist countries are, the more secure is the cause of peace.

To strengthen in every way friendship and co-operation with the fraternal peoples of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

To consolidate the bonds of friendship and co-operation with the Republic of India, Burma, Afghanistan, Egypt, Syria, Indonesia and other countries which stand for peace; to support the countries which refuse to be drawn into aggressive blocs; to work with all the forces interested in preserving peace.

To develop and strengthen friendly relations with Finland, Austria, Sweden and other neutral countries.

To pursue a vigorous policy of further improving relations with the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Western Germany, Japan and also with the neighbouring countries - Iran, Turkey and Pakistan - with a view to strengthening mutual confidence, widely developing economic relations and extending contacts and co-operation in all spheres of culture and science.

To develop and strengthen the fraternal ties of the Soviet people with the working people of all countries.

To follow vigilantly the intrigues of circles that do not want a relaxation of international tension and expose in good time the subversive activities of the enemies of peace. To take the necessary measures to further reinforce the defence might of our socialist state, maintain our defence at the level of modern military technique and science and safeguard the security of our country.

## II

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. notes with deep satisfaction the further consolidation of the Soviet Union's internal position. As a result of the Central Committee's consistent implementation of the party's general line, the period under review has seen a considerable advance in all branches of social production, a rise in material and cultural standards, a still greater strengthening of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, and the enhancement of the might of the Soviet Union.

Fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in industry ahead of schedule was an outstanding victory for the party and the people. Industrial output in 1955 was 85 per cent greater than in 1950, instead of 70 per cent as envisaged in the Five-Year Plan; output of the means of production rose by 91 per cent instead of 80 per cent; and the output of consumer goods went up by 76 per cent, instead of 65 per cent.

The congress considers it necessary to continue with undiminished perseverance the effort to solve, through peaceful economic competition and in the shortest period of history, the main economic task of the Soviet Union, namely, by using the advantages offered by the socialist system of economy, to overtake and outstrip the most advanced capitalist countries in output per head of the population.

The Communist Party believes it to be absolutely essential to continue the priority development of the heavy industries, chiefly ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and coal and oil, power, engineering, chemicals and building materials industries. At the same time, the congress believes that the level of social production now attained makes it possible to secure the advance at a rapid rate, not only of the output of means of production, but of consumer goods as well.

Uninterrupted technical progress is the decisive condition for the further growth of industrial output. There must be a consistent and systematic effort to introduce into industry and the transport system the latest achievements of science, technology and practical experience, to modernise existing equipment, improve and perfect the organisation of work and production, extend specialisation and co-operation of industry, and through these measures achieve a rapid rise in labour productivity, which is the decisive condition for higher output and a further rise in living standards.

The further development of the country's productive forces imperatively requires the opening up of a new sources of raw materials, fuel, power and, primarily, the mobilisation of the huge natural resources in the eastern parts of the U.S.S.R. The biggest coal and power-producing base in the country, a third big iron and steel base, producing from 15 to 20 million tons of pig iron a year, and new engineering centres, should be built up in the eastern regions within the next 10-15 years.



The congress places all party organisations under the obligation to:

Ensure fulfilment of state plan assignments by all industries and enterprises not only as regards gross output, but in all items and all quality indices;

Make better use of available production capacities, so that every plant operates rhythmically, without spurts and periodic production drives, but produces evenly throughout the whole month. This requires a substantial improvement in planning and supply;

Raise the quality of output, systematically reduce production costs, exercise strict economy and introduce business account methods;

Make more extensive use of synthetic materials and substitutes, so that by the end of the five-year period foodstuffs now being used for technical purposes will be replaced by synthetic materials.

State capital investments in the economy have increased from year to year. If they are to be used to the maximum effect, building operations must be industrialised, more big territorial building organisations must be established, designing methods improved, building time cut to a minimum, and prefabricated ferro-concrete elements and factory-made parts widely employed.

In the period under review, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. carried out important political and organisational measures in agriculture. The Central Committee took effective steps to eliminate the lag in several branches and secure a steep rise in agricultural output.

Among these measures the following are of particular importance:

Introduction of new planning procedures in agriculture, giving ample scope to the initiative of the collective farmers;

Greater material incentives to collective farms and their members for increasing output;

The strengthening of collective farms with managerial and technical personnel by sending thousands of communists and non-party workers from the towns and industrial centres to rural areas;

Further improvement of the technical equipment of agriculture. A permanent staff of machine operators has been established at machine and tractor stations, and their executive and technical personnel have been reinforced.

Increased state allocations for agriculture.

In drawing up the agricultural development programme the Central Committee correctly decided to concentrate primarily on increasing the grain production as the foundation of agriculture generally and of such an important branch as livestock farming. The Central Committee's decision on the development of virgin lands and on a rapid increase in maize cultivation are of immense importance.

The congress instructs the Central Committee to continue to work with unabating energy for higher agricultural output and to marshal the forces of the party and the entire Soviet people in the effort to create an abundance of food for the population and raw materials for light industry.

Further mechanisation of agriculture is necessary, and within a short period we should shift from the mechanisation of individual operations to integrated mechanisation of all processes, and fundamentally improve the popularisation and practical application of the achievements of Soviet and foreign science and technology, and also the experience of front-rank collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms, so as to reduce drastically the expenditure of materials and labour per unit of out-put and increase agricultural yields for crops and livestock.

The congress is of the opinion that at the present time, when the economic potential of many collective farms has increased considerably, parallel with the maximum expansion of farm output which must always come first, serious attention should be devoted to building housing, clubs, children's establishments and other amenities.

A higher level of leadership in agriculture is a decisive condition for its continued and rapid development. An end must be put to standardised, armchair, bureaucratic methods of leadership, to the lack of individual responsibility and to negligence. Party, government and agricultural bodies must give concrete guidance to every district, collective farm, state farm, machine and tractor station, effectively supporting the initiative of the masses, and increasing the material interests of all workers, including managerial personnel, in expanding output.

The congress urges party, trade union, economic and Young Communist League organisations to extend the nationwide socialist emulation movement, give it more effective leadership and raise still higher the creative initiative of the workers and collective farmers, directing it to the attainment of the targets set by the party and government.

Increased industrial and agricultural production has made possible a steady rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. Under the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the national income rose by 68 per cent; real wages of factory, office and other workers went up by 39 per cent and the real incomes of the collective farmers increased by 50 per cent. The congress fully approves of the measures formulated by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers for a further rise in the real wages of factory, office and other workers, and in the incomes of collective farmers, for raising the wages of lower-paid categories, introducing proper order in the matter of wage scales, and increasing the material interests of each worker in the results of his work.

The decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to introduce a seven hour working day during the present five-year period for all workers, and a six hour day for leading underground trades in coal and ore mining and for all juvenile workers is of immense political and economic significance. This decision also provides for the introduction of a five-day week (eight-hour day and two free days), where production conditions make this expedient. Working hours on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays will be reduced by two hours in the near future. A shorter working day will not mean any reduction in wages. The congress unanimously approves these measures as being entirely in keeping with the interests of the working people of the U.S.S.R. and expresses its firm conviction that they will be welcomed with ardent approval by the entire Soviet people and with fresh labour enthusiasm in the effort to fulfil the Sixth Five-Year Plan for economic development.

Of great importance is the overhauling of the pension system envisaged by the Central Committee, the aim being to increase smaller pensions substantially and reduce unjustifiably high pensions; the provision of better welfare facilities for the aged; and the provision of suitable jobs for disabled persons capable of working without detriment to their health.

The volume of housing construction in the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be nearly double that in the previous five years, which makes it especially important to ensure proper utilisation of state allocations. The congress approves of the measures taken by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers to this end, to eliminate wasteful organisation and all manner of architectural extravagances, and to introduce industrial building techniques. The congress places all party and economic organisations under the obligation to ensure absolute fulfilment of housing construction plans, and also to give every assistance to factory, office and other workers in building homes with their personal savings.

The congress considers that much more attention should be paid to general amenities for the population. The public catering system should be enlarged, the quality of the meals improved and the prices lowered. There should also be more public laundries, tailoring shops, repair shops, etc., and a rapid increase in the output of labour-saving household machines and appliances.

Substantial progress has been made in all fields of cultural development. Seven-year schooling has been made universal; compulsory ten-year schooling has been introduced in the large towns, and the conditions are being created for its universal introduction. A considerably larger number of specialists are being trained by the higher educational institutions. Soviet scientists, with the constant and effective support of the party and the government, are doing fruitful work to develop the national economy and strengthen the country's security, and have achieved outstanding results in a number of fields, notably nuclear physics, mathematics, mechanics and several other technical sciences.

At the same time, the congress notes that there are serious defects in cultural development. The biggest shortcoming in the general school system is a certain discrepancy between school curricula and practical activity. Young people leaving school are not sufficiently prepared for practical work. The introduction of polytechnical training within a short space of time requires not only the addition to the curricula of new subjects acquainting the student with the rudiments of industrial and agricultural production, but also that the student be accustomed to practical work in factories, collective and state farms, experimental plots and school workshops. A start should be made on the organisation of boarding schools situated in healthy surroundings. The network of pre-school institutions should be considerably enlarged. Not only the public education authorities and state enterprises, but collective farms as well should share in this work.

The principal tasks in higher education are all-round improvement of the quality of training on the basis of closer association with practical production; more rational geographical distribution of higher educational institutions; closer contact with industry; making study programmes conform with the present level of technology. Engineers and agronomists should, upon graduation, possess sufficient knowledge in applied economics and the organisation of production.

The congress considers it necessary for our scientific institutions to be more closely associated with actual production, with the concrete needs of the economy. They should concentrate on solving key research and engineering problems and steadily enhance the role played by science in solving the practical problems involved in building communism.

One of the most important results of the party's work during the period under review is the further strengthening of the Soviet social and political system, the further cementing of the alliance between the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, and of the friendship and fraternal co-operation of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The congress fully endorses the measures taken by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to extend the powers of republican bodies in economic and cultural affairs. The Ministries of the various Union Republics should be allowed still broader powers in the day-to-day management of industry, while the U.S.S.R. Ministries retain general direction, determine plan assignments, supervise their fulfilment and direct the supply of equipment and the financing of capital development. This will encourage constructive local initiative on a wider scale, will strengthen the Union Republics and promote still closer friendship among the Soviet nations.

In its national policy, the party has always proceeded from the Leninist principle that socialism, far from removing national distinctions and specific features, ensures the all-round development and flourishing of the economies and cultures of all nations and nationalities. In the future, too, the party must attentively heed these specific features in all its practical activities.

The magnificent tasks of building communism require further development of the creative activity and initiative of the people, and wider participation of the masses in the administration of the state and in every aspect of its organisational and economic activity. This calls for the maximum development of Soviet democracy, persistent efforts to improve the work of all government organisations, central and local, and to bring them into closer contact with the people. The congress approves the work done by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in recent years in reducing the size and lowering the cost of the administrative and managerial apparatus and improving the functioning of all its branches, and considers it necessary to continue this work and wage a relentless struggle against all manifestations of bureaucracy and disregard for the needs of the people.

The congress fully approves the measures of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to strengthen Soviet law and ensure strict observance of the rights guaranteed to Soviet citizens under the Constitution. The congress places all party and government bodies under an obligation to keep vigilant watch to ensure that laws are observed, and resolutely and sternly to curb each and every manifestation of lawlessness, arbitrariness and violation of socialist laws.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state must continue to train communists and all working people in a spirit of high political vigilance and must tirelessly strengthen our glorious armed forces, the staunch sentinels of the peaceful labours of the Soviet people and of the security of their socialist homeland.

### III

Our Party achieved new and significant successes in the period between the 19th and 20th Congresses because in its home and foreign policies and all its practical activities it is guided by the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism, because its firm and consistent aim is the building of communism in our country and the strengthening of the international socialist camp, and because it holds aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and friendship among the peoples.

The period since the 19th Congress has seen the further growth of the strength and prestige of the C.P.S.U. the consolidation of its Leninist unity and the enhancement of its leading role in Soviet society. The party has grown still stronger ideologically, politically, and organisationally; the Marxist-Leninist training of its members has advanced. There has been a considerable growth of party cadres, which represent the decisive force in party and government leadership.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. notes that the Central Committee proved capable of solving the complex and responsible tasks which confronted the party and the country after the 19th Party Congress, devised correct solutions for the pressing problems of the party, political and economic development, and confidently and firmly led the country along the Leninist path.

The congress notes with satisfaction that the Central Committee, in all its activity, unswervingly safeguarded the interests of the party and the people. The congress fully endorses the resolute steps taken by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to stop the criminal conspiratorial activities of that dangerous enemy of the party and people, Beria, and his gang. A telling blow was thereby dealt to the plans of the imperialist secret services, and the party's fighting capacity was further enhanced.

The congress fully approves the important work accomplished by the Central Committee in re-establishing the Lenin standards of party life, promoting inner-party democracy, introducing the principle of collective leadership based on a Marxist-Leninist policy, and in perfecting the methods of party work. The struggle to ensure observance of the democratic principles of party life, encourage criticism and self-criticism and combat arbitrary, armchair and bureaucratic methods of leadership increased the activity of the membership, heightened their sense of responsibility for the party's cause and evoked a new wave of political and labour enthusiasm.

Thorough explanation of the Marxist-Leninist conception of the role of the individual in history was of great importance for increasing the activity of party members and the working people generally. The congress considers that the Central Committee was absolutely right in combating the cult of the individual, which tended to disparage the role of the party and the masses, to belittle the role of collective leadership in the party, and not infrequently resulted in grave errors in its activities. The congress instructs the Central Committee not to relax the struggle against the survivals of the cult of the individual, and in all its activities to proceed from the conception that the real makers of the new life are the masses of the people, led by the Communist Party.

By re-establishing the Lenin standards of party life, developing inner-party democracy, observance of the principle of collective leadership and by combating the cult of the individual, the Central Committee was able to improve the direction of industry and agriculture, disclose violations of socialist law and take the necessary measures to rectify this; it appealed for a struggle against complacency and smugness and mobilised the entire party, all our workers, party and non-party, to accelerate the tempo of development of Soviet society and secure a further rise in the material well-being of the Soviet people.

In order to ensure a continued and successful advance, we must keep the party's ranks in a state of high fighting capacity and constantly improve and perfect every aspect of party work. The congress instructs the Central Committee to take measures further to improve the entire organisational work of the party, and primarily in the economic sphere. Party organisations must turn their attention to the problems involved in the concrete guidance of economic development; they must make closer study of the technical operation and economic management of industrial enterprises, collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms in order to give efficient and competent leadership.

The level of organisational work depends to a decisive degree on verification of fulfilment, on the selection and training of cadres and the allocation of party forces to various sections of economic and cultural development. The congress considers it necessary that more attention be devoted to promoting young cadres, to advancing women to leading posts, and to increasing the number of party members engaged directly in production.

The congress considers that it was incorrect for some party organisations to relax regulation of the growth of party membership. Considering that quality and not quantity is the basic criterion, the congress instructs all party organisations to show more concern for individual recruitment into the party of front-rank people, particularly workers and collective farmers.

The congress instructs the Central Committee to continue its work to perfect the organisational structure and forms of activity of party and government bodies in accordance with the changing situation.

Special attention should be paid to strengthening district party organisations still further. The congress notes that much has been done in this respect and approves the changed organisational structure of rural district party committees and the establishment of instructor groups for machine and tractor station zones headed by district committee secretaries.

Nevertheless, the level of work in the district organisations does not yet correspond to the demands made by the party. This is explained by the fact that in a number of districts weak workers, lacking the necessary business and political qualifications are sent to the machine and tractor station zones as secretaries and instructors of the district party committees.

Now that the country is faced with the great task of ensuring the advance of agriculture, the strengthening of the district organisations by experienced and capable cadres is of special significance. District committee functionaries are at present working directly in the basic party organisations in the rural

areas, in the machine and tractor stations and on the collective and state farms, organising workers in agriculture for fulfilment of the directives of the party and the government. This means that the success of the countrywide task of ensuring a rapid advance in agriculture depends, in a very large measure, on the level of the work of the district organisations. Consequently, it is necessary to ensure that energetic mass organisers, people with initiative and thoroughly acquainted with agricultural work, should be sent to leading posts in the district committees of the party, especially as secretaries and instructors for the machine and tractor station zones, and in the Executive Committees of the district Soviets. In order to do this it is necessary to carry out persistent work to strengthen the district link by promoting the best local workers, people who have grown up on the collective and state farms, and also by bringing into this work people from the towns and industrial centres, and to create a direct material interest on the part of the leaders of the district party and government bodies in the results of the economic activity of the machine and tractor stations and the collective and state farms.

At the same time it is necessary to carry out work for the further strengthening of the town party organisations, to do everything to enhance the responsibility of the town committees, and the town district committees for the work of the industrial enterprises, and especially for introducing in industry the latest achievements of science, technique and advanced experience, and also for the work of all the enterprises and organisations called upon to satisfy the everyday needs of the population.

A vital condition for successful fulfilment of the tasks facing the party is the further strengthening of the contact of the party as a whole, and of each individual party organisation, with the broad masses of the working people. The congress draws the attention of the party organisations to the need for enlivening the work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and the trade union organisations with a view to enhancing in a resolute way their role in economic and cultural development, in satisfying the daily needs and requirements of the population, and in the matter of the communist education of the working people.

An important place in the social life of the country is held by the Leninist Young Communist League, which takes an active part in economic and cultural construction, and helps the party to educate the young in the spirit of communism. There are, however, serious shortcomings in the activity of the Y.C.L. organisations, especially in their ideological and educational work. Often the Y.C.L. organisations are not able to accustom the young people to practical matters, and substitute resolutions and pompous speeches for living organisational work. In order to eliminate these shortcomings it is necessary to improve the party leadership of the Young Communist League. The party organisations must display greater concern in creating the necessary conditions for educational and mass cultural work among the young people, and in ensuring still more active participation by the Y.C.L. members and all Soviet youth in state, economic and cultural development, in all the social and political life of the country.

In the sphere of ideological work the congress considers that one of the most important tasks is to bridge the gulf between propaganda and the practical work of building communism. It is necessary to bring our propaganda and agitation into closer touch with the tasks of establishing the material production base of communism, an abundance of material and cultural benefits, and the growth of communist consciousness among the citizens and to do away with dogmatism and talmudism which are alien to the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The task of propaganda is not only to explain the theory of Marxism-Leninism but also to be able to translate it into life.

The congress notes that the Central Committee has come out in a timely fashion against the attempts to withdraw from the party's general line for priority development of heavy industry, and also against the confusion on the question of building socialism in our country and on other questions of theory.

The congress instructs the Central Committee to continue to guard as the apple of its eye the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, to develop it in a creative way in the process of the practical struggle for communism on the basis of drawing general conclusions from the new historical experience and the facts of living reality. At the same time, unremitting struggle must be waged against manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

The congress emphasises that the communist education of the working people, and above all of the younger generation, is a most important task and places the party organisations under the obligation to make full and active use for this purpose of all the means of ideological education - propaganda, agitation, press, radio, cultural and educational bodies and establishments, science, literature and art.

The congress expresses confidence that armed with the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will rally the entire Soviet people still more closely beneath its banner and lead them to new world-historic victories of communism.



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**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

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