

# On Overcoming the Cult of the Individual and Its Consequences

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## *Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

*30th June 1956*

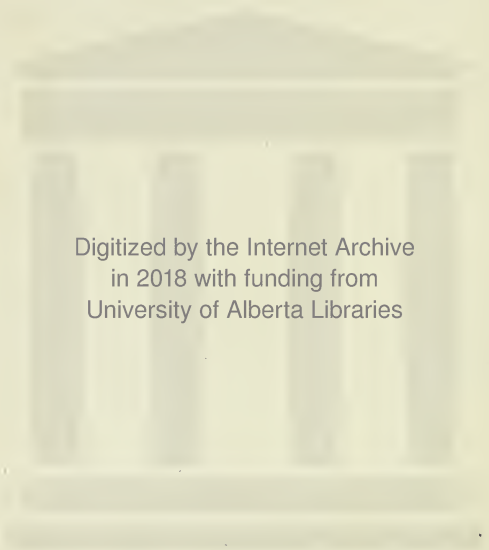
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# ON OVERCOMING THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

*Resolution of the Central Committee of  
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

June 30, 1956

1. THE central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that the decisions of the historic 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. have been welcomed entirely and supported wholeheartedly by our party as a whole, by the entire Soviet people, by the fraternal communist and workers' parties, by working people of the great community of socialist nations, and by millions of people in the capitalist and colonial countries. And this is quite understandable, for the 20th Party Congress, marking as it did a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, gave a thorough-going analysis of the present international situation both at home and in the world, equipped the Communist Party and the Soviet people as a whole with a magnificent plan for the continued effort for building communism, and opened up new prospects for united action of all working-class parties in averting the danger of war, and on behalf of the interests of labour.

The Soviet people, carrying out the decisions of the 20th Congress, are gaining more and more outstanding achievements in every aspect of the country's political, economic and cultural life under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Soviet people have rallied still more closely behind the Communist Party and are showing a wealth of constructive initiative in their efforts to accomplish the tasks set before them by the 20th Congress.

The period which has passed since the congress was held has shown also the great and vital importance of its decisions for the international communist and labour movement, for the struggle of all progressive forces to strengthen world peace. The important theoretical theses the congress laid down on the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars in modern times, on the multiplicity of forms of the transition of nations to socialism are having a favourable effect on the international situation, promoting the relaxation of tension, greater unity of action of all the forces working for peace and democracy, and the strengthening of the positions of the world socialist system.

While the Soviet people and the working people of the people's democracies and of the world as a whole have met the historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. with great enthusiasm and with a new upsurge of constructive initiative and revolutionary energy, they have caused alarm and irritation in the camp of the enemies of the working class. Reactionary circles in the United States and in some other capitalist powers obviously feel uneasy about the great programme to strengthen peace which the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. has charted. Their uneasiness increases as this programme is being put into operation, vigorously and consistently.

Why are the enemies of communism and socialism making most of their attacks on the shortcomings about which the

central committee of our party told the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. ? The reason they are doing so is to divert the attention of the working class and its parties from the main issues which were raised at the 20th Party Congress and which were meant to clear the way to further progress being made in the cause of peace, socialism and working-class unity.

The decisions of the 20th Party Congress and the foreign and home policy of the Soviet government have created confusion in imperialist quarters in the United States and some other countries.

The bold and consistent foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., directed towards ensuring peace and co-operation between nations regardless of their social systems, is winning support from the great masses of the people in all countries of the world, extending the front of peaceloving nations and causing a profound crisis in the cold war policy, a policy of building up military blocs and stockpiling arms. It is no accident that it is the imperialist elements in the United States that have been making the greatest fuss over the efforts made in the U.S.S.R. to combat the cult of the individual. The existence of negative factors arising from the cult of the individual was profitable for them in order to fight socialism with these facts at their disposal. Now that our party is boldly overcoming the consequences of the cult of the individual, the imperialists see in it a factor making for our country's faster progress towards communism, and weakening the positions of capitalism.

The ideologists of capitalism, in an effort to undermine the great power of attraction of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and their influence on the broadest masses of the people, are resorting to all manner of tricks and ruses to distract the attention of the working people from the progressive and inspiring ideas the socialist world puts forward before humanity.

The bourgeois press has lately launched a largescale campaign of anti-Soviet slander, which the reactionary circles are trying to justify by some of the facts connected with the cult of the individual of J. V. Stalin denounced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The sponsors of this campaign are exerting every effort to "trouble the waters," to conceal the fact that what is meant is a stage the Soviet Union has passed through in its development; they are out to suppress and misrepresent the fact that in the years that have passed since Stalin's death the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government have been acting with exceptional perseverance and resolution to remove the after-effects of the cult of the individual, and have been making steady progress in solving new problems for the sake of strengthening peace, and building communism, in the interest of the people at large.

Bourgeois ideologists, in launching their campaign of slander, are trying to cast a slur once more, and again to no avail, on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to shake the trust the working people have in the world's first socialist country—the U.S.S.R.—and to sow confusion in the ranks of the international communist and labour movement.

Historical experience indicates that the opponents of international proletarian unity have in the past attempted more than once to take advantage of what they believed to be opportune moments for undermining the international unity of the communist and workers' parties, for dividing the international labour movement, for weakening the forces of socialism. But each time the communist and workers' parties have discerned the intrigues of the enemies of socialism, have rallied their ranks still more closely, demonstrating their unshakable political unity, and their unbreakable loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The fraternal communist and workers' parties have detected

this move of the enemies of socialism in good time, too, and are giving it a fitting rebuff. It would be incorrect, on the other hand, to shut one's eyes to the fact that some of our friends abroad are still not quite clear on the cult of the individual and its consequences and are sometimes giving incorrect interpretations to some of the points connected with the cult of the individual.

The party bases its criticism of the cult of the individual on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For over three years our party has been waging a constant fight against the cult of the person of J. V. Stalin, and persistently overcoming its harmful consequences. It is only natural that this question should have entered as an important item into the deliberations of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and its decisions. The Congress recognised that the central committee had taken perfectly correct and timely action against the cult of the individual which, as long as it was widespread, belittled the role of the party and the masses, whittled down the role of collective leadership in the party and often led to serious omissions in its work, and to gross violations of socialist law. The congress instructed the central committee to carry out consistently the measures for removing wholly and entirely the cult of the individual, foreign to Marxism-Leninism, for removing its consequences in every aspect of party, governmental and ideological activity, and for strict enforcement of the standards of party life and of the principles of collective party leadership elaborated by the great Lenin.

In combating the cult of the individual the party guides itself by the well-known theses of Marxism-Leninism on the role of the masses, of parties and individuals in history, and on the impermissibility of a cult of the person of a political leader, however great his merits may be. Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, emphasising his revulsion for "any cult of the individual," declared that he and Friedrich

Engels joined the association of communists "on condition that everything making for superstitious worshipping of authorities would be thrown out of it." (*Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Works, Vol. 26, First Russian Edition, Pages 487-488*).

In building up our Communist Party V. I. Lenin was irreconcilable in fighting the anti-Marxist conception of the "hero" and the "mob," emphatically denouncing the counterposing of individual heroes to the masses of the people. "The intellect of scores of millions," said V. I. Lenin, "creates something immeasurably higher than a forecast of the greatest genius" (*Works, Vol. 26, Page 431*).

In raising the question of combating the cult of the person of J. V. Stalin, the central committee of the C.P.S.U. acted on the assumption that the cult of the individual contradicted the essence of the socialist system and was becoming a brake on the way of progress of Soviet democracy and of the advance of Soviet society towards communism.

The 20th Congress of the party, on the central committee's initiative, found it necessary to speak openly and boldly about the grave consequences of the cult of the individual, of the serious mistakes made in the latter period of Stalin's life, and to appeal to the party as a whole to put an end, through combined efforts, to everything that the cult of the individual had brought in its train. In doing so the central committee realised that the frank admission of the errors made would give rise to certain negative features and excesses which the enemies could use. The bold and ruthless self-criticism in matters arising from the cult of the individual has been fresh, ample evidence of the strength and vitality of our party and of the Soviet socialist system. It can be said with confidence that none of the ruling parties in capitalist countries would ever have ventured to do anything like this. Quite the reverse, they



would have tried to pass over in silence and to hide from the people facts as unpleasant as these. But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reared as it is on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, has spoken the whole truth, however bitter it might have been. The party took this step on its own initiative, guiding itself by considerations of principle. It believed that even if its action against the Stalin cult caused some momentary difficulties, it would be of enormous value in the long run from the point of view of the basic interests and ultimate goals of the working class. Sure guarantees are thereby created against things like the cult of the individual reappearing in our party or in our country ever again, and also for the leadership of the party and the country being effected collectively, through enforcing the Marxist-Leninist policy, in conditions of full-scale party democracy, with the active and constructive participation of millions of working people and with the utmost development of Soviet democracy.

By taking a determined stand against the cult of the individual and its consequences, and by openly criticising the errors it caused, the party has once more demonstrated its loyalty to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, its loyalty to the interests of the people, its concern for providing the best possible conditions for the development of party and Soviet democracy in the interest of the successful building of communism in this country. The central committee of the C.P.S.U. places on record the fact that the discussions on the cult of the individual and its consequences by party organisations and at general meetings of working people have been marked by a great measure of activity, shown both by the party membership and by non-party people, and that the C.P.S.U. central committee's line has been welcomed and supported wholly and entirely both by the party and by the people.

The facts of the violations of socialist law and other errors connected with the cult of the individual of J. V. Stalin,

which the party has made public, naturally create a feeling of bitterness and deep regret. But the Soviet people realise that the condemnation of the cult of the individual was indispensable for the building of communism in which they are all playing their full part. The Soviet people have seen the party taking persistent practical steps for the past few years to remove the after-effects of the cult of the individual in every field of party, governmental, economic and cultural development. Thanks to this effort, the party, which no longer has its internal forces bound by anything, has drawn still closer to the people and has today developed its creative activity more than ever before.

2. HOW, indeed, could it happen that the cult of the person of Stalin, with all the attendant adverse consequences, could have appeared and gained currency in conditions of the Soviet system ?

This question should be examined against the background of the objective, concrete historical conditions under which socialism was built in the U.S.S.R., and also some subjective factors arising from Stalin's personal qualities.

The October Socialist Revolution has gone down in history as a classic example of a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society under the leadership of the working class. The example of the heroic struggle of the Bolshevik Party, of the world's first socialist state, the U.S.S.R., is something from which the communist parties of other lands, indeed all progressive and democratic forces, are learning how to solve the fundamental social problems generated by modern social development. Throughout the nearly forty years that have gone into building socialist society, the working people of this country have accumulated a wealth of experience, which is being studied and assimilated by the working people of other socialist nations, creatively and in keeping with their specific conditions.

This was the first experience history has ever known of building a socialist society which was taking shape through the quest for and practical proving of many truths which until then were known to socialists only in general outline, theoretically. For over a quarter of a century the Soviet Union was the only country blazing the path to socialism for mankind. It was like a besieged fortress in capitalist encirclement. The enemies of the Soviet Union both in the

West and in the East, continued to plot new "crusades" against the U.S.S.R. after the failure of the fourteen-power intervention of 1918-20. The enemies sent large numbers of spies and wreckers into the U.S.S.R., trying by every means at their disposal to destroy the world's first socialist state. The threat of renewed imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. increased particularly after fascism's advent to power in Germany in 1933, which proclaimed its purpose to be that of destroying communism, that of destroying the Soviet Union, the world's first state of working people. Everyone remembers the establishment of what was called the "anti-Comintern pact" and the "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis," which were actively supported by the forces of international reaction as a whole. With a threat of a new war growing more and more evident, and with the western powers cold-shouldering the measures the Soviet Union more than once proposed to put fascism in a straitjacket and organise collective security, the Soviet Union had to exert every effort for strengthening its defences and countering the intrigues of the hostile capitalist encirclement. The party had to teach the people as a whole to be always vigilant and prepared to face enemies from without.

The intrigues of international reaction were all the more dangerous since there was a bitter class struggle going on within the country for a long time to see "who beats whom?" After Lenin's death, hostile trends began gaining currency in the party: Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists whose stand was one of opposition to Lenin's theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, a stand which would in fact have led to the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. The party launched a ruthless struggle against those enemies of Leninism.

In carrying out Lenin's behests, the Communist Party steered a course towards the country's socialist industrialisation, collectivising agriculture and making a cultural revolution. The

Soviet people and the Communist Party have had to overcome unimaginable difficulties and obstacles in solving these supreme problems of building a socialist society in a single country. Our country had to overcome its age-old backwardness and reshape the national economy as a whole along new, socialist lines, within the historically shortest period of time, and without any economic assistance whatsoever from outside.

This complicated international and internal situation called for iron discipline, tireless enhancement of vigilance, stringent centralisation of leadership, which could not but have had an adverse effect on the development of some democratic forms. In the bitter struggle against the whole world of imperialism our country had to accept some limitations to democracy, which were justified logically by our people's struggle for socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

But even at that time the party and the people regarded these limitations as temporary and due to be removed as the strength of the Soviet state grew and the forces of democracy and peace developed throughout the world. The people made these temporary sacrifices conscientiously, seeing the Soviet social system make progress day by day.

All these difficulties on the way to socialism have been overcome by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and its central committee, which consistently pursued Lenin's general line.

The victory of socialism in this country, faced as it was with hostile encirclement and the ever present threat of attack from without, was a historic exploit of the Soviet people. Through carrying out its first five-year plans, the economically backward country made a giant leap ahead in its economic and cultural development, thanks to the strenuous and heroic efforts of the people and the party. With the progress achieved in

socialist construction the living standards of the working people were raised and unemployment abolished once and for all. A thorough cultural revolution took place. Within a short space of time the Soviet people produced great numbers of technicians who rose to the level of world technological progress and brought Soviet science and technology to one of the leading places in the world. It was the great party of communists that was the inspiring and organising force behind these victories. By the example of the U.S.S.R. the working people of the whole world have seen for themselves that the workers and peasants, once they have taken power into their own hands, can build and develop successfully, without any capitalists and landowners, their own socialist state, representing and defending the interests of the people at large. All this has played a great and inspiring role in increasing the influence of the communist and workers' parties in all the countries of the world.

J. V. Stalin, who held the post of general secretary of the party's central committee for a long period, worked actively in common with other leaders of the party to put into effect Lenin's behests. He was faithful to Marxism-Leninism, and as a theorist and an organiser of high calibre he led the party's fight against the Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists, and bourgeois nationalists, against the intrigues of capitalists from without. It was in this political and ideological fight that Stalin earned great authority and popularity. But there was a mistaken practice of associating all our great victories with his name. The achievements gained by the Communist Party and by the Soviet Union, the eulogies of Stalin made him dizzy. That being the situation, the cult of the person of Stalin was being gradually built up.

Some of J. V. Stalin's individual qualities, which were regarded as negative yet by V. I. Lenin, contributed in great measure to building up the cult of the individual. Towards

the end of 1922 Lenin said in a letter to the coming party congress :

“Comrade Stalin, after taking over the post of general secretary, accumulated in his hands immeasurable power, and I am not certain whether he will be always able to use this power with the required care.” In addition to this letter, writing early in January 1923, V. I. Lenin reverted to some of Stalin’s individual qualities, intolerable in a leader. “Stalin is excessively rude,” Lenin wrote, “and this defect, which can be freely tolerated in our midst and in contacts among us, communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in one holding the post of general secretary. I therefore propose to the comrades to consider the method by which to remove Stalin from his post, and to select another man for it who, above all, would differ from Stalin in only one quality, namely, greater tolerance, greater loyalty, greater politeness and a more considerate attitude towards the comrades, a less capricious temper, etc.”

These letters of Lenin’s were brought to the knowledge of the delegations to the 13th Party Congress which met soon after Lenin died. After discussing these documents it was recognised as desirable to leave Stalin in the position of general secretary on the understanding, however, that he would heed the critical remarks of V. I. Lenin and draw all the proper conclusions from them.

Having retained the post of general secretary of the central committee, Stalin did take into account the critical remarks of Vladimir Ilyich during the period immediately following his death. Later on, however, Stalin, having overestimated his own merits beyond all measure, came to believe in his own infallibility. He began transferring some of the limitations on party and Soviet democracy, unavoidable in conditions of a bitter struggle against the class enemy and its agents, and subsequently during the war against the Nazi invaders, into

the standards of party and governmental life, grossly flouting the Leninist principles of leadership. Plenary meetings of the central committee and congresses of the party were held irregularly and later were not held at all for many years. Stalin, in fact, was above criticism.

Great harm to the cause of socialist construction, and the development of democracy inside the party and the state was caused by Stalin's erroneous formula alleging that, with the advance of the Soviet Union to socialism, the class struggle would grow increasingly sharp. This formula, which is true only for certain stages of the transition period, when the question of "who will win?" was being decided, when a persistent class struggle for the construction of the foundations of socialism was proceeding, was advanced to the foreground in 1937, at a time when socialism had already triumphed in our country, when the exploiting classes and their economic base had been eliminated. In practice, this erroneous theoretical formula was used to justify gross violations of socialist law and mass repressions.

It is precisely in these conditions that, among other things, a special status was created for the state security organs, which enjoyed tremendous trust because they had rendered undoubted services to the people and the country in defending the gains of the revolution. For a long time the state security organs justified this trust and their special status evoked no danger. The situation changed after Stalin's personal control over them had been gradually superseded for control by the party and the government, and the usual exercise of the standards of justice was not infrequently replaced by his individual decisions. The situation became still more aggravated when the criminal gang of the agent of international imperialism, Beria, got to the head of the state security organs. Serious violations of Soviet law and mass repressions then occurred. As a result of the machinations of our enemies, many honest



communists and non-party people had been slandered and suffered, although completely innocent.

The 20th Party Congress and the entire policy of the central committee after Stalin's death are vivid evidence of the fact that inside the central committee of the party there was a Leninist core of leaders who correctly understood the pressing needs in the spheres both of home and foreign policy. One cannot say that no counter-measures were taken against the negative phenomena that were associated with the cult of the individual and impeded the advance of socialism. Moreover, there were definite periods during the war, for example, when Stalin's individual actions were sharply restricted, when the negative consequences of lawlessness, arbitrariness, etc., were substantially reduced.

It is known that precisely during the war members of the central committee as well as outstanding Soviet military leaders took control of definite sections of activity in the rear and at the front, independently took decisions, and by their organisational, political, economic and military work, together with local party and government organisations, secured the victory of the Soviet people in the war. After the victory, the negative consequences of the cult of the individual again became strongly manifest.

Immediately after Stalin's death the Leninist core of the central committee took the path of vigorous struggle against the cult of the individual and its grave consequences.

The question may arise: Why then had these people not come out openly against Stalin and removed him from leadership? In the prevailing conditions this could not be done. The facts unquestionably show that Stalin was guilty of many unlawful acts that were committed particularly in the last period of his life. However, one must not forget at the same time that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a man always

acting in the defence of the U.S.S.R. against the machinations of the enemies, and working for the cause of socialism. In this work he at times applied unseemly methods, and violated the Leninist principles and standards of party life. Herein was the tragedy of Stalin. And all this together made difficult the struggle against the lawless actions that were then being committed, because the successes in building socialism and strengthening the U.S.S.R. were, in the atmosphere of the cult of the individual, ascribed to Stalin.

Any opposition to him under these circumstances would not have been understood by the people, and it was not at all a matter of lack of personal courage. It is clear that anyone who in these circumstances would have come out against Stalin would have got no support from the people. What is more, such opposition would have been evaluated, in those circumstances, as being against the cause of building socialism, as an extremely dangerous threat to the unity of the party and the whole state in conditions of capitalist encirclement. Moreover, the achievements of the working people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party instilled legitimate pride in the heart of every Soviet man and created an atmosphere in which individual errors and shortcomings seemed less important against the background of the tremendous achievements, and the negative consequences of these errors were rapidly compensated by the immensely growing vital forces of the party and Soviet society.

It should also be borne in mind that many facts about wrong actions of Stalin, particularly in the sphere of violating Soviet law, became known only lately, already after Stalin's death, chiefly in connection with the exposure of Beria's gang and the establishment of party control over the security organs.

Such are the chief conditions and reasons that resulted in the cult of J. V. Stalin's personality coming into being

and spreading. All this, of course, explains, but by no mean justifies, the cult of J. V. Stalin's personality and its consequences, which have been so sharply and justly condemned by our party.

**3.** THE cult of the individual, unquestionably, did grave harm to the cause of the Communist Party, to Soviet society. But it would be a great mistake to draw conclusions about some changes having taken place in the social system of the U.S.S.R. from the fact that in the past there was the cult of the individual, or to see a source of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social system. Both conclusions are utterly wrong, as this is not in accordance with reality and is contrary to the facts.

Notwithstanding all the evil done to the party and the people by the cult of Stalin's personality, he could not, and did not change the nature of our social system. No cult of the individual could change the nature of the socialist state, which is based on social ownership of the means of production, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and friendship between the peoples, although this cult did cause serious harm to the development of socialist democracy and the promotion of the creative initiative of millions of people.

To think that one personality, even such a great one as Stalin, could change our social and political system is to lapse into profound contradiction with the facts, with Marxism, with truth, is to lapse into idealism. This would mean ascribing to an individual such excessive, supernatural powers as the ability to change a system of society and, moreover, such a social system in which the many-million strong masses of the working people are the decisive force.

As is known, the nature of a social and political system is determined by its mode of production, by who owns the means

of production in society, by which class wields political power. The whole world knows that in our country, as a result of the October Revolution and the triumph of socialism, a socialist mode of production has been established, that it is now already almost 40 years that power has belonged to the working class and the peasantry. Thanks to this the social system is growing stronger from year to year, and its productive forces are growing. Even our ill-wishers cannot fail to recognise this fact.

The cult of the individual, as is known, resulted in some serious errors being made in the direction of various branches of activity of the party and the Soviet state, both in the domestic life of the Soviet Union and in its foreign policy. Among other things, one can point out serious errors committed by Stalin in the direction of agriculture, in organising the country's preparedness to rebuff the fascist invaders, and gross arbitrariness that led to the conflict in the relations with Yugoslavia in the postwar period. These errors harmed the development of individual aspects of the life of the Soviet state, and especially, in the last years of J. V. Stalin's life, impaired the development of Soviet society, but, naturally, did not divert it from the correct road of advancement to communism.

Our enemies allege that the cult of Stalin's personality was engendered not by definite historical conditions that have now lapsed into the past, but by the Soviet system itself, by, in their opinion, its undemocratic nature, etc. Such slanderous assertions are refuted by the entire history of the development of the Soviet state. The Soviets as a new democratic form of state power came into being as a result of the revolutionary creative activity of the broadest masses of the people who rose in struggle for freedom. They have been and remain organs of genuine people's power. It is precisely the Soviet system that has made it possible to tap the tremendous

creative energy of the people. It brought into motion inexhaustible forces inherent in the masses of the people, drew millions of people into conscientious administration of the state, into active, creative participation in the construction of socialism. In a brief historical period, the Soviet state emerged victorious from the severest trials, stood the test in the fire of the Second World War.

When the last exploiting classes were eliminated in our country, when socialism became the dominant system in the entire national economy, and the international position of our country altered fundamentally, the bounds of Soviet democracy expanded immeasurably and are continuing to expand. In contrast to any bourgeois democracy, Soviet democracy not only proclaims but materially ensures all members of society without exception the right to work, education, rest and recreation, to participation in state affairs, freedom of speech, press and conscience, a real possibility for the free development of personal abilities, and all other democratic rights and freedoms. The essence of democracy lies not in formal signs but in whether the political power serves and reflects the will and fundamental interests of the majority of the people, the interests of the working folk. The entire domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state shows that our system is a genuinely democratic, genuinely people's system. The supreme aim and daily concern of the Soviet state is the utmost advancement of the living standards of the population, the ensuring of a peaceful existence for its people.

Evidence of the further development of Soviet democracy is the measures that are being carried out by the party and the government for broadening the rights and competence of the Union republics, the strict observance of the law, reconstruction of the planning system with a view to unleashing local initiative, activating the work of the local Soviets, developing criticism and self-criticism.

Notwithstanding the cult of the individual and in spite of it, the mighty initiative of the masses of the people, led by the Communist Party, initiative brought into being by our system, pursued its great historical task, overcoming all obstacles on the road to the construction of socialism. And herein lies the highest expression of the democracy of the Soviet socialist system. The outstanding victories of socialism in our country did not come by themselves. They were achieved by the tremendous organisational and educational work of the party and its local organisations, by the fact that the party always educated its cadres and all communists in the spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of devotion to the cause of communism. Soviet society is strong by the consciousness of the masses of the people. Its historical destinies have been and are determined by the constructive labour of our heroic working class, glorious collective farm peasantry, and people's intelligentsia.

Eliminating the consequences of the cult of the individual, re-establishing the Bolshevik standards of party life, developing socialist democracy, our party has further strengthened its ties with the broad masses of the people and has rallied them still closer under the great banner of Lenin.

The fact that the party itself has boldly and openly raised the question of eliminating the cult of the individual, of the impermissible errors committed by Stalin, is convincing proof that the party firmly guards Leninism, the cause of socialism and communism, the observance of socialist law, the interests of the peoples and the rights of all Soviet citizens. This is the best proof of the strength and viability of the Soviet socialist system. At the same time it shows a determination finally to overcome the consequences of the cult of the individual and to prevent the recurrence of such errors in the future.

The condemnation of the cult of J. V. Stalin and its conse-

quences has evoked endorsement and a broad response in all fraternal communist and workers' parties. Noting the tremendous significance of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. for the entire international communist and labour movement, the communists in the foreign countries regard the struggle against the cult of the individual and its consequences as a struggle for the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for a creative approach to the current problems of the international labour movement, for the consolidation and further development of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Statements by a number of fraternal communist parties express endorsement and support for the measures taken by our party against the cult of the individual and its consequences. Summarising the conclusions to be drawn from the discussion of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. by the political bureau of the central committee of the Communist Party of China, the party's newspaper *Jenminjihpao*, in an editorial "On the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat," wrote:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, following Lenin's behests, seriously regards some grave errors committed by Stalin in the direction of socialist construction, and their consequences. The graveness of these consequences raised before the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the necessity, simultaneously with recognising Stalin's great services, of laying bare most sharply the essence of the errors committed by Stalin, and calling upon the entire party to take care to prevent a repetition of this, and to root out vigorously the unhealthy consequences of these errors. We, Chinese communists, profoundly believe that after the sharp criticism that was displayed at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., all the active factors that were strongly restrained in the past because of certain political errors, will surely come into motion everywhere, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the



Soviet people will be still more united and rallied than before. in the struggle for the construction of a great communist society, unprecedented in the history of mankind, for lasting world peace.”

“The merit of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,” a statement of the political bureau of the French Communist Party says, “is the fact that they have undertaken to correct the errors and shortcomings associated with the cult of the individual, which testifies to the strength and unity of the great party of Lenin and the trust it enjoys among the Soviet people and to its prestige in the international movement.” The general secretary of the national committee of the United States Communist Party, Comrade Eugene Dennis, noting the great significance of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., says in his well-known article: “The 20th Congress strengthened world peace and social progress. It marked a new stage in the advancement of socialism and in the struggle for peaceful co-existence that began in Lenin’s day, continued in the following years, and is becoming ever more effective and successful.”

At the same time it should be noted that in discussing the question of the cult of the individual, the causes of the cult of the individual and its consequences for our social system are not always correctly interpreted. Thus, for example, Comrade Togliatti’s comprehensive and interesting interview given to the magazine *Nuovi Argomenti*, along with many quite important and correct conclusions, contains also wrong propositions. Particularly, one cannot agree with Comrade Togliatti’s putting the question of whether Soviet society has not arrived at “certain forms of degeneration.” There is no grounds for putting such a question. It is all the more incomprehensible in that in another part of his interview Comrade Togliatti quite correctly says: “It is necessary to draw the conclusion that the essence of the socialist system was not

lost, just as not a single one of the previous gains was lost, and above all the support of the system by the masses of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia who make up Soviet society was not lost. This very support shows that notwithstanding everything, this society has preserved its basic democratic nature.”

Indeed, without the support of the broadest masses of the people for the Soviet government and the policy of the Communist Party, our country could not have built up in an unprecedentedly brief period a mighty socialist industry and effected the collectivisation of agriculture, it could not have won the Second World War, on the outcome of which the destinies of all mankind depended. As a result of the utter rout of Hitlerism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, the forces of the communist movement have broadly developed, the communist parties of Italy, France and other capitalist countries have grown and become mass parties, the people's democratic system has been established in a number of European and Asian countries, the world system of socialism has arisen and become consolidated, the national-liberation movement which has brought about the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism has scored unprecedented successes.

4. UNANIMOUSLY approving the decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., which condemn the cult of the individual, the communists and all Soviet people see in them evidence of the growing power of our party, of the strength of its Leninist principles, unity and solidarity. "The party of the revolutionary proletariat," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "is sufficiently strong to openly criticise itself, to call a mistake a mistake, and a weakness a weakness" (*Works, Vol. 21, Page 150*). Guided by this Leninist principle, our party will continue, in future too, boldly to disclose, openly to criticise, and resolutely to eliminate mistakes and blunders in its work.

The central committee of the C.P.S.U. considers that the work accomplished by the party so far in overcoming the cult of the individual and its consequences has already yielded positive results.

On the basis of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the party, the central committee of the C.P.S.U. calls upon all party organisations:

Consistently to adhere in all their work to the most important principles of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism about the people being the makers of history, the creators of all the material and spiritual riches of mankind, on the decisive role of the Marxist party in the revolutionary struggle for the transformation of society, for the victory of communism ;

Persistently to continue the work, conducted in recent years by the central committee of the party, for the strictest observation by all party organisations, from top to bottom, of the Leninist principles of party leadership, and primarily of the

supreme principle of collective leadership, the observation of the norms of party life, as fixed by the rules of the party, of developing criticism and self-criticism ;

Fully to restore the principles of Soviet socialist democracy as laid down in the Constitution of the Soviet Union finally to correct the violations of revolutionary socialist laws ;

To mobilise our cadres, all communists and the broadest masses of the working people, in the struggle for the practical realisation of the targets of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, giving the utmost stimulation to the creative initiative and energy of the masses, the true makers of history, in achieving this end.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. pointed out that the most important feature of our epoch is the conversion of socialism into a world system. The most difficult period in the development and consolidation of socialism now lies behind us. Our socialist country has ceased to be a lonely island in an ocean of capitalist states. Today more than one-third of humanity is building a new life under the banner of socialism. The ideas of socialism are winning the support of many, many millions of people in the capitalist countries. The influence of the ideas of socialism is tremendous among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are fighting against all forms of colonialism.

The decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. are regarded by all supporters of peace and socialism, by all democratic and progressive circles, as an inspiring programme of struggle for the consolidation of peace throughout the world, for the interests of the working class, for the triumph of the cause of socialism.

Under present conditions, the communist parties and the whole international labour movement are faced with broad, inspiring prospects—to secure, hand in hand with all the peace-

ful forces, the prevention of a new world war, to curb the monopolies and ensure lasting peace and the security of the peoples, to put an end to the armaments race and remove from the working peoples the heavy burden of taxes bred by it, to fight for the preservation of the democratic rights and liberties which facilitate the working peoples' struggle for a better life and a bright future. This is what the millions of ordinary people in every country of the world are vitally interested in. The successful solution of these problems is to a tremendous degree facilitated by the peaceful policy and the ever new successes of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all the other countries advancing on the road of socialism.

In the new historical conditions, such international organisations of the working class as the Comintern and the Cominform have ceased their activities. But this in no way means international solidarity has lost its significance and that there is no longer any need for contacts among the fraternal revolutionary parties adhering to the positions of Marxism-Leninism. At the present time, when the forces of socialism and the influence of socialist ideas have immeasurably grown throughout the world, when different means of achieving socialism in the various countries are being revealed, the Marxist working-class parties must naturally preserve and consolidate their ideological unity and fraternal international solidarity in the fight against the threat of a new war, in the fight against the anti-national forces of monopoly capital striving to suppress all the revolutionary and progressive movements. The communist parties are welded together by the great objective of freeing the working class from the yoke of capital, they are united by their fidelity to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, to the spirit of proletarian internationalism, by the utmost devotion to the interests of the people.

In their activity under modern conditions, all the communist

parties base themselves on the national peculiarities and conditions of every country, giving the fullest expression to the national interests of their peoples. At the same time, recognising that the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and the national independence of their countries is the cause of the entire international proletariat, they are consolidating their ranks and strengthening their contacts and co-operation among themselves. The ideological consolidation and fraternal solidarity of the Marxist parties of the working class in different countries are the more necessary since the capitalist monopolies are creating their own aggressive international coalitions and blocs, such as N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., and the Baghdad pact, which are directed against the peace-loving peoples, against the national-liberation movement, against the working class and the vital interests of the working peoples.

While the Soviet Union is continuing to do very much to bring about a relaxation in international tension—and this is now recognised everywhere—American monopoly capital continues to assign large sums of money for increasing the subversive activities in the socialist countries. When the cold war was at its height, the United States Congress, as is well known, officially appropriated (apart from the funds used unofficially) 100 million dollars for the purposes of conducting subversive activities in the people's democracies and the Soviet Union. Now that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are doing everything possible to ease international tension, the cold war adherents are seeking once more to galvanise the cold war which has been condemned by the peoples of the entire world. This is shown by the decision of the United States Senate to appropriate an additional 25 million dollars for subversive activity, under the cynical pretext of "stimulating freedom" behind the "iron curtain."

We must soberly appraise this fact and draw the necessary

conclusions from it. It is clear, for instance, that the anti-popular riots in Poznan have been paid for from this source. But the *agents-provocateur* and subversive elements who were paid out of the overseas funds had enough "go" in them only for a few hours. The working people of Poznan resisted the hostile actions and provocations. The plans of the dark knights of the "cloak and dagger" have fallen through, their dastardly provocation against the people's power in Poland has failed. All future attempts at subversive actions in the people's democracies are similarly doomed to failure, even though such actions are generously paid for out of funds assigned by the American monopolies. This money may be said to be spent in vain.

All this shows that we must not allow ourselves to be indifferent about the new designs of the imperialist agencies, seeking to penetrate into the socialist countries in order to do harm and disrupt the achievements of the working people.

The forces of imperialist reaction are seeking to divert the working people from the true road of struggle for their interests, to poison their minds with disbelief in the success of the cause of peace and socialism. In spite of all the designs of the ideologists of the capitalist monopolies, the working class, headed by its tried communist vanguard, will follow its own road, which has already led to the historic conquests of socialism, and will lead to new victories in the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. There can be no doubt that the communist and workers' parties of all countries will raise still higher the glorious Marxist banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet people are naturally proud of the fact that our homeland was the first to pave the road to socialism. Now that socialism has become a world system, now that fraternal co-operation and mutual aid have been established among the

socialist countries, new favourable conditions have been created for the flourishing of socialist democracy, for the further consolidation of the material and industrial basis of communism, for a steady rise in the living standards of the working people, for an all-sided development of the personality of the new man, the builder of communist society. Let the bourgeois ideologists invent fables about a "crisis" of communism, about "dismay" in the ranks of the communist parties. It is not the first time that we have heard incantations from enemies. All their predictions have always burst like bubbles. These sorry soothsayers have appeared and disappeared, while the communist movement, the immortal and inspiring ideas of Marxism-Leninism, have advanced from victory to victory. So it will be in the future, too. No malicious, slanderous outburst of our enemies can stop the invincible, historic march of mankind towards communism.