

Excerpts from speech by N. S. Khrushchev, 6 January 1961, Concerning  
the Results of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers'  
Parties

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The main distinguishing features of our time is the fact that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. This finds direct expression also in the sphere of international relations. In the conditions of today socialism is in a position to determine, in growing measure, the character, methods and trends of international relations. This does not mean that imperialism is an "insignificant factor" which can be ignored. Not at all, Imperialism is still very strong. It controls a powerful military machine.

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But in all probability we will not pursue a policy of developing iron and steel to the full extent of our potential. The likelihood is that we will channel part of our capital investments to agriculture and light industry. Communism cannot be built by machines and ferrous and non-ferrous metals alone. People should be able to eat well and dress well, they should be properly housed and enjoy other material and cultural amenities.

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This is not a revision of our general line, it is rather a rational utilisation of our material possibilities. When we were surrounded by enemies and our industry was weaker than that of the capitalist countries, we economised on everything, even on schools, as Lenin said. Things are different now we have a powerful industry, and our armed forces are equipped with the most modern weapons. Why, then, deny ourselves the things that we can have without detriment to the further development of our socialist state?

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Our Party is devoting close attention to the correct application of the socialist principle of distribution and to the future transition to the communist principle of distribution. It has demonstrated that wage-levelling and weakening of incentives are economically inept and wrong. It may be recalled that in the past there had been deviations from the principle of incentives, particularly in agriculture. These deviations caused grave harm to agriculture and to the collective-farm system. Neglect of the material needs of working people and putting the emphasis chiefly on enthusiasm and political consciousness, on social and moral forms of encouragement and reward, were detrimental to growth of production and raising of the standard of living. This had bad effects at home and even abroad, because it hurts the prestige of the collective-farm system and played into the hands of the enemies of communism.

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We have eliminated these shortcomings and are working for consistent application of the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". This principle makes labour obligatory for all. Its realisation is of immense importance for raising labour productivity, improving skills, and for educating people in the spirit of a communist attitude to labour as life's prime necessity. At the same time, our Party combines material and moral stimuli. As we draw nearer to communism, the role of the moral factor, which is highly important even now, will steadily increase. The appearance and the spread of the movement for communist-work teams, shops and enterprises is one of the outstanding things in Soviet life.

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The transition to the communist principle of distribution to each according to his needs will not be effected until the productive forces and the productivity of labour attain a level that will ensure an abundance of material values, and, until labour becomes life's prime necessity for the members of society. A R

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The Party is devoting close attention to problems of the theory of the socialist state. In our country, where exploiting classes have long ceased to exist, there is taking place the gradual withering away of the administrative bodies, first and foremost of those exercising functions of compulsion. Our Party is firmly following the line of extending democracy, of transferring certain functions of the state organs to the public organisations, of encouraging public initiative in all spheres of political and cultural life, of enlisting the participation of the masses of the working people in economic management, in maintaining public order, in combating infringements of the law, etc. This line, far from weakening socialist society, is strengthening it and is in keeping with the perspective of socialist statehood evolving into communist public self-government. R

These and other questions of the theory and practice of building communism will be reflected in the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This programme, now being drafted, will be discussed by the Party and adopted at its forthcoming Twenty-Second Congress.

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The communist and workers' parties have correctly defined, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the principles governing the relations among the socialist countries and nations. It stands to reason that some shortcomings and rough edges are bound to appear in such a momentous undertaking. But the socialist community is characterized, not by incidental shortcomings, but by the essentially international nature of socialism, by the international policy of the fraternal parties and countries and the epoch-making successes achieved thanks to this policy. S R A

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Lenin instilled in our Party the spirit of uncompromising struggle against imperialism, for durable peace and friendship among all nations. These principles have always been the essence of our foreign policy. Our Party remembers Lenin's words to the effect that capitalism, even while disintegrating and dying, is still capable of bringing misfortune to mankind. Our Party, always vigilantly on guard against the danger emanating from imperialism, has educated the Soviet people accordingly, doing everything to prevent the enemy from taking us by surprise. We alert the peoples to the danger of war in order to whet their vigilance and rouse them to activity, to rally them in the struggle to avert world war. S R A

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In the conditions of today the likelihood is that there will not be wars between the capitalist, imperialist countries, although this eventuality cannot be ruled out. The imperialists are preparing war chiefly against the socialist countries. They would like to sap our might and by so doing restore the one-time rule of monopoly capital. A N

The task is to raise insurmountable obstacles to the unleashing of war by the imperialists. Our possibilities for putting roadblocks in the way of the warmongers are growing, so much so that we can avert a world war. It stands to reason that we cannot completely exclude the possibility of war, since imperialist countries continue to exist, but it is now much more difficult for the imperialists to start a war than was the case heretofore, prior to the rise of the powerful socialist camp. The imperialists can start a war, but they cannot do so without giving thought to the consequences.

I have had occasion to say that if even Hitler had had an inkling that his reckless gamble would end in the way it did and that he would be forced to commit suicide, then in all probability he would have thought twice before starting the war against the Soviet Union. But at that time there were but two socialist countries--the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. Yet we smashed the aggressors, and in doing so we made use also of the contradictions between the imperialist states. A N

Today the situation is entirely different. At present the imperialist camp is opposed by the socialist countries, and they are a mighty force. It would be wrong to underestimate the strength of the socialist camp, its influence on world developments, and consequently, on deciding the question whether there is to be war or not. Now that there is a mighty socialist camp with powerful armed forces, the peoples can undoubtedly prevent war and thus ensure peaceful coexistence provided they rally all their forces for active struggle against the bellicose imperialists.

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We know that if the imperialist madmen were to begin a world war, the peoples would wipe out capitalism. But we are resolutely opposed to war, because we are concerned for the destinies of mankind, its present and its future. We know that the first to suffer in the event of war would be the working people and their vanguard -- the working class.

We remember how Lenin put the question of the destiny of the working class. Just after the revolution, when the first country of the workers and peasants found itself besieged, he said, "If we can save the working man, save the main productive force of society -- the worker -- we shall get everything back, but, should we fail to save, we are lost..." (Collected Works, Russ. Ed., Vol. 29, pp. 334-335.)

There exists in the world today, not just one country of workers and peasants, but a whole system of socialist countries. It is our duty to safeguard peace and ensure the peaceful development of this grand creation of the international working class, to protect the peoples of all countries from a new war of annihilation. The victory of socialism on a world scale, inevitable by virtue of the laws of history, is no longer far off. War between countries is not needed for this victory.

A sober consideration of what a nuclear war implies is indispensable if we are to pursue a consistent policy of averting war and of mobilising the masses for the purpose of doing so. For the realisation by the masses of what a nuclear war means strengthens their resolve to fight against war. It is necessary, therefore, to warn the masses about the deadly consequences of a new world war and arouse their righteous wrath against those who are plotting this crime. The possibility of averting war is not a gift from heaven. Peace cannot be had by request, it can be secured only by an active, purposeful struggle. That is why we have been waging this struggle, and will continue to do so.

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Comrades, experience has demonstrated the soundness of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy constantly pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For our Party the policy of peaceful coexistence, which we have inherited from Lenin, is the general line of its foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence is the highway of the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries.

Consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence strengthens the positions of the world socialist system, furthers the growth of its economic might, international prestige and influence, and provides favourable opportunities for it in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

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The policy of peaceful coexistence is, then, as far as its social content is concerned, a form of intense economic, political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive forces of imperialism in the world arena.

The struggle against imperialism can succeed only if its aggressive actions are firmly resisted. Scolding will not halt the imperialist adventurers. There is only one way in which they can be curbed: steady strengthening of the economic, political and military power of the socialist countries, vigorous consolidation and reinforcement of the world revolutionary movement, mobilisation of the people for the struggle to avert war.

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The socialist countries take both of these trends into account in their policy. They work for negotiations and agreements with the capitalist countries on the basis of constructive proposals and promote personal contact between statesmen of the socialist and capitalist countries. Every opportunity should be used as before to expose the cold-war men, those who want to keep up the arms drive, and to convince the masses that the socialist countries really mean what they say in working to safeguard world peace.



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The struggle against revisionism in all its varieties continues to be an important task of the Communist parties. As long as the bourgeois system exists there will be soil for the revisionist ideology. That is why we must always keep our powder dry and conduct an uncompromising struggle against revisionism which is trying to emasculate Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary substance to embellish capitalism, undermine the unity of the Communist movement and S confine the Communist parties to their own national quarters.

The Communist movement faces yet another danger -- dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, when all forces must be united to fight imperialism, -- prevent war and end the omnipotence of the monopolies, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising towards dogmatism. Lenin wrote: "...It is necessary to grasp the indisputable truth that the Marxist should study life as it is, the precise facts of reality, and should not cling to the theory of yesterday which, like any theory, at best can but indicate the basic, the general factors, and can but draw close to an understanding of the complexities of life" (Collected Works, Russ. Ed., Vol 24, p. 26)

Dogmatism nourishes a sectarian bigotry, which hampers the unity of the working class and of all progressive forces with the Communist parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism are irreconcilably at variance with the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application, they lead to the isolation of Communists from the masses of the working people, doom them to passive anticipation or to reckless ultra-leftism in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from utilising all the opportunities in the interests of the victory of the working class S and of all the democratic forces.

The statement stresses that the Communist parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts -- against revisionism, which is still the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Dogmatism and sectarianism S may also become the main danger at one or another stage in the development of the various parties unless a consistent struggle is waged against them.

The international duty of all the Communist and Workers' parties is to hold aloft the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism as the decisive condition of all our future victories.

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As to the principles of relations between the fraternal parties, the CPSU very definitely expressed its views on the matter at its Twenty-First Congress. From the rostrum of the Congress, we declared to the whole world that in the Communist movement, as in the socialist camp, there has always been complete equality and solidarity of all the Communist and Workers' parties and socialist countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not lead other R parties. There are no "superior" and "subordinate" parties in the Communist -- movement. All the Communist parties are equal and independent, all are responsible for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its setbacks and victories. Every Communist and Workers' Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the entire international working-class and Communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in its leading the other socialist countries, but in its being the first to blaze the trail to socialism, in its being S the most powerful country in the socialist world system, in its having accumulated vast positive experience in building socialism, and being the first to embark on the full-scale building of communism. It is stressed in the statement that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and remains the universally recognised vanguard of the world Communist movement, being its most experienced and steeled contingent.

At the present time, when there is a large group of socialist countries each facing its own specific tasks, when there are eighty-seven Communist and Workers parties each with its own tasks, it is impossible to lead all the socialist countries and Communist parties from any single centre. It is both impossible and unnecessary. Tempered Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their parties, their countries have grown up in the Communist parties.

And, indeed, it is well known that the CPSU does not issue directives to other parties. The fact that we will be called "the head", spells no advantages for our Party or the other parties. Just the reverse. It only creates difficulties.

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On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our delegation assured the participants in the meeting that for our part we would do our best to strengthen still more our close fraternal bonds with all the Communist parties. Our party will do everything to make the socialist camp and the world Communist front still stronger.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly determined to strengthen unity and friendship with all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, with the Marxist-Leninist parties of all the world. In this connection I want to emphasize our invariable effort to strengthen bonds of fraternal friendship with the Communist Party of China, with the great Chinese people. In its relations with the Communist Party of China our Party always proceeds from the premise that the friendship of our two great peoples, the unity of our two parties, the biggest parties in the international Communist movement, are of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our Party has always - exerted and will continue to exert every effort to strengthen this great friendship. We have one common goal with People's China, with the Chinese Communist Party as with the Communists of all countries -- safeguarding peace and the building of communism; common interests -- the happiness and well-being of the working people and a firm common basis of principle -- Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will do their utmost to further increase the unity of our parties and our peoples, so as not only to disappoint our enemies but to jolt them even more strongly with our unity, to attain the realization of our great goal, the triumph of communism.

In order to correct certain misunderstandings about the attitude of the National Union of Students of Finland in connection with the VIII Festival of Youth and Students, sponsored by World Federation of Democratic Youth and International Union of Students, the National Union of Students of Finland gives the following statement.

During 1959 and up to October 1960 the representatives of SYL were informed on a number of occasions that there was a great probability that the VIII Festival of Youth and Students might take place in Helsinki in 1962. For the first time these rumours were affirmed semi-officially after the meeting of the initiating group of the VIII Festival in Stockholm, Sweden, in October.

No invitation was extended to the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations or the National Union of Students of Finland and therefore they had no opportunity to express their views in this matter at the meeting.

After the meeting a delegation authorized by the meeting to investigate the possibilities of arranging the Festival in Helsinki, arrived here. They requested an audience with the Prime Minister, but made no efforts to contact the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations or the National Union of Students during the five-day wait. The delegation asked the Prime Minister for permission to hold the Festival in Finland. The Prime Minister, in his published reply, stated briefly that it is the traditional policy of the Finnish Government not to interfere in international congresses which are organized by non-governmental organizations. There would therefore be no objection against holding the Festival in Finland, as the matter concerned only Finnish youth organizations, not the government. It was not until after this discussion that the delegation asked for an opportunity to state its views to the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations and the National Union of Students. This procedure, where the consultation of youth and student organizations took place only after the contact with governmental authorities indicated that the delegation considered the opinions of youth and students to be of secondary importance. This is difficult to understand since, in case a negative reply would have been given by the representative youth organizations, there would have been no reason to apply for permission to hold the Festival in Helsinki.

The representatives of SYL met the delegation and informed them about the stand taken by SYL on the issue of the Festival. This negative attitude had already been communicated to WFDY and IUS, the sponsors of the Festival, and was already familiar to the delegation since SYL sent to the initiating group meeting in Stockholm a copy of the letters addressed at an earlier stage to the WFDY and IUS. Before the members of this group left Finland, they were informed quite explicitly that SYL would not participate in the preparations for the Festival in any way. The Council of the Finnish Youth Organizations also decided not to participate in the preparations for the Festival, nor in the Festival itself. It is important to note that the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations is the only body in Finland claiming to represent the youth of Finland nationally and internationally and is recognized as a representative body also by the Finnish Government as well as by foreign national and international organizations, e.g. WFDY. It is also important to remember that the National Union of Students of Finland is also the only organization claiming to be the National Union of Students and is recognized by ISC, IUS and a number of national unions of students as well as by the Finnish Government.

In spite of the negative attitude of these major organizations, representing youth in general and the students in particular, the initiating group, according to their statement given to the Finnish Press Agency STT, found Helsinki to be a suitable site for the Festival. This has later been confirmed by several participants of the IUS congress held in Baghdad in October 1960. Finally Mrs. Hertta Kuusinen, Chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Democratic Union of Finnish People, announced in her speech delivered at the celebration of the 15th Anniversary of WFDY in Helsinki on December 11th 1960, according to the account in the newspaper "Kansan Uutiset", an organ of the Democratic Union of Finnish People and the Finnish Communist Party, that "it may be possible to hold the Festival in Finland. - Finnish rightist circles seem to be worried because of this. Therefore it is in order to ask whether their system is so weak that it would collapse if the youth of various countries came here to dance and compete. We would like very much to

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show our country and inspire the youth of the world to act with increased energy for the cause of peace." SYL fully agrees that the cause of peace is to be furthered. It was, however, some difficulty in understanding why all these opposing the idea of having the Festival in Finland are in this context labelled as "rightists". This is very difficult to understand since youth organizations representing every political party in Finland, where there are no banned parties, are affiliated to the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations, which quite naturally reflects the views of the youth organizations in a democratic spirit.

We want to stress once more that when deciding not to participate in the preparations of the Festival, SYL has only followed its traditional policy of refraining from participation in events which are partisan, of a predominantly political nature, or controversial. It is quite obvious that the Festival falls into this category. We have the right to expect that the attitude of the two organizations representing the youth and the students of Finland with unchallenged authority is respected by the organizers of the Festival. Our decision is a result of democratic procedure, therefore we cannot see how it is possible to ignore it without ignoring the true democratic spirit on which this decision is based.

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First Festival sponsored by World Federation of Democratic Youth and International Union of Students in Prague 1947.

Second Festival in Budapest 1949, third in East-Berlin 1951, fourth in Bucharest 1953, fifth in Warsaw 1955, sixth in Moscow 1957, seventh in Vienna 1959.

1959-1960: rumours about the festival from various sources.

September 1960: President of the IUS Jiri Pelikan inquires Finnish student leaders on their way home from Klosters via Prague about their opinion about holding the VIII Festival in Finland.

October 1st 1960: SYL writes a letter to WFDY and IUD announcing that should Helsinki be chosen to the site of the VIIIth Festival, SYL will not cooperate.

October 4-5 1960: Meeting of the initiating group of the Festival in Stockholm. SYL sends this meeting a letter informing the meeting about its negative attitude towards the Festival.

October 10th 1960: a delegation authorized by the Stockholm meeting arrives in Helsinki to study possibilities of organizing the Festival in Finland.

October 14th 1960: The Prime Minister of Finland, Dr. V.J. Sukselainen gives the delegation an audience informing that the Festival is not a business of the Government, but of youth organizations. There would be no governmental restrictions against any youth event in Finland.

October 14th 1960: Some members of the delegation discuss with representatives of SYL and are again informed about SYL's negative stand towards playing host to the Festival.

October 17th 1960: Discussions with the representatives of SYL continue. The negative attitude is reaffirmed.

October 17th 1960: Some members of the delegation meet representatives of the presidium of the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations. The delegation is informed of the doubts raised among several Finnish youth organizations.

November 8th 1960: The Executive of the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations decides that the Council will not participate in the preparations of the Festival nor in the Festival itself.

November 26th 1960: The delegation of SYL, representing proportionally all local student unions in Finland, approves unanimously the attitude of SYL Executive in the Festival issue.

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