

THE
24TH
CONGRESS
OF THE CPSU
AND ITS
CONTRIBUTION
TO MARXISM-
LENINISM

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Between September 29 and October 1, 1971, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences, the CPSU Central Committee's Higher Party School, and the USSR Academy of Sciences' Department of Social Sciences held a conference in Moscow on "The 24th Congress of the CPSU and Its Contribution to Marxism-Leninism."

Published in these pages are the reports given at the conference by: M. Suslov, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, P. Demichev, Alternate Politbureau Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; B. Ponomarev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Academician P. Fedoseyev, and M. Iovchuk, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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The CPSU—the Party of Creative Marxism

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The Soviet people are now solving the intricate and diverse problems of the further all-round development of socialist society and the building of the material and technical basis of communism, outlined by the 24th CPSU Congress. We are confident that these tasks will be successfully accomplished. Our Communist Party, equipped with the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, and steadily enriching and developing it, is guiding the revolutionary activity of the people with great success.

All the progressive, genuinely revolutionary forces of the world recognize that the CPSU (under whose leadership society has for the first time been transformed on a socialist basis and a path to communism is being blazed in the USSR) is a theoretically and politically experienced and battle-seasoned detachment of the world communist movement.

The 24th CPSU Congress has once again conclusively demonstrated that the CPSU has always been the party of the working class, that it is strongly

linked with the people and expresses their vital interests, and that it has always been the party of creative Marxism, the party which embodies in all its activity the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice on the basis of a scientific analysis and generalization of the latest trends of social development.

The Report of the CPSU Central Committee delivered by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, the Directives for the new five-year plan, the speeches of the delegates and all the Congress documents and decisions, embody the collective thought, the collective experience and the collective will of the Party, and comprehensively reveal fundamental questions related to the achievement of developed socialist society and the laying of the material and technical basis of communism in the USSR, questions of the further cohesion and development of the world socialist system, the prospects of the struggle for peace, democracy, social progress, and the national independence of the peoples of the world, and questions of the unity of the international communist movement. The results of the Congress proceedings clearly show that in all its activity our Party relies on the Leninist ideological legacy, firmly follows the Leninist line, and creatively solves the problems of social progress.

The fraternal parties, in the speeches of their delegates at the 24th CPSU Congress, in the documents adopted at the Congresses and Plenary Meetings of their Central Committees, and also in the press, note that the scientifically based decisions of the CPSU on questions of home policy and on international problems are of tremendous importance for the working class and all prog-

ressive mankind, and also of great importance to the struggle of the revolutionary forces for the overthrow of capitalism and for the building and strengthening of socialism.

The constructive programme of the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, for peace and international security, for the abolition of neo-colonialism and the remnants of colonialism, and for mutually beneficial cooperation, outlined by the 24th Congress, is an outstanding contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. The CPSU and the Soviet government not only put forward a peace programme but, backed by the colossal and ever-increasing might of the USSR in alliance with the other socialist countries and by all the democratic, peace-loving forces of the world, are carrying it out. All this increases the attractive force of socialism, strengthens its position and creates more favourable historical conditions for consolidating and extending the world revolutionary process.

The 24th CPSU Congress furnished a profound scientific analysis of the present stage of the confrontation between socialism and capitalism. The outstanding feature of this stage is that world socialism has finally secured for itself the historical initiative and is determining the main content and trend of social development; it has achieved a radical change in the relationship of forces and is continuing to push back capitalism; it has entered a phase when the advantages of socialism are being more fully revealed. Events have fully confirmed the truth of the proposition formulated in the CPSU Programme about the growing influence exerted by the world socialist system on the course of social development. The influence

of socialism on the development of world history has become world-wide. It influences the processes under way in the world by its economic, socio-political, scientific and technical, and ideological development. The common front of the three principal revolutionary forces of our age—the world socialist system, the working class of capitalist countries and the national liberation movement—is being strengthened in the course of the historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism. The world revolutionary process is developing in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. All this makes the present epoch the most revolutionary epoch in the history of mankind.

Capitalism is being forced to adapt itself in every way to the changes in the world caused by socialism, which is growing stronger, and by all the revolutionary democratic forces. But capitalism has neither the socio-political reserves nor cultural and moral values capable of attracting the masses and thereby responding to the decisive historical challenge of the age, the challenge of socialism. Today it has become still clearer that the manoeuvrings of the monopoly bourgeoisie are unable to eliminate the incurable evils of capitalism and save this obsolete social system from its doom.

The domination of monopoly capital causes an intensification of economic and political instability, an exacerbation of the old contradictions and the emergence of new ones, reaction in home and foreign policy, the militarization of all social life, and armed aggression first in one part of the world, then in another. It is also responsible for the constant menace of a thermonuclear war, eco-

nomical crises and monetary upheavals, unemployment, the growth of social inequality and the poverty of the millions against a background of immense production potential and the enrichment of a handful of multimillionaires. The unprecedented aggravation of all the antagonisms of capitalist society makes revolutionary changes a burning necessity.

The mounting achievements of socialism and the expanding scale of the world revolutionary process are accompanied by a sharpening of the ideological struggle. The pressure of the revolutionary forces on the imperialist bourgeoisie is intensifying its frenzied resistance. It is employing increasingly refined forms of struggle, resorting to ideological subversion, and trying to utilize every possible revisionist vacillation. Account must also be taken of the fact that in view of the involvement of large numbers of non-proletarian people in the anti-imperialist struggle, their political instability and ideological immaturity quite frequently make themselves felt. All this engenders diverse trends alien to Marxism-Leninism—adventurist “Leftism” and the advocacy of spontaneity, vociferous revolutionism and compromise. Anarchists and Trotskyites, Maoists and other revisionists and reformists are active in the ranks of the anti-communists. It is quite symptomatic that differences between these trends are being increasingly narrowed. The Right and the “Left” opportunists are joining forces more frequently on a common ground of anti-Sovietism, anti-communism and nationalism, and opposition to real socialism. The 24th Congress, which made a new contribution to the cohesion of the communist ranks, struck a powerful ideological and

theoretical blow at all brands of opportunism and revisionism, and elevated still higher the prestige of socialism and the leading role of the communist movement in the world revolutionary process.

The Congress developed, as applied to present-day conditions, the Marxist-Leninist proposition about the leading revolutionary transforming role of the working class in all the social movements of our time and strongly condemned the attempts to belittle the role of the working class in society. It will be recalled that fallacious arguments about a supposed weakening of the revolutionary potential of the working class and a decrease of its importance in the life of society have become widespread abroad in recent years. There has been an attempt to counterpose the intelligentsia to the farmers, or the students to the working class. Bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy are exploited by imperialism in its attempts to undermine the working class movement from within, to "integrate" it into the capitalist system. The 24th CPSU Congress, in full conformity with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, scientifically summing up the real contemporary processes, showed that all the fundamental changes of our age—social, economic, scientific and technical—far from weakening the role of the working class as the grave-digger of capitalism, and the builder and organizer of socialism, raise it to new heights.

The Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties are the militant vanguard of the working class, its leader and ideological guide. They have firmly consolidated their position as the most influential, most organized and active political force of our time, the force which is determining the

social progress of mankind.

The 24th Congress noted that in recent years the working class of capitalist countries, as the chief and strongest opponent of the power of the monopolies, had become increasingly militant. The working class is the magnet attracting all the exploited sections of society, all the detachments of the anti-monopoly front. The growing scale of the proletariat's class battles in the citadels of capitalism, their increasingly massive scope and acuteness are forerunners of new, even more powerful battles which may lead to fundamental social changes, to the overthrow of the omnipotence of the capitalist monopolies and the winning of power by the working class in alliance with other sections of the working people.

The Congress documents scientifically substantiated the increased importance of the leading role of the working class in consolidating socialism and laying the material and technical basis of communism. Enhancement of the historical mission of the working class is determined by the growth of its importance in the system of socialist production, its leading role in social relations and its characteristic traits—a revolutionary spirit, discipline, organization and political consciousness—because it is the working class that is the standard-bearer of the ideas of scientific socialism, capable of rallying the working people round itself on the basis of the communist ideal.

The analysis of the content of the present stage in the development of Soviet society and its prospects, which was made by the 24th CPSU Congress, is a big contribution to the theory of scientific communism. This stage is distinguished by the fact that, in the USSR, a developed socialist society

has been built, and is successfully functioning, for the first time in history. This analysis is of great importance in principle. It indicates a clear direction for research into the problems of our society's socio-economic development.

In scientific literature, definition of the historical place of socialism is at times confined merely to describing socialism as an undeveloped, immature society (as compared with full communism). This is correct from the viewpoint of the historical perspective of the developing of socialism, as the first phase of communism, into its higher phase. Speaking of socialism, we naturally always bear in mind the prospect of its development. Communism is our great goal, it is sacred for us, and therefore scientific substantiation of the ways and means of achieving it is the most important task of our workers in the theoretical sphere. But no less important is the elaboration of problems which fully reveal all that socialism *really* is as compared with the past, and show to what historical heights it elevates mankind.

A comprehensive and profound study of the material basis of our society—the socialist mode of production, its place in history and fundamental distinction from capitalism, the specific laws inherent in socialism, the objective mechanism of their operation and their planned use in the interests of the entire society—is the primary task of Marxist scientists. We need a scientific knowledge of socialist reality because on this basis the Party's economic policy is formulated, the national economic plans are drawn up, and the entire system of state guidance of the economy and the forms and methods of socialist management are improved.

Mature socialism presupposes the all-round and harmonious development of the economic, socio-political and cultural conditions of life. At this stage society has a powerful material and technical basis which is created through the comprehensive development of the national economy and the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology. Socialism ensures stable and high growth rates of production and labour productivity. Developed socialism is characterized by mature social relations which are shaped on the basis of the dominance of socialist property, the elimination of the exploiting elements, and the firm socio-political and ideological unity of society. Here the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the work done is fully introduced. Developed socialist society has an adequate political superstructure—the state of the entire people, one that gives fullest expression to democratic ideals. It is marked by an extensive development of education and the general spread and firm establishment of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The dialectics of the development of socialist society is such that, as it progresses, it realizes ever more fully its possibilities, develops and improves, and at the same time creates the prerequisites for the transition to the higher form, and gradually grows over into communism. The development of socialism and the building of communism are one continuous process in which every new stage is consecutively linked with the preceding one and represents a higher level for the ascending, forward movement of society.

Developed socialist society accomplishes in practice the principal economic task of communist

construction: it builds the material and technical basis of communism which historically and socially represents a qualitatively new phenomenon. Its construction is a complex, many-faceted task which demands the exertion of great effort and a long time.

The ways of building the material and technical basis of communism were given more concrete form at the 24th Party Congress. A qualitatively new level in the development of the material elements of the productive forces—the means of production, fundamental changes in the technology of production processes and a radical improvement of the technical side of the organization of production, labour and management have to be ensured on the basis of the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. It is also necessary to create a harmonious sectoral structure and optimal proportions in the national economy, rationally locating the productive forces and making the most efficient use of the natural resources and of manpower. All this has to raise substantially the productivity of labour and the efficiency of the entire national economy.

This will serve as the basis for further improving production relations and other relations in developed socialist society, continuing to satisfy more fully the constantly growing needs of the people, creating true abundance of material and cultural wealth, ensuring the most favourable conditions for the moulding of the new man and the all-round harmonious development of people who control the material elements and guide social relations.

The satisfaction to an increasing extent of the needs of the working people and the comprehen-

sive and harmonious development of the individual, in turn, exert a tremendous impact on improving and expanding production, and on increasing the productivity of labour.

Guiding itself by the fundamental Leninist directive, and relying on the new, colossal reserves created in our country, utilizing and realizing more fully the advantages of developed socialism, the Party is pursuing the line of an all-round, comprehensive development of the productive forces and production relations, and of the social, ideological and political life of Soviet society.

The developed socialist economy affords us considerably greater possibilities and resources than we possessed earlier, at the initial stages of socialist construction, for successfully coping with the greater socio-economic tasks. These possibilities and resources for accelerated economic growth are being realized more fully in the consistent efforts by the Party to increase the efficiency of the national economy in every way. Intensification of production processes on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements, improvement of the inter-sector and intra-sector structure of production through the priority development of its most progressive trends, the scientific organization of labour, improvement of national economic planning and management, development of socialist forms and methods of operating the economy—these are the major elements of this economic line of the Party. Its consistent implementation makes it possible to combine in the best way the advantages of socialism with the greatest possible development of the scientific

and technological revolution, to accelerate the advance to the higher phase of communism, and, on this basis, to achieve our most important social objective—the steady raising of living standards and level of cultural development of the Soviet people.

It goes without saying that the Party has always sought to develop the economy in order to raise the standard of living of the people. The aim of socialist production, Lenin pointed out, consists precisely in ensuring "full well-being and free, *all-round* development for *all* the members of society." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54.)

But this task has been accomplished in intricate ways by overcoming tremendous difficulties and primarily by concentrating efforts on those sections of our development which were most important under existing conditions. Only mature socialist society creates the material prerequisites for its fuller accomplishment.

The great importance of the 24th CPSU Congress consists in that it outlined an extensive programme of social measures. These are aimed at raising the living standards of all sections of the people, and gradually levelling up urban and rural living standards by first evening out the levels of labour productivity in industry and agriculture. They are also aimed at creating more favourable conditions for work and leisure, for comprehensively developing the capabilities and constructive activity of the Soviet people, and for bringing up the rising generation. The Congress laid down that the most important task of the ninth five-year plan was to ensure a substantial rise in the standard of living and in the cultural level of the people on the basis of high growth rates of so-

cialist production and its increased efficiency, scientific and technological progress, and an accelerated increase in labour productivity.

The Congress emphasized that a substantial improvement in the material and cultural standards of the people is not only the most important task of the ninth five-year plan but also the general orientation of the country's long-term economic development.

A rise in the standard of living of the people is a multi-faceted task both from the point of view of its content and of its importance, and it would be wrong to approach it from a purely consumer viewpoint. A sufficiency of material goods is an important prerequisite for the development of human capabilities and of the human personality, for increasing production, for the advance of science, technology and culture, and for social progress.

Solution of the problems connected with improving the living standards of the people is closely linked with the task of achieving social homogeneity in our society.

"The Party's policy," Leonid Brezhnev stated at the 24th Party Congress, "is directed towards helping to bring the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia closer together, and gradually erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between brainwork and manual labour. This is one of the key sectors in the building of a classless communist society.

"In our country the drawing together of all classes and social groups, the moral and political upbringing of the Soviet people and the strengthening of their social unity are being achieved

on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the socialist interests and the communist ideals of *the working class*."

It is a great achievement of the Party's Leninist nationalities policy that all nations and nationalities comprising our multi-national Soviet people have attained a high level of development in all spheres of life. Evening out the levels of economic, socio-political and cultural development of nations and nationalities has ensured the swift and all-round social progress of Soviet society.

The development of socialist democracy is an important object of theoretical analysis. Lenin pointed out that the source of strength of the socialist state lies in its indissoluble bonds with the working people, and in drawing them into the administration of social affairs. In full conformity with these ideas, the Congress stressed that the Party sees the meaning and content of socialist democracy in the ever wider participation of the people as a whole in the administration of the country, and in social affairs. This process naturally is closely linked with expanding the social activity, intensifying the political consciousness and furthering the cultural development of the Soviet people, and with improving the activity of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions, Komsomol and other mass organizations. Maximum improvement of socialist democracy, whose class essence expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and the entire Soviet people, the further stimulation of the constructive initiative of the people, extension of their participation in state and social administration—such is the main political line of So-

viet society's advance towards communism.

The 24th Congress, summing up the international experience of building socialism and relations between socialist countries, substantiated a number of important theoretical propositions concerning the prospects and laws of development of the world socialist system.

Differences in the initial development level of the productive forces and the socio-economic structure, historical distinctions—these influence the periods and forms of the making of the new social system. Hence differences in the stage of maturity of socialist development and forms of the political and economic organization of society, specific features of the economic structure and methods of guiding the constructive activity of the people. But a scientific generalization of the entire experience in the development of the world socialist system, and also an analysis of the sources of its achievements and difficulties, furnished the Congress with grounds for an even more well-argued theoretical and political formulation of the paramount importance of the general laws of socialist construction. The Congress documents once again emphasized that, by ignoring the general laws, it is impossible to build socialism and ensure its advance. At the same time it is necessary to substantiate scientifically the ways of their application and the mechanism of their operation at each specific stage in one or another country, taking into account the special features of its historical development.

The conclusions of the Congress which revealed the prospects of the development of the world socialist system and of relations between socialist countries are of great theoretical and political

importance. The Congress emphasized that the community of the social system and the coincidence of the basic interests of the peoples of the socialist countries determine the leading historical tendency towards their drawing together and cohesion. At the same time the Congress spoke with Leninist directness and frankness about the difficulties of an objective and subjective order which arise in the course of the formation of the world socialist system and the ways for overcoming them. The anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet line of the present Chinese leaders represents a great danger to the cause of socialism. We resolutely reject this line and the slanderous fabrications about the policy of the CPSU spread from Peking. At the same time we have always wanted to do everything possible to promote the restoration and development of good-neighbourly relations and friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

We now see more clearly the basic laws of the development of the world socialist system which have taken shape and are actively displayed. But many questions still demand theoretical analysis and scientific generalization. A more thorough research into processes which are new in their historical essence—the processes of development of world socialism—is called for. In the first place it is highly important to prove, from the viewpoint of proletarian internationalism, the objectively natural character of the political and economic drawing together of the socialist countries, and the vital importance to every people of strengthening the cohesion of the world socialist system, which fully meets the national interests of

every socialist country. It is vitally important to elaborate the problems of socialist economic integration which, as demonstrated in the Comprehensive Programme of the CMEA countries, ensures all its participants the most efficient use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, swift expansion of production and the consolidation of socialism's position in the economic competition with capitalism.

The 24th Congress outlined an inspiring prospect for the rapid development of all facets of Soviet society through a fusion of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

Leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party is essential to the successful solution of all the problems of communist construction. Great attention is therefore being paid to furthering this leading role and to elaborating questions of party development. The CPSU decisively opposes the revisionist attempts to belittle the role of the party and the Leninist organizational principles. The consistent struggle of the CPSU for the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of the working class party is appreciated by the fraternal parties as being of great international importance.

The leading role of the party has been won in the course of the long and persistent struggle for the basic interests of the working people and rests on its high moral and political prestige among them. Today the unity of our Party and the Soviet people is stronger than ever before.

The entire course of social development shows that, as the tasks and scale of communist construction are extended, the leading role of the Com-

munist Party becomes even more important, and its political, organizational, ideological and theoretical activity increases.

Enhancement of the leading role of the Party at the present stage is a natural consequence of the internal and international tasks which are tremendous both from the point of view of their scale and exceptional complexity. It is a consequence of the greater political maturity and constructive activity of the people, of the extension of socialist democracy and the greater demands made on social administration. It is dictated by the need to improve the communist education of the working people and constantly to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the only theory capable of encompassing all sides of social life as a whole and indicating the true road for advance, avoiding mistakes and subjectivist decisions. It is the Communist Party which, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist generalization of the experience of communist construction, and the experience of the working people, charts the political line of all state and public organizations, guides them, unites them, stimulates in every way the constructive activity of the people and directs their efforts to a single goal—the victory of communism. It is concerned with revealing, to the greatest possible extent, the creative possibilities of all the links of our state, of the entire people, of every collective, and of every working man.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union embodies the unity of Soviet society. The growing role of the Party is linked with the necessity of considering more fully, and of combining, the needs of all classes and sections of society, the interests of the entire people, of all nations and

nationalities, and all generations of our society. The Party therefore spares no effort to improve the forms and methods of its activity, to develop the Leninist principles and rules of intra-Party life, strengthen the unity of its ranks, increase the efficiency and responsibility of all its organizations, and to deepen and consolidate its bonds with the people.

The main thing now is to mobilize all our forces and reserves for carrying out the magnificent plans outlined by the 24th Congress, and to utilize fully the abilities and knowledge, energies and talents of the Soviet people in the building of communism.

The new tremendous tasks facing us in the current five-year period demand that communists, especially those of us who are working in the social sciences, should raise substantially the level of theoretical activity and the creative elaboration of urgent problems of communist construction.

Problems connected with improving the planning and management of the national economy are still highly important. The main thing in this connection is to make our plans at all levels a real instrument of scientific and technological as well as socio-economic progress. They must contain scientifically based optimal solutions to fundamental problems of national economic development, and promote the advancement of the socialist economy along the most progressive paths so as to achieve the highest efficiency of production.

Long-range planning which goes beyond the bounds of five-year plans is particularly important and also the most intricate. We need plans for a

Consideration of Topical Problems of Communist Construction as Elaborated in the Decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress

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long-range perspective. It is impossible to march confidently towards communism unless we can see a long way ahead, and in particular see the highroads leading to it. The most diverse branches of science play a great part in long-term planning. To draw up a scientifically based long-term plan, we need scientific forecasting in the sphere of the economy and scientific and technological progress and also the co-ordination of this work on a nation-wide scale.

To improve the general level of planning and scientific forecasting we need to comprehensively study socialism's economic laws and the mechanism of their operation, and their application in the practice of planning and socialist management. It is a matter not only of formulating the laws but also of analyzing their operation and interaction which determine the real tendencies of society's economic development, and of studying their manifestation in specific conditions.

We need research which provides an analysis and generalization of new phenomena in their dynamics, and discloses the essence and tendencies of processes under way—research which furnishes a Party, class evaluation and scientifically based practical proposals and recommendations for economic policy. We need research which makes it possible to discover more efficiently the reserves available within our socialist system and to bring these reserves into action and further accelerate the entire process of social development.

Loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, and its consistent application, are essential to our further success in building communism.

The conclusions of the 24th CPSU Congress provide answers to the key questions of contemporary social development. They indicate the ways of solving the basic problems of communist construction, the directions of further elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory. The proceedings of the 24th CPSU Congress are evidence of the high ideological and theoretical level of the Leninist Party's activity, of its growing role in guiding communist construction.

One of the main sources of the strength of the communist movement is its most advanced social theory. As Lenin wrote, "Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true po-

sition of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism." (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 28.) Historical experience has shown Marxism-Leninism to be the only correct guide in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism.

The main stages of development of Marxism-Leninism are marked by profound social changes, the course taken by the class struggle and historical shifts in economic development. At the same time advancement of revolutionary theory and its impact on social development directly depend on the ability to assess social changes correctly on the basis of the laws of social development, to see the perspective and draw appropriate conclusions from the viewpoint of the interests of the working class, of the working masses.

The report of the CPSU Central Committee delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and the Congress documents are convincing proof of the ideological and theoretical might of the Leninist Party, of its ability to solve the main problems of communist construction in a scientific and creative manner.

The Congress pointed to the following main characteristics and objective demands of the current stage of communist construction:

In *economic development*, the need to take into account all objective economic laws, the employment of the new huge economic potentialities of advanced socialism for building up the material and technical base of communism, work to raise the efficiency of production through accelerating in every way scientific and technological progress, and improvement of the forms and methods of planning and economic management.

In the *socio-political* sphere, further improvement of social relations, the steady consolidation of the state and social system, the development of social democracy, the drawing together of the working classes and social groups, the strengthening of the fraternal friendship of nations and nationalities, and further demonstration of the fundamental advantages of socialism.

In the *intellectual* sphere, the ever-growing affirmation in social life of the principles of scientific communism, broad dissemination of Marxism-Leninism among the masses, steady promotion of education, the bringing of the latest developments in culture within reach of broad masses, and the creation of the best possible conditions for the all-round development of the Soviet man.

In other words, current development is inseparably linked with the shaping of the foundations of a higher stage of the new society. It essentially consists in the accelerated growth of the economic, socio-political and intellectual potential of Soviet society, the improvement of the entire system of social relations. This process is based on what has already been achieved by our society and introduces many new features.

The current stage of communist construction should also be seen in closer connection with the specific features of the international links of our country, first of all with the fraternal socialist countries, and with the development of the communist movement and the world revolutionary process.

Having summed up and profoundly analyzed the current stage of the country's social development, the 24th CPSU Congress offered scientifically based solutions to the key problems of the

Party's economic policy, of the socio-political and intellectual development of Soviet society.

1. THE 24th CONGRESS AND THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY

Marxism-Leninism considers the economic system the basis of social life. It was natural, therefore, that the 24th Congress focused its attention on questions relating to the elaboration of the Communist Party's economic policy.

Our Party has accumulated a wealth of experience in the scientific drafting of economic policy and its practical implementation in keeping with the specific features of the given stage of historical development. Lenin attached great importance to the elaboration of the economic part of the Party programme before the Revolution. After the Great October Socialist Revolution, working in conditions of a mixed economy, economic dislocation and capitalist encirclement, the Party succeeded in drawing up and implementing an economic policy which enabled the country to emerge victorious from an unbelievably difficult situation and ensured the triumph of socialism, the transformation of our country into a mighty industrial power, a harmoniously developed socialist society.

The key characteristic of the Party's present economic policy is a comprehensive approach to the solution of production, technical, economic and socio-political tasks.

The directives of the 24th Congress for the ninth five-year plan, apart from their economic value, have an immense socio-political significance,

since they set down the order and rate of communist transformations. They reflect the major qualitative changes in the country's economic development, which were theoretically substantiated in the report of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Leninist Party holds that new elements in its policy stem from the maturing of objective conditions and demands made by reality. At the same time the Party's correct policy accelerates social progress and gives wider scope for new and progressive developments. The impact of its decisions on the course of history has grown immensely.

Whereas our country's economy immediately after the socialist revolution was a mixed one and presented, in Lenin's words, a struggle of the first moves of communist collective labour with petty-commodity production and capitalism surviving on that basis, today our economy, completely socialist in character, is developing according to plan on the basis of state and collective farm and co-operative property.

Whereas at the outset our economy was in a state of dislocation, today we have a powerful, highly developed and diversified socialist production capable of solving the most difficult problems and exerting a growing influence on the socio-political processes in the world.

After the 23rd Congress, the Central Committee made a number of decisions which were carefully considered steps in the preparation and implementation of important changes in the development of industry, agriculture, science and technology. Pursuing the same policy the 24th CPSU Congress elaborated and thoroughly substantiated the Party's economic policy taking into account

the new potentialities of our economy, the scientific and technological revolution, international conditions and the prospects of communist construction. What are the main lines of the economic policy adopted by the 24th Party Congress?

On the basis of the specifics of the modern stage of communist construction and of its objective socio-economic demands, the 24th Congress laid down the main tasks of economic development in the five-year period and for the years to come and indicated the sources and reserves to be used in attaining these goals and the steps to be taken in improving economic management to ensure a rapid and steady growth of the efficiency of social production.

The Congress saw the principal task of the new five-year plan as being one of securing a major rise in the living standards and cultural level of the people. In the achievement of this task we create favourable conditions for the all-round development of the abilities and creative activity of Soviet people who are society's main productive force.

Marxism-Leninism provides a scientifically based answer to the question of the liberation of the working class, of the working masses, from exploitation, from all forms of national and social oppression, of doing away with private ownership and consequent social inequality. This task was accomplished in our country long ago. Marxism-Leninism also indicates the ways of attaining complete social equality as a result of building a communist society. One of the principal ways of solving this problem is through raising the standard of living and the cultural level of the people in keeping with the higher level of production

and labour productivity, with our objective potentialities.

Major steps have been included in the ninth five-year plan to achieve the best proportions in economic development, to bring closer together the rates of growth of Group "A" and Group "B" production divisions. Whereas Group "A" will preserve its leading role as a condition of the continued expansion of production, high rates of growth have been planned for branches of the national economy directly concerned with the satisfaction of the material requirements of the population. Manufactured consumer goods will show a 44-48 per cent increase, with the share of heavy industry in their production rising by 120 per cent; the average annual grain harvest will reach at least 195 million tons and the average annual meat output at least 14.3 million tons.

The social programme set out by the 24th Congress for the next five years provides for a 20-22 per cent increase in the wages and salaries of factory and office workers and a 30-35 per cent increase in the earnings of collective farmers. The list of the major economic and social measures to be carried out includes the raising of the minimum monthly wage or salary to 70 roubles; nearly 60 million people will improve their housing conditions, and the social consumption funds will grow by 40 per cent.

The Congress pointed to concrete ways of building the material and technical base of communism and stressed the significance of the structural and qualitative changes demanded by scientific and technological progress.

The ninth five-year plan will be a period of a radical technological re-equipment of the national

economy, of greater employment and improvement of modern industrial facilities in all of its branches.

Priority will be given to the development of industries which set the pace of scientific and technological progress. Measures to be taken include the launching of mass production of technical facilities for the building of automatic systems for controlling production processes in the metal-making, chemical and petrochemical, oil, gas and coal-extracting industries, and the achievement of a 100 per cent increase in the output of instruments and automation facilities, and a 160 per cent increase in the output of computers.

The new five-year plan emphasises the need to improve the structure of industrial production and ensure a more rapid growth of labour productivity, a higher technical level, greater economy and better quality of production, and a more efficient use of production capacities and other basic assets.

The Party has evolved a new approach to agricultural development that includes the provision of stable economic conditions for promoting agricultural production, taking into account the entire set of factors which determine agricultural development. On this basis, a realistic and comprehensive long-term programme has been drawn up.

The Congress elaborated a broad programme for the further industrialisation of agriculture, for the reinforcing of its material and technical base and its steady intensification through chemicalisation, all-out mechanisation of crop farming and livestock breeding and wide-scale land improvement. Huge sums have been allocated for these purposes. The programme of construction work

in rural areas has been greatly expanded following the appropriate decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. The whole programme is one that will, in fact, provide Soviet agriculture with a modern industrial base.

The 24th Congress has for the first time launched an extensive programme for the greater provision of everyday services that is of such dimensions that it will now develop as a major mechanized branch of the economy.

At all stages of socialist construction our economy has been marked by its planned development according to the laws of expanded production, high and steady growth rates and its emphasis on the satisfaction of the growing needs of the people and on strengthening the country's industrial and defensive potential. These are the basic features of our modern economy.

There have also appeared new features which are reflected in the economic policy laid down by the 24th CPSU Congress. Our economy is now developing in a more comprehensive and balanced manner than before. The new five-year plan provides for the construction not only of big individual enterprises but also mammoth industrial complexes incorporating dozens of projects of many industries. Examples are the vast petrochemical complex in Western Siberia, the highly promising industrial complex rising on the basis of the Kursk magnetic anomaly, the Sayany production complex, and the Bratsk and Ust-Ilim timber-industry complexes. New areas rich in natural resources of great economic and strategic value are being brought into action. Another important feature of the current economic policy is its em-

phasis on stepping up scientific and technological progress. Much greater demands are being made in the matter of quality and production efficiency. Mention should also be made of the large-scale state measures to conserve and improve the natural environment.

The historic significance of the 24th Party Congress is that it has opened up new prospects and indicated the main directions for solving the basic economic problems of communist construction in our country. "...We must rely mainly on enhancing the efficiency of production..." Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee. "In so doing, acceleration of scientific and technological progress forges into first place both from the point of view of the current tasks and that of the long-term perspective."

Prominent in the performance of this key task are numerous questions of economic and social development as well as the question of the economic, scientific and technological competition of the two world economic systems at the current period. A whole range of practical measures both on a national scale and at individual enterprises must be carried out if this task is to be accomplished successfully.

Scientific and technological progress opens up possibilities for radically changing the instruments of labour, for comprehensive automation which marks a revolution in production, bringing about a very substantial increase in labour productivity. In the current five-year period, nearly 90 per cent of the overall increase in industrial production is to come from higher labour productivity. Higher labour productivity, in turn, provides the possibility for a major rise in living standards and more

free time for workers. In this way new possibilities are created for solving social problems, for ensuring man's all-round development.

Scientific and technological progress imperatively demands that improved methods be devised in the fields of planning and production management. It also directly affects the content and forms of training personnel and calls for perfecting the system of collecting and processing information.

A task of utmost importance for the Party and all Soviet people is that of combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system of economy. This problem goes far beyond the confines of production activity; the accomplishments of science and technology must be closely linked with all spheres of life in forms characteristic of socialist society.

Our opponents allege that the problems of the scientific and technological revolution and its social consequences are outside the scope of Marxism-Leninism. But the truth is that Marxism-Leninism undeniably holds first place in analyzing the laws of development of productive forces, of science and technology. Marx was the first to substantiate theoretically the role of science in advancing labour productivity; he was the first to discover the laws whereby science becomes a direct productive force.

Lenin pointed to the ways of employing science, technology and scientific organization of labour as a powerful lever in the construction of a new society. It was not by accident that for the first time in history purposeful development of science and technology in complete unity with production on a national scale was accomplished in the

country of the triumphant proletarian revolution. The GOELRO plan was the first practical application of the theoretical principles of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the linking of scientific and technological progress with social progress.

Questions of scientific and technological progress have been subsequently elaborated in the course of the Party's practical and theoretical activity, in the CPSU Programme and the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress and plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and have found vivid expression in the documents of the 24th Congress.

Marxism-Leninism regards scientific and technological progress not as occurring in a "social vacuum" but in the context of interrelated and interacting social and scientific-technological factors. This is an important principle of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the problems of the current scientific and technological revolution. By linking together scientific-technological and social progress Marxism-Leninism orients society, both theoretically and in practical terms, to a form of scientific and technological development that will speed up communist construction.

The Marxist-Leninist method of studying the processes of the scientific and technological revolution is opposed to bourgeois and revisionist concepts on this matter.

Numerous bourgeois theorists, such as Herman Kahn, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, Zbigniew Brzezinski and others claim that the future is with capitalism which makes use of modern science and engineering to build up its power and step up its expansion. Hence the theory about the inevitable global hegemony and international

leadership of the USA, Japan and capitalist Europe in the modern world. This is nothing but an attempt at ideological justification of neo-colonialism and the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, an attempt to distort the perspective of historical progress.

In their efforts to justify the new drive for spheres of influence in the capitalist world, bourgeois ideologists and politicians are insistently pushing forward the doctrine of "superpowers," of a "multi-polar world."

Monopoly capital, in utilizing the achievements of scientific and technological progress, resorts to any means, from direct aggression and reactionary conspiracies to neo-colonial enslavement, in order to obtain more raw materials, in fact, to rob nations. It is essential to expose the true, profoundly reactionary political meaning of theories designed to present the expansionist tendencies of the monopolies as a natural sequel of the demands of scientific and technological progress in general.

For a long time bourgeois theorists and politicians have been playing up the idea of the West's unity in its struggle against communism, while scientific and technological progress was presented as one dimension of that global struggle. The facts testify, however, that in conditions of capitalism scientific and technological progress is inevitably associated with acute economic and political conflict, with the aggravation of both internal and external imperialist contradictions. One evidence of this is the new flare-up of the currency crisis, the consequences of which are making themselves felt now and are likely to worsen in the future. It may be said that the crisis ten-

dencies of capitalism have become much more pronounced both in the economic and political spheres. The general crisis of capitalism is deepening.

The development of capitalist production is stimulated in the final count by the desire to secure the maximum profit. This main impetus of capitalist production is responsible for the fact that scientific and technological progress has brought in its wake exhaustion of natural resources and pollution of the environment, social problems in the cities, mounting unemployment, further human exploitation, and man's physical and nervous breakdown. Unscrupulous use is made of the latest technological facilities to manipulate public opinion for the mass indoctrination of the population and for inculcating a pseudoculture to suit the anti-human interests of the reactionary circles.

In the modern conditions special attention must be given to fighting revisionist and subjectivist views and concepts concerning the development of the socialist economy.

For example, it has been recommended that competition be allowed between enterprises in socialist conditions. Competition is not an isolated phenomenon; it comes into being and operates within a system of definite social relations. Its essential prerequisites are rejection of centralized planning and management and division of the means of production into group and private property, and its sequel is unemployment, inflation, soaring prices and irrational spending of resources. The idea of combining different aspects of different socio-economic systems was advocated more than a century ago by Proudhon and was

criticized as scientifically untenable by Marx and Engels. The founders of scientific communism saw through the reactionary, petty-bourgeois utopian character of the idea, and nothing in the world has since happened to disprove their conclusion. On the contrary, history has vindicated Marx and Engels.

We all remember the writings of the Czechoslovak revisionist Ota Šik and others like him. The road they wanted the socialist economy to follow was one that did away with centralized planned guidance and restored the spontaneous mechanism of market relations.

The Maoist theorists proclaim politics the commanding force and ignore objective economic laws. In setting forth their great-power goals they disregard the real possibilities, ignore the needs and demands of the working masses and the objective requirements of planned and proportionate economic development. This leads to subjectivism and voluntarism with resultant surges and slumps and the rejection of scientific planning and economic management.

These deviations, seemingly opposed to one another, agree in the main—in their disregard of objective laws, the cardinal principles and conditions of scientific planning and development of the socialist economy, and in their rejection of the need for agreement between the ultimate socio-political aims of the new society and the practical steps towards their attainment.

In conditions of socialism, of the socialist community of states, scientific and technological progress provides objective prerequisites for solving social problems, for accelerating socialist and communist construction, for stepping up socialist

economic integration and utilizing the advantages of an international division of labour.

Experience has shown that the socialist system possesses indisputable advantages over capitalism in the matter of purposeful and rapid development of science and technology. It makes possible the channelling of resources in the required direction and planned implementation on a nation-wide scale of measures to speed up scientific and technological progress and employ its results in the interests of communist construction.

Some bourgeois sociologists and revisionists claim that the socialist economic system runs counter to the demands of scientific and technological progress.

We do not deny that certain highly advanced capitalist countries are still ahead of the Soviet Union in some sectors of scientific and technological development, but this does not prove the superiority of the capitalist system.

The fact is that the socialist revolution first triumphed in a country that was not the most advanced economically. Besides that, the imperialist forces used a variety of means to hamper its development. The fascist invasion was particularly damaging.

By the close of the war the industrial levels of the USSR and the USA were far from equal. The economy of the United States had not experienced the crippling consequences of the war; on the contrary, it had profited from it, accumulated immense material resources which were subsequently used as a stimulant to give a fillip to capitalism both inside the country and abroad.

After the war bourgeois propagandists had a

guessing game as to how many decades the Soviet Union would need to reach its pre-war level of production, but none of their forecasts were correct. Today the Soviet Union's industrial output is twelve times as large as it was before the war. Whereas in 1950 our industrial output was less than 30 per cent of that in the United States, in 1970 it exceeded 75 per cent. The gap is being steadily narrowed, and the fulfilment of the new five-year plan will mark another big stride forward. In 1975 our country will produce over 1,000,000,000,000 kwh of electricity, nearly 500 million tons of oil and some 150 million tons of steel. The overall volume of industrial production by the end of the five-year period will exceed the present level of the United States.

The 24th CPSU Congress stressed that the advancement of economic science assumes ever growing significance in our time.

Going back to the none-too-distant past we can say with confidence that the discussion of economic matters in the press and in scientific institutions before the economic reform was launched, despite certain shortcomings, had given a new impetus to the development of economic theory. The discussion concentrated on the need to enhance the role of economic levers in stepping up production. In recent years our managing personnel have been paying much more attention to cost accounting, and their knowledge of economics has improved. The subsequent discussion and elaboration of economic problems at research institutions, in scientific papers and in the press have also been very useful for improving the mechanism of economic management. This creative activity deserves every support, and research person-

nel should be encouraged to give more attention to topical economic tasks.

Economic science now faces new, complex tasks.

Special attention should be given to finding the most effective forms and methods of applying objective economic laws in practical economic planning and to improving long-range planning.

In modern conditions the national economic plan should be a powerful instrument of scientific and technological progress, it should be based on a comprehensive programme of the development of technology and production methods. At the same time the task of raising the scientific level of planning and improving planning methods is assuming tremendous importance. It is necessary, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed, to broaden the horizons of economic planning, to analyze and appraise different variants of solutions of economic problems, to co-ordinate five-year and long-term plans which take into account the growing needs of the national economy and population growth forecasts.

The tasks of centralized planned guidance have grown in scope and complexity. Comprehensive planning requires co-ordinated efforts of economic sectors and areas, better planning techniques and elaboration of long-term intersectoral programmes. The broader use of the advantages of the international division of labour also makes new demands of economic planning.

The Congress pointed to the necessity of steadily expanding and improving the system of training and retraining executive personnel, primarily in Marxist-Leninist economic theory, the theory and practice of management, scientific organiza-

tion of labour, new forms of planning and economic incentives and the employment of econometric methods and modern computer facilities. All this requires proper, scientifically-based training.

We must train personnel capable of constantly perfecting economic planning and management in keeping with modern requirements and our socialist conditions, improving scientific organization of labour, promoting research both at specialized institutions and in industry and developing adequate facilities for experimental work at industrial enterprises. We must ensure a steady and uninterrupted influx of scientific workers into industry and agriculture. The task in effect consists in gradually evolving a single research-production system to guarantee prompt and extensive application of new scientific and technological discoveries. The Congress proceeded from the fact that science becomes increasingly capable of directing the development of production, reliably indicating the way to practice, forecasting and blazing new trails of technological and social progress.

The Party highly values the talented executives who have come to the fore in the course of socialist construction. It also holds the view that the rapid development of science and technology and the growing complexity of production oblige managing personnel constantly to improve their knowledge and skill.

The vastly increased scope of the national economy and the qualitative changes conforming to the level of development of the science of management and of computer techniques, provide opportunities for a more comprehensive and flexib-

le combination of centralized guidance with local initiative and the use of such economic aids as cost accounting, price, profit, credit, material incentives, etc. The Party has adopted the course of setting up large associations and research-production complexes where research institutions will be directly linked with factories. Practical experience is clearly not sufficient in our day, and the task is to master the modern *science* of management.

An Institute of Economic Management has been established for retraining top-level executives. Another important task is to raise the general level of knowledge about economic matters. This is the purpose of the CPSU Central Committee's decision "On the Improvement of the Economic Education of the Working People."

The Central Committee points to the need of improving the work of schools of communist labour, which operate at industrial enterprises, construction projects, in transport, collective and state farms and in the service sphere. The schools, which have an enrolment in excess of 80,000, have been started on the initiative of the people and provide an effective combination of ideological and political education with economic and production training.

Important as these steps are in principle, they only mark the beginning of a profound study and mastery of the management of modern production and social life.

When we say that science is exerting a constantly growing influence on production this also means that greater demands are being made of science itself. Science has played an immense role in the setting up of new industries, it has added to planning techniques by developing methods of

econometric modelling and systems analysis and by preparing the establishment of a nation-wide system of collecting and processing information. However, the task of science as a direct productive force of modern society is to perform important social functions on which depends the solution of cardinal problems of national and state importance.

Scientific progress has always been a major factor of the economic, social and cultural advancement of our society. The study of science itself, of its optimal organization becomes increasingly important in our time.

We are facing complex problems which call for the concerted efforts of many scientists in cooperation with workers engaged in practical production.

We should employ an entire range of measures ensuring the fulfilment of the economic programme laid down by the 24th Party Congress.

2. THE 24th CPSU CONGRESS ON THE BASIC TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The 24th Party Congress has worked out a broad programme of social measures which will mark a step forward in the construction of a classless, communist society.

One of the features of our social development stressed by the Congress is the gradual formation, already at this stage, of a homogeneous, classless society. The tendencies towards social homogeneity are gaining prominence; at the same

time the Party is taking into account the existing class and social distinctions.

The 24th Congress made a comprehensive analysis of the historical role of the working class in modern conditions, and it clearly defined the socio-political aspect of the current stage of communist construction. In recent years revisionist literature has come out with an assortment of petty-bourgeois notions, advancing the concept of a "new elite" and denying the leading role of the working class. The Congress confirmed the immutability of the Marxist-Leninist principles in this basic matter. The position and influence of the working class become immeasurably stronger in the period of full-scale communist construction. The working class emerges as the main creative force of the material and technical base of communism and it plays the leading political role by right.

The process is under way at the same time of agricultural labour taking on the characteristics of industrial labour, and the living standards and cultural level of the village are rising. This further strengthens the alliance of the working class and collective farmers. Communist construction is steadily strengthening the moral and political unity of the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia.

The growing ties between science and production, the industrialization of agriculture, the rising cultural level of the people and their increasing political consciousness—all add to greater exchange of activity between various social groups of our society and promote their initiative in tackling the problems of communist construction. All these phenomena should be studied by sociology

in order to be able to ascertain the objective requirements of society and to find the most effective forms of comradely co-operation of all social groups for the sake of our common cause.

In conditions of socialism the nations and nationalities of our country have attained a high level of economic, socio-political and cultural development. The Leninist Party is paying careful attention to the development of relations between the nations of our country, taking into account their specific national features and analyzing the ways of their further development and gradual drawing closer together.

In modern conditions the economic, political and cultural links between the peoples of our country have become an integral part of a single social organism. The Leninist national policy has played a decisive role in the creation of a new historical entity, the Soviet people. Further drawing closer together of the nations and nationalities of our country is objectively determined by the real trends of the economic, ideological and cultural life, by the entire course of communist construction.

We are far from over-simplifying the processes involved in the drawing of nations closer together in conditions of a multi-national socialist state. Deviations from the Leninist principles relating to the national question or a one-sided approach lead either to great-power or autarchic trends.

Marxist-Leninist sociology and its historical treatment of phenomena help avoid unwarranted haste or procrastination in deciding questions of relations among nations. All practical steps which concern national traditions and specific features

should be well understood by the people concerned and follow naturally from the actual circumstances of their life.

In considering questions of national policy the Congress proceeded from an analysis of the economic, socio-political and cultural results of the half-century fraternal co-operation of the socialist nations in building a new society, taking proper account of the degree of equalization of their levels of development, of the new phenomena arising in the course of joint economic and socio-political activity on a country-wide scale, and of the unity of their ideology which is Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Leninist Party has accumulated a wealth of experience on the national question. On the basis of the principles of the Leninist national policy we were able to solve the difficult problem of equalizing the levels of economic development of the Soviet republics. In Soviet years forms of statehood have been evolved which ensure genuine equality of all nations and nationalities of the country. The culture of the Soviet peoples, national in form and socialist in content, has attained unprecedented heights.

We may thus point to qualitatively new features of the relations between the nations of our country, in the first place, the close community of the economic activity of all our republics, nations and nationalities, the unity of the social structure and principles of state government of all Soviet peoples, and what is the most important, the identity of the tasks and aims of communist construction, the fact that Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian socialist internationalism have become a guide to action

for all nations and nationalities in the Land of Soviets.

It is clear that the entire practical activity and ideological education of the Soviet people should correspond to the level of development of these relations between the nations of our country.

It is essential to continue educating all Soviet people in the spirit of international unity.

The Congress resolved that the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR would be celebrated as a national holiday. Active preparation for the occasion should begin now. We must step up our educational work emphasizing the socialist principles of relations between the nations and nationalities of our country.

In the course of our advancement we are building a society where the best traditions and cultural attainments of all our peoples are developed and integrated, becoming common property and a heritage for the entire Soviet people.

Though the numerous attempts of our enemies to undermine the friendship of the nations of the USSR and the socialist community have failed, they have not given up.

This urges us to step up the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism under the banner of which concepts advocated by our enemies act, and to consistently fight all manifestations of national parochialism and conceit, to strive to make proletarian, socialist internationalism something that is a characteristic of every Soviet man.

In today's conditions the development of our society is characterized by large-scale measures. These include, along with the raising of living standards, the improvement of education and further provision of medical services, social security

benefits and recreational amenities, in short, the whole range of measures designed to ensure a full life for Soviet man.

Communist construction poses important problems whose practical solution requires thorough scientific analysis. Scientific and technological progress objectively demands the professional retraining of large numbers of working people, it calls for new forms of education and training.

To solve these problems requires a realistic approach, a comprehensive analysis of possible solutions.

Serious attention should be given to the comprehensive study of the development and planning of towns, villages and socio-economic areas and to the rational organization of free time in order to promote man's fullest development and thus make his work and social activity more fruitful. These are matters of immediate concern as well as of long-term perspective.

Soviet towns continue to grow rapidly. Before the Revolution the urban population accounted for only 18 per cent of the total, while today more than half of the country's population live in towns. Profound qualitative changes are taking place in the life of townfolk and in their requirements. A scientific approach to these processes will allow proper account to be taken of them in modern town building. Only with the help of science, by means of which we can tell in advance the consequences of major decisions and determine prospective social requirements, will we be able to build so that our effort brings maximum results, and gives joy both to the present and future generations.

The problems of rural development must not

be ignored by our political theory and sociology. It would be wrong to assume that we may postpone major transformations in the everyday life of the rural population. In fact the process is under way and requires to be accelerated. Equalization of the levels of industrialization of production, and of the satisfaction of the material and intellectual requirements of town dwellers and country people, has become an urgent demand of our time.

Further development and all-round improvement of socialist democracy was another central issue at the Party Congress.

The advancement of socialist democracy is determined by the entire economic, political and cultural development of our society. Socialist democracy has principles and traditions of its own, and we cannot accept the recipes for "improving" democracy which bourgeois ideologists and revisionists press upon us.

In the post-war years they have launched a series of massive attacks upon the principles of socialist democracy. Speculation still continues over the problems related to the personality cult and subjectivism. Bitter attacks are made upon the dictatorship of the proletariat. The political and ideological essence of these attacks is the attempt by bourgeois ideologists to prove that socialism and democracy are incompatible and that it is the communist party, in the exercise of its guiding role, that is the obstacle in the way of democratic development in socialist society.

Bourgeois ideologists claim that democracy is an autarchic, abstract entity independent of either economic or class structure of society. They persistently advance the concept of the so-called

"pluralist" society as the basis of any democracy.

The propaganda of "pluralism" contradicts the very foundations of socialism. The conglomeration of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and various political groups reflects the social essence of capitalist society.

The communist parties in capitalist countries must take into account the specific features of the different stages of struggle and of the different democratic forces in their work for the unification of these forces. The triumph of the socialist revolution creates objective conditions for the harmonious combination of the interests of the working classes and other social groups, creates the basis for a strong political unity of the democratic and socialist forces.

Now and again we hear calls from the opportunists for "broadening the framework" of socialist democracy, for "complete freedom," including the freedom to disseminate ideas hostile to socialism and Marxism-Leninism. We are advised to follow this path on the grounds that it will demonstrate socialism's democratism and add to its attractiveness. It is easy to see that this policy has nothing in common either with the real freedom of the working people or real democracy.

Real freedom for the working people is affirmed in the course of bitter struggle with the exploiters and the bourgeois ideology, in the course of all-round perfection of social relations under socialism, all of which becomes possible only under the guidance of a Communist Party, the vanguard of the people.

Socialist democratism possesses profound so-

cial content, it is inseparably linked with elaborating a nation-wide programme of practical action aimed at meeting the basic interests of the working people, at building a new society.

The Communist Party expresses the interests of the working class most consistently and fully, in a scientific and purposeful manner; it is the vanguard force which ensures the adoption of a truly popular policy in all spheres of social life. This role cannot be fulfilled by any party, it requires that a party be a true vanguard of the working class, guided by the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

The 24th Congress stressed the importance of the qualitative composition of the Party, of replenishing the Party ranks with the best representatives of the working class, collective farmers and intellectuals, of observing the Leninist norms of Party life and of further intensifying the Party's theoretical activity.

We believe that the true criterion of a society's democratism is not the existence of two or more parties but the ability of the given socio-political system to express and realize the basic interests of the working masses, the majority of the people.

Socialist democracy in our country has developed mature forms and a mechanism of its own, whose development is determined by deep-going processes in the course of the consolidation of the new society.

We must point here to the utter fallacy of the artificial opposition of elective bodies of power to the state apparatus. This is the source of all kinds of leftist theories of the Trotskyist variety about so-called "bureaucratic degeneration," theo-

ries which become almost indistinguishable from those of right opportunism and anti-communism. In conditions of socialism the state apparatus is an instrument of the elective bodies of Soviet power, and it has no interests opposed to these of the peoples.

Throughout Soviet history our Party has persistently fought bureaucracy. We all know how firm Lenin was in this respect.

Relapses into bureaucracy usually occur in the absence of advanced ideas and actions, of a businesslike atmosphere. Bureaucracy manifests itself in the neglect of the needs of the working people, in conservatism, redundant links in the administrative apparatus, etc. It must be fought, as was stressed by the Congress, by constantly improving the efficiency and compactness of the administrative apparatus and strengthening control over its operation.

Our opponents use the pretext of fighting bureaucracy to attack the principles of democratic centralism.

Our experience has fully confirmed Lenin's thesis on the possibility and objective necessity of practicing the most consistent democratic centralism.

Democratic centralism enables the combination of nation-wide planning and guidance with local initiative and creative activity, broad participation of the working people in the affairs of state and elaboration of Party policy, and the growing harmony of individual and public interests.

The theorists who propose fighting bureaucracy by doing away with centralism are in fact advocating the destruction of the efficiently running mechanism of socialist administration.

The technique of socialist democracy is being constantly improved. Recent years have seen a number of radical measures aimed at enhancing the role of the local Soviets and making the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics more efficient. Matters of state importance are regularly made the subject of nation-wide discussion. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the need for a legal definition of the status of a Soviet deputy.

The true democratism of our society is borne out by the fact that the policy of the Soviet state is determined by representatives of the working people in elective bodies, with the population taking an active part in discussing major plans and decisions. More work is being done by production conferences and workers' and collective farmers' meetings. The new statute of the factory and office trade union committee provides still greater opportunities for the participation of workers in running production enterprises and institutions. Of major significance for advancing collective-farm democracy were the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, the adoption of the new Model Rules of the Collective Farm and the election of the USSR Council of Collective Farms and collective-farm councils in districts, regions, territories and republics. These are processes for the real advancement of socialist democracy, which further strengthen and develop the socialist system.

In deciding the questions of the further development of socialist democracy and strengthening of the Soviet state, the 24th Party Congress viewed these processes as a single but multi-faceted pro-

cess by means of which more flexible and effective forms of social administration are evolved.

3. THE 24th CPSU CONGRESS ON THE TASKS OF MOULDING A COMMUNIST OUTLOOK

The 24th Congress gave special attention to the question of moulding a communist outlook in the Soviet man. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee stressed that "A great project—the building of communism—cannot be advanced without the harmonious development of man himself. Communism is inconceivable without a high level of culture, education, sense of civic duty and inner maturity of people just as it is inconceivable without the appropriate material and technical basis."

Communist construction is not a superficial but a deep-going process which involves everyone, and the level of public consciousness and intellectual development has an immense impact on social practice.

We have furnished the conditions for the Marxist-Leninist education of the multi-million army of communists and made a major step in this direction. The Party is now working to make the Marxist-Leninist ideas a firm and ever-strengthening foundation of the world outlook of all Soviet people.

The Congress emphasized that the moulding of a Marxist-Leninist outlook in the working people, of the highest ideological and political qualities, and of communist ethical standards is the main task in the ideological work of the Party organizations.

This task has come about naturally as a result

of the profound changes that have taken place in the consciousness of the Soviet people since the October Revolution. Under the Party's guidance not only has a social system based on private property been done away with in our country but the ideology and mentality of the people has been changed. Today Soviet people are confident of the historical justice of the cause of socialism and communism.

We have a wealth of experience of ideological and educational work among the people, a large army of activists in this field; the Party has at its disposal the wide coverage of the press, radio and television. An extensive organization to provide Marxist-Leninist education covers the multi-millions army of communists, non-Party people and the youth. Secondary and higher education is based on a constantly growing understanding of the Marxist-Leninist ideas. The Soviet man has grown intellectually. All this makes possible the tackling of more complex and profound ideological tasks.

The Central Committee is orienting Party organizations, government, research and ideological institutions to the implementation of carefully considered measures for the long-term ideological education of the working people.

Of major importance is the development of effective forms of education and training in order to make the Marxist-Leninist outlook and the ideas of the Party Congress a guide of the Soviet man's entire life and work. We must strive to make sure that a person has mastered the principles of Marxism-Leninism and is capable of applying them in daily life.

In view of the present level of culture and edu-

cation of the Soviet people and of the new tasks arising as a result of the growing rate of scientific and technological progress, purposeful steps must be taken to prepare the general public for taking an active part in solving the new tasks of communist construction. All the measures of the Party and the government to raise the level of education, culture and qualification of the working people should be viewed in this light. Nearly 80 million people study in our country now. The Congress laid down the tasks of completing the transfer to universal secondary education and of training some nine million specialists with a higher or secondary education and at least nine million skilled workers through vocational schools.

Today new demands are being made of both a person's qualification and education, and his moral qualities. To meet these demands is a complex task whose significance can hardly be measured in any quantitative terms.

In conditions of society's growing wealth and rising living standards, inadequate ideological and educational work may result in ethical and ideological deficiencies and at times even result in a revival of self-seeking attitudes and narrow philistinism. Our opponents are tirelessly pushing forward the concept of the "consumer society" in the hope of sowing vulgar philistine notions and causing the ideological erosion of socialism. They present indolence as the ideal of human existence, reducing man to the level of a thoughtless, asocial being.

Neither can we accept the thesis that moral purity and communist ethics are preserved only in conditions of universal poverty.

We are well aware that man's consciousness is shaped not only by ideological education but also by his living and working conditions, his social being. Therefore the Party, in implementing its policy, purposefully creates material and intellectual conditions conducive to evolving a new conscience, new mentality.

The Congress stressed the need for vigorously fighting the negative phenomena in our society and enlisting all conscientious members of society to take part in this struggle. It called for raising the role of workers' collectives in the complex process of educating the working people, in stimulating their political and creative activity.

The workers' collective is a major link of our society where every man comes to know the principles of socialism and communism from his own experience.

Workers' collectives are playing an increasingly important role as moulders of personality, and in the matter of improving qualifications, organizing recreation and physical training and satisfying the people's vital needs. The workers' collectives cultivate a responsible attitude to work and socialist property. They are an important factor in the shaping of public opinion in socialist conditions.

The centre of a workers' collective, its very heart, is the Party organization which is called upon to set into motion all the factors conducive to ensuring a conscientious attitude to labour on the part of the working people, and their political maturity. Inculcating a sense of responsibility and an exacting attitude to oneself and one's workmates consolidates responsibility for the

affairs of the collective and society as a whole.

Feelings of patriotism, devotion to the socialist homeland are inseparable from respect of and pride in one's working team, factory, construction site or collective farm. It is unfortunate that this aspect of ideological education is at times neglected, resulting in undesirable phenomena such as excessive turnover of staff, lack of proper concern for the prestige of the factory trade mark, etc.

Proper organization of the movement for socialist emulation is an important factor in educating and stimulating the creative initiative of the working people. Today more than 70 million factory and office workers are engaged in this movement. The decision of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improving the Organization of Socialist Emulation" stresses that the emulation movement has been and remains a powerful means of stimulating creative initiative, of promoting socialist collectivism.

The socialist emulation movement is a striking illustration of the merging of a man's personal and social interests. By his participation in the emulation movement a person realizes the profound social meaning of his labour.

The Party Central Committee has accordingly drawn the attention of our scientists to the need for a more profound theoretical elaboration of the problems associated with the aims of socialist emulation and the movement for a communist attitude to work. It is necessary to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the ways of improving and developing emulation, of promoting a communist attitude to work, of finding effective me-

thods of bringing out the creative initiative of the masses.

Many valuable initiatives of profound social significance have been displayed following the 24th Congress. A case in point is the initiative of the Ivanovo textile workers, approved by the CPSU Central Committee to work out pledge-plans for the five-year period. The advantage of this proposal is that workers' collectives themselves will draft optimum production plans for their enterprises, thus enabling the national economic development plan to take full stock of the available reserves. This results in an organic combination of national economic planning with the creative initiative of the masses.

The socio-economic emancipation of man, and scientific and technological progress in socialist conditions create new opportunities for raising the level of culture, for promoting the artistic activity of the people.

The world public, all progressive forces, are increasingly appreciating the benefit of socialist culture and art. People turn to Soviet authors for answers to the most urgent philosophical, social, ethical and aesthetic questions of our time. This is natural, for socialism creates the best opportunities for talent to express itself, for a variety and wealth of forms and styles evolved on the basis of socialist realism.

At the same time artistic activity under socialism serves the people, it is an important means of moulding communist consciousness. That is why the Party and the people set great demands before Soviet cultural workers who are called upon to create in their art a vivid picture of our great history, of the basically new features of

Soviet society and to reflect the new tasks that are facing us. It is very important now to draw correct conclusions from the criticism levelled in the CPSU Central Committee report at those writers who attempted to appraise our social life from erroneous positions and failed to understand the Party's view of the personality cult and subjectivism. The Congress specifically urged the rejection of all attempts to evaluate the historic path traversed by the Soviet people from non-Party, non-class positions, to belittle the significance of their socialist gains. The Congress exposed the fallacy of dogmatic views that ignore the major positive changes that have taken place in our society in the last few years.

The mistakes made by certain individuals working in the cultural field are partly due to serious shortcomings in our theoretical work. The recent congresses of film workers and writers clearly demonstrated the growing cohesion of Soviet artists and intellectuals round the Party and pointed to the urgent need for profound theoretical generalization of the processes under way in our literature and in the arts, for a scientific analysis of their perspectives and their new tasks in modern conditions.

The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress pose before our workers in science and culture the task of elaborating a scientific concept of the present-day world cultural and artistic process in all its complexity, and the prospects of its development. Fundamental research on key problems must be given priority.

Further research is required into the ways of promoting the dissemination of scientific knowledge and of raising the general cultural level. The

further provision of people's universities of culture, more attention to aesthetic and artistic education, the establishment of palaces of culture on a wider scale, the increasing influence of cinema, literature and art on mass consciousness, improvement of library facilities and of physical training—all these important practical questions should also be subjected to comprehensive theoretical analysis.

Now as never before we must be demanding of the content and forms of our ideological work. We should constantly improve and develop our education in the glorious revolutionary, combat and labour traditions of the working class, in the traditions of our Party. These traditions and the immense experience of the Leninist Party make up a mighty ideological potential, they help better to understand the laws of the class struggle and to find correct solutions to creative problems, and foster profound conviction in the historical justice and invincibility of the communist cause.

Raising the effectiveness of all our ideological work is facilitated by the growth of the educational and cultural level of the working people who are well informed about international as well as domestic affairs. There is greater opportunity for ideological work to be conducted more actively, on a wider scale, and on a higher level. This makes our educational tasks both easier and more difficult: easier because we have to deal with a sensitive and receptive audience and more difficult because there are much greater demands in respect of the content, forms and methods of work with the people, greater demands on those engaged in ideological work at all levels.

Experience has shown the modern Soviet lis-

tener and reader to be responsive to a live, clearly expressed message, interested in discussing with an ideological worker questions that might help verify his own observations, interested in receiving answers to these questions and in sharing his views. Increasingly popular now are forms of ideological education in which there is active participation in the discussion of topical problems and which teach one to think.

In developing and improving the forms of mass education we should give more attention to dates and events which mark important stages in the formation of the Soviet man as a citizen of a socialist society and builder of communism. The coming of age, the completion of formal education and beginning of one's working life, marriage, and achievements in work and creative pursuits must become social occasions. We must carefully study experience in this field, selecting what is best with a view to increasing the educational impact of socialist traditions.

The technical potentialities and the ideological influence of the mass media have been growing rapidly in recent years. Adequate facilities help us to carry out important ideological and political acts on a wide scale.

The Central Committee has taken a number of major measures to improve the work of the press in general, radio and television and the Novosti Press Agency. The CPSU Central Committee specifically points to the need to make our ideological material more effective, to make its content and form correspond to the present-day conditions of the acute ideological struggle. Our ideological enemies are steadily building up the capacities of their press, radio and television in an effort to

give them global proportions, to step up their ideological and psychological pressure on other countries, the socialist countries in the first place. It is our duty to intensify our ideological offensive, persistently, day after day, to bring to the nations of all continents the immortal revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the triumphant communist ideas, tirelessly to broadcast the achievements of socialism and communism.

The forming of a scientific, Marxist-Leninist outlook in the masses calls for continuous effort in the field of theory, broad generalization of new social phenomena and scientific accomplishments. Any slackening of effort in this field is immediately taken advantage of by our enemies to introduce alien ideas.

All kinds of subjectivist schemes, and dogmatism and revisionism are given a chance to make their appearance every time our theoretical work fails to give a timely answer to new questions.

Broader propagation of scientific and technological knowledge is of great importance today and the nation-wide "Znaniye" Society is faced with considerable tasks in this respect. Science and technology have entered into people's work and everyday life, they necessitate new views and customs. Soviet people have an immense thirst for scientific knowledge and interest in the latest discoveries. The wide dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge is an important means of adding to the ranks of innovators and inventors, which is particularly important in conditions of the continuing scientific and technological revolution. But this is not all. The task is to combine the natural interest of people in science and tech-

nology with a system of educational work in order to foster a scientific, dialectical materialist world outlook.

The advancement to communism ensures, as Marx said, "together with the greatest expansion of the productive powers of social labour, the most complete development of man." (Marx and Engels, *Sel. Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 313.) To establish the laws of the formation of a harmonious personality in the context of scientific and technological progress, and with proper regard to social and ideological factors should be the aim of the theoretical work of our sociologists. Its attainment will better enable us to tackle the problems of social development, to elaborate practical measures for providing a communist education, to foster in Soviet people a Marxist-Leninist outlook, communist social psychology, high ideological and political qualities, communist morality and a new, communist attitude to labour.

In the 20th century the problem of man is the subject of numerous social and philosophical theories. The reactionary forces have attempted to distort the scientific facts and knowledge about man, disseminating master-race doctrines in order to justify the enslavement of peoples by the imperialists. These doctrines are associated with the genocide practiced by fascism. Attempts are still being made to revive racialist and reactionary ideas whose danger should not be underestimated.

We are all aware of the efforts of revisionism to theorise about the problems of man in such a way as to rob Marxism of its revolutionary class essence.

To fight our ideological adversaries requires profound, truly scientific investigation into the problems of man.

We reject the idea of the inborn evil and immutability of human nature, allegedly based on modern genetics. And we reject the fables to the effect that one has only to memorize a set of quotations to be able to move mountains and attain a state of moral perfection. We hold that changing man's social being is the basis for changing his consciousness. This does not mean that we underestimate the power of political education or the laws of genetics. In today's conditions we must have a comprehensive scientific approach to the solution of the problems of human development. We must bring closer together our investigations in philosophy, sociology, ethics, aesthetics, law, education and natural science and never forget that in his life and activity man's social condition has always been the dominant factor in his development.

We should be guided by the Marxist thesis that the essence of man in its reality is a sum total of social relations. This thesis remains true today and it should be used as the basic principle in the study of man.

Modern social processes are marked by extreme complexity and the intertwining and confrontation of tendencies. Scientific Marxist-Leninist dialectics is the only correct method of analysis, of unravelling the key social tendencies of our time.

For Marxism-Leninism the dialectical materialist approach is the basis of all economic, social and philosophical research. It militates against one-sidedness, dogmatism and over-simplification and is the antipode of eclecticism and sophistry;

it helps to reveal the dynamics of phenomena in all their complexity and contradiction.

The safeguarding of materialist dialectics from distortions and the numerous attacks made upon it remains a major task of Marxist philosophers. The opportunists from the Second International resorted to a distortion of dialectics to cover up their defection. Today revisionists seek to falsify dialectics in order to support various kinds of political speculations.

Our sociologists must tirelessly oppose falsifications of dialectics and make greater use of the dialectical method in analyzing the whole range of the problems of communist construction, of the international revolutionary process and the modern forms of class struggle.

Our opponents have every reason to fear, as they do, the profoundly scientific, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology.

We can also well understand their fear of the scale on which the Leninist Party is carrying out its positive, ideological educational work, for this is an unprecedented process, the formation of a world outlook of a multi-million people on the basis of the most advanced scientific principles. Uncompromising struggle against all forms of intellectual obscurantism, however refined they may be, is important for the final victory over all forms of exploitation and oppression, for the complete triumph of the communist ideology.

Never before have we seen such a deluge of books, articles, films and radio programmes in which bourgeois theorists and propagandists seek to "explain" the trends of development of the economic, political and intellectual life in socialist countries. The purpose of this flood of propa-

ganda is to undermine the foundations of socialism, split the unity of our society. Yet all attempts of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists to sow the seeds of discord among the classes of Soviet society—the working class, peasantry and the intelligentsia—and between generations, and the nations and nationalities of our country, have failed. The enemies of communism have been unable to entice our intellectuals and youth away from the communist ideals or to besmirch the cause of socialism despite all their efforts and tortuous propaganda.

Our adversaries cannot be expected to slacken their fight against socialism or the communist ideology. Objective historical processes supply fresh evidence of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the development of capitalism at its monopoly stage inevitably leads to its revolutionary replacement by a new, socialist system. Bourgeois theorists try their hardest to avoid this scientific conclusion. We have witnessed the intensive propaganda efforts to promote the fallacious idea that scientific and technological progress automatically serves to erase the differences between capitalism and socialism. The "convergence" theory preached by Pitirim Sorokin, Raymond Aron and other bourgeois theorists is based on the alleged similarity of the technology and organization of modern industrial production in countries of differing social systems.

In the course of the ideological struggle anti-communism has tried to combat scientific communism with such concepts as the "welfare state," "consumer society," society of "equal opportunities," the "industrial" and "post-industrial" society. We have also seen several versions of

the "mass society" theory which claims that 20th century technological progress is producing faceless, mindless robotman devoid of human feelings and interests. All these inventions are designed to distract people from scientific communism with its constantly growing appeal.

There is no lack of self-styled "socialist" theorists whose real aim is to weaken scientific communism by substituting alien ideas and prejudices.

Attempts have been made to water down scientific communism with all kinds of petty-bourgeois notions—nationalism, anarcho-syndicalism, "left" adventurism, subjectivism, and rejection of the general objective laws of the development of the new society.

The documents and materials of the 24th Party Congress dealt a powerful blow at anti-communism, at all the various manifestations of opportunism and revisionism. The Leninist Party demonstrated once again the forcefulness of scientific communism in action.

The creative and principled approach of the Congress to the basic theoretical issues of our time demolishes the allegations of the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists about a "stagnation" of Marxist-Leninist thought.

The Central Committee of the Party is now implementing the decisions of the Congress. We have a good atmosphere which promotes healthy creative initiative in all sectors of communist construction.

Closer unity of sociological research with the practice of communist construction helps science to avoid dogmatism and helps to keep practice free of empiricism and narrowness. In today's

conditions of social development the link between theory and practice, and the scientific substantiation of practical measures, assume special significance. That is why we must tie our theory still closer to the practice of communist construction and thoroughly analyze the new problems of scientific and practical importance.

Topical Theoretical Problems of the World Revolutionary Process

B. PONOMAREV

Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

All major steps forward in the development of the revolutionary theory of scientific communism reflect the maturing requirements of social practice. They are linked with important stages of social development and with the particularly intensive political activity of its vanguard.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU marked just such an important step in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. Its decisions summarize the vast experience accumulated by our Party in recent years in the field of communist construction. The Congress made a signal contribution to the elaboration of contemporary international problems and carried forward and enriched the theoretical conclusions arising from the joint work

of the communist and workers' parties at their International Conference in 1969.

Measured by the yardstick of history, the two years that have passed since the Conference, and the six months since the 24th Congress, are very brief periods. But they have been full of major developments which have given fresh and convincing proof of the strength and correctness of the Marxist-Leninist analysis contained in the documents adopted by the communist movement and by our Party.

The 1969 Conference and the Congress of our Party orient all communists on fully utilizing the new opportunities offered by the present stage of history. The correctness and urgency of this political orientation are amply corroborated by social practice.

The documents of the Conference and of the 24th Party Congress emphasized that the community of the social system and the identity of the fundamental interests and aims shared by the peoples of the socialist countries have made it possible, relying on the correct policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties, to advance steadily the cause of development and consolidation of the world socialist system, and enhance its role as the decisive anti-imperialist force, as a bulwark of peace and social progress. The march of events has fully borne out the correctness of this conclusion.

The international communist forum of 1969 and the 24th CPSU Congress fully described the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. And the situation obtaining in the developed capitalist countries continues to furnish new facts testifying to the correctness of this appraisal and

to the timeliness of the ideological and political conclusions resulting from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective situation given by the communist parties.

The 1969 Conference and the 24th Congress summed up the experience of the present phase of the national liberation movement and the struggle of the newly free countries, emphasizing that its vanguard detachment is made up of states whose long-term objective is to build socialism. This important proposition is likewise fully corroborated by the events of history.

The 1969 Conference put forward a broad platform of united action against imperialism. The 24th Congress defined the main directions of the Party's struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism—the struggle for peace, international security and social progress. Subsequent events testify to the effectiveness of this line and to its beneficial influence on the whole international atmosphere.

Questions relating to the world revolutionary process are central to the development of theory in the international communist movement. The most important of these questions are:

the special features and forms of struggle of the two world systems at the present stage;

the growing instability of capitalism as a social system; the historically limited character of its attempts to adapt itself to the new conditions;

the growing scope of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement and the problems confronting the Marxist-Leninist vanguard as a result of this;

certain aspects of the revolutionary process in Latin America;

questions concerning the non-capitalist development of the emergent states;

the enhanced role of the communist parties in the revolutionary process, and the need to intensify the struggle against all manifestations of revisionism and opportunism.

CONFRONTATION OF SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

The main direction of the world revolutionary process is now being determined by the struggle of the two diametrically opposite social systems. The impact of this struggle is being increasingly felt in every sphere of social life and in every part of the globe. Viewed in a broad international perspective, it is obvious that the victories won by the national liberation movement, the successes gained by the working class of the capitalist countries and the solution of the problem of averting another world war—a problem of vital importance to the whole of mankind—are indissolubly and decisively linked with the achievements of the world socialist system.

The question of the struggle between world socialism and world capitalism is not a new one. It has been comprehensively analyzed by the three world conferences of communist and workers' parties and properly assessed in many of our party documents. We would like to draw attention to those aspects of this fundamentally important question which have been manifested very saliently in the recent period and to which particular attention was devoted at the 24th CPSU Congress.

First of all, we would like to point out the following. The influence of world socialism on social life in the non-socialist part of the world is steadily growing. And this is only to be expected, for socialism represents a qualitatively higher stage of social development. It can be said that socialism and capitalism represent, respectively, the ascending and the descending lines of social development.

It is also important to note that the confrontation of the two systems is by no means limited to strictly defined geographical boundaries or to a strictly determined "composition" of the social forces. Inasmuch as the reference here is to two essentially irreconcilable lines of world development, all countries, classes, social strata and political trends are inevitably being drawn, more or less directly and actively, into their struggle.

In analyzing the progress of this struggle, it is important to define at the outset the qualitative changes in this process. The socialist world is confidently marching forward, successfully overcoming the difficulties attending the creation of the new system, and attaching prime importance to surmounting the harmful consequences of the anti-Leninist policy pursued by the Chinese leaders. However great the damage caused by this policy to the socialist community and to socialism in general, historical progress cannot be checked or reversed. In this sense the more recent period merits particular attention. The decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Congresses of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of

Czechoslovakia, and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the comprehensive programme for further deepening and promoting co-operation and for developing socialist economic integration recently adopted by the CMEA member-states reflect a definite qualitative change in the development of the socialist system.

An important part in bringing about this change is played by the ninth five-year economic development plan of the USSR. "The main task of the five-year period," stresses the resolution of the 24th CPSU Congress on the Report of the Party's Central Committee, "is to ensure a considerable rise in the standard of living and in the cultural level of the people on the basis of high rates of growth of socialist production, its higher efficiency, scientific and technological progress and a more rapid rise in labour productivity." The socialist countries have entered a period of a new, rapid advance of the economy and further improvement of living standards. All-round co-operation of the countries belonging to the socialist community is likewise advancing to a new stage.

Qualitative changes are taking place in the capitalist world as well, but these are of an entirely different order. Modern capitalism is seeking to adapt itself to the situation created by the struggle of the two systems and to the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution. The broader the offensive launched by the revolutionary forces, the more tenaciously the monopoly bourgeoisie clings to its positions with the help of various state-monopoly measures.

The decisive fact, however, is that the attempts to adapt to the new conditions, and particularly

to the scientific and technological revolution, are limited in character and do not affect the exploiting nature of the socio-economic system of capitalism. In the final analysis these attempts, far from strengthening capitalism, have led to a further intensification of its basic contradictions and antagonisms. At the turn of the 1970s there appeared new signs that the general crisis of capitalism was growing more acute. "The severe crisis of imperialist policy," said Leonid Brezhnev in his speech at the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, "the permanently feverish state of the economy, the uncertainty of the future, the profound moral crisis—such is the picture of modern capitalism."

Let us dwell in somewhat greater detail on the progress of the struggle between the two social systems.

Notwithstanding a certain acceleration of the rates of economic development in a number of capitalist countries in the first half of the sixties, the socialist world has continued firmly to retain its superiority in rates of economic growth. Whatever the "economic miracles" in one or another capitalist country, the community of the CMEA member-states is the most dynamically developing industrial area of the world accounting as they do for about one-third of world industrial output, whereas the US share now comes to approximately one-fourth and that of the West-European countries slightly exceeds one-fifth of the world total. In other words, the community of the CMEA countries has become the world's most powerful industrial zone.

Socialism's economic superiority is closely bound up with the fullest utilization of up-to-date

scientific and technological achievements. It is precisely from this point of view, primarily in the context of qualitative indicators, that the question of economic competition was examined by the 24th Party Congress. A truly titanic task of epoch-making significance—that of combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system—was formulated in the CPSU Central Committee's report to the Congress. It would be wrong to regard this combination as something purely mechanical, merely as a matter of putting together two ready-made things. It is a far more complex process which concerns the development of all aspects of the socialist mode of production—its productive forces and its relations of production. It is a matter of the all-round perfection of the structure of material production, of improving the system of planning and managing the national economy, with an eye to present and future developments in the sphere of technological progress, on the basis of the highest achievements of modern scientific and engineering thought.

The present-day scientific and technological revolution is a powerful ally of socialism. But under capitalism it provides a basis for the growing socialization of production which increasingly undermines the foundations of the existing system and engenders new forms of antagonism.

Many theoreticians of the capitalist world maintained that state-monopoly regulation would alter the cyclical character of economic development. Asserting that the present crises were less destructive than those of 30 or 40 years ago, the Western "refuters" of Marxism declared the Marx-

ian theory of crisis to be ineffectual. But the march of events has amply demonstrated how far such assertions are removed from reality.

In post-war years capitalism has time and again experienced economic upheavals. But what is taking place now far surpasses the developments of the past quarter-century in its scale and acuteness.

The capitalist world today is in the throes of the most serious and acute monetary crisis since 1931. Reflecting the serious economic difficulties being experienced by the capitalist system and the sharply altered alignment of forces within the imperialist camp, this crisis has brought the entire system of monetary relations set up by imperialism since the Second World War to the brink of disaster.

We are witnessing a sharp intensification of the contradictions of the capitalist economy in the United States—the main citadel of imperialism—which is closely associated with the aggressive policy of the US ruling circles. A graphic illustration of this is provided by the state of emergency proclaimed in the country.

Many other imperialist countries too are in a state of economic decline. The capitalist economy is being corroded by inflation. Universal inflation and the monetary crisis have increased the instability of the state-monopoly economic mechanism.

We are witnessing an intensification of the economic struggle between the imperialist countries and fresh attempts by the ruling class to shift the burden of the economic difficulties onto the shoulders of the working people. Rising unemployment, the spiralling cost of living, the decline

of real wages and the onslaught on the basic rights of trade unions are sharply intensifying the class struggle.

In the autumn of 1969 a fresh economic crisis hit the United States where the volume of industrial production in 1970 dropped 3 per cent below the 1969 level. Not so long ago many bourgeois economists asserted that this crisis was local in character and would soon be over. But this view proved to be mistaken. The US volume of industrial production in the first half of 1971 remained at the level of the preceding six months and was 1.8 per cent lower than in the first half of 1970; this was followed by new production cutbacks in July and August.

At the same time there appeared clear signs of a slump in industrial output or a sharp reduction of growth rates in a number of other countries. For example, the 1970 rate of growth of industrial output in West Germany dropped by one-half compared with 1969, while in the first half of 1971 the volume of industrial production was only 3 per cent above the figure for the preceding six months. Economic stagnation continues in Britain. In Italy, industrial output in the first half of 1971 showed a 2.7 per cent decline compared with the corresponding period of 1970. Having increased industrial output in 1970 by 16 per cent, Japan this year entered a period marked by a drastic decline in business activity, its volume of industrial production in the first half of 1971 being lower than in the latter half of 1970.

The gradual development of the crisis processes in the economy has already brought about a serious decline in employment. The number of officially registered unemployed in the leading

imperialist countries, which in 1969 amounted to an annual average of about 6.5 million, rose to nearly 10 million in the first half of 1971. In the US it increased from 2.8 million to 5.5 million—the highest level in the last ten years. The number of unemployed in Britain rose from 600,000 to nearly a million, in Canada from 400,000 to 600,000 and in Italy exceeded the one-million mark.

It is also important to bear in mind that the official figures grossly understate the actual level of unemployment. Progressive economists have estimated, for instance, that official statistical data in the USA put the number of unemployed in the country at less than 50 per cent of the actual level.

The cost of living is soaring in the capitalist countries. From 1962 to May 1971 the average annual cost of living in the USA increased by one-third, in West Germany by 30 per cent, in France by 40 per cent and in Britain by 50 per cent. Inflation eats up the greater part of the wage increases won by the working people as a result of hard struggle. It has been spreading at a particularly rapid pace in the current year. Between January and July alone the retail price index in Britain was 11 per cent higher than the average annual figure for 1970. Price increases in the US have reached the highest level in the past 15 years. Inflation of this scope leads to a perceptible decline in real wages. Another scourge is presented by the growing burden of taxation. In 1950, direct taxes alone claimed 14 cents out of every dollar earned by factory and office workers in the USA; in 1970 the figure rose to 22 cents. In West Germany the share of wages appropriated in the form

of direct taxes has increased from 15.8 to 22.7 per cent over the past ten years. If indirect taxes are added to this, the share of wages squeezed out by the financial squeeze of state-monopoly capitalism will come to 40 per cent and higher.

The whole world is now able to see that the economic policy of the USA—the leading imperialist power—has failed. This is admitted by spokesmen of the ruling circles in the US. The *Time* magazine, for instance, gives the following assessment of the situation: "The nation's long war of attrition against inflation has proved as intractable as the war in Vietnam." Having come up against a new phenomenon—soaring prices coupled with mounting unemployment—the US government has resorted to harsh administrative measures directed against the interests of the working class. The freezing of wages and prices has been announced in the USA. In actual fact the announced freeze applies only to wages; prices continue to spiral. Even a conservative trade union leader like George Meany had to admit that the wage-freeze, according to his estimates, robbed union members of 5,000 million dollars. Clearly, the transition to the so-called new economic course has sharply worsened the situation in the country and brought out still more glaringly the intrinsic defects of the American economic system.

Another heavy blow at the US economic position and prestige has been dealt by the dollar crisis. It is well known that the dollar has been in a weakened condition for a considerable time. The US rulers have delayed devaluation for as long as possible, resorting to every means at their

disposal in an effort to retain the dominance of their currency.

But fear of completely exhausting its gold reserves has forced the US Administration to discontinue exchanging dollars for gold. Long undermined by inflation, the official parity between gold and the dollar has been formally regarded as a "dead letter." The present "shame-faced devaluation" of the dollar is destroying the foundation of the capitalist monetary system. The idol of the financial magnates of the capitalist world has been toppled. It is being cursed at the stock markets of Paris, Tokyo, Zurich, Rome and all the other Western capitals and it is being cursed by millions of working people in the capitalist countries.

The US economic and dollar crises are having a powerful impact on the rest of the capitalist world. And as is always the case in periods of economic upheavals, each of the imperialist countries is trying to get out of its difficulties at the expense of its partners. The "emergency measures" introduced by the United States have painfully hit the interests of the West-European countries and Japan and sharply increased the competitive struggle on world markets.

It is fitting and proper to point out in this connection that while prattling about the transition to "harmonious" capitalism, bourgeois apologists often referred to the "liberalization" of trade and assiduously played up the reduction of customs duties carried out by the United States and West European countries in the 1960s. Much effort was spent in extolling the results of the "Kennedy Round"—the talks conducted over many years on reciprocal tariff reductions.

The emergency measures proclaimed by the USA in August nullified the results of this protracted bargaining at one stroke. It became obvious to all that protectionism was still very much alive.

The experience of recent years shows that the international intertwining of capital, which has assumed extensive proportions, does not remove inter-imperialist contradictions but, on the contrary, tends to sharpen them. The uneven economic development of the imperialist countries has become more sharply pronounced. This is clearly shown in more widely differing rates of economic growth and in the rapid spasmodic changes taking place in the correlation of forces of individual states and whole areas of the imperialist world. The main, most essential contradictions have been revealed with sufficient clarity. They are demonstrated very plainly in the conflict between the USA and the Common Market countries, and between the USA and Japan. In the last few years Japan and the EEC countries have stepped up their economic expansion and have begun to jostle their US rivals on world markets, including the American home market. On the other hand, US monopoly capital, relying on its technical superiority, has launched an invasion, unprecedented in its scale, into the West-European economy. Between 1960 and 1969 the US monopolies' direct investments in Western Europe increased by more than three times (from \$ 6,700 million to \$ 21,600 million), while the total amount of such investments outside the USA at the beginning of 1970 reached 70,800 million dollars.

US finance capital openly flouts the interests

of other countries for the sake of multiplying the superprofits of the oligarchic cliques of New York and California, Chicago and Texas. Many American corporations now invest more capital and rake in bigger profits abroad than in the United States. The working class of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, Australia and other parts of the world is being increasingly exploited not only by its own, national bourgeoisie, but by US imperialism as well.

The Latin American countries are plundered by the USA quite openly. In 1968-69 the *net profit* removed from that continent by the US monopolies added up to 2,098 million dollars and was almost three times bigger than the influx of new capital into these countries. More than a million dollars a day in net profit is taken out of Venezuela alone by the US monopolies.

At the same time, the events show that the US expansionist drive is meeting with mounting resistance, as the peoples' struggle against American imperialism intensifies. This struggle is dealing heavy blows at imperialism's aggressive policy and is becoming an important factor in undermining the system of military-political blocks set up by the United States.

Against the background of the economic crisis, the consequences of the rapacious use of natural resources and the pollution of the environment by present-day capitalism are felt especially keenly. The development of capitalist production has had deplorable consequences with which capitalism is unable to cope and which are causing increasing protests among the working people.

One is fully entitled to draw the conclusion that a serious qualitative shift is taking place in

the capitalist economy towards intensification of crisis processes, laying bare the evils of capitalism and making the economic struggle among the imperialist countries still more bitter.

In the political sphere, the present stage of struggle is characterized by the increasing role and prestige of the socialist community in world politics, by more acute contradictions in imperialism's external and internal policy, and by sharp socio-political crises in the USA and other leading capitalist countries.

It is important to stress the tremendous impact on the entire world situation produced by the important initiatives displayed by our Party on the basis of the foreign policy programme advanced in Leonid Brezhnev's Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The further promotion of the cohesion of the socialist countries, the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with India and Egypt, the agreement on West Berlin, Leonid Brezhnev's meeting with Chancellor Willy Brandt of the FRG in the Crimea, the progress made in Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic armaments—these are only a few of the positive results of the all-round activity in the sphere of foreign policy carried out in recent months. The Soviet government has submitted a number of important proposals for examination by the current session of the UN General Assembly. Some of the more significant international actions include the recent successful visits of Leonid Brezhnev to Yugoslavia, Hungary and Bulgaria, and his contemplated visit to France. Nikolai Podgorny has visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, India, Burma and Iran. Alexei Kosygin has vi-

sited Algeria and Morocco, and he will also visit Canada, Norway and Denmark.

The international undertakings of our Party cannot be regarded as isolated measures. Viewed as a whole, they can with full justification be called a full-scale foreign policy offensive in the name of peace and international security. All this tends to enhance the international prestige of the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries represents a great anti-imperialist force. Our foreign policy measures are increasingly curbing the aggressive imperialist circles, limiting the scope of their actions against other peoples and states and tending to create a more favourable international situation for extending the struggle of the revolutionary forces all over the world.

Needless to say, imperialism continues to be a dangerous enemy. It is carrying on its aggressive actions in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, keeping international tension alive. Imperialism more and more frequently resorts to flexible, differentiated methods of relations with the socialist countries, actively pursuing a policy aimed at deriving the maximum benefit from the negative consequences caused by the splitting course of the Chinese leaders.

The important thing, then, is to see the process of changes taking place in the sphere of foreign policy in all its complexity. The socialist community is demonstrating its ability to impose on the imperialists a solution of problems in the interests of peace and peaceful co-existence. But imperialism has not abandoned its aims. It is employing the "bridge-building" tactics designed

to undermine the world socialist system and is resorting to an open struggle against our efforts to lessen international tension. The most recent example of this is the revival by the Tory government in Britain of the old "cold war" methods and practices in relation to the USSR.

Objective reality makes it obvious, however, that in the sphere of world politics, just as in economics, imperialism's possibilities to manoeuvre are becoming increasingly limited. The crisis of imperialist policy is assuming the acutest forms in the USA—this anti-revolutionary, anti-communist stronghold of imperialism. This is borne out by the fact that the leading capitalist country is being swept by unprecedented political upheavals caused by the strong protest of large sections of the people against the war in Indochina, and against the Administration's reactionary domestic and foreign policy. America has never witnessed such powerful anti-war demonstrations—with war veterans throwing away their military decorations—such massive campaigns of the youth and civil rights fighters, and the poor people's marches on Washington. The sensational exposure, made by the publication of the secret Pentagon documents, of the secret mechanism of engineering the criminal war in Vietnam, dealt a powerful blow at the ruling element of the USA, and the entire aggressive policy of American imperialism. Having suffered serious political setbacks and encountered mass resentment inside their own country, the US rulers often declare their intention of re-examining their political doctrine, formulating a "new" policy, and renouncing their former claims to world leadership as unfeasible.

The appearance of such statements is highly symptomatic, for they are tantamount to an indirect admission that the general crisis of the capitalist system is growing more acute. They reflect the serious weakening of America's international prestige and its growing moral isolation. Nowadays dissociation from the USA in one way or another, and a degree of denunciation of the US Administration's policies, is considered *bon ton* even by bourgeois leaders in the Western countries. From being the ideal of capitalist society, the "American way of life" is becoming a standard of evils which even the bourgeois leaders of other countries are now trying to disown. Yet the maladies from which America is suffering are not an isolated national phenomenon but a concentrated form of the maladies intrinsic to the capitalist system as a whole.

The waves of social protest and political ferment are not restricted to the USA. The armed struggle on the territory of Great Britain, in Northern Ireland, has been proceeding for a number of years now. To the Irish people's legitimate demands for political and social equality the Tory government has replied with gunfire and gas bombs. Full-scale military operations resulting in extensive damage to property and the loss of human life are taking place in a country held up as a model of "classical" bourgeois democracy. Strikes, demonstrations and other forms of social protest are assuming increasing proportions in other imperialist countries as well.

The ruling circles of the capitalist countries are openly resorting to brutal repression against the working class, democratic and anti-war move-

ments, to savage reprisals against progressive leaders, and to arrests and executions. All this testifies to the growing social tension, to the mounting class contradictions and class struggle in the capitalist world.

At the same time, it is a noteworthy fact that the present intensification of the class struggle is not taking place against a background of heightening international tension, as has happened before, but in a situation marked by steadily growing tendencies towards a *détente*. The effective foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the growing struggle of the working class and all democratic forces against the imperialist foreign policy, on the other, are increasingly fettering the "war factions" of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The mounting mass opposition to the arms race, to inordinate military spending and aggressive actions, and the demand for a relaxation of international tension, for security in Europe and other parts of the world, are contributing to the solution of vital international problems in the interest of the peoples. At the same time they are serving to still further undermine imperialism's social "rear". It is quite obvious that the opportunities for imperialism to resolve its internal contradictions by resorting to adventurist foreign policy moves are becoming increasingly limited.

The intensification of the ideological struggle is an important feature of the present time. The more limited capitalism's possibilities of waging a military struggle against socialism, the higher becomes the pitch of the ideological battles in all parts of the world.

Following the recommendations of special research centres, the huge propaganda machine of imperialism is trying to mould public opinion in favour of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Carrying out their systematic policy of ideological subversion against the socialist countries, against the working class and the national liberation movement, our class enemies make extensive use of diverse reactionary nationalistic trends, and encourage, directly or indirectly, revisionists and opportunists of both Right and "Left" varieties. But imperialism's attempts to mount an offensive on the ideological front are proving ineffectual, for capitalism lacks the ideological resources necessary to achieve success in the world-wide battle for men's minds and hearts. That capitalism is rich in commodities but very poor in spiritual values is admitted even by many of its leading representatives. It is not the bourgeois ideology but our socialist ideology that is on the offensive at this stage of history.

The world-wide political campaign carried out by the fraternal communist parties in connection with the Lenin birth centenary made a great contribution to the ideological struggle against imperialism, and to the work of disseminating the ideas of scientific communism all over the world.

The achievements of socialism and the world revolutionary movement, and the deepening crisis of the capitalist system provide favourable conditions for expanding the ideological offensive against imperialism. The self-exposure of the capitalist system—its discrediting itself in the eyes of broad masses—has assumed unprecedented

proportions. Not so long ago millions of people deceived by capitalist propaganda supposed that the rulers of the Western world had discovered some miraculous remedy capable of rejuvenating capitalism, of making it dynamic again. Now these illusions of "neo-capitalism" are vanishing. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the views of the communists are correct, and more and more people are coming to understand that the ills of bourgeois society are incurable.

Imperialism's ideological myths concerning social relations are likewise crumbling. Bourgeois ideologists have tried to enter on the credit side of capitalism a certain rise in the standard of living achieved by the working class in a number of countries after stubborn class battles in a situation marked by an acute struggle between the two systems. The increase in the number of people having their own cars, refrigerators, washing machines, etc. was interpreted as the advent of a "consumer society" which allegedly satisfies the basic requirements of the working man and therefore removes all reason for the class struggle and social conflict.

The monopoly bourgeoisie tried to stabilize the social relations of capitalist society, to suppress labour's will to struggle by combining partial reforms and social manoeuvring with a policy of repression. The bourgeois strategists worked on the assumption that the constant drive for things, for personal well-being and comfort at the cost of physical and nervous overstrain was bound to turn the workers into utilitarian-minded philistines incapable of conscious political activity. Monopoly capital endeavoured to make a virtue of necessity by transforming the

concessions wrested from it into "golden chains" fettering the working people to the system of capitalist exploitation.

Leftist theoreticians, for their part, regard every improvement in the workers' material position as a process of "bourgeoisification." The nihilistically hostile attitude to labour's struggle in the capitalist countries for a higher standard of living is combined in the writings of these theoreticians with gross distortion of the essence of the process of improving the standard of living of the people in the socialist countries. This process is likewise interpreted as "bourgeoisification," while genuine revolutionism is identified with universal poverty. Petty-bourgeois levelling is presented as nothing short of a supreme blessing from the viewpoint of the interests of the revolution. The struggle against both bourgeois and leftist conceptions of a "consumer" society is becoming very important. Our reliable weapon in this struggle is the practice of real socialism.

The impressive picture of the progress made by socialist society is playing a big part in the mounting mass movement against monopoly domination, for democracy and socialism. More and more people are coming to see that it is socialism, not capitalism, that sets the tone in ensuring the "qualitative aspect" of life. It imparts to it fullness and meaning, and affords new opportunities for all-round development of the creative abilities of the individual. The implementation of the economic and social development programmes put forward by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and by the congresses of other fraternal parties of the socialist countries will increase the attractive force of the example set by the achieve-

ments of the new social system, and will further extend the influence of communist ideas on the social processes the world over.

A better acquaintance of the exploited masses with the experience of socialism, and convincing demonstration of its humanistic content present a powerful means of exerting revolutionary influence on the social processes under way in the capitalist countries. Socialism harmoniously combines a systematic and steady raising of material standards with man's intellectual development, and with his active participation in social life and in the administration of state affairs.

There is every justification for the conclusion that the honeymoon of "consumer capitalism" is over. "'Crisis' is the word that is being endlessly repeated today by press commentators and political leaders," Georges Marchais wrote recently. "Whether the reference is to the monetary problems, oil policies, the youth, or traditional moral values, the diagnosis is invariably the same: French society is in a state of crisis."

This equally applies to the other capitalist countries, and primarily to the USA. Even bourgeois leaders and the capitalist press with increasing frequency draw an analogy between the present-day situation in the capitalist world and the decline of the Roman Empire.

But the question concerning the roots of the crisis is being deliberately confused. The whole thing is presented in such a way as to give the idea that the crisis is affecting "industrial civilization" and that this is the inevitable result of scientific and technological progress.

This ideological mimicry by bourgeois propa-

gandists is effectively exposed by the real state of affairs in capitalist society. People are beginning to realize that it is the capitalist socio-economic and political system that is the prime cause of the evils and misfortunes of the Western world.

And this, in turn, adds to the instability of capitalism. Bourgeois reformism and the policy of social concessions prove incapable of stabilizing the system. On the contrary, new factors of instability have emerged. Finance capital has antagonized new sections of the working class, the peasantry, small proprietors, office employees, intellectuals and the youth. This situation is conducive to the spread of the revolutionary process in the capitalist countries.

By steadily altering the alignment of forces in favour of socialism, the growing confrontation of the two systems in the world arena is hastening the maturing of internal prerequisites for fundamental revolutionary changes in the capitalist world. There are increasing indications that a number of developed capitalist countries are approaching the stage where decisive class battles will bring about fundamental social changes. New opportunities for acting at the head of the working class and the entire democratic mass movement are presenting themselves to the revolutionary vanguard in these countries.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

Political development in the zone of developed capitalism is marked by a tremendous increase in mass action by the working class. Today's

strikes, in their militancy and scope, are of an order hitherto unknown. Sometimes they develop into a nation-wide struggle against monopoly capital.

The 24th CPSU Congress stressed that the struggle of the working class in a number of capitalist countries is turning increasingly, not against individual employers or individual vices of capitalism, but against the entire system of state-monopoly domination. The axis of political life in that part of the world is visibly shifting to the left. This leftward shift is affecting the entire social structure of capitalist society.

The present-day mass movement is not by any means limited to the increase in strikes. For example, the movement of solidarity with Vietnam has assumed unprecedented proportions in many countries, including the United States itself. Mass actions are often marked by spontaneity, which, for all the weaknesses of such impulsive actions, is, according to Lenin, indicative of the depth of the movement. Alongside the working class and its traditional ally—the working peasantry—large numbers of progressive intellectuals, particularly engineers and technicians, office personnel and workers employed in the service industry, are now taking an active part in political struggle.

The great increase in scope of the economic and political struggle of the working people is resulting in more frequent government crises, sharper clashes between the ruling parties, and increasing breakdowns in the mechanism of government blocs.

Marxists must give a comprehensive analysis of the political situation obtaining in the capitalist

countries. There has accumulated extensive material for new theoretical generalizations and conclusions relating to the socio-political prerequisites of the revolution in present-day conditions. The present political situation in the developed capitalist countries is marked by an intensification of social contradictions. Indeed, the increasingly radical nature of the massive anti-monopoly movement whose leading force is the working class, and the crisis phenomena in the whole system of monopoly rule clearly show that a good deal of "inflammable material" has accumulated in capitalist society. Any acute international or domestic political crisis, or any sharp class collision may well be enough to create a revolutionary situation. A tense situation, such as this, while containing new possibilities for the working class, also has a dangerous aspect connected with the attempts of the ultra-reactionary elements to use political instability in order to further their own interests and to strike a blow at the rising revolutionary movement.

In a number of capitalist countries there are increasing signs of a situation where the ruling class is *no longer* in a position fully to control the development of events, but the working class and its allies are *still* insufficiently united and organized and have not yet attained the necessary level of political consciousness and purposefulness for decisive concerted action. In this situation the rapid development of a government crisis, unless it is accompanied by an equally rapid mobilization of democratic forces, creates a kind of political vacuum which the ultra-right elements attempt to fill with the aid of the army, police and state security bodies. It is abundantly

confirmed by history that in periods preceding revolutionary upheavals the reactionary forces often place everything at stake in an attempt to avert the approaching storm.

Thus, in a situation of political instability in Greece, the "black colonels" delivered a blow at the democratic forces and instituted a semi-fascist regime in that country. In other European countries, too, the ultra-Right groups are trying to rally their forces. An example of this was the neo-fascist conspiracy in Italy. And although it failed, the reactionary forces have not given up their plans to mount a counter-offensive. The neo-fascist leaders openly boast that the acts of terror they committed last year were on a far wider scale than the similar actions of the fascists in 1922, on the eve of their march on Rome. The events in the south of Italy, the neo-fascist provocations and, what is particularly dangerous, the noticeable increase in the number of votes they obtained in the recent municipal by-elections, lead to the conclusion that the working class movement, its vanguard and all democratic forces must display a high degree of vigilance and readiness at any moment to thwart the schemes of the reactionary forces by their mass action. This especially applies to countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, where the neo-nazis have a reliable reserve in the shape of revanchist elements. It is thus obvious that the lessons of the struggle against fascism have lost none of their significance.

Needless to say, the present-day extremists are not altogether identical to "classical" fascists. They have their own special features and often find it more convenient to dissociate themselves

from their ill-starred predecessors. But while not denying that neo-fascism has certain distinctive features, its basic kinship with the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini cannot be ignored. Fascist trends become more pronounced when the capitalist system encounters particularly serious difficulties, when big capital is not in a position to maintain its domination within the framework of bourgeois legality and is forced to resort to methods of terrorist dictatorship. At such times the demand for fascism increases. And this demand, judging by all the signs, is today very great in many of the citadels of capitalism. The ultra-Right element is seeking to exploit the growing discontent with the existing system for demagogic purposes and for increasing its influence. In its anti-monopoly offensive the working-class movement in the capitalist countries is more and more frequently faced with the need to give a resolute rebuff to reactionary conspiracies, and to the neo-fascists' attempts to launch a counter-offensive.

It is important to stress in this connection that, in distinction to the situation in the 1930s, the revolutionary forces today have immeasurably greater opportunities to block the road to the fascist forces, and to use the aggravation of the political situation for delivering powerful blows at the class enemy, and for training a mass political army of the socialist revolution.

It should be borne in mind that the progress made by the working class movement over the past quarter-century has not gone unnoticed by the masses and is a factor which serves to promote their revolutionary spirit. And this progress is very imposing indeed.

It is epitomized in the impressive achievements of world socialism, particularly of the Soviet Union, and the steadily growing might of the community of socialist states.

It is epitomized in the long-standing activity in the working class movement of the Marxist-Leninist parties which consistently uphold the class interests of the working people.

It is epitomized in the weakening of the reformist wing in the working class movement, and in the increasing dissatisfaction of the people with the policies of the social democrats.

It is epitomized in the vast school of class struggle which the trade unions have gone through with the active participation of the communists during these years.

It is epitomized in the practical experience of economic and political struggle accumulated by the working class in the course of their strikes, demonstrations and election campaigns.

These and many other factors have undoubtedly had a strong impact on the alignment of the class and political forces. They have affected the activity and positions of all political parties and mass organizations, and have greatly increased the influence of the communists. The masses, the youth in particular, are displaying a growing interest in Marxism-Leninism, in the ideas of socialism, and in the actual achievements of socialist society. The communist parties now enjoy broader support among the electorate, as was demonstrated, for instance, by the success scored by the French Communist Party in the last presidential elections and in the municipal elections held in April, 1971, as well as by the results of the municipal by-elections in Italy in June. The

position of the communists is growing stronger in factories and mills and in mass organizations. Prospects of the communists becoming the ideological and political pivot of an organized front of Left political forces are becoming very real indeed.

The leftward swing of the mass movement is also having its impact on social democracy. As is stated in the Document of the 1969 Conference, differentiation within its ranks is increasing.

Catholic political organizations are also being affected to some extent by this trend. Catholic workers are largely involved in the general process of shifting to the Left. And it should be clear that these sentiments are bound to influence their political actions to some extent.

Notable shifts are taking place in the trade union movement. Even the reformist trade union centres, contrary to the spirit of "political neutralism" and "pure trade unionism," are at times compelled to take an anti-monopoly stand. An example of the leftward shift is the movement of the so-called New Left, which relies in the main on the radically minded intellectuals and young people, mostly students. The movement lacks homogeneity and ideological or organizational integrity. Its tone is largely set by different-type adventurist elements, including Maoists and Trotskyites. The participants in the movement readily succumb to the influence of revolutionary phrase-mongering and lack the necessary self-control and ability to appraise the situation soberly. Some of them are obviously infected with anti-communist prejudices. But their general anti-imperialist orientation is evident. Failure to

win over this section of the mass movement would amount to a weakening of the anti-imperialist struggle and a hampering of the establishment of a single front against monopoly capital.

It should be clear that the leftward shift in itself is not a guarantee of success. It all depends on whether the advance forces of the working class movement, primarily the communist parties, are able to ensure cohesion of the anti-monopoly front, firmly establish themselves in the new positions, inflict a defeat on all varieties of revisionism, and raise political, organizational, ideological and educational work to the level of existing revolutionary possibilities. Objectively, the communist movement has everything necessary to carry out the tasks confronting it. But, apart from the objective conditions, there is a subjective factor which is of great importance. This factor is the ability of the working class parties to muster the revolutionary energy of the people and direct it into the channel of effective action capable of breaking the resistance of the reactionary forces, establishing the power of the working people and carrying out the socialist revolution. The following are the basic characteristics of the maturity of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, as formulated by Marxist-Leninist science on the basis of historical experience:

The ability consistently to follow the theory of scientific communism which makes use of the world-historical experience of the working class struggle and discloses the basic laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism;

The ability consistently to pursue a policy directed towards getting rid of the capitalist

system by revolutionary means with due consideration for the specific features of the given stage of development in a given country;

The mastering of the tactics and of all forms and means of the class struggle, the ability swiftly to replace these forms and means and to regroup forces in adaptation to the changed situation;

The ability to educate the people politically on the basis of their own experience, to convince them of the need for revolutionary changes, and to find ways and methods of leading them to take decisive action against the class enemy;

The ability to mobilize the people for the struggle for specific political and economic demands, to formulate appropriate slogans and to rally around them the whole of the working class and other sections of the working people;

The ability to pursue a policy aimed at uniting and directing into a single channel all the different streams of the working class, anti-monopoly, democratic and anti-war movements, and at achieving unity of the working class;

A consistently internationalist approach to the internal and external problems of one's own country, to educating the masses, to co-ordinating its actions with other revolutionary contingents.

The entire historical experience of the communist movement shows that the preparation of the parties for the revolution is closely linked with their organizational, ideological and political consolidation, with the extension of work among the masses, in non-party organizations, in the trade unions, in the army, and among the youth. Being an organization of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist party strives to attain strong

political positions in its own country by making most effective use, among other things, of every opportunity offered by the bourgeois-democratic system. But while striving to win such positions in the elective bodies, and to use the existing legal opportunities for protecting the interests of the working people and influencing the policy of the bourgeois or social-democratic government, the communists, unlike the reformists, always remain the party of the socialist revolution. As such they are a party which never reconciles itself to the capitalist order and is always prepared to assume leadership of the struggle for the complete takeover of political power by the working class, and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another.

The immense significance attaching to the ability and readiness of the revolutionary vanguard to assume leadership of the mass action has been demonstrated by historical experience—on the one hand, by the Bolsheviks' victory in 1917, and on the other, in a negative sense, by the defeat suffered by the working class in a number of European countries due to the absence at that period of a militant party capable of guiding the revolution. Permanent contact with the masses, and tireless work among them so as to convince them of the need to use all forms of struggle—this is the only way to create a political force for the socialist revolution.

This task can be successfully carried out only if it is closely linked with the struggle for the workers' daily needs. Lenin always enjoined the communists to bear this in mind. The Marxist-Leninists resolutely rejected the anarchist-leftist

"all or nothing" principle. Broad sections of the working class and of the working people at large are coming to realize the need for the socialist revolution as a result of the struggle for their interests necessitated by their oppressed position under capitalism. Hence the great economic and political significance of the vital day-to-day demands for higher wages, better working conditions, trade union rights and freedoms, an effective social security and pension system, etc., which are easily understood and appreciated by every worker. Of paramount importance among the working people's day-to-day demands are the demands connected with the struggle against the war threat and militarism. The brunt of the burden imposed by imperialism's military ventures weighs heavy on the shoulders of the working people. That explains their increasingly active opposition to the policy of aggression and imperialist wars.

Long years of experience have taught the communist parties sharply and competently to pose questions relating to the day-to-day struggle of the masses, and to formulate militant slogans expressing the vital needs of millions of working people. The tremendous scale this struggle has assumed in recent years is largely due to the activity of the communists. Apart from producing immediate important results in protecting the economic interests of the working people, this activity also has more far-reaching consequences reflected in the political education of the masses and in their growing awareness of the fact that the interests of the working people are irreconcilable with capitalism as a social system.

In present-day conditions the level and signi-

ficance of immediate demands have grown substantially as a result of the major changes in the social consciousness of the working class and its allies. Besides protesting against unemployment, insecurity, the high cost of living and other incurable ills of capitalism, the working people today are protesting against the consequences to which the scientific and technological revolution leads in bourgeois society—consequences such as the growing intensification of labour, nervous overstrain, social disparity and the sense of personal oppression engendered by capital. The struggle of the working class for democracy, for the effective use of the democratic rights won from the bourgeoisie in the interests of the working people, is gaining in strength and scope with every passing year. Therefore there are greater possibilities for winning over wider sections of the working class to revolutionary positions.

In order to realize these possibilities it is necessary to overcome opportunist tendencies in the working class movement by consistently upholding the Marxist-Leninist ideological principles. The communist movement has recently intensified its struggle against both Right and "Left" opportunism. A telling blow has been inflicted on revisionist theories and their proponents. But the struggle against revisionism cannot be reduced to individual campaigns. This is a basic law of development of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the international communist movement.

In giving a brief characteristic of the essence of present-day opportunism it can be said that the danger of *Right* opportunism lies in its attempts:

to discredit the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declare it to be out of date and replace by the reformist ideology which denies the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat;

to gloss over the main contradictions of bourgeois society, to instil the idea that state-monopoly capitalism can be transformed into socialism without the revolution;

to deny the role of the working class as the principal revolutionary force;

to absolutize parliamentary methods and play down the significance of the mass extra-parliamentary struggle;

to denigrate the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries;

to ignore the relation between the revolutionary struggle within a given country and the class struggle in the international arena, and the role of the socialist system in this struggle.

The danger presented by "Left" opportunism consists in its:

denying the need for a broad, general democratic programme of anti-imperialist struggle, and the need to combine general democratic and class proletarian aims and interests;

creating a threat of isolating communists from extensive sections of working people, dooming them to passive expectation or to leftist, adventurist actions, thereby hampering the work of training a political force of the socialist revolution and the achievement of victory by the working class;

opposing the merging of the main revolutionary forces of our time into a single torrent, and

preventing the timely and proper assessment of the changing situation and new experience, and the use of all opportunities to achieve the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the fight against imperialism, reaction and the threat of war;

absolutizing the armed forms of struggle for power;

denying or distorting the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to opposite systems.

As a rule, "Left" opportunism is combined with dogmatism and inevitably leads to sectarian calousness.

Though differing in their basic principles, Right and "Left" opportunism often intertwine, being united by their opposition to the revolution. They come forward today as the chief exponents of anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist ideological and political views in the communist and working class movement. The aims pursued by opportunism—whether Right or "Left"—are essentially directed against the revolution. The Right and "Left" opportunists are both trying to undermine the unity of the international communist movement, to weaken the internationalist ties of the fraternal parties with the CPSU.

Both Right and "Left" opportunism tend to weaken the fighting capacity of the communist parties, undermine the revolutionary positions of the working class and all fighters against imperialism, and retard the development of the world revolutionary process.

Of fundamental importance are the conclusions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU concerning methods of struggle with revisionism. It is not

enough to brand the revisionists as enemies of the working class. The important thing is to expose the anti-Leninist purport of their views and to elucidate from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism the real substance of the problems which the revisionist ideologists have made the object of speculation. In the Report of the Central Committee to the 24th CPSU Congress, Leonid Brezhnev stressed that "Repetition of old formulas where they have become outworn and an inability or reluctance to adopt a new approach to new problems harm the cause and create additional possibilities for the spread of revisionist counterfeits of Marxism-Leninism. Criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice becomes much more convincing when it is founded on the active and creative development of the social sciences, of Marxist-Leninist theory."

The fight against nationalism is especially important at the present time. It has been demonstrated by actual experience that there exists a close connection between revisionist distortions and nationalist waverings. Revisionist deviations from Marxist-Leninist theory open loopholes for the penetration of petty-bourgeois nationalist ideology into the revolutionary movement. And conversely, every plunge from positions of proletarian internationalism into the quagmire of nationalism offers a wide scope for the activity of revisionist elements of both Right and "Left" varieties.

Nationalism does a great deal of harm to the cause of the revolution. Nationalist deviations prevent the working class of a given country from taking advantage in its struggle of favorable international conditions created by the

achievements of world socialism and the weakening of the camp of imperialism and reaction.

Nationalism is a dangerous enemy of the entire revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. And it is not accidental that lately the monopoly bourgeoisie has been staking particularly heavily on it. Bourgeois ideologists claim that the era of proletarian revolutions is receding into the past and is being superseded by an era of militant nationalism which is allegedly gaining "the upper hand" over socialism everywhere.

The extraordinary tenacity of nationalistic prejudices was noted by Lenin. It is important to bear in mind that in present-day conditions there exist definite objective reasons for their revival and promotion. Nationalism seeks to turn to its advantage such progressive processes as the rapid growth of the peoples' national awareness, and the involvement in political activity of the huge numbers of people, a sizable proportion of whom have as yet no clear idea of their class interests.

Lenin showed the profound difference between the reactionary nationalism of oppressing nations and the nationalism of peoples rising to fight for their liberation from the fetters of colonialism. Parallel with establishing broad ties with the working people and exploited masses, he said, communists in the oppressed countries would have to proceed from the rise of national awareness "which is awakening, and must awaken, among those peoples, and which has its historical justification." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162.)

While supporting the general democratic anti-imperialist substance of the nationalism of oppressed nations and developing countries, com-

munists take due account of the fact that nationalism can also express the ideology of the reactionary, exploiting upper crust which is trying to hitch the young states to the imperialist chariot.

The boundary between the progressive, anti-imperialist side of nationalism and its reactionary side is historically mobile. Nationalistic slogans can often change their socio-political direction and turn from an instrument of struggle for national emancipation into a means of counteracting the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, or, as has been amply demonstrated by Maoist policy, even into a means of furthering a hegemonistic chauvinist policy spearheaded against the main forces of the world revolutionary movement.

Nationalism becomes doubly dangerous when it is tinged with anti-Sovietism. The imperialist bourgeoisie takes particular advantage of this in its struggle against socialism and the communist movement. In the period since the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the fraternal parties have intensified their struggle against all varieties of anti-Sovietism, including the variety which operates under cover of "Left" and "revolutionary" phrases. The recent statement in this regard made by Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, at a meeting sponsored by the trade union confederation is very important. "It is precisely in 'Left anti-communism'," he said, "stimulated on a global scale by the Chinese leadership, that international imperialism and the ruling bourgeois class see a new means of unleashing an anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign." In their documents the fraternal parties expose the designs of anti-Sovie-

teers. To undermine the prestige of the CPSU and the Soviet Union—the principal revolutionary force, the trail-blazer and standard-bearer of the new, socialist era—means to cause serious damage to the entire world revolutionary process.

While fully realizing the dangers posed by nationalism to the revolutionary movement, one must not lose sight of the increased possibilities for combating this disease more effectively.

The process of internationalization of the entire social life and revolutionary struggle is being accelerated among other things by the scientific and technological revolution which is sharply intensifying the internationalization of economic life. This in turn necessitates unification of the working class of the capitalist countries in the fight against the international monopolies. In the socialist countries which have entered a new stage of development, there is a consolidation of the objective factors for these countries drawing closer together in all respects along the lines of socialist economic integration, and through closer political co-operation.

At the same time, it is becoming increasingly clear that the front of anti-imperialist struggle is indivisible, and that the defeats suffered by imperialism at any one sector weaken its system as a whole.

Internationalization of the revolutionary struggle is a result of the increasing might of world socialism, and of the world-wide spread of the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism which have amply demonstrated their immense importance for the successful struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress. The policy of the Soviet Union and the

other socialist countries advancing along the path charted by Lenin, and the internationalist activity of the fraternal communist parties and the advance forces of the revolutionary-democratic parties—all this constitutes a great force counteracting the tendencies towards nationalist fragmentation.

Upholding the principle of proletarian internationalism is viewed by Marxist-Leninists as something more than one of the urgent and important tasks. It is no exaggeration to say that this is a vital necessity because proletarian internationalism is the basis of the very existence of the communist movement as a force of worldwide importance expressing the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people.

It has to be said that in some parties the problem of unity of the international communist movement is interpreted chiefly from one aspect, with the emphasis laid exclusively on the need strictly to observe the independence and sovereignty of every party, to respect their independence in questions of formulating political strategy and tactics, and to rule out interference. That this thesis in itself is correct cannot be denied. Moreover, the CPSU was the first to put it forward and continues fully to share it. All these principles "together with solidarity and mutual assistance form an organic part of the content of proletarian internationalism," says the joint Statement adopted by the CPSU and the French Communist Party delegations at the conclusion of their talks in Moscow last July. The one cannot be counterposed to the other. Still less can the weakening of the internationalist

approach to the pressing problems of our time be tolerated. That is why one-sided emphasis on "autonomy" and "independence" at times looks like a thinly veiled polemic against those fraternal parties which, actively and consistently uphold the principles of proletarian internationalism in the communist movement. And this causes serious harm to the common cause of the communists, particularly since such statements are used by both Chinese and imperialist propaganda for the purpose of disrupting the socialist community.

The various disquisitions about the "crisis" of the communist movement sometimes appearing in the press of individual parties also do nothing to promote the cause of unity. We are not going to deny the existence of serious difficulties which it has to contend with. But the point is that posing the question in this way wittingly or unwittingly suggests the idea that unity cannot be restored by the tried and tested methods of consistently applying the principles of proletarian internationalism. The international unity of the communist movement has been safeguarded by the joint efforts of the Marxist-Leninist parties. And the task consists, not in replacing it by something "new" and obscure, but in mustering all the forces for the struggle to extend and consolidate this unity on the basis of the time-tested principles of Marxist-Leninist internationalism.

Soviet communists are proud that our Leninist Party is marching in the vanguard of active struggle for the unity of the communist ranks. The fact that the 24th Congress of the CPSU became a forum for rallying the communists is

the result of our Party's principled stand, and of its tremendous work in the communist movement.

The CPSU took a leading part in the work for the convocation of the 1969 Conference which became a turning point in re-establishing the unity of the communist movement. Our Party is fighting consistently and perseveringly for united action in the struggle against imperialism. It is developing bilateral and multilateral ties with the fraternal parties and patiently building up contacts with those in our movement who still occupy different positions. In its resolution on the Central Committee's Report, the 24th Congress of the CPSU emphasized the need to combine the efforts for political cohesion with the struggle for the ideological unity of the communists. In its approach to the most complicated problems of the present-day communist movement the CPSU never confines itself to recording the difficulties but takes effective steps to overcome them.

Marxist-Leninists have all possibilities to secure the triumph of internationalist ideas and to thwart the imperialist designs to capitalize on nationalism. Nevertheless, to overcome nationalist deviations and splitting tendencies in the revolutionary ranks requires persevering, painstaking work. No small contribution can and must be made by philosophers, sociologists, economists, historians and other representatives of our theoretical front.

Of great importance for the contemporary revolutionary process is the problem of the unity of the working class movement, which is dependent upon the relationship between communists and social democrats.

For several decades communists have been concerned with the questions of working class unity and co-operation with the social democrats in upholding the interests of the working class. Objective reality has repeatedly confirmed the correctness of the communist policies. Had the social-democratic leadership accepted the communist parties' proposal for co-operation in the early thirties, fascism would have been checked, thus sparing the working class and the whole of mankind the untold suffering and misery which German fascism brought in its wake. How great were the opportunities for achieving unity can be judged, among other things, from the experience of the popular front in France and Spain. These opportunities remained unutilized because of the stand adopted by the Right-wing social-democratic leaders.

Assessing the position of social democracy in the quarter-century since the war, one cannot escape the conclusion that it failed to heed the lessons afforded by the consequences of its policy in the period immediately preceding the Second World War. After the war the social-democratic parties had another opportunity to become ruling parties. Relying on the experience of joint struggle against fascism, the communists proposed co-operation with the social democrats. But the Right-wing leaders of social democracy reverted to the policy of forming alliances with bourgeois parties, renounced co-operation with the communists and even helped to remove them from governments.

Their hopes that this would mean the end of the communist movement were disappointed. It continued to grow and gain in strength. In

France, Italy and some other countries the Marxist-Leninist parties became stronger and more influential than the social-democratic parties. Despite the hostile attitude of the Right-wing social-democratic leaders, the communists, putting the interests of the working people above all else, did not abandon the policy of united action. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union played a considerable part in establishing contact and promoting co-operation with the social-democratic parties on international issues. Some of them sent delegations to the USSR. During their stay in our country the social-democratic leaders were able to gain first-hand knowledge of the Soviet Union's achievements in building communism.

That the policy of promoting unity has yielded tangible results cannot be denied. But although a telling blow has been struck at the anti-communism of the cold-war period in the social-democratic movement, many of its Right-wing leaders continue to cling to their anti-communist positions. This is evidenced by the crude anti-communist sallies on the part of the leaders of the Austrian Socialist Party and certain other social-democratic parties.

At the same time, differentiation within the ranks of social democracy, including its leadership, is becoming more pronounced, with the ultra-Right leaders and representatives of the growing leftward trends finding themselves ranged at opposite poles. The CPSU maintains friendly relations with a number of socialist parties adhering to class, anti-imperialist positions, among them are the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, the Chilean Socialist Party and

the Socialist Party of Japan. Of considerable significance is the strengthening of Left trends in the British Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the Swedish Social-Democratic Labour Party.

Proceeding from a sober appraisal of the situation in international social democracy, the 24th Congress of the CPSU reaffirmed the Party's principled stand on this question. Acting in conformity with the guidelines laid down by the 1969 International Conference and firmly adhering to its revolutionary principles, our Party is prepared to co-operate with the socialists and social democrats in the struggle for peace and democracy and for socialism. The Party's position on this question is clearly expressed in Leonid Brezhnev's Report to the 24th Congress and in his speech made in Tbilisi last May. The ideas put forward by Comrade Brezhnev evoked much interest and met with a wide response from the international social-democratic movement.

A determined struggle against the social-democratic ideology and policies continues to be an important task facing the CPSU and the entire communist movement. Communists have been consistently waging this struggle in the name of the unity of the working class movement and not in order to deepen its division. Regarding united action as the cornerstone of their policy, communists are continually putting forward new proposals for co-operation. The Right-wing social-democratic leaders cannot ignore the fact that unity of the working class movement is increasingly being demanded by the march of events. The policy of promoting this unity also helps to

overcome bias and distrust with respect to communists encountered in the middle and lower ranks of the social-democratic movement. Communists will continue steadfastly to carry forward the Leninist policy of unity.

THE SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN LATIN AMERICA

Events of major historical significance have recently taken place in Latin America. The importance of studying them carefully was emphasized by the 24th Congress of the CPSU which devoted much attention to a close analysis of the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

The decisive part played by the Cuban revolution in accelerating the revolutionary process in Latin America is a matter of common knowledge. Much has been said and written about its significance and experience. Now the attention of Marxist historians is being increasingly focused on the new experience accumulated by the revolutionaries of Latin America more recently.

The victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile, the progressive changes in Peru, the considerable successes of the revolutionary struggle in Uruguay and some other countries warrant the conclusion that the revolutionary process is continuing to develop more rapidly than in other parts of the non-socialist world. Latin America today is indeed a "seething continent."

Are there any valid grounds for believing that the revolutionary process in Latin America will not stop at what has already been achieved but will continue to develop? To answer this question, it is necessary to study thoroughly the economic,

social and political structure in this part of the world. Soviet sociologists have made an important contribution in this respect. Theoretical research is also being conducted by the Latin American communist parties. This provides the groundwork for drawing certain conclusions concerning the nature of Latin America's revolutionary development. There are several objective factors determining the accumulation of a revolutionary potential of large dimensions on that continent.

First, this region is the focal point of deeply rooted contradictions. The existence of feudal and semi-feudal relations gives rise to sharp contradictions in the countryside. The relatively high level of capitalist development leads to intensification of the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The US imperialists are continuing their brazen robbery of Latin America, for which purpose they support the most reactionary regimes and employ the foulest methods, going as far as open military intervention. The domination of American imperialism sharpens the contradictions between national interests and external imperialist oppression. All these contradictions combine to give rise to a powerful mass movement which, to a greater or lesser extent, is objectively assuming an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist orientation.

Second, there has been in the Latin American countries for quite a long time a fairly numerous working class possessing considerable experience of revolutionary struggle. There are communist parties in all the Latin American countries; some of these parties have a large membership and

wield much influence. It has to be noted that social democracy has no deep roots in the Latin American working class movement and does not enjoy much influence there.

Third, Latin America is distinguished for strong revolutionary liberation traditions dating back to the period of struggle against Spanish and Portuguese rule. Among these traditions is solidarity of the Latin American peoples which was manifested so vividly in the broad movement in support of revolutionary Cuba and which is manifesting itself today in the movement to support the Chilean revolution.

All this justifies the conclusion that, notwithstanding occasional setbacks, the revolutionary movement on the continent is continuing to develop, being still far from having attained its peak, and will follow the ascending line in the historical perspective.

Meanwhile, the experience accumulated to date is of exceptional significance from the viewpoint of general theory because it confirms the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution and provides a wealth of material for its creative development.

Let us consider the example of Chile from this angle. A valuable analysis of that country's experience has been made by the Communist Party of Chile. A number of important generalizations were also made by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. On the basis of these propositions it is possible to draw certain important conclusions concerning Chile's experience.

In the first place, the example of Chile provides fresh confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis concerning the role of the working class as the

chief motive and leading force of the revolution. The opportunist contention that in our day this role is being taken over by the intelligentsia, the urban middle strata, the student youth or other social groups, has been effectively refuted by the facts. It was the working class that came forward as the organizer of the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile and as the generally recognized leader of a broad coalition of the social forces capable of waging a resolute struggle against imperialism and interested in radically altering the existing social system.

The second point refers to the rallying of the working class. The victory of the Popular Unity bloc became possible because the Chilean working class came forward as a united force. A militant agreement was reached between the communists and the socialists—the two principal political parties of the working class movement. The significance of this fact far exceeds the bounds of the country concerned and of the continent as a whole. It has been proved in practice that the unity of the working class movement opens before the working class a broad perspective of revolutionary gains.

Third, the victory of the Popular Unity bloc demonstrated that political power may be won by a consistently democratic government without the use of armed force. But it also showed that this path has nothing in common with reformist illusions. The communist and workers' parties have repeatedly emphasized in their documents that the struggle to strengthen and extend parliamentary representation must be combined with a mass struggle outside parliament. The victory in Chile is attributable to the fact that develop-

ments there followed exactly this pattern. The Chilean experience has strikingly demonstrated that whatever path the revolution may take, it will always be a path of the sharpest class struggle, of bitter clashes with the counter-revolution, of inevitable polarization of forces according to their attitude to revolutionary changes.

Fourth, the Chilean experience proves the importance of tackling the constructive tasks of the revolution. Developments in Chile are a fresh reminder to all revolutionaries that the success and stability of any new government depend on the successful solution of problems relating to the country's economy and state affairs in the interests of the people. Once again it has been demonstrated that it is essential that the working class performing a revolution have a clear-cut, well-considered, scientifically substantiated programme of positive socio-economic changes.

The fifth important conclusion to be drawn from the experience of the Chilean revolution is that, like any other revolution, it is primarily the result of the action by the working class and other working people of that country. But at the same time—and this is emphatically stressed by the Chilean comrades themselves—it owes its victory in large measure to the solidarity displayed by the working class of the Latin American countries, to the moral support it got from the socialist countries and all progressive forces. It would be no exaggeration to say that from the very outset this support played a big part in checking imperialist aggression, in dissuading the United States from interfering openly in the affairs of the Chilean people. In this particular case internationalism came for-

ward directly as an ally of the victorious revolution. Today this international solidarity is needed more than ever before in order to counter the intrigues of external and internal reaction, to thwart the US attempts to organize an international conspiracy against Chile. The CPSU, as always, is rendering practical support to the Chilean people's revolutionary struggle.

Sixth, the revolutionary struggle in Chile has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist conclusion drawn from the whole history of the working class movement: the revolution must be able to defend itself. The domestic reaction and American imperialism are reluctant to part with their profits and other economic benefits they used to derive from the exploitation of Chile. Nor are they willing to relinquish the political positions they captured there by force. Despite the fact that the new regime was established in strict conformity with the existing constitutional procedure, the domestic and external counter-revolutionary forces are stopping at nothing in their attempts to overthrow it. The reactionary elements are regrouping their forces, seeking to form a single bloc. In the process of implementing deep-going social, economic and political reforms, the Popular Unity government is compelled ceaselessly to beat back the enemies' counter-attacks. It was pointed out at the last National Conference of the Communist Party of Chile that "the alternative is becoming increasingly clear: either the process of transformations in Chile will continue to deepen and the government will successfully fulfil its tasks or, on the contrary, the counter-revolution will triumph." The communists, socialists and all progressive forces of the country are working tirelessly to ral-

ly the Chilean people under the slogan of preventing in Chile a repetition of the Bolivian events.

The Chilean comrades have already accomplished a great deal, but all the indications are that they face grim trials ahead. The imperialist circles and the local reactionaries do not conceal their intention to halt the country's revolutionary development. Provocations against the popular government continue unabated. The Chilean communists stress that the thwarting of the counter-revolutionary moves is linked with the further development of the revolution, with the application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state. The establishment of a people's government does not at this stage mean that state power has been fully taken over by the working class. The conservative and reactionary forces still retain many important positions in the state apparatus, especially in the economy, and use them to hamper the implementation of the government programme. As the revolution develops in depth, it becomes increasingly clear that the positions held by the conservative element in state organizations do not conform to the actual alignment of forces in the country. The conservatives' abuses sharply pose the question of affecting far-reaching changes, meeting the interests of the people, in the state system itself. Considering that the revolutionary events in Chile are developing within the framework of the country's constitution, Chilean Marxists are adopting the policy of altering more or less gradually the class content of state power bodies, and of restructuring them stage by stage.

The Latin American peoples regard the Chilean example as a model for boldly advancing along the road of liberation from US imperialist oppres-

sion, a model for resolving pressing problems in the interest of the working people. Chile is a torch of freedom in Latin America, lit from the Cuban flame. It signifies that the revolutionary movement on the continent has entered a new phase.

There is one more noteworthy feature of the revolutionary process on the Latin American continent. It is known that the revolutionary events in Peru, for example, were the result of the activity of patriotic-minded officers on their advent to power. Thus the course of revolutionary events has demonstrated the possibility of the emergence of new state forms characterized by the participation of the armed forces in progressive development. This is a new phenomenon whose social nature and causes must be closely studied by Marxist-Leninist science. It is all the more important since the form of development of revolutions, as is well illustrated by history, depends largely on the attitude of the army. This conclusion has been confirmed once again by the events in Chile, where the army's neutrality was one of the major factors that ensured the victory of the Popular Unity bloc. It is important to note that in a number of Asian, and also particularly in Arab, countries progressive-minded army officers played a very big part in ensuring the success of anti-imperialist coups.

Conversely, when the character of the army is reactionary, the counter-revolution is able to gain the upper hand. Such was the case in Brazil a few years ago, where the reactionary generals succeeded in overthrowing the country's democratic regime. And similarly in Bolivia where the government of President Torres was forcibly overthrown

by the army, the bulk of which had been won over to the side of the domestic reaction with the aid of external imperialist forces. The stand taken by the army is of crucial importance. The emergence and strengthening of revolutionary-democratic sentiments in the army, notably among the officer class, can accelerate the process of revolutionary development.

The rise of the revolutionary movement in Latin America is of great significance for the world revolutionary process. This area which but a short while ago was regarded as the reliable hinterland of US imperialism is turning into a giant seat of the anti-imperialist revolution. A revolutionary movement of unprecedented power is taking hold at the very door of the USA—the main citadel of imperialism. These changes are exerting and will continue to exert a strong influence on further shifts in the balance of world forces in favour of the international working class, in favour of socialism.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The 24th Congress of our Party devoted a great deal of attention to the national liberation movement. The course of social development has confirmed the profound truth of Lenin's thesis concerning the immense role of the national liberation movement in the development of the world revolutionary process; at the same time, it has corroborated the correctness of Lenin's words to the effect that the struggle for the liberation of the peoples under imperialist domination would be a long and difficult one. To solve the problems

of national liberation requires something more than just the abolition of the colonial regimes, which was accomplished fairly quickly, primarily as a result of the historic victories of world socialism.

Among the most important and urgent tasks today are consolidation of the positions of the countries that have achieved national liberation, strengthening the rule of the anti-imperialist forces, and protecting the progressive regimes from the unceasing encroachments of imperialism and neo-colonialism acting in collusion with internal reaction. The all-round strengthening of national independence, and the anti-imperialist orientation of the struggle continue to form the basic content of the national liberation revolution. At the same time, the resolution of the 24th Congress stresses, "the struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practice begun to develop into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist."

In no country has revolutionary development ever been a simple, straight forward and smoothly unfolding process. In the countries that constituted the former colonial empire of imperialism it is distinguished for its particular complexity which is attributable to the extreme economic backwardness of these countries, the multiplicity of their economic forms, and their complex social structures and class relationships.

The national liberation revolutions therefore have two aspects. In the first place, they have the object of winning national independence and abolishing the feudal system, similar to the bourgeois revolutions in Europe and America. At the same time, they are characterized by a tendency to go

beyond the bounds of a bourgeois revolution which is a revolutionary-democratic, anti-capitalist tendency. These tendencies, in various combinations, produce a variety of specific, transitional forms, many of which do not fit into any customary pattern.

But in all these complexities of the national liberation movement there are two cardinal questions. Will the anti-imperialist regimes get firmly established or will they allow the external imperialist forces to accomplish counter-revolutionary coups? Will the newly free countries become breeding-grounds for capitalist development, form part of world capitalism,—as is the cherished goal of imperialism—or will they, with the winning of independence, drop out of the imperialist system and take the road of non-capitalist development leading to socialism? These are the questions that underlie many acute internal and international conflicts in this part of the world.

It is to be noted that the exploitation of former colonial countries is still continuing to yield high profits to world imperialism. Even according to official US statistics the average profit obtained by US companies from investments in developing countries rose during the 1960s from 18 to 20 per cent; in other areas it ranged from 8 to 10 per cent. The imperialists are making profits by robbing the developing countries of their natural wealth—oil, rubber, tin, copper, uranium and other strategic raw materials. They cheat these countries by selling them their products at monopoly high prices while forcing down the prices of the raw materials they buy from these same countries. They take in enormous profits from their investments and in the form of interest on loans.

Imperialism is endeavouring to impose the capitalist path on the developing countries so that it can keep them within the orbit of the bourgeois system, retain its economic positions there and make them obedient tools of its foreign policy. The strengthening of the revolutionary-democratic regimes and the increase in the number of countries adhering to the socialist orientation threaten this dominance. It is therefore not surprising that neo-colonial revanchism is very active.

Marxist-Leninists are firmly convinced that only the path of strengthening national independence, combating imperialism and promoting social progress accords with the vital interests of the peoples of these countries. But advancement along this path can be stable and secure only when it is the natural consequence of the activity of the people themselves and of the conscious choice of this path by their revolutionary vanguards.

The choice of the socialist path is prompted by objective deeply rooted factors which grow out of the need of the emergent states to stimulate economic development and social progress and which increasingly dictate this choice as the objective conditions for this gradually ripen.

These factors include, *first*, the task of winning genuine economic independence from imperialism. In this connection the neo-colonialists count on the anxiety of the local bourgeoisie, intent on perpetuating and intensifying the exploitation of labour, to extend and strengthen its ties with imperialism.

Of course one cannot leave out of account the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie of an emergent country and the imperialism of the one-time metropolitan country. Where national

capital is well developed it strives to attain equality with its imperialist partner. But in present-day conditions the capitalist path inevitably leads to new forms of colonial enslavement and obstructs practical solution of the tasks of economic emancipation. The net effect is that the patriotic forces are prompted to choose a different, anti-capitalist path.

Second, operating in favour of the socialist choice are factors connected with the need to overcome economic backwardness. This task calls for the use of the most progressive forms of economic development, which cannot be offered by capitalism. The gap now existing between the imperialist and developing countries in terms of per capita national product continues to widen. The present ratio is 12:1 but in a few decades, given the same rates of development, the difference could well increase to twenty times.

The scientific and technological revolution in the conditions of capitalism does not remove but, on the contrary, tends to widen this gap, thereby still further worsening the position of the developing countries on the capitalist world market. The development of production of synthetic materials in the imperialist countries, the technical progress in their agriculture, the emergence of new forms of international specialization in industry, and imperialist integration adversely affect the backward, agrarian-raw material economy of the developing countries. There is a relative decrease in the demand for their produce; the correlation of prices of imported and exported commodities moves against them, the possibilities for expanding the domestic market become still more limited, and the possibilities for industrialization diminish.

At the same time the population in the developing countries is increasing rapidly, giving rise to a higher demand for farm products and industrial goods.

In order to achieve a substantial rise in production under these conditions, to make effective use of up-to-date scientific and technological achievements in the interests of the peoples, it is necessary, first of all, to effect far-reaching socio-economic changes and do away with outdated practices and procedures, including complete abolition of feudal survivals and primitive social structures. And this poses the problem of relations not only with the landowner class—the tribal aristocracy, but also with the national bourgeoisie. Many local businessmen closely connected with the landowners prefer paltry reforms perpetuating the obsolete system. That is why consistent democratic struggle in present-day conditions inevitably leads to the socialist orientation. History has demonstrated convincingly that the adoption of the capitalist path of development by backward countries can offer no solution, for the entire system of the capitalist world economy serves to make the poor countries still poorer and perpetuates and further aggravates their backwardness. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the social forces demanding rapid scientific, technological, cultural and economic progress pronounce in favour of the non-capitalist path.

Third, operating in favour of the socialist choice are the factors linked with the need to achieve social emancipation and raise living standards.

It is well known that the elimination of colonial oppression did very little to improve the lot of the vast majority of the population in the former co-

lonies. There is immense inequality in the level of incomes, unemployment has assumed catastrophic proportions, and hundreds of millions of people suffer from hunger.

To complement the success of achieving political liberation with far-reaching socio-economic measures aimed at improving living standards, radical measures must be taken to curb the greed and end the parasitism of the propertied classes. It is necessary to rouse the working people to action and to mobilize all national resources for the achievement of economic and cultural progress. It need hardly be said that capitalism is incapable of carrying out such measures.

Apart from internal objective factors, there are powerful international factors operating in favour of the non-capitalist path, the most important of these being the influence of the world socialist community, the power of its example, its direct assistance to the newly free countries.

The peoples of the emergent countries have acquired national sovereignty in conditions when the growing might of the socialist world community is limiting imperialism's possibilities of exerting pressure and committing acts of aggression. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries now have many strong links with the newly liberated nations. And this, with the rich opportunities it offers, influences their choice of the path of development.

It should be stressed in this connection that the successes of the national liberation movement would have been inconceivable without the existence of the Soviet Union, without the vitally important moral and political support and material assistance it extends on a vast scale to the peoples

fighting imperialism. The role played by Soviet assistance in the peoples' armed struggle against the colonialists is of particular significance. Its importance was vividly expressed by Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, in his address to the 24th CPSU Congress. "We are not in any way belittling the importance of African solidarity and the solidarity of the other anti-colonial forces," he said, "when we frankly say that it is from the Soviet Union that we receive the bulk of the aid to our struggle." These words are indicative of the value that is attached to such assistance. Support of the peoples' just struggle against the colonialists will continue to yield results in the future when these countries, after their liberation, have to choose the road of socio-economic development.

To sum up, it can be said that the objective factors prompting the masses and their advance forces in the former colonies to fight for non-capitalist development operate along all lines and that this tendency is steadily gaining ground everywhere.

Although small-scale commodity production in the former colonies engenders capitalism, although the capitalist elements are supported by imperialism in every way, although the already formed local bourgeoisie in a number of states constitutes a substantial force—all this in no way implies that the countries which have freed themselves from colonial oppression are destined by fate to travel the stony road of capitalism. Of special topicality for the revolutionary forces of these countries are Lenin's ideas on the democratic revolution growing into a socialist one. These countries are by no

means doomed to go through the period of capitalist development. There now exist broad opportunities for deepening national liberation revolutions with a view to effecting far-reaching anti-capitalist measures and creating the necessary conditions for advancing in the socialist direction.

Even in countries with a long record of capitalist development the positions of the social forces rejecting this path are growing stronger, as is illustrated, for instance, by certain aspects of the events taking place in India, Ceylon, Nigeria and some other countries.

The emergence in Asia and Africa of a group of states that have already chosen the non-capitalist path and proclaimed socialism their ultimate goal proves that the anti-capitalist tendencies of the national liberation movement have been accepted by millions of people. The countries now advancing along the non-capitalist road have a total population of approximately 100 million and cover a territory of nearly ten million square kilometres. There is every justification to say that a definite zone of non-capitalist development has been established. The significance of these countries' experience lies in the fact that, like several Soviet Republics and the Mongolian People's Republic before them, they serve as living examples of development along the non-capitalist path. The truth of Lenin's prediction that backward countries can bypass the capitalist stage of development, provided the working class emerges victorious in a number of advanced countries and renders them all-round assistance, has thus been fully borne out by social practice.

The question of the *political forces* which, in conditions of the national-liberation revolutions

advancing to a higher stage, occupy the dominant positions in a number of countries, merits the closest and most detailed examination. This is the question of revolutionary democracy which represents in the main the interests of the peasant masses, the petty bourgeoisie and the radical-minded sections of the intelligentsia.

This is not a new problem. It is one that has confronted the communists for many years. The significance of revolutionary democracy as one of the major socio-political forces in the national liberation countries, and the need to promote co-operation with revolutionary democracy were stressed by Lenin who theoretically demonstrated the need for such co-operation and gave splendid examples of the practical support and concerted effort of communists and revolutionary democrats in the struggle against the common enemy in the world arena.

Lenin repeatedly stressed that the communist parties in the Eastern countries must learn to adapt themselves to the specific conditions of these continents where the peasantry makes up the bulk of the population, where religion remains to be an immense force, and where nationalism is often the predominant ideology.

The fraternal parties of the respective countries began to devote a good deal of attention to these questions in the period of struggle for national independence. At their conference held in February 1936, representatives of the Arab parties affiliated with the Communist International adopted a resolution which read in part: "The communist parties of the Arab countries must clearly realize that the struggle against imperialist oppression and for national independence is the fo-

cal point of their entire activity and a graphic indicator of the political influence they wield within the country, and that the destiny of the communist parties themselves in the Arab countries depends on the correct approach to this question and on the degree of activity displayed in the struggle for national independence.

"...The communist parties must radically change their attitude to the national revolutionary organizations and parties and their tactics and approach to the national-reformists. The communists in the Arab countries must ensure close co-operation with the national-revolutionaries, achieve joint action with the national-reformist organizations, support the latter's demands directed against the imperialist positions..." Guided by this approach, the communists of many countries have long been pursuing a policy of struggle against imperialism and reaction jointly with all democratic and progressive forces.

Today, when there has arisen a group of states of socialist orientation, it is natural that the communists and revolutionary democrats should find themselves objectively in the same camp. Their co-operation is vitally necessary for the states following the socialist path inasmuch as communists have the theoretical training and practical experience required for propagating the ideas of scientific socialism, for studying and making known the experience of social transformations accumulated by real socialism.

The emergence of revolutionary democracy on the historical stage marks a definite step of the revolutionary process. Hence, a historical approach to the revolutionary democrats requires that, side by side with progressive aspects, one

should be able to discern in their activity certain weaknesses resulting from the duality of the social nature of the trends they represent. At the same time, practical experience shows that the political positions of revolutionary democracy are not immutable or petrified. On the contrary, they are subject to substantial changes. Moreover, the social nature and the political and ideological make-up of revolutionary-democratic parties make possible their evolution in two mutually exclusive directions. A historical example is provided by the fate of the Kuomintang in China. It is common knowledge that the revolutionary Kuomintang headed by Sun Yat-sen roused the Chinese people and laid the groundwork for a long revolutionary process which culminated in the victory of a people's revolution led by the communists. But it is equally well known that following Chiang Kai-shek's advent to power the Kuomintang underwent a process of degeneration into a counter-revolutionary party which, together with the government under its control, surrendered itself to imperialism. Much the same thing happened in Turkey where the pro-capitalist wing of the Kemalist movement likewise gained the upper hand.

However, there are examples of a different order, when the progressive wing grows stronger and begins to gravitate towards Marxism-Leninism. Examples of such evolution are furnished by the road traversed by the revolutionary democrats of Guyana and Nigeria. The same road is now being followed by revolutionary democrats in some other countries.

We attach particular importance to the fact that, apart from the internal processes taking place in the emergent countries themselves, and apart

from the political polarization within revolutionary democracy itself, the trend of its evolution largely depends on international factors. It cannot be denied, for instance, that the policy consistently followed by the CPSU in relation to revolutionary democracy, of rendering it support in the struggle against imperialism, of providing economic and military assistance, and the practical measures carried out steadfastly and with flexibility over a number of years, have exerted a beneficial influence on the development of the revolutionary democrats' political positions in a number of countries. The conditions for bringing revolutionary democracy closer to scientific socialism are now much more favourable than they have ever been.

Of course, the imperialists and the Right-wing social democrats are doing their utmost to prevent revolutionary democracy from shifting further to the Left. Agents of the CPC leadership operate in the same direction. As a result we encounter the situation where positive development of the revolutionary democratic regimes comes to a sudden halt and their leading groups for one reason or another take repressive action against the communists and other progressive forces. But does this warrant the conclusion that the policy of co-operation with revolutionary democracy is unjustified? Needless to say, this kind of conclusion would be erroneous for it would be tantamount to ignoring the decisive tendencies which make the revolutionary-democratic forces our ally in the struggle against imperialism, a political factor which can play a significant part in the social progress of the emergent countries.

It should be borne in mind that revolutionary-

democratic parties differ widely in the place they occupy in the social life of their countries and in their ideological and political views. Yet in the programmes and the main aspects of activity of these parties we find a number of common features which enable us to regard them as a political force capable of tackling the tasks facing the anti-capitalist stage of national liberation revolutions.

Directing their main blows against the foreign monopolies, the revolutionary-democratic forces undermine one of the chief pillars on which capitalist development of the former colonies depends.

Laying emphasis on the development of the state sector, carrying out progressive agrarian reforms, and mobilizing masses for the struggle to do away with obsolete social relationships, the revolutionary democrats gradually create the necessary *internal prerequisites* for advancing towards socialism.

By promoting friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the revolutionary-democratic forces help to establish the necessary *external political prerequisites* for non-capitalist development. A favourable situation is gradually developing for drawing a number of young national states into the system of international socialist division of labour, which will enable them to break out of the shackling system of the capitalist world market.

In their search for methods of quickly solving the problems facing their countries, the revolutionary-democratic parties look to the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries. The successes of established socialism in its confrontation with imperialism—that sworn enemy of the peoples—adds greatly to the attractive force of social-

ist ideas. In a number of emergent countries these ideas have found direct expression in the documents of the ruling parties which proclaim socialism to be their ultimate goal. The conceptions of socialist society of a number of the leaders of these parties are often still vague and even incorrect, presenting a mixture of socialist ideas, religious dogmas and nationalistic prejudices. But for all that the ideas of socialism are steadily gaining ground among the newly free peoples. Gravitation towards the Soviet Union has become a characteristic feature of the political life of many national-democratic states, of Afro-Asian progressive forces. The fraternal relations uniting our country with the forces of national liberation reflect not only the consistent character of the policy followed by the CPSU and the Soviet government but the higher degree of maturity attained by these forces themselves. They are an indicator of the qualitative leap made towards merging the three main currents of the world revolutionary movement into a single stream. It is not surprising therefore that the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which was attended by representatives of nineteen Afro-Asian national-democratic parties and organizations, became an historic forum of both the communist movement and the revolutionary-democratic forces.

As intimated at the 24th CPSU Congress by representatives of the TANU and Afro-Shirazi parties (Tanzania), the Democratic Party of Guinea and other guests, revolutionary-democratic parties, especially those in power, benefit not only from the external political and economic support rendered by the USSR but also from the example of aspects of Soviet life and the experience gained by our country and our Party in the process of

building socialism. This is logically to be expected, considering that the revolutionary-democratic forces of the national liberation zone are faced with a number of problems more or less similar to those that had to be solved by our Party in its development of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The CPSU—and this was again confirmed by its 24th Congress—is convinced that co-operation of the revolutionary-democratic and communist parties fully accords with the interests of the anti-imperialist movement, promotes national independence and furthers the cause of social progress. Every conflict between communists and revolutionary democrats of one country or another is fraught with grave consequences for the progressive development of the countries concerned, for it splits and weakens the revolutionary forces. "The parties expressed their conviction," we read in the communiqué on the talks held last July between the CPSU delegation and the representatives of the Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union (Egypt), "that anti-communism does much harm to the liberating aspirations and national interests of the peoples and that it must be resolutely combated. It only serves the interests of the international imperialist and reactionary circles."

Anti-communist measures, as a rule, cannot be separated from anti-Sovietism, from rejection of friendly co-operation with the USSR and other socialist countries. The imperialists are the only ones who stand to gain from this.

Upholding the idea of alliance between the communist and revolutionary-democratic forces of the national liberation movement, the CPSU will

continue to strengthen and develop in every way its fraternal relations with the communist parties of Afro-Asian countries. The communist parties have always been and continue to be an indispensable force in the revolutionary development of the national liberation zone. By their heroic struggle against the colonialists and their puppets, in which they sustained heavy losses, they have earned great prestige among the people and acquired an inalienable right to take part in the building of the new society on an equal footing with other progressive forces. The communist parties are a reliable mainstay for the socialist transformation of these countries. They know the laws of social development and are capable of arming the national liberation movement with the theory of scientific socialism which indicates the only path leading to a brighter future.

But this path involves a difficult struggle. Widely differing forces are determined to prevent any advance along this path. Imperialism does not at all remain indifferent to the growing unity and consolidation of the forces of progress and democracy. The neo-colonialists are attacking the forces of progress in the Third World on all fronts. In the socio-economic sphere they are striving to implant capitalist principles of management and to create a social basis for capitalism in Afro-Asian countries. They are not short of money when it comes to ideological indoctrination of the population of the emergent countries. All this is combined with intensive politico-diplomatic and intelligence-subversive activity. The role played by the CIA and the US Department of State in engineering conspiracies against the anti-imperialist regimes on the Asian and African continents

is all too well known. The neo-colonialists resort to their favourite method of inciting one emergent country against another in an effort to enhance their influence there. The same idea underlies the so-called Guam Doctrine of the USA as well as the principle of "making Asians fight Asians."

In their speeches at the 24th CPSU Congress representatives of African and Asian parties cited many examples to show that imperialism is engineering new provocations and acts of aggression against the peoples of the newly free countries. The progressive forces of these countries must display particular vigilance and unshakable determination to protect the gains of the national liberation revolution.

The pernicious activity of the Maoists who, exploiting the difficulties attending socio-economic progress in the national liberation zone, are seeking to divorce and isolate the latter from the united front of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces of the whole world, objectively plays into the hands of the neo-colonialists in their machinations in Asia and Africa.

No little harm to the cause of national liberation is done by the activity of the ultra-Left forces and organizations in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, who issue calls to fight the revolutionary-democratic regimes and to oppose the progressive reforms effected by the governments headed by representatives of the national bourgeoisie adhering to the anti-imperialist position. Such tendencies are fraught with particular danger because they play into the hands of internal reaction which derives its strength from the neo-colonialists' direct and indirect support.

Nationalist and religious fanaticism often serves as the breeding ground of reaction. The aggravation of social contradictions has given rise to the tendency in a number of countries to blunt the anti-imperialist "edge" of nationalist ideology. The attempts to use it in the interest of the reactionary circles have become more frequent. The theories about "poor" and "rich" nations, about the irreconcilability of the interests of "white" and "coloured" peoples, emanating from Peking find their nutritive soil in the reactionary nationalist ideology. The latter also breeds anti-communism to the benefit of imperialism which swiftly converts the exponents of such tendencies into an instrument of its anti-socialist aims.

Objectively, the emergent countries now have broad opportunities to consolidate their national independence and anti-imperialist positions, and to promote social progress. Utmost importance now attaches to the ability of the progressive forces in the former colonies, and of the entire world revolutionary movement to take advantage of the favourable conditions for directing the Third World onto this path. But development along this path is possible only on the basis of closer unity and fraternal co-operation of the revolutionary forces the world over and within the emergent states, on the basis of mastering the ideas of scientific socialism.

* * *

At the dawn of the contemporary communist movement, when a tense struggle was in progress in Russia for the creation of a revolutionary proletarian party of a new type, Lenin declared that

without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. From that time on communists have been guided by this truth which cogently expresses the role played by Marxism-Leninism in the world revolutionary process.

The present-day features of the world revolutionary process confront Marxist-Leninist theory with responsible tasks. An ability to combine the analysis of specific and fast-moving events with broad generalizations that make it possible to disclose the main trends influencing the world situation and the international and national conditions of revolutionary struggle is today more necessary than ever before.

The 24th Congress of our Party underscored the need for creatively applying and developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The Congress itself and its documents furnish an example of the creative approach to contemporary developments and indicate the basic direction of sociological research in exploring the most urgent and pressing problems of the day.

These problems cannot be resolved in isolation from the requirements of revolutionary practice and from the acute ideological struggle now developing around theoretical questions of the socialist revolution. To administer a *fitting rebuff* to the bourgeois falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism, to the revisionists of both Right and "Left" varieties, to display a *creative approach* to problems posed by life, to *popularize in every way* Lenin's ideological legacy and the theoretical achievements of contemporary Marxist science—such are the paramount tasks facing us today.

The Growing Role of the Party—a Natural Law of the Construction of Socialism and Communism

Academician P. FEDOSEYEV

Enhancement of the leading role of the Communist Party, as the highest form of political organization of the working class, as the vanguard of the working people, is one of the most important requisites for the construction of socialism and communism. It forms part of the more general question of the place and role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the class struggle of the proletariat, in the revolutionary movement of the working people against capitalism and all other forms of exploitation and oppression, and in the struggle for a socialist transformation of society, for the victory of communism.

This question has been contested for decades, and is the subject of increasing struggle today. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the Party states that the

question of the leading role of the Communist Party "is one of the fundamental questions of the revolutionary movement and the building of the new society. Today it has become the pivot of the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and representatives of various forms of revisionism." (24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 122.)

The sharpest ideological and political clashes regarding the question of the leading role of the Party of the working class are closely linked with the profound changes which form the content of the epoch of transition from capitalism to communism on a world scale, with the immense tasks facing each individual country in its struggle for socialism and communism, and with the development of the world socialist system as a whole.

The growth and consolidation of the economic and political power of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, the irreconcilable struggle between the two opposed social systems in politics, economics and ideology, and the advance and strengthening of the international communist movement as the most influential force of the world revolutionary liberation movement, are accompanied by furious intensification of the attacks of the defenders of capitalism on the Marxist-Leninist parties. In the face of the continuously growing influence of the socialist community on the process of world development, aware of the impossibility of smashing this community by military means, and fearing new defeats under the blows of the revolutionary movement, the ideologists of imperialism are resorting to the grossest falsifications, forgeries and distortions in the struggle against the vanguard

of this movement, against the Marxist-Leninist parties. Keeping company with the ideologists of imperialism are the traitors to the cause of the working class—the reformists and revisionists.

Their attacks are directed particularly against the communist parties of the socialist countries, the parties that head the working class and all working people in the struggle for the revolutionary remaking of society, for the victory of communism. The enemies of the communist parties stop at nothing in their efforts to undermine the unity of the communist ranks. Any differences in the theoretical and practical activity of the parties are seized upon and exaggerated in an attempt to exploit them. It is well known that the different conditions under which the new society is being built, the differences in the levels of economic and socio-political development, require of each country a different approach to the same problems and different methods for their solution. In the USSR, a developed socialist society has been built and the material and technical base of communism is being created; other countries have so far built only the foundation for a socialist economy, while construction of a developed socialist society is under way in others. All this is reflected in the tasks and the character of the activity of each of the parties, as well as in the methods of their leadership. The revisionists and the falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism seek to exaggerate every difference and any deviations and errors in the particular socialist countries in their attempt to undermine from within the solidarity of the communist ranks, the unity of the world communist movement.

Some of the critics of communism even go so

far as to claim that the Party of the Leninist type has exhausted its role in socialist society and that it is necessary to replace it with another type of organization capable of giving a new impetus to the development of socialism. The advocates of the so-called "democratization of socialism" recommend that the sphere of the Party's activity and influence should be narrowed down, in one case, with the idea of "separating" it from power and, in another case, for the sake of cultivating an alleged non-class democracy and "political pluralism."

Pursuing the aim of weakening and, ultimately, ending the leading role of communist and workers' parties these "theoreticians" would like the socialist countries to "free" themselves from the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and, by a process of "pragmatic evolution," begin to turn away from their chosen path.

The revisionists did not confine themselves to a theoretical propagation of their anti-party views; wherever they thought they had a chance they endeavoured to destroy the Marxist-Leninist party principles and, where they encountered no effective opposition, their subversive activities did considerable damage to the cause of socialism and the world communist movement.

It was necessary to give an appropriate rebuff to the revisionist attacks on the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of party construction, to uphold the fundamental position of the communist movement and to still further enhance the role and importance of the revolutionary parties of the working class in the struggle for the victory of socialism.

The CPSU called timely attention to the vital

importance of this task, resolutely denounced the revisionist theory and practice and strongly defended the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party and the principles of party construction. At the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, in documents dedicated to Lenin's birth centenary and at its 24th Congress, our Party comprehensively substantiated the fundamental position of Marxism-Leninism on questions relating to the Party's leadership of the working class struggle for a socialist reconstruction of society and for the victory of communism.

The fraternal parties have duly considered and supported these statements of the CPSU, have emphasized their great international importance and have drawn appropriate conclusions from the lessons of the struggle against anti-party elements.

The revisionists were dealt a powerful blow, the dissentient elements were expelled from the communist parties and were denounced as renegades. But they have not given up their attempts and are now attacking with new fury the fundamental positions of the CPSU and the fraternal parties, accusing them of "conservatism," "bureaucratic centralism" and other mortal sins.

The revisionists are indefatigable in their subversive activity and enjoy the full support of the bourgeois propaganda media. To the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the party they oppose their opportunist conceptions which they endeavour to substantiate by their philosophy of vulgar materialism and subjectivism.

Some bourgeois and revisionist "theoreticians" maintain that the propositions of the importance and leading role of the party depreciate the role of the masses and contradict the concept of his-

tory as a process that develops in accordance with objective laws. To make their case more "convincing," the bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers counterpose the classics of Marxism to each other and represent Marx as a vulgar economic materialist and Lenin as a voluntarist.

All these gross inventions are aimed at leading astray people who are inexperienced in theory and politics. One-sidedness in explaining the historical process is alien to Marxism-Leninism which considers social movement dialectically as a natural historical process developing in accordance with objective laws which determine the general tendency of development of all social relations, the main trend of social progress. But these laws do not manifest themselves automatically but through the practical activities of the people, their struggle and efforts. The strictly scientific character of Marxism-Leninism consists in the fact that it considers the objective necessity of the historical process in its inseparable connection with the activities of the people, with the active struggle of the progressive classes and their organizations. In this connection Lenin wrote that Marxism is characterized by the remarkable combination of "complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius and revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations, and parties that are able to discover and achieve contact with one or another class." (Lenin. *Coll. Works*. Vol. 13, p. 36.)

For Marxism-Leninism the question of the role

of the Party is not one of tactics or the specificity of some particular stage of the revolutionary struggle. It is a question of the basic theoretical principles of the teaching on the role and tasks of the working class in the socialist reorganization of society.

The advocates of "spontaneous" movement to socialism deny the world-historical mission of the working class as the leader of all the oppressed in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. Both the Right and "Left" revisionists continue talking about the working class "growing into" the bourgeois world, the weakening of its revolutionary potential, and the advance of various "new" revolutionary forces to the forward and decisive positions.

By denying the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary process the revisionists at the same time seek to belittle the role of its Party in the political life of modern society, in the struggle of the working class for power and in socialist construction.

The revisionists are trying to turn the Communist Party, from being a militant class party, the organizer of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, into a debating club, a place of endless dialogues, talk and discussion where the ability for effective revolutionary action against the capitalist system is lost.

Ernst Fischer, for example, urges that the communist parties, as they have formed and exist today, should be dissolved in a coalition of Left-wing forces in which the communists would not have their own organizational form. "To my mind," he says, "most of the existing parties

have become antiquated in form and type. I can conceive the formation of new associations of like-minded people and fighters—Marxists and non-Marxists, communists and social-democrats, catholics and protestants, if you will—despite the old, hardened positions." (*Stern*, 1969, Heft 49, S. 144.) Instead of the proletarian consciousness and organization embodied in the Communist Party, Fischer proposes these new spontaneous and amorphous formations which, in his own words, will form "contradictorily, without recipes, and with many mistakes at first." (*Der Spiegel*, 1969, N 47, S. 149.)

It is to such associations that the communist parties must, according to him, surrender the vanguard role. How reminiscent is this plan of the idea of organizing a broad working class party of social-democrats, social-revolutionaries, anarchists, non-party people, etc., once nurtured by the Menshevik liquidators! Lenin referred to the Mensheviks' plan as an opportunist invention, an idealistic dream "of how to 'bypass' grim class and political struggles." (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 175.) This description is as fully applicable today to the modern revisionists.

The renegade Roger Garaudy has declared the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the leading role of the party to be an outdated dogma. Advocating a renewal of the party, he recommends renunciation of the single party world outlook, i.e., the ideological basis of the Party's unity and fighting capacity. He maintains that, if the Party does not want to be a sect of doctrinaires, but intends to become the core of all the forces desiring to build socialism, "it cannot have any 'official philosophy' and cannot be in principle either idealist or ma-

terialist, either religious or atheistic." (R. Garaudy, *Le grand tournant du socialisme*, P., 1969, p. 284.) Renunciation of materialist philosophy as the basis of the proletarian world outlook denotes the abandonment of class positions and the party principle. It is a policy of ideological and theoretical disarmament of the Party of the working class. But the revolutionary Party of the working class can lead the proletariat and its allies through all the difficulties and battles, through all the advances and reverses of the historical process to the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism, precisely because it is guided in all of its activities by the truly scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism which enables it to determine its policy correctly, take new phenomena into account and make appropriate decisions.

The strength of the working class is in its organization, and it is to be expected, therefore, that all the renegades should concentrate their attacks on the political organization of the working class and oppose a "spontaneous" movement of the masses to it.

The leaders of the *Manifesto*, the Italian dissident group, reject the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party from the same anarchist positions of admiration for spontaneity. Thus Rossana Rossanda maintains that "Marx has no theory of the Party." (*Il Manifesto*, Roma, 1969, N 4, p. 41.) In her opinion, Marx was convinced that the proletariat did not need any special organization, independent of it (i.e. independent political party) and that is why his theory of revolution "has neither need nor place" for a theory of the party. (Ibid, p. 43.)

The same thought, she alleged, was expressed also by Engels in his article *On the History of the Communist League* where he wrote that "...the German proletariat no longer needs any official organization, either public or secret... to shake the whole German Empire to its foundations." (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works* in 3 vol. Vol. 3, M. Progress, 1970, p. 189.) But Rossanda fails to mention that Engels said these words at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law and that they voiced an ironical challenge to Bismarck's policy aimed at strangling the working class movement by prohibiting the proletarian Party. Engels is declaring that, despite all the official prohibitions of the proletarian Party, the working class movement, the revolutionary Party of the workers, is invincible!

People like Rossanda ignore what Marx and Engels wrote and said throughout their lives on the necessity and role of the proletarian Party. They seem "to have forgotten" that the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* devoted from beginning to end to revealing the world-historical mission of the working class, also proves the need for a proletarian Party and reveals its role in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels never renounced the ideas expressed and substantiated in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; on the contrary, they continuously developed and propagated them and struggled for their realization. In 1865, in his work *The Military Question in Prussia and the German Workers' Party* Engels wrote that "the proletariat becomes a force the moment it forms an independent workers' Party." (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 16, p. 69, Russ. Ed.)

The resolution "On Political Action of the Working Class" adopted by the London Conference of the First International in 1871, and based on the ideas expressed by Marx and Engels in the speeches made at this Conference, pointed out that "the organization of the working class in a political Party is necessary in order to ensure the victory of the social revolution and achieve its ultimate aim—the abolition of classes." (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 17, p. 427, Russ. Ed.) As we see, it was said very definitely and unambiguously: the working class needs a Party to achieve the ultimate aim of the socialist revolution—abolition of classes, i.e., construction of communism.

Generalizing the entire revolutionary experience in his letter to G. Trier in 1889 Engels stated with utmost clarity and frankness his own opinion and that of Marx on the role of the proletarian Party. He wrote: "For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day it must—and this Marx and I have been arguing ever since 1847—form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class Party." (Marx and Engels, *Sel. Correspondence*, M. 1965, p. 409.)

In trying to convince her readers that Marx and Engels offered no teaching on the party Rossanda endeavours to prove that the creation of the Communist Party was supposedly stimulated only by a subjective desire to speed up the historical process.

Rossanda declares that the theory of the Party came into existence only in Lenin's works when the period of expectation of an impending revolutionary explosion in Europe had ended and a

phase ensued when it seemed that the further development of the revolution required subjective impulses, a "speeding up of history." (*Il Manifesto*, Roma, 1969, N 4, p. 43.)

In fact, however, in party building Lenin proceeded entirely from the theory and practice of Marxism, developing the Marxist teaching on the Party in conformity with the new historical situation.

In the final analysis, the theoretical question of the leading role of the Communist Party goes back to the conception of the relation between spontaneity and consciousness in the working class movement. In social practice, under real conditions of class struggle this question of the relation between spontaneity and consciousness in the working class movement takes the form of the problem of "Party—class—masses." The basic principles were laid down by Marx and Engels, while a comprehensive scientific theoretical substantiation of the Marxist views on these problems was given by Lenin. Particularly important in this respect are Lenin's works *What Is to Be Done?*, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, and "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—An Infantile Disorder*. There is no need here to describe in detail the Marxist-Leninist formulation of these most important problems. We shall merely emphasize some of the fundamental conclusions.

The dialectics of the class struggle of the proletariat are such that at a certain stage of development the working class movement gives rise to a revolutionary Party which, in turn, imparts a conscious and organized character to this movement and raises the class struggle of the prole-

tariat to a new level. Following Marx and Engels, Lenin upheld this concept and resolutely denounced those who insisted that the emergence of a mass, spontaneous movement allegedly made a special organization of revolutionaries unnecessary.

Lenin wrote: "The spontaneous struggle of the proletariat will not become its genuine 'class struggle' until this struggle is led by a strong organization of revolutionaries." (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 475.)

The existence of an efficient revolutionary Party indicates the maturity of the working class movement, while the influence of the revolutionary Party on the working class movement is the criterion of its vitality and efficiency.

Consequently, the recognition of the leading role of the Party in no way contradicts, but, on the contrary, corresponds to the materialist conception of history, i.e., the correct understanding of the dialectics of historical processes. Contrariwise, the materialist conception of history is rejected and these dialectics are ignored by those who underrate the role of the Party as a creative, revolutionary force. Exposing the opportunism of the Mensheviks, Lenin pointed out in 1905 that they belittled the materialist conception of history by their ignoring "the active, leading and guiding part which can and must be played in history by parties that have realized the material prerequisites of a revolution and have placed themselves at the head of the progressive classes." (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 44.)

Of course, it is not a question of a Party in general, but of the Party of the progressive class—the revolutionary Party of the working class—

which is the core of the modern epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Reformist parties do not aim to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat; they compromise with the bourgeoisie and manage to get some concessions for certain groups of workers and middle classes, but accept the subordinate position of the working class. Now and then, after winning a majority in elections, they fill government posts, but do not represent the power of the working class, and the bourgeoisie remains the ruling class even during their "rule."

Thus the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, its leading role in the struggle for the victory of socialism, is part and parcel of the understanding of the character and tasks of the party of the working class.

The working class is not only a massive group suffering from the oppression of capital. Because of its socio-economic position, its connection with large-scale industrial production and its higher consciousness and organization, it is the main social force capable of rallying all the working people and leading them in the overthrow of imperialism and in the struggle for the victory of communism. The working class cannot perform its historical mission without its revolutionary Party because only through this Party can it unite in an independent political force and only with this Party at the head can it rally all the working people for the struggle for the high ideals of socialism and communism.

The leading role of the working class does not come about automatically; it asserts itself in the struggle of classes and the parties that represent

these classes. It has to be won in struggle. Only the struggle trains and hardens the working class and only in struggle does it become aware of its strength, mould its will, develop the ability and win the moral right to lead the entire nation. Had all the detachments of the working class been able to play their leading role, capitalism would already have been overthrown in most countries. And if the bourgeoisie is still ruling in many countries, it shows that in these countries the working class has not yet won the leading role it must play in accordance with the laws of history, has not as yet rallied all the enemies of capital and is in some part still under the influence of bourgeois and reformist ideology.

As a result of the dialectics of historical development, the international working class and all working people struggling against capitalism today need more efficient organization than ever before in order to defeat imperialism. After the defeats it has experienced in recent years resulting in a considerable number of countries dropping out of the sphere of capitalism, the bourgeoisie has taken stock and tried to strengthen itself organizationally in the countries still under its sway. It now relies, as a rule, on a more "finely adjusted" state mechanism, a better functioning system of economic domination, a much stronger military and police force, and a still more refined system of ideological deceit and enslavement of the oppressed. Under these conditions any attempts among the revolutionaries to dissolve the organization of the working class, to depreciate the role of the Marxist-Leninist parties, are equivalent to a complete surrender to the enemy who has no wish to leave the historical arena and

is gathering strength and biding his time when he can try to win back what he has lost.

The vast historical experience of the three Russian revolutions and revolutionary movements in other countries has incontestably proved the need for a revolutionary Party of the working class if the struggle for socialism is to be carried to a victorious end.

Today not only the theory of scientific communism, but also the practical experience of our country and the entire world socialist system show that living, creative socialism is made by the masses. At the same time the new society is not being built by spontaneous action of the people, but by their purposeful, organized activity under the leadership of the Party. Without the leadership of a revolutionary Party this task cannot be accomplished. The Programme of the CPSU emphasizes that the Party, looking into the future, indicates scientifically determined ways and means of forging ahead, awakens tremendous energy in the masses and leads them in accomplishing immense tasks.

In their attacks on the Marxist-Leninist teaching concerning the Party and the principles of party construction, the revisionists, both Right and "Left," distort the dialectics of the spontaneous and the conscious, of the objective and the subjective in the development of the revolutionary process.

While emphasizing the spontaneity of the mass movement and its objective basis, the Right revisionists ignore the significance of its conscious principle, i.e., the subjective factor, and deny the leading role of the Party of the working class

in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and in building the socialist society.

The "Left" adventurists depreciate the significance of the objective conditions, exaggerate the role of the subjective factor, advocate voluntarism and foist upon the Party alien methods and the structure of an army organization.

Principles of militarism underlie the Maoist concept of the Party. In the course of the "cultural revolution" the Maoists dealt the main blow at the Party, destroyed its organizational structure, took repressive action against a large number of party workers and rank-and-file communists and usurped the leadership of the CPC, concentrating it in the hands of a small élite headed by Mao Tse-tung who gave themselves the name of "the proletarian staff."

The striving of Mao Tse-tung's group to legitimize the transformation of the Party into an instrument of their rule was also reflected in the new Rules of the CPC adopted at its Ninth Congress. Unlike the preceding Rules the new Rules omit the definition of the chief tasks of the Party in building socialism and in socialist foreign policy. Also excluded from the new Rules are the formerly detailed clauses about intra-party democracy, collective leadership, solidarity and unity of the Party, and the necessity of struggling against nationalism, great-power chauvinism and the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. The main purpose of the new CPC Rules is to transform the Party into a means of carrying "Mao Tse-tung's thoughts" into effect. A product of the personality cult of Mao Tse-tung, the Rules are aimed at creating a party under the "great helmsman," and they legalize his right to do with

this organization as he pleases. In other words, the Rules adopted at the 9th CPC Congress consolidate the practice of forcing the will of a small ruling group on the entire Party, on all its organizations. One can clearly see that "reorganization" of the Party by the Maoists is the expression given to the actual depreciation and abolition of the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party in the PRC.

Historical experience shows that the destiny of socialism is connected with the question of the role of the Party and of the principles of party construction.

The new society is being built in each socialist country in forms determined by the specific historical features of each country. However, the variety of forms is subordinate to the laws of development common to all, the first and foremost of these being the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party. This is due to the fact that the course of history puts the working class forward as the vanguard of the revolution and of the building of the new society, the working class playing the leading role in the system of socialist production and social relations, and, accordingly, in political life. It is through its Party that it exercises its political leadership of society and rallies all the working people in the name of the ideals of socialism and communism.

The idea of the growing leading role of the Party under the conditions of communist construction is clearly expressed in the Programme of the CPSU adopted at the 22nd Congress. It was further developed and substantiated in the decisions and documents of the 23rd and 24th Congresses.

The scientific elaboration of the question of the growing leading role of the working class Party as a necessary function of communist construction is based on the correct understanding and all-round consideration of the interaction between the objective and subjective in social development.

It is important to remember that this interaction does not remain invariable. With each new epoch in the progressive movement of society it assumes a new aspect. There are also certain special features associated with the correlation and interaction between the objective and subjective in social progress under conditions of a developed socialist society and its development into communism.

Further growth of the role of the subjective factor in the development of society is a characteristic feature of the formation of the higher phase of communism. In this connection it is appropriate to recall one of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism—that with the destruction of capitalism the prehistory of man comes to an end and his true history begins, when, having learned the laws of social development, man makes conscious use of them. Engels wrote: "Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the control of man himself." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, M., 1962, p. 388.)

Life in our country and the other countries of the world socialist system has confirmed the profundity and vital truth of these conclusions. The developed socialist society built in the USSR

is the result of the purposeful activity of the Soviet people and the Communist Party leading them.

In the dialectics of social being and social consciousness of a developed socialist society the subjective factor becomes increasingly important. Of course, this is not as a result of the diminished role of the material conditions and objective laws, but because of the enhanced role of the consciousness and organization of the people and the role of the Party as the guiding and leading force of social development. The special significance of the 24th Congress is precisely in that it reflected in full measure these dialectics in conformity with the modern stage of social development. In the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress Leonid Brezhnev said: "The larger the scale of our creative work and the more complex the problems we have to solve, the greater become the role and responsibility of the Communist Party, which leads the masses." (24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 110.)

The communist formation and its first phase—socialism—are the first forms of society in man's history consciously governed by man on the basis of scientifically interpreted and objectively operating laws of social development. The leadership of socialist society is a qualitatively new stage of the purposeful activity of communist parties; in a certain sense it is more complex and many-sided than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and destruction of the capitalist system. Lenin's thesis that politics are the actual fate of millions of people becomes fully manifest under socialism. All these factors require greater scientific substantiation of the politics of the party which is at the head of socialist society. Experience has

shown that the scientifically substantiated and skilled leadership of socialist society by the Communist Party is a decisive prerequisite for the society's successful development.

The special characteristic of socialism as the first phase of the communist social formation is that all the requirements resulting from the operation of objective factors can be satisfied in only one way, namely, through such a subjective factor as the conscious, purposeful activity of the working masses with the working class at their head, and this is possible only if there is such a subjective factor as leadership of a Communist Party. Since class distinctions still exist there is no other way of satisfying the demands of the objective laws.

In all the complex process of building a new life the Communist Party acts as the leading, guiding detachment or, as Lenin wrote, the teacher and leader of the working people. By taking into its ranks all the best, most advanced and conscious of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals the Party personifies the mind, honour and conscience of the people, acts as the spokesman of its interests and will, and embodies all the people's wisdom, knowledge and vast experience.

In its leadership the Communist Party is concerned with the questions of an intricate complex of relations at home and in the international arena, and with taking into account and harmonizing the interests and requirements of all classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities and all generations of our society. A developed socialist society is a complex social organism. With the increase in the scale and objec-

tives of construction all spheres of its economy and culture, besides expanding enormously, become more complex. The social structure and the functions of various bodies become more complicated. Social relations become, as Marx put it, plainer and more lucid, but society is not thereby impoverished in its structure; on the contrary, with more sides to social life, it is enriched. As a consequence of this development the task of leadership and control of the social processes grows and becomes more complex. With its developed technical, economic, socio-political, cultural and ideological spheres of life, a mature socialist society has increasingly greater chances to develop evenly, proportionately and harmoniously. But the organization of the normal activity of the socialist social organism and the proper, co-ordinated functioning of all spheres of its basis and superstructure, as well as ensurance of the most effective work of all political, state and public organizations, and reasonable co-ordination of the whole, require a leading detachment, an organizing core of the entire social system, and this core is the Party.

To meet all these requirements necessitates not only that the leading role of the Communist Party be enhanced, but also demands particular qualities of the party leadership at this stage. The main thing that determines the activity of the Marxist-Leninist Party in a developed socialist society is that its leadership of all aspects of social life is based on an integrated approach to the development of society as a single social organism and is of a comprehensive nature; its policy and practical activities rest upon profound scientific substantiation and are calculated to

make the best all-round use of the advantages of the socialist social system and to realize to the fullest possible extent the potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution for the purpose of developing and advancing socialist society.

These features of the leading activity of the party find expression in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU which stipulated a vast programme of communist construction during the ninth five-year plan and which determined the tasks, forms and methods of leadership of the economic, political and cultural life of the country.

In determining the range of tasks of the new five-year plan the Party is guided by the dialectics of the development of socialism into communism. The essence of these dialectics is that the further development of mature socialism at the same time implies advance of society towards communism. The vast and structurally all-round development of the socialist economy on the basis of scientific and technological progress is at the same time the construction of the material and technological base of communism. A further drawing together of classes and social groups, equalizing of the production levels and quality of life in town and country, and lessening of the distinction between mental and manual labour—this is the only possible and practicable way towards total social homogeneity, towards a classless communist society. In a developed socialist society the steady rise in the living standards of the people on the basis of a continuous increase in production serves to create the prerequisites for realizing the communist principle of distribution

according to need. The consolidation of the people's socialist state, the development of socialist democracy and improvement of the political organization of society lead to the future communist self-government when, in addition to the disappearance of the classes, the organizations for managing public affairs lose their political character.

In considering the question of the growing role of the Party in the building of socialism and communism, the spheres, methods and means of party influence and the relation of the Party to the leadership of economic, political and cultural life are matters of paramount importance. They, also, are the subject of bitter struggle in the international arena between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists.

Contrary to the various revisionist concepts advocating a limited role and sphere of influence for the working class Party in the building of the new society, the CPSU has always held that the ruling Marxist-Leninist Party is responsible for all that goes on in the country, for its present and future. This fundamental Marxist-Leninist proposition runs through all the documents and decisions of the 24th Congress. The Congress emphasized once again that the essence of the activity of the Communist Party is to work out the general prospects for the development of society, as well as a correct political line, and organization of the working people, for the purpose of realizing these prospects.

In this respect the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has amassed a great store of experience which enables it to build up its leadership so as to exert a decisive influence on all basic

aspects of economic, socio-political and cultural activity. In doing this it employs a diversity of forms and means of organizational, political, ideological and educational work. The main method used in all of this is the method of persuasion.

The leadership of the ruling Communist Party is exercised in the first place over the economy—the decisive sphere in the development of society. Economic affairs, said Lenin, are “the politics that interest us most.” (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 430.)

The creation of the material and technical base of communism is the main objective aimed at by the Programme of the CPSU in the field of economic policy for the period of communist construction. The 23rd and 24th Congresses of the CPSU point out that the principal method of accomplishing this immense task today is to achieve the utmost possible increase in efficiency in the total field of production.

It goes without saying that the Party cannot mechanically transfer the methods of its leadership from one field of social relations to another using the same methods in the economic field as it uses, say, in that of intra-party relations. In this connection the 10th Congress of the Party pointed out that “such a transfer would rest on total oblivion of the difference between the organization of the vanguard of the working class (Party) and other organizations, the difference between classes, between different groups of working people, between the different tasks these organizations set themselves, etc.” (“The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Sessions of the CC,” Vol. 2, M., Politizdat, 1970, p. 207, Russ. Ed.)

The Communist Party approaches the question of the principles, forms, ways and means of party leadership in the sphere of the economy (as in the other spheres of public life) dialectically. On the one hand, the Party and its organizations must devote the maximum of attention and energy to economic construction because, as Lenin emphasized, “. . . we value communism only when it is based on economic facts.” (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 191.) This position is predetermined by the materialist view of communists on the nature of the social organism and the essence of the class struggle between capitalism and socialism. With respect to this Lenin wrote: “In the last analysis, the deepest source of strength for victories over the bourgeoisie and the sole guarantee of the durability and permanence of these victories can only be a new and higher mode of social production.” (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 423.) This higher, socialist mode of production is the result of the creative activity of tens of millions of working people and primarily the leading force of society—the working class. It is created by these tens of millions of people, but under the condition indispensable under socialism, namely, of their being led and organized by the Communist Party.

On the other hand, the Communist Party carefully considers the specific character and functions of economic institutions and bodies and so organizes its leadership that these organizations accomplish their tasks effectively and fully by making the most of their potentialities. Our Party and its Central Committee have seen to it since the very first years of Soviet power that no party organizations substitute themselves for

economic bodies. As far back as the 11th Congress of the RCP(B) the resolution "On Consolidation and New Tasks of the Party" read that "the party organizations settle economic questions themselves only in such cases and such of its parts where the questions really require a fundamental party decision." ("The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions. . .," Vol. 2, pp. 344-5, Russ. Ed.) The decision of the 12th Party Congress pointed out that "the leadership of the Party will be ensured the more fully, the more properly the state bodies will themselves do the administrative and economic work of accomplishing the planned tasks set by the Party." (Ibid, p. 428.)

This policy can only be carried out successfully if functions are clearly and strictly defined. Accordingly, the Party has consistently implemented this principle since the very first years of Soviet power. Already the 8th Congress of the Party pointed out the inadmissibility and harmfulness of confusing the functions of party collectives with those of state bodies. The resolution of the 11th Congress of the RCP(B) "On Consolidation and New Tasks of the Party" read: "Whereas in 1919 the Party emphasized that the confusion of functions would have disastrous results in military affairs, in 1922 the Party declares that such confusion would produce absolutely disastrous results in the economic sphere." And further: "Party organizations must guide the activities of the economic bodies, but must under no circumstances try to substitute themselves for these bodies or eliminate their responsibility. The absence of a strict definition of functions and incompetent interference would eliminate the strict and exact responsibility of

each for the business assigned to them, increase bureaucracy in the party organizations which do all and nothing, and interfere with the serious specialization of the executive personnel; in a word, they would hamper the proper organization of the work." ("The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions. . .," Vol. 2, p. 344.)

Our Party pursues the same course today, and experience shows that this course is the correct one. Confirmation is afforded by the example of the entire socialist system. Experience demonstrates that the more consistent the adherence by the parties of the socialist countries to the Marxist-Leninist principles of managing the economy, the more tangible are the successes of these countries in developing the productive forces, improving socialist production relations and strengthening the economic foundations of the socialist system. Any deviation from these principles sooner or later makes itself felt, with unpleasant results. Whenever any party bodies or individual party leaders take upon themselves unusual direct economic duties in violation of the principle of strict definition of functions, the inevitable result is elimination of responsibility on the part of the economic bodies and incompetent, bureaucratic interference in the economy leading to its stagnation. But if attempts are made to debar the Party from its leadership role, then its leading, guiding and planning functions in the management of the economy are undermined and undesirable spontaneous movements and trends in the economy with acute crisis phenomena are the result.

The great value of our Party's experience in managing the economy, the country's entire eco-

economic development, lies in the fact that it succeeded, at the very beginning of the historical road to socialism, in determining the only possible criteria and principles of this management, and not only in determining, but also in firmly implementing them.

The Party resolutely condemned and rejected the Trotskyite theory and practice of "tightening the screws" and of substituting for the economic bodies. It condemned and rejected just as resolutely the various anarcho-syndicalist tendencies leading to debarring the Party from the management of the economy and to passing the management of the economic organism to a "congress of the producers themselves." The 12th Congress of the RCP(B) emphasized that "the Party will perform its historical mission only when the economic experience of the whole Party grows together with the growth and complication of the economic problems facing Soviet power." ("The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions...," Vol. 2, p. 428.)

In using the dialectical materialist approach to questions of party management of the economy the CPSU has pursued a course of combining the organizing, leading role of the Party and its active influence on the course of economic processes with greater responsibility of the economic bodies and the administrative bodies in general for the state of affairs in the fields within their jurisdiction.

The Communist Party is firmly guided by the Leninist principles of economic management. It was natural, therefore, that at the 24th Congress of the CPSU attention was focused on the questions of further developing the economy and of

improving the party management of the economy and of government in general.

The main task of the new five-year plan has been defined by the Party as one of considerably raising material and cultural standards on the basis of high rates of development of production, greater efficiency, rapid scientific and technological progress, and acceleration of the rise in labour productivity.

Realizing the importance of proportionate development of the economy in the accelerated advance of the country to communism the 24th Congress has outlined important objectives for further raising industrial and agricultural production and the level of trade, and for improving transport and other branches of the national economy.

In tackling the historically important task of combining the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system, the Party urges that maximum use be made of such forms of developing the productive forces as are specifically socialist, such as the socialist emulation movement which has become nationwide in its scope.

Consistent adherence to the Leninist principles of managing the economy is particularly important today when the problems of economic management have acquired special topicality. As the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress points out, "This is essentially a matter of how best to organize the activity of society in accelerating economic and social development, in ensuring the fullest use of the available possibilities, and in rallying even closer together hundreds of

thousands of collectives, and tens of millions of working people round the main aims of the Party's policy." (24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, pp. 78-9.)

In attaching special importance to economic questions, to raising the scientific level of management and drawing the working people into the management of production, the Party is fully aware of the fact that the accomplishment of these tasks is directly dependent on the degree of economic training of specialists and workers. The higher standards of economic training of specialists and workers at the present stage of communist construction are predetermined by the fast rates of scientific and technological progress, and the qualitative changes in production methods and the character of labour. In view of this the CPSU Central Committee has outlined, in a recently adopted resolution, a number of important measures aimed at improving the working people's knowledge of economics.

The Party also exerts its influence on the development of social processes and new relations by its entire structure, its internal life. As the vanguard of the working class and the whole nation which is building a communist society the Party is called upon to lead also in the organization of its intra-Party life and to serve as a model in developing the most perfect forms of communist public self-government. As active fighters for the triumph of communist ideals, and possessing a high sense of civic duty, communists set an example for all members of society to emulate, and help to develop and consolidate communist social relations.

It may be said that in the life and activity of

the party attention is concentrated primarily on the dialectics of the social processes which characterize the progressive development of society. Thus, the dialectical unity of democracy and centralism was formed and developed by the Party and found its expression in the main principle of party construction—the principle of democratic centralism. Democracy, if it is consistently implemented in social life and activity, strengthens centralism, organization and unity of action. Centralism if it is correctly applied and is not distorted, imparts an effective character to democracy. The Central Committee's Report to the 24th Congress reads that "both anarchic lack of discipline, presented as democracy, and bureaucratic centralization, hindering the promotion of initiative and activity of communists, are equally injurious to the Marxist-Leninist Party." (24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 114.)

Since the victory of the Socialist Revolution the dialectics of the unity of democracy and centralism, as an indispensable attribute of the internal life of the working class Party, has been embodied in the socio-political organization of the entire society, and the structure and methods of work of state and public organizations. Soon after the victory of the October Revolution Lenin wrote: "Our task now is to carry out democratic centralism in the economic sphere..." (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 208.) The combining of centralized leadership with the greatest promotion of the initiative of the masses is the principal demand made of the management of the national economy at the present stage of the country's development.

During the period of communist construction,

when the main trend in the development of the political organization of society is characterized by the greatest possible development of Soviet democracy through the enlistment of all citizens to take an active part in the management of state, economic and public affairs, the internal life of the Party assumes particular importance as a factor that influences this process. Leninist norms and principles of intra-party democracy, tried and tested by the Party and forming its substance, are reliable guides to further improvement of socialist democracy and transition to public communist self-government. For example, the Leninist proposition that "...all the affairs of the Party are conducted, either directly, or through representatives, by all the members of the Party, all of whom without exception have equal rights" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 434) will naturally become the basic principle of communist public self-government with the participation of all citizens in this self-government. The conscious party discipline based on the ideological solidarity of communists similarly serves as the point of departure and model of the self-discipline of the working people, which will form an inalienable element of communist self-government. The combination of initiative and discipline, continuity and innovation in work, collective and personal responsibility, confidence in the personnel coupled with an exacting attitude were in the same manner engendered and consolidated in the Party and have become its motive power. These and other examples of dialectical combination, which at first sight have the appearance of being contrary principles, are being gradually introduced into the life of the whole of society.

The revisionists distort the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the relation between the Party and society. Instead of regarding the Party as the vanguard of the working class, which paves the way to communism and elaborates theoretically and practically the norms and principles of the future society, they present the Party as being an embodiment of principles of political pluralism engendered by the division of society into classes with special, even contrary class interests. This was the case with Garaudy, for example, who demanded that the French Communist Party should serve as a prototype of a socialist multi-party system by setting an example with its own internal life. Only in that case, he alleged, would "the thesis of the possibility of building socialism, while retaining the plurality of parties and public organizations, make concrete sense for the millions of the French." (R. Garaudy, *Le grand tournant du socialisme*, p. 284.) Garaudy thus mechanically transfers to the Party the political structure of the class society based on a multi-party system. To begin with, the revisionists construct a "special model" of socialism, which for all its "novelty" closely resembles bourgeois democracy and egotistic-anarchist individualism. Then they want the Party to refashion its organization and internal life after this "model." By this artifice the revisionists hope to cover up their striving to nullify at all costs the basic principle of the organizational structure of the Party—the principle of democratic centralism—so as to undermine the unity of the Communist Party and make possible the existence of various factions and trends in it.

In their time Marx and Engels exposed the same tactics of the anarchists who proposed building

an international organization of workers in accordance with their fantastic concepts of the future society. The anarchists demanded that the International, as the embryo of the future society, should accept their principles of autonomy and federation and, in order to avoid "hierarchical," "authoritarian" organization, should not allow any centralization, any party discipline or any leading body. There could be no question of rallying the forces, joint action or subordination of the minority to the majority because that could result in a "hierarchical" and "authoritarian" organization. Ridiculing the authors of this concept Engels sarcastically concluded: "And these people who advocate such nonsense pretend to be the only true revolutionaries." (K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, Vol. 17, p. 483, Russ. Ed.)

The revolutionary working class movement has rejected all anti-proletarian trends of the anarchists, liquidators and renegades, and achieved its unity on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideas. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has grown up and hardened itself in the struggle against numerous enemies and anti-party elements, against Right opportunists and Trotskyites; on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational principles it has won the position of the ruling party leading in the construction of socialism and communism.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the course of the construction of socialism and communism is not an artificial proposition, but an objective necessity. Nor is it a spontaneous or automatic process. The 24th Congress of the CPSU emphasized once again that the leading role of the Party is being

strengthened as a result of its purposeful activity among the people. This is being achieved through enhancing the fighting efficiency of all links of the Party and improving their work, and through developing the political and labour activity of every communist.

The leading role of the Party in socialist society is the more important and its influence on all aspects of life is the stronger, the more effective and proper are the intra-party relations, the better the qualitative composition of the Party and the ideological and theoretical training of communists, and the stronger the inner unity, conscious discipline, organization, collectivism and democratism in its work and in its ties with the working people.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU took fully into account the new demands made of the Party at the present stage by the practice of communist construction. Having noted with satisfaction that under the leadership of the Central Committee the Party was steadfastly pursuing the Leninist course and creditably fulfilling its role as political leader of the Soviet people, the Congress emphasized in its Resolution on the Report of the CC CPSU that "it is necessary to continue making every effort to enhance the Party's leading role and securing the further strengthening of the unity of views and actions of all communists and all Soviet people." (24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 232.)

There is good reason for saying that our Party is capable of successfully accomplishing the increased tasks of communist construction. Uniting in its ranks about 14.5 million communists, it has a wide network of primary organizations (more

than 370,000). The level of the Marxist-Leninist training of communists is continuously rising and the Leninist norms of party life are strictly observed. The Party is continuously improving the methods of its leadership.

The 24th Congress emphasized that the strength of our Party lies in its high ideological standards, its activity and the dedication of communists. Enhancement of the leading role of the Party is inconceivable without an intensification of the activity and a raising of the responsibility of communists and all party organizations.

One of the most important ways of ensuring the growth of the leading role of the Party is through the selection and placement of personnel in the key sectors of communist construction and in all areas of public and political life. This underlies the personnel policy of the Party which combines a careful attitude to older, toughened personnel with the promotion of young workers with their modern knowledge and leaning towards what is new. The continuity of the political course of the Party and its revolutionary traditions, as well as its consideration of the new tendencies in the life of society, in science and engineering, is a *sine qua non* of its personnel policy.

The 23rd and 24th Congresses of the CPSU confirmed the fundamental thesis concerning proper combination of the principles of renewal and continuity in the Party's personnel policy. This ensures the stability and enhances the responsibility of the Party and state personnel.

In socialist society the Communist Party forms the centre of the entire political organization, of the whole system of state and public organizations. The Party exercises its leadership in such a way

as to exert its leading and guiding influence on every mass organization, whether state or public, but not in such a way as to substitute itself for these organizations, to diminish their role but to provide them with the maximum possibilities for vigorous and effective activity, for arousing and leading increasing numbers of the working people of town and country to the common goal—the building of communism. And the more strictly these principles are observed, the broader are the opportunities of the state and public organizations and the associations of working people, the wider the scope of their activities and the greater their benefit.

Our Party has condemned and rejected the various theories that belittled (or denied) the role of the state in socialist construction—the theories originated by anarcho-syndicalist groups and their leaders; it also discarded the Trotskyite views on the role of the state and the Trotskyite attempts to exaggerate the role of violence and state coercion. The opportunists failed to force on our Party the theory and practice of the "neutrality" and "independence" of trade unions, cooperatives, the Youth League and other public organizations. Our Party's leadership in state and public organizations and institutions has always been such as to give the greatest consideration to the specificity of each organization and each institution, and to afford these institutions and organizations the fullest scope in performing their specific functions.

Thus the enhancement of the leading role of the Party does not at all imply any curtailment or weakening of the activity and creative initiative of state and public organizations.

The 24th Congress confirmed once again the Leninist course of the Party aimed at further consolidating the Soviet state and improving the whole system of political organization of society. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies are becoming increasingly active; the scope of their activities is growing and their influence on all aspects of public life is becoming stronger.

The Party constantly concerns itself with enhancing the role of the working people's mass organizations, primarily the trade unions and the Komsomol. Scientific and technical societies and creative organizations of the Soviet intelligentsia are expanding their activities.

Of course, account must be taken of the fact that as a result of the growth of the Party and all its organizations the direct party leadership of the people is increasing. And there is the fact that today we have practically no organization or institution where communists do not play the leading role. It goes without saying that this leaves an essential imprint on the state and public organizations and the forms and methods of their activities. However, this does not in any way diminish their role. On the contrary, a broader and more direct influence of the Party on all these organizations stirs them to greater activity, imparts a wider scope to their work, increases their importance and role as associations of working people.

One of the Party's most important functions is the guidance of cultural activities and education. The Party proceeds from Lenin's proposition to the effect that "... the basis and chief content of our work is to develop the political understanding of the masses" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p.

178), and that the task of education and persuasion will always be among the important tasks of government.

The basis of all of the Party's ideological work is further creative development of Marxist-Leninist science which serves as an indispensable guide to action. Under present-day conditions the leading role of the Party is growing also in this sphere. In the Central Committee's Report to the 24th Congress of the Party Comrade Brezhnev emphasized that "theoretical understanding of the phenomena of social life and of its main trends enables the Party to foresee the course of social processes, work out a correct political line and avoid errors and subjectivistic decisions." (24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 121.)

The Party's work is proceeding in all the main branches of Marxist-Leninist science—political economy, philosophy, scientific communism, history of the CPSU, party construction and other social sciences. Topical problems of communist construction are being solved on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist methodology; they include the ways and means of creating the material and technical base of communism, improvement of the methods of socialist planning and management, raising the efficiency of all branches of the national economy, improving the system and methods of providing material and moral incentives, matters pertaining to the Party's agrarian policy at the present stage, the forms and methods of pursuing domestic and foreign policies. Special attention is being devoted to the further development of the Leninist teaching on the leading role of the Party and the elaboration of problems of party construction. Our Party

devotes a great deal of effort to analyzing and generalizing, together with the fraternal parties, questions of international development, and of the world revolutionary liberation and communist movements.

Development of the revolutionary theory is not a one-man pursuit, nor the product of subjectivistic improvisations, but the result of collective efforts of Marxist-Leninists, an important and fundamental task of the whole Party that brooks neither spontaneity nor passivity. In consideration of this, the Party has taken a number of important and necessary measures to secure, both organizationally and financially, the development of the whole cycle of social sciences (training of personnel, establishment of new scientific institutions, consolidation and development of the existing institutions, etc.).

While developing and enriching the Marxist-Leninist theory the Party is at the same time promoting ideological and educational work, employing and continuously improving the forms and methods of ideological influence. The Party is solving the problems associated with the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook in all Soviet working people and the formation of a communist attitude to work and communist morality. Education of all Soviet people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet socialist patriotism is always in the centre of the Party's attention.

In this ideological and educational work our Party takes into account that the new make-up of the Soviet people, their communist morality and their communist world outlook become established in an uncompromising struggle against the survi-

vals of the past in the consciousness and behaviour of the people. This is another proof of the guiding role of the Party in the ideological life of society. At the 24th Congress of the CPSU attention was once again called to the fact that the struggle against the survivals of the past requires the continuous attention of the Party and of all conscious, advanced forces of our society. (24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 84.)

Our Party concerns itself with the education of the young builders of communism in the spirit of its own world outlook. It was noted in the Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU that it is the duty of the Party to hand down to the new generations its political experience, the experience of solving the problems of economic and cultural construction, and to guide the ideological education of the youth and do everything it can so that they may worthily continue the cause of their fathers-Lenin's cause.

The Party strives to preserve the high socialist consciousness and the high level of organization the Soviet people have attained in the decades of struggle and work.

Theory indicates, and historical experience and modern practice conform, that the creation of the material and technical base of communism, the formation of communist social relations and the moulding of the new type of man are not achieved of their own accord, but by the conscious and organized activity of millions of the working class and all the working people carried out on an unprecedented scale. Theory, past experience and modern practice also indicate that success in accomplishing the tasks of communist construction depends in decisive measure on the activity of

the Communist Party as the leading force of the Soviet people.

The communists of our country, and communists the world over regard the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party as a reliable basis for achieving success in the development and consolidation of each Party and of the entire world communist movement and in the mobilization of all the forces of the working class, of all the working people for achieving the final victory over capitalism and establishing communism all over the world.

The Ideological Struggle, and Development of Socialist Ideology and Culture: Current Problems

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1. SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE PRESENT-DAY IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, AND THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN UPHOLDING AND DEVELOPING MARXISM-LENINISM

The Central Committee Report to the 24th Congress, delivered by Comrade Brezhnev, stated:

"We are living under conditions of unabating ideological struggle, which imperialist propaganda is waging against our country, against the world of socialism, using the most subtle methods and powerful technical means. All the instruments that the bourgeoisie has of influencing minds—the press, cinema and radio—have been mobilized to delude people, to make them believe that under capitalism they are living in a near-paradise, and to slander socialism."

The international class struggle at the present historical stage is marked, above all, by the sharpening of the confrontation of the dying world capitalist system and the socialist world in all spheres—in the economic field, in social relations, foreign policy, ideology, and culture. This specific feature manifests itself primarily in the fact that imperialism, in trying to rectify the deepening crisis of the capitalist system through the use of the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, is increasingly combining overt reactionary forms of oppression, subjugation, and spiritual enslavement of peoples with subtler, covert forms of exploitation and deception, and cleverly devised provocations and slander against the working class and the socialist countries. The reactionary forces are doing their utmost to prevent a detente in international relations, and to undermine the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems, the policy pursued by the socialist community. The forces of imperialism and reaction are attempting to exert ideological and political pressure on the socialist countries, to exploit any differences appearing in the course of their development, to subvert them from within, politically and ideologically, and to lure them away from the socialist community, thereby reversing the working people's revolutionary gains. A distinctive feature of the present-day ideological and political struggle is that the offensive against creative Marxism-Leninism, against the Soviet Union and its policy of peace, and against the world communist movement is being waged both by obviously imperialist ideologists—undisguised anti-communists—and Right revisionists together with "Left" adventu-

rists, Maoists first of all, who act under the cover of pseudo-revolutionary phraseology and their version of "socialism."

What are the basic, topical issues over which Marxist-Leninists, the world communist movement are stepping up the ideological struggle against the covert and overt enemies of communism, against the distorters of Marxism?

First among these issues is the *question of the international character of Marxism-Leninism, its basic principles and specifics of development in different countries.*

There has been a considerable intensification in recent years of the ideological struggle against bourgeois "Marxologists" and revisionist elements—the advocates of "renovation" and "new interpretation" of Marxism, "pluralism" in Marxism and its "synthesis" with non-Marxist theories.

The predominant trend among the critics of our revolutionary theory is to select some thesis or other from Lenin's works and distort it, to make out of it some limited specific political doctrine or social theory. They are prepared to admit, for instance, that Lenin created a new political doctrine concerning imperialism in the period of the First World War and the revolution in Russia, but at the same time they reject, or declare outdated, Leninism's theoretical principles, its philosophical tenets, and especially its militant materialism. Frequently, opponents of Leninism, such as Roger Garaudy, readily admit that Lenin substantiated the method of revolutionary initiative, but in the same breath they reject the Leninist principle of partisanship in philosophy and the dialectical materialist basis of the Marxist

outlook elaborated in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and other works by Lenin. Right revisionists take out of Lenin's works references to the withering away of the proletarian state, manifestations of bureaucracy, etc., and dissect them outside of their context (as do Ernst Fischer and Franz Marek in their mendacious book entitled *What Lenin Really Said*). In this way they falsify the spirit of Lenin's works written after October 1917, while passing over in silence his ideas on the strengthening of the workers' state and his programme for waging war on bourgeois ideology and opportunism.

"Left" revisionists, particularly the Maoists, claim they are the most loyal of Leninists. But while recognizing Leninism in words, they in fact reject the whole essence of Leninism—the theories on the leading role of the working class and its party in the revolutionary process and the construction of a new society; on building up the material and technical basis of socialism, on socialist democracy, etc. Actually, the Maoists have replaced Leninism—the creative Marxism of the 20th century—with the nationalist, adventurist "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung," having, at the 9th CPC Congress, proclaimed these "thoughts" to be "the supreme Marxism-Leninism of our time," and declaring that the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts would wave over the entire world.

The revisionist and nationalist elements deny the all-embracing character, the universality of Leninism and profess that it will be replaced by what they call "national forms" and "polymorphous varieties" of Marxism; for the international Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism they substitute concepts of "national models of socialism"

which they serve up and advertise demonstratively. The ideological struggle waged by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties against the opportunist concepts of "national models of socialism" is vitally important for upholding and developing the international principles of Leninism. Developments of the last few years show that these nationalist concepts result in some countries becoming detached, to their own detriment, from the world communist movement and the world socialist system. These concepts also cause a distortion of socialist principles within those countries and the gradual abandonment of class positions.

Documents of the world communist movement, decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, and works by Soviet Marxists prove irrefutably that the general laws of socialist development (which are the main, determining laws) manifest themselves in different forms depending on specific historical conditions and national features. It is impossible to build socialism without *proceeding* from these general laws, and without *due regard* for the specific historical conditions in each country. In studying the theory and practices of different socialist countries, the forms and methods of socialist construction used there, and opposing their standardization, or the forcing of them on other countries, our Party firmly and consistently upholds the international principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and the decisive role of the general laws of its development.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist parties have initiated extensive theoretical work which has strengthened the ideological and political positions of Leninism

internationally and armed millions of communists throughout the world with an understanding of the international character, creative nature, and unabating vital force of Lenin's teaching. The decisions of the 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses, the speeches by CPSU leaders and documents issued by the Party's Central Committee in connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the centenary of Lenin's birth, and other historical events are all of great international importance. The publication of the *Collected Works*, and other editions of works by Lenin, sponsored by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, was a notable event in the ideological field.

The 24th CPSU Congress noted the significance of the publication in the USSR of fundamental works elaborating on the important role played by Lenin and his teaching, a teaching which has permanent validity and which is constantly developing. Works by Soviet Marxists and by Marxists abroad emphasize that Lenin's theoretical legacy and his methods remain the surest instrument for the constructive solution of pressing problems.

Marxists in the Soviet Union and other countries are firmly rebutting the theories of bourgeois "Marxologists," which falsify Marxism-Leninism, and vigorously repulsing revisionist attacks on the basic principles of Lenin's revolutionary teaching. A torrent of mendacious bourgeois and revisionist publications on Marxism-Leninism continues to flood the book-market abroad. One of these publications is a two-volume work entitled *Social Thought in the Soviet Union*, edited by one Alex Simirenko. This unsavoury book presents a travesty of Soviet social thought, of Leninism; it

depicts the triumph of Leninism in the USSR as an artificial and temporary break in Russia's cultural development which, allegedly, has always been promoted by the borrowing of scientific and social ideas from the West—a trend which is claimed to be resurgent in the USSR.

Old, moth-eaten Trotskyite and social-reformist concoctions concerning the sources of Marxism-Leninism and the scale of its application have been revived lately and much advertised. They represent Leninism as a "purely Russian phenomenon," applicable only on a "national scale," and akin to such petty-bourgeois movements as narodism, anarchism or even slavophilism.

There have been many publications lately on the history of Marxism—books that resume the futile but pernicious attempts to depict the entire history of Marxism as a "logical" co-existence of its different "variations." The authors of such literature try to counterpose to Marxism-Leninism with its wholeness, continuity and development, anti-Leninist concepts of Trotsky, Preobrazhensky, Radek, K. Korsh, Mao Tse-tung, and others. The writings of Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Ernst Bloch, Eric F. Goldman and other "Left" bourgeois ideologists, whose views are alien to communism, are declared to be a creative and "authentic" development of Marxism. Attempts are being made to find among the writings of Marxists abroad, including works with serious ideological flaws, an alternative to Leninism, a theory allegedly more suitable for the West. Stories are told about Marxist thought in the Soviet Union: without a shred of evidence it is accused of dogmatism, "Stalinism," scientism, etatism, and

self-righteousness—in a word, of any number of mortal sins.

These and similar ideological attacks by opponents and revisionist "renovators" of Marxism-Leninism warrant the conclusion that to rest content with what has been done in the way of criticism of our critics would be unpardonable complacency. The interests of the world communist movement call for continued resolute struggle against bourgeois and revisionist concepts, coupled with a creative approach to the solution of current problems by Leninist methods.

There is bitter argumentation on *the question of socialist construction and development, problems of the current scientific and technological revolution, and the role of the working class in social development.*

Bourgeois and Right revisionist theorists regard the scientific and technological revolution as a kind of panacea for social ills and upheavals, something that is capable of curing capitalism of its inherent contradictions and conflicts; these theorists claim that scientific and technological progress makes the question of socialist revolution redundant. The mass media abroad preach that the scientific and technological revolution brings about "de-ideologization," and that the capitalist and socialist systems are being replaced by a "post-industrial civilization" in which the leading role is played by scientists and engineers.

On the other hand, bourgeois theorists who consider themselves to be on the Left (such as Marcuse, Fromm and many of the revisionists) attack modern scientific and technological progress from positions of petty-bourgeois romanticism and nihilism. They declare the scientific and

technological revolution a scourge of our age presenting a diabolical menace to humanity, to the individual, and to the natural environment; they even ascribe to it the role of counter-revolution since in any society, they allege, it results in intensified exploitation of the working people, the rule of the so-called technocracy, infringement of freedoms, frustration of the personality, etc. These theorists, for instance Marcuse (*An Essay on Liberation*, Boston, 1969), are particularly bitter in their attacks on scientific and technological progress because it is accompanied by the growth of people's material requirements and offers greater possibilities for meeting these requirements, the fact they consider to be equally harmful under capitalism and under socialism. These retrograde bourgeois concepts are echoed by the Maoists who consider poverty an indispensable condition of "permanent revolutionism" and who denounce concern for the welfare of working people, of meeting their material requirements by the socialist state, as being a bourgeois manifestation and a slide away from class, socialist positions.

Both bourgeois theorists and revisionists of various affiliations agree on one thing: directly or indirectly, they deny that the working class plays the leading role in contemporary society, in the revolutionary struggle, in the building and development of socialism. At times, bourgeois-technocratic, elitist concepts find their way into the working class movement and into sociology, concepts according to which in the age of the scientific and technological revolution the working class surrenders its role in society to scientists and engineers, joining in the so-called historical

bloc of different classes and social groups whose motive force is the intelligentsia. In *An Essay on Liberation*, a book much talked about abroad, anti-communist Marcuse, who has many times denounced the capitalist monopolies and in the same breath anathematized the socialist countries, asserts that the revolutionary spirit of the working class is waning and that this class now "assumes a stabilizing, conservative function, and the catalysts of transformation operate 'from without,'" which according to Marcuse, means that "the new political consciousness of the vital need for radical change emerges among social groups which... are (relatively) free from the integrating, conservative interests and aspirations, free for the radical transvaluation of values." The author implies that these "free" groups comprise students, unemployed persons, the impoverished lower strata of the city population, the "Left" groups of intellectuals, etc. In some socialist countries, in Czechoslovakia for instance, shortly before the events of 1968, revisionists active in the social sciences tried to provide a "theoretical basis" for their Right-opportunist policy aimed at abolishing the leading role of the working class in socialist society: they pronounced "outdated" the main characteristic of a class—its relation to the means of production. They declared that scientific and technological progress obviates classes in any society, leaving in their place only social groups which differ from one another merely in the nature of their occupation, the nature of their functions in society.

In developing Marxist-Leninist theory, the CPSU and fraternal parties have made a profound assessment of the current scientific and technolo-

gical revolution and its positive role in the development of productive forces and creation of conditions for society's revolutionary transition to socialism and the development of socialist society towards communism. The parties have pointed to the growing role of the working class as the leading force of modern society. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and the 24th CPSU Congress stressed that broad application of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution for various social purposes was a major factor in the historical competition between socialism and capitalism; it was also stressed that the scientific and technological revolution led to intensification of the proletarian class struggle in the capitalist countries and enhanced the role of the working class in the world revolutionary process.

The CPSU documents, and Marxist publications in the Soviet Union and abroad, present a scientific analysis of the process of the drawing together of friendly classes and social groups under socialist conditions, especially in the phase of advanced socialist society, a process in which the working class plays the leading role. In socialist countries the working class is the main productive force of society, its proportion among the gainfully employed population is steadily increasing (in the USSR it is over 55 per cent); the working class possesses the highest degree of collectivism, and is constantly and rapidly raising its socio-political activity as well as its cultural and educational level (between 1959 and 1970 the proportion of workers with a higher or secondary education in the USSR grew from 38.6 to 55 per cent).

Repulsing bourgeois and revisionist attacks on

the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the building of socialism and the role of the working class, the CPSU and other fraternal parties are upholding the revolutionary communist ideals and elaborating them in present-day conditions.

The concept of socialist democracy and the question of the individual in socialist society have become outstanding issues in the battle of ideas.

Bourgeois and revisionist theorists are trying in every way they can to disparage the socialist achievements of the USSR and other countries. Our opponents have launched an all-out campaign against the socialist state system in the USSR and other socialist countries; we are being offered all kinds of "advice," as Comrade Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress, concerning "improvement" of our socialist system, its "democratization." The attempt is being made to persuade us to accept bourgeois democracy, non-class concepts of "freedom," etc.

The ideological struggle over the concepts of democracy and freedom is perhaps greater in intensity and scope today than in the first years of Soviet government.

Such fashionable "theories" as non-conformism, widespread in many Western countries, have found their way into some socialist countries as well. According to these petty-bourgeois, anarchist concepts, which in words are aimed against bourgeois conformism (that is to say, adaptation to the social order extant in the capitalist countries, to the accepted way of life, as well as their justification), what is progressive in our time is rejection by the individual of any state system, any authority, any social precepts or laws, rejection of discipline and responsibility; for these,

it is claimed, restrict the individual's freedom, encroach upon it. Echoing the followers of the so-called Frankfurt school of bourgeois philosophy (Erich Fromm, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and others), such revisionists as Svetozar Stojanovic, expelled from the Yugoslav League of Communists, J. Strinka, Prucha and other adherents of the Right expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party, called for "total negation" of socialism and actual renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Anarchistic ideas are being spread among some writers and other workers in the cultural field that the meaning and purpose of creative work is to oppose state power, whatever its form, and the accepted society—whether capitalist or socialist.

The Maoists, who maintain that any state is based on coercion and therefore cannot be humanistic, attack socialist democracy and humanism. They denounce humanism as being synonymous with bourgeois liberalism, as a betrayal of Marxism, and as counter-revolution. Such views were expressed, for instance, in the Chinese newspaper *Kuangming jihpao* dated September 19, 1971, in an attack on the theory of human essence which, for some reason, it ascribed to Liu Shao-chi, although we know that the theory of human essence was expounded by progressive thinkers of the 18th century. Marxism substantiated this theory, explaining the social essence of man's nature and showing ways of changing it through socialist revolution. That truly humanistic theory has been implemented only in socialist society.

Ideological speculation on the concepts of freedom, democracy and the individual are resolutely rejected by the CPSU and other Marxist-

Leninist parties. Marxism-Leninism has proved irrefutably that genuine freedom and democracy are concomitants of socialist society, that they consist in the workers themselves managing the affairs of society, in guaranteed rights and freedoms for working people, in a fuller satisfaction of people's material and cultural requirements, and in the creation of conditions for the all-round development of the individual. The ideals of true, socialist humanism, which Lenin set down as the basis of the Party's activity at the dawn of the 20th century, are reflected in the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. They are incorporated in the Party's motto: "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man," and are being implemented under the favourable conditions of socialism. In the past we have not had the necessary material conditions to fully implement this great humanistic principle, but today, in advanced socialist society, our opportunities are much greater. The satisfaction of the material and non-material requirements of the members of socialist society, a continuous rise in the living standards and cultural level of the people, and the creation of conditions for the all-round development of the individual are the supreme aim of the Party's economic and social policy proclaimed by the 24th Congress. That is how true socialist humanism is being implemented in our society.

The international working class movement values highly and wholeheartedly supports the policy pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its implementation of the principles of socialist humanism, principles which form part of the proletariat's revolutionary traditions, its class struggle. Speaking at the 24th CPSU Congress,

Comrade Gus Hall emphasized that the assessment of the advantages of the socialist system should not be confined to industrial indicators or the prices of goods. "What is placed on the scales now," he said, "is the overall quality of life. Standards of physical comforts remain very important in determining the quality of life, but the yardstick is much broader now. It includes the total spectrum of human values, the order of priorities, dictated by the inherent laws of each system. It includes the moral, cultural and philosophical concepts nurtured by each system. Many of the new components that add up to a quality of life cannot be measured by charts."

Indeed, it would be difficult to express socialism's moral values, let alone the entire range of values inherent in the socialist system, in the language of statistics. Marxist philosophy, social science, and Soviet literature and art have many ways in which to reveal profoundly and vividly the meaning and humanistic significance of these truly human values, and not only to the younger generation and the Soviet people, but also to people abroad. It is the internationalist duty of our philosophers and other scholars in the humanities, of workers in the arts and culture in general, to give, in our scientific publications, in journalistic writing and works of fiction, as well as educational and cultural work, adequate and comprehensive consideration to the problem of the individual, to the development and implementation in our society of genuine socialist humanism. In this connection it is necessary to direct well-based criticism at the recent and much-advertised propositions of bourgeois and revisionist theorists to the effect that human problems,

the interests of the individual, his freedom, creative work and the meaning of life are alien to Leninism, and that only existentialism, psychoanalysis and similar bourgeois idealistic concepts afford a solution to man's pressing problems. The issues of freedom, democracy and the individual will remain in the centre of the ideological struggle.

The major issue of the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists has been, especially in recent years, *the question of the leading role of the Communist Party and the road of development of the CPSU and the Soviet people.*

As Comrade Leonid Brezhnev pointed out in the Central Committee Report to the 24th CPSU Congress, "the experience of past years has convincingly shown that the surmounting of the consequences of the personality cult and also of subjectivistic errors has favourably affected the general political and, above all, the ideological situation in the country. We have been and remain true to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and shall never make any concessions on questions of ideology."

In our country the Marxist-Leninist views on the decisive importance of the popular masses in history, and the leading role of the working class and its Party in the life of society have been fully rehabilitated and further developed; in Party and state work a scientific approach to problems has been firmly established, an approach based on a profound and thorough knowledge of the laws of social development and scientific achievements, and on all-round consideration of the creative capabilities of the Soviet people.

The historical road of development of our Party and people has been analyzed and theoretically summed up in a number of Party documents and scientific works published for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin's centenary, and the 24th CPSU Congress, as well as in the documents issued by the Congress. The Party has resolutely opposed the hostile attempts by bourgeois and revisionist theorists to question, under the guise of criticizing the personality cult, the basic tenets of Leninism and the important achievements of the Soviet socialist system at different periods of its history, and the attempts to denigrate the vigorous and consistent struggle the Party waged in the nineteen-twenties and thirties against such enemies of Leninism as the Trotskyites, Right opportunists, and nationalists.

In criticizing attempts to whitewash the anti-Party trends which Leninism fought, the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties have shown, beyond doubt, that socialism could not have triumphed over its ideological opponents without a consistent struggle for Leninism's basic tenets. The historical lessons of the CPSU's struggle against trends opposed to Leninism are of international significance; this struggle serves as a model for the communist and workers' parties in other countries.

The attempts of bourgeois and revisionist hacks to belittle the great social processes in our country, such as industrialization, collectivization and our rapid cultural advance, and to deny the historical necessity of eliminating the kulaks as a class have been fully exposed. Unremitting efforts have also been made to expose the attempts

made by our enemies in the West to falsify the history of the Great Patriotic War.

The Soviet press and public have subjected to just criticism the erroneous views on the historical development of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party and Soviet society, that have at times made an appearance in Soviet literature, including a few works on history and some works of fiction. One-sided and false views expounded by some authors concerning the collectivization of agriculture and elimination of the kulaks as a class have been shown up. Also justly criticized have been the warped views of certain historians on the initial period of the Soviet Union's war against nazi Germany: there were assertions, quite false, that defence of the USSR had not been prepared properly, that the Party and the whole nation were caught off guard, etc. The Party press and the reading public have censured the one-sided and erroneous treatment of certain periods of history. The magazine *Novy Mir* came in for criticism, for instance, for overplaying the so-called labour camp subject; under the slogan of "deheroization" the magazine sank to attempts to belittle the heroism of the Soviet fighting men; while in some works published by the magazine (*Matrena's Household, The Story of Fyodor Kuzkin*, etc.) life on the collective farm was depicted in gloomy, hopeless tones. A partisan outlook on the heroic history of the Soviet people has been reaffirmed as a result of the criticism of these mistakes and erroneous views—a campaign initiated by the Party, intellectuals and writers.

The 24th Congress also referred to some literary works which cultivated dogmatic views and tried, as Comrade Brezhnev said in the Central Committee Report, to whitewash events of the past

which the Party had long since denounced, and to preserve notions and views contrary to the new and creative outlook recently introduced by the Party into its theory and practice. For instance, certain literary works (such as I. Shevtsov's *The Aphides, In the Name of the Father and the Son*, etc.) expressed mistrust for the Soviet intelligentsia and the youth, and nostalgia of a sort for a past associated with administration by mere in-junction.

In the field of social science, the Party, the press and scientists have criticized attempts to justify or to use to the detriment of Marxism-Leninism the mistaken views formerly held by some writers in philosophy, economics, etc., regarding certain sciences such as genetics, cybernetics and econometrics. This criticism opened up new possibilities for scientific search in various fields of knowledge, for creative discussion of problems of science and culture, and exchange of experience—on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Our ideological workers, and Marxist-Leninists in general, realize that the erroneous views on the historical development of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, as well as on the progress of Soviet science and culture were often inspired and encouraged by external forces. It has been the petty-bourgeois adventurers such as the Maoists and Trotskyites who have slandered the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems, the Leninist line of our Party, its Programme and other historic documents, calling them "social-revisionists." And in the other direction it has been the bourgeois-technocratic and reformist theorists as well as Right revisionists who have wanted to

switch the USSR and other socialist countries onto the road of bourgeois liberalization. In an attempt to subvert workers in the field of science and culture they have tried to introduce the false idea of peaceful co-existence of ideologies and to demand that the communist parties give up their guidance of science, culture and the intellectual life of society in general—to demand that the intellectual freedom of people be “unlimited” (meaning that the gates be opened to all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois propaganda with its associated “spiritual values” such as amorality, pornography, ideological poverty, mysticism, etc.).

The ideological and political solidarity of Communist Party members and non-members, of the various classes of Soviet society, including the intelligentsia, has been further promoted by the principled position adopted by the CPSU, its consistent struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist theories of “deideologization,” inventions about socialism and the Soviet way of life and about the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems. This solidarity has also been promoted by the Party’s criticism of attempts made to depreciate everything that has been achieved by the Party and by the people, attempts aimed at diverting attention away from current problems, from the Party’s constructive policy and from the Soviet people’s creative endeavours.

The above-said irrefutably proves that the CPSU’s ideological-theoretical activity, embodied in the resolutions and other documents of its Congresses and Central Committee plenary meetings, in Party documents, especially those published for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution,

the Lenin centenary, and other historic events, in the Central Committee decision “On Measures to Further Develop the Social Sciences and Raise Their Role in Communist Construction” (1967), and in some other decisions, has yielded results whose importance could hardly be overrated.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is marching in single formation with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, and which, together with the fraternal parties, elaborated the historic documents of the world communist movement, has proved itself as a party of scientific communism, a party that sets an example of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and the communist ideals of the working class.

2. THE GREATER ROLE OF SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY IN ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The conditions of advanced socialist society heighten the need for the further creative elaboration of Marxism-Leninism and the all-round development of socialist ideology. This need is primarily due to the fact that, for the first time, an advanced socialist society has been attained. Many of its features, criteria and tendencies are novel, unprecedented, and require profound study. The further elaboration of the principles of the ideology of socialism, scientific perception and control of the laws of socio-economic and cultural development (for example, the combining of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with socialism’s advantages, the creation of conditions for the individual’s all-

round development, etc.) are particularly important for the maturing of socialism and its transformation into communism. Without the elaboration of these new problems in a Marxist-Leninist way, without controlling the tendencies and mastering the methods of modern planning and management it is impossible to attain long-range goals of economic and cultural development, impossible to develop the socialist ideology.

The increased importance of the socialist ideology at the present stage is also due to the implementation by the Party and Soviet society of the tasks of moulding a new man, the inculcation of a new, communist attitude to labour, the fostering of Soviet patriotism, the attainment of a high level of education and culture for the whole of society, and the crystallization of a new, communist morality. The central task among those outlined by the 24th Congress is the shaping and development of a communist outlook which is the ideological basis not only for the life and work of the guiding force of Soviet society—the 14.5 million members of the Communist Party—but also for the life and work of the broad masses. It is impossible to realize the communist ideals, to apply the growing socialist consciousness in everyday communist labour, without a coordinated solution of such interrelated problems of socialist ideology as the furtherance of education and training, of communist morality, of creative talents, and the development of social thought on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The socialist ideology has triumphed in the USSR, becoming deeply rooted in the socio-political and spiritual life of the people, as well as in their consciousness and conduct. Much remains to

be done, however, to make the communist ideals a deep conviction, and a constant stimulus in the labour and conduct of every Soviet citizen. In advanced socialist society, the socialist ideology has yet to completely overcome survivals of the old system in the minds and in the conduct of people (particularly in the spheres of psychology and morality).

The greater role required of the socialist ideology at the present stage is due to the USSR advancing its socialist system toward communism, together with other countries of the world socialist system, in the complex and difficult conditions of struggle against imperialism at every point of the confrontation of the two systems. This requires that all members of society carry out their internationalist duty with dedication, and that they study thoroughly and spread the valuable experience of other socialist countries; this also requires unremitting struggle against bourgeois ideology and morality in the international arena.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and communism is being enriched and particularized on the basis of theoretical generalizations of the experience of communist construction in the USSR and socialist construction in other countries of the world socialist system. Our knowledge of the tendencies, features and criteria of communism, its two phases, and the present, first phase—advanced socialist society—is expanding and acquiring a more precise scientific form.

The socialist ideology is based, as it has always been, on the solid foundation of dialectical materialism, on economic theory, the theory of scientific communism, and achievements of histo-

rical and other social sciences. At its present stage of development the socialist ideology presupposes theoretical comprehension and generalization, not only of the socio-historical experience and latest achievements of sociology, but also of the most recent experience in scientific and technological progress, in the natural and engineering sciences (such developments as automatic control systems, new forms of information, etc.) and in methods of scientific research (such as structural systems analysis, the method of models, optimization in planning and management, the use of econometrics, etc.).

None of these modern scientific achievements contradict in any way the socialist ideology; in fact, if correctly interpreted, they will be found to agree with the spirit and meaning of Marxism-Leninism, since they support the thesis expounded by Engels and Lenin concerning the necessity for changing the form of the materialist outlook, a necessity arising as a result of epoch-making scientific discoveries. One cannot agree, of course, with the erroneous view that the new scientific methods (structural systems analysis, models, etc.) developed in specific sciences can replace the universal method of scientific philosophical thinking—materialist dialectics—or in any way restrict the sphere of its application.

Nor do the methods of econometrics, models, optimization of planning, introduction of automatic control systems, etc. contradict Marxist-Leninist political economy; all of these new developments will help to particularize and perfect the economic science based on principles of Marxist economic theory, the laws of social development

discovered by Marxism-Leninism, and the sum total of the vast experience of socialist economic management.

Further development of the socialist ideology requires philosophical interpretation of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Without a deep, all-round theoretical comprehension of the outstanding achievements and methods of modern natural science, mathematics, cybernetics and technology, the socialist ideology at the present stage would be incomplete and, to use Lenin's words, would be not so much "combating materialism" as "combated materialism."

An important aspect of Marxist-Leninist thought requiring further theoretical elaboration is the scientific solution of the problems of management and planning in socialist society. Such a solution is crucial for the development of the socialist ideology and culture.

Our Party, with its vast experience in national economic planning, regards planning by directive as the principal, determining kind. In opposing any moves to replace state centralized planning with market regulation the Party adopts the view that money-commodity relations in a socialist economy, used for strengthening planned management, have a new, typically socialist meaning.

Scientific forecasting is absolutely necessary for long-term planning. In the conditions of antagonisms between classes and the absence of a planned economy the attempts of bourgeois futurologists to make guesses about the future are futile. There have been occasions when writers in socialist countries have erroneously regarded the job of forecasting as producing a statement of the

alternatives of the future development of the economy, culture, and other spheres of social life; these authors overlook the opportunities afforded for the creative selection and utilization of such possibilities as are created by the socialist system, and fail to appreciate the requirements of communist progress.

In advanced socialist society, management cannot be limited to a mere application of progressive technologies and the best methods of planning and organization. As was stressed in the Central Committee Report to the 24th CPSU Congress, the political side of this problem is of exceptional importance. Truly scientific and efficient management of the socialist economy, and the affairs of society in general, is possible only with the further strengthening of the leading role of the Party and the Soviet state, and with the further development of socialist democracy.

Finding the best way of combining material and moral incentives in conditions of advanced socialism is vital for the development of the socialist ideology at the present stage.

In the course of a number of years, the Communist Party and the state have implemented important measures to raise the worker's material interest in the results of his labour—in industry, agriculture, and on the construction sites. These measures have been successful in promoting the labour enthusiasm of workers, collective farmers, and professionals, and have been an important condition for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the national economic plans. A recent Central Committee decision on improving the organization of the socialist emulation movement notes, however, that the material incentives provided by

the state are not always supplemented with the necessary moral incentives. In advanced socialist society there will be greater stress on moral incentives. This, however, in no way implies an abandoning of material incentives: far from being mutually exclusive, the two forms of incentives must complement each other.

Marxism-Leninism rejects the leftist assertions that poverty is synonymous with revolutionary militance, and that satisfaction of material requirements, greater pay for better work, and raising the living standards of the members of socialist society result in their "bourgeoisification."

The moulding of a new man and the overcoming of survivals of the past in the minds of the people and in their social conduct are a major task associated with the development of the socialist ideology. "A great project—the building of communism—cannot be advanced without the harmonious development of man himself," states the Central Committee Report to the 24th CPSU Congress. "Communism is inconceivable without a high level of culture, education, sense of civic duty and inner maturity of people just as it is inconceivable without the appropriate material and technical basis."

In today's advanced socialist society the development of different areas of social consciousness and the cultural level of people is still disproportionate. The social consciousness and ideological level of different groups of people are variously developed, and the difference in that development is still substantial.

The general level of education in the USSR is high, compared with many foreign countries, and

is constantly rising. However, not all members of our society are yet dedicated proponents of the scientific materialist outlook. Although in the years of Soviet government the USSR has become a country of general atheism, there are people who are governed by prejudice, superstition, and a religious ideology which is trying to adapt itself to socialist conditions, to the progress attained by science and culture. In some parts of the country religious sects are stepping up their activity; religious holidays are celebrated noisily and for long periods. Some works of literature and art idealize the religious life of yesterday and religious rites; attempts are made to justify religion and the church, to present them as champions of progress and advocates of culture, and to magnify their role in national history. Religion, an outgoing but tenacious form of ideology, is a typical survival of the past in the minds of people. Religion is alien to the Marxist-Leninist outlook, and it often has a retarding effect on socio-political activity, as well as on the development of culture and consciousness of the people subject to its influence. Consistent, scientific atheistic education will for a long time continue to be an important and complex aspect of ideological work.

Petty-bourgeois individualism is a widespread and tenacious survival of the past in people's consciousness and social conduct. As distinct from religion, it is not a clear-cut ideology but it is equally harmful. Although petty-bourgeois individualism in the period of advanced socialism has no medium for its development in the form of private enterprise or a free-for-all market, it is still able to feed on deviations from the prin-

ciples of socialist economic management, on violations of Soviet law, and on carry-overs from the past in the psychology of a proportion of the people. Even in advanced socialist society there are some who try to grab as much as possible from society and give as little as possible; people who see the meaning of existence in living at the expense of others, in swindling and profiteering or living in pleasant idleness, and who ignore the social, political and cultural interests of socialist society. It would be impossible to overcome petty-bourgeois individualism and its manifestations—parasitism, idleness, grasping, profiteering, etc.—by administrative measures alone. Cultivation of a communist attitude to labour in all members of society, social education within work collectives, strict enforcement of the law and the rules of socialist conduct, the directing of public opinion against petty-bourgeois individualistic views on life—are all sure means of overcoming petty-bourgeois individualism.

Immorality in private life is another tenacious survival still lingering in the period of advanced socialism. Drunkenness and ensuing rowdyism, licentiousness, etc. are grave survivals of the past often affecting people who were born and grew up under socialism. It is impossible to agree with the writers in the fields of jurisprudence and psychology who claim that immoral actions are for the most part an expression of man's biological qualities; these authors see practically no prospects of dealing with such actions. It would be wrong to explain manifestations of immorality as being due merely to the as yet insufficiently high cultural and educational level of a proportion of the people. Of course a comparatively high level

of education does not automatically ensure high moral standards. Considerable efforts are needed to bring the standards of morality up to the point where they will match the educational level. It would also be wrong to explain immoral actions as being due only to insufficient educational work, and lack of responsibility, on the part of collectives, for the morals of their members. The causes of immorality go much deeper, they include factors relating to the economy, conditions of life, psychology and ethics. The Soviet state has introduced a whole range of measures to combat drunkenness, hooliganism and other offences. These measures would be more effective if a purposeful, well thought-out and well-organized system of moral training were elaborated and introduced everywhere, beginning with children of school age, and including work collectives, educational establishments, and the family.

Nationalist sentiments and prejudice, which are contrary to the internationalist spirit of the entire Soviet people, are also survivals of the past, alien to socialism.

Discussing the success of the Communist Party's Leninist national policy, the Central Committee Report to the 24th Congress emphasized that a new historical community had taken shape in our country—the Soviet people, and that new, harmonious relations of co-operation had become established among all nations and nationalities inhabiting the USSR. The Party and the people resolutely oppose any display of nationalism or chauvinism, and expressions of national exclusiveness or superiority. The last two are sometimes manifested in an artificial seclusion within the bounds of one's nationality, in the isolation

of the national and cultural life of one people from the rest, and in idealization and untoward glorification of national traditions, including traditions generated by former economic and cultural backwardness.

Attempts to revive nationalist sentiments and enmity between nationalities in our Soviet society have no chance of success. In the sphere of ideological work much remains to be done to complete a scientifically based exposure of the survivals of nationalist ideology rooted in the past and often encouraged by bourgeois-nationalist elements residing outside our socialist country.

Besides a scientific elaboration of the theoretical foundations of the communist outlook, the development of the socialist ideology requires careful stock-taking and study of a number of factors relating to psychology, ethics, the mode of life in Soviet society, etc. Without this it would be difficult to eliminate the disproportions in the development of different aspects of the social consciousness—its lagging, in the case of some people, behind the progressing socialist reality. An important role in the elaboration of theoretical problems of the socialist ideology is played by social psychology, ethics, atheism, the theory and history of culture and pedagogical sciences which must be sufficiently well developed to meet the growing requirements of advanced socialist society.

The moulding of a new man and the creation of conditions for the all-round development of the individual envisage considerable enhancement of the role of work collectives, and especially the collectives of industrial enterprises, in the process

of educating Soviet working men and women. Many work collectives have considerable experience in planning social development and in raising living standards and the level of education and culture of working people, and their skills. Worthy of note, for instance, is the experience of some enterprises in Moscow, the "Svetlana" plant in Leningrad, the pipe factory in Pervouralsk, the "Uralsmash" factory in Sverdlovsk and others. Sociological research into the processes of education and the moulding of a new man begun on the initiative of local Party organizations, in Leningrad, Sverdlovsk Region, Gorky Region and Taganrog, for instance, now requires to be generalized in the form of theory, and the experience of leading collectives must be widely popularized. Research into the cultural needs of the Soviet man will be continued in order to enrich even more the cultural life of our society commensurate with the requirements of communist construction.

3. SOME PROBLEMS OF CULTURE IN ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The history of Soviet society's cultural life is also the history of implementing the socialist revolution in culture. Vital and progressively more complex problems of building a new, socialist culture were successfully tackled at its various stages.

The basic social, political and ideological problems were solved in the main during the first stages of the advance of Soviet culture. The domination of the exploiter classes in the sphere of education, the arts and cultural life in general

was done away with. The world of culture now became accessible to the people, and a critical appraisal of cultural works on the ideological basis of Marxism began; a battle against ideologies alien to socialism was begun in all spheres of spiritual life, and a start was made upon the socialist re-education of the collective farmers. Towards the latter half of the nineteen-thirties a socialist intelligentsia was formed in the USSR that shared the outlook of the working class and upheld its interests.

During the next stage of the revolution in culture, which includes the last pre-war years, the period of the Great Patriotic War, and the post-war years during which the building of socialism was completed, the socialist culture created in the USSR was brought within reach of the broad masses. Educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, millions of Soviet citizens passed with honour the grim test imposed on them by the war, achieving a historic victory. Soviet culture emerged onto the world scene, becoming an inspiring model of cultural development for other countries newly embarked upon the road of socialism.

The triumph of socialism in the USSR made it possible to pass over to the final stage of the building of the socialist culture. The essential task of this final stage, as stated in the Programme of the CPSU, is to ensure the creation of the necessary ideological and cultural conditions for the triumph of communism. Thus, in its timing and in its essence the final stage of the building of Soviet culture coincides with the present stage in the economic and socio-political life of Soviet society—the stage of advanced socialism.

The equalization of the cultural, technical and

general educational levels of Soviet workers, farmers and professional groups is proceeding rapidly. The process of developing a socialist consciousness in the people and of introducing the new generations to socialist culture is continuing. There is no conflict or antagonism in our country between the younger and the older generations, between their cultural interests. Although the cultural requirements and inclinations of the Soviet people differ, this difference is not basic or essential, while there is unity in the case of their ideological and political values.

What is the socio-historical mission of the final stage of the building of Soviet culture in the period of advanced socialist society? What qualitative changes does our society aim at carrying out in this stage in the sphere of already-created socialist culture?

The development of socialist culture and forming of a communist culture is an involved process closely associated with such important social tasks as the raising of the general educational, technical and cultural levels of all members of society; reducing the disparity between mental and physical work, and between the mode of life in the town and in the country; promoting the scientific and technological revolution, and the combining of its achievements with the advantages of the socialist system; eliminating the tedious element from labour; improving living conditions, etc.

There are many sides to socialist culture and many levels of its development. We cannot yet say that the introduction of qualitative changes has been completed in each of them—changes that signify the creation of all the necessary ideolo-

gical and cultural conditions for the transformation of socialism into a fully fledged communist society.

A clear indication of what thorough qualitative changes are being made or will be made in the period of advanced socialist society is given in the decisions and documents of the 24th CPSU Congress.

Above, we have discussed one of the primary tasks outlined by the 24th Congress which must be carried out in the period of advanced socialist society—the moulding of a new man, the shaping of his communist outlook and morals, and the overcoming of survivals of the past among the people. Filfilment of this historic task largely depends on concerted efforts being made by the Party, the state, and the public—efforts aimed at bringing education and culture to every Soviet citizen, and at creating the necessary conditions for the all-round development of the individual.

The documents of the 24th CPSU Congress emphasize that to pass over to communism it is necessary for there to be a further growth of the national economy and a higher cultural level. Achievement of this objective is to be facilitated by the introduction of universal secondary education, including extension of the system of vocational schools affording a complete secondary education; the overhauling of the curricula in the entire educational system in keeping with the demands of modern science; the accelerated training of specialists, and systematic retraining of personnel; the further raising of the general educational, technical and cultural levels; the all-out promotion of the social and natural sciences; and the comprehensive development of the mass me-

dia. Fulfilment of these and many other tasks in the sphere of culture will provide conditions for the all-round development of the individual, helping to reduce the distinctions between mental and physical work, and the differences in the mode of life in the town and countryside.

The Communist Party's carefully considered agricultural policy has brought about a notable improvement in this all-important branch of the national economy. Socialist agriculture is being equipped on a wide scale with highly developed farm machinery; farm labour is beginning to take on the character of industrial labour; the standard of living, and the general educational level of the rural population are steadily rising (by 1970 every other farmer had either a secondary or higher education). However, even in advanced socialist society there are still marked differences between life in the town and in the country, especially in the level of culture and in living conditions. It is necessary to further raise the standard of living and the cultural level in the countryside, to bring them up to the corresponding levels in the town.

The latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, which began to make itself felt in the nineteen-fifties and which has subsequently exerted such pronounced and growing influence, are being utilized in all branches of the socialist economy. The technological revolution, by greatly influencing the development of the means of production, ensures the gradual transformation of science into a direct productive force. The elaboration and application of new, typically socialist forms of relations between science and production and the broad application

of the latest scientific and technological developments, as well as of the latest scientific methods both in production and other spheres of social life denote essential, qualitative changes in socialist science and culture. These are not mere quantitative "additions" to something that was already there, but basic, substantial transformations in the system of education and training in scientific work, in the mass media, and in the entire cultural sphere. Besides, modern scientific and technological progress makes qualitative changes in the material basis of socialist culture, since the scientific and technological revolution invades the sphere of both material and cultural life (consider the modern experimental base for science, means of space communication, the application of automated control systems in crop farming, the latest teaching methods at schools, etc.). This revolution requires not isolated corrections and additions but fundamental changes in the "material element" of culture, in the scope and rate of scientific and cultural activity in its entirety.

Changing the character of labour and raising the level of technical education and the general cultural level are directly related to scientific and technological progress which is given full play in the period of advanced socialism. Consistent application of scientific and technological achievements in the period of advanced socialism implies not only the mechanizing of tedious, unproductive manual labour, but also greater application of intelligence on the part of production workers. The work of scientists and engineers on the one hand, and of industrial workers and farmers on the other—work which is progressively acquiring a more scientific character—will be associated with

a fundamental technical re-equipment of industry and agriculture and will require mastery of the latest scientific methods and technical means of control, as well as assimilation of a torrent of scientific and technical information.

Advanced socialist society is to ensure essential, fundamental changes to raise the general standard of living—improved living conditions in town and country, wider availability of household appliances, and improved conditions for working women and for bringing up children. Sustained effort is needed to bring about a state of affairs such that all working people will be able to make the fullest use of their free time (particularly the additional day-off gained with the transfer to a five-day working week): that they have both the possibility and desire to engage in cultural pursuits and that harmful survivals of the past are finally eradicated. These substantial changes, which actually are qualitative transformations, cannot be effected overnight, but only gradually. A new, socialist mode of life meeting the requirements of advanced socialist society is steadily establishing itself and overcoming the negative features and old traditions of the past.

The 24th Congress outlined a number of important tasks associated with the development of socialist culture.

It follows from the Congress decisions that the process of developing and enriching socialist culture in advanced socialist society requires further analysis and elaboration of the related theoretical problems (in education, science, the arts, the mass media, etc.).

In view of these decisions, economists, sociologists, philosophers, educationists, etc., are faced

with an important task. As part of the long-range planning of public education and the training of specialists they must forecast, scientifically, the needs of socialist society in regard to education and culture in general. This raises the question of the scope and forms of secondary and higher education, and the question of when it is to be received. This problem should be considered with an eye to the future, since the growing demands imposed by the scientific and technological revolution and the necessity for the all-round development of the individual may require a drastic revision of the educational system.

The 24th Congress noted the growing role of literature and art in the cultural development of socialist society, and the fact that "...our literature, theatre, cinema, television, fine arts and music have given Soviet people new, interesting and talented works. New works and productions have appeared which deal with our people's past and present realistically, from Party positions, without embellishment and without playing up shortcomings, and which concentrate attention on truly important problems of communist education and construction."

In striving to impart a partisan and popular character to culture, and to advance socialist realism in art, the Party, the public, and workers in the arts have resolutely denounced the mendacious works of A. Solzhenitsin and similar writers which slander the Soviet reality and help our ideological enemies in their subversive activities against socialism. Also denounced have been the attempts to belittle Soviet heroism, instances of unhistorical, non-class treatment of events of the distant and recent past, idealized portrayal of

patriarchal antiquity, and attempts to elevate some religious and idealistic concepts of the past, which found a place in some works of literature and art as well as in some critical reviews. Mistakes made formerly by some authors writing in the magazines *Novy Mir* (New World), *Molodaya Gvardiya* (The Young Guards), and some other publications came in for particular criticism.

Soviet ideologists, workers in the arts and art critics are faced with the necessity of maintaining an exacting attitude in evaluating the ideological and artistic merit of works, of directly participating in the acute ideological struggles in the world arena, and with the task of elaborating the theory of the aesthetics of socialist realism.

In December 1972 it will be fifty years since the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed. The occasion is of great ideological significance, and will be celebrated as a national holiday. It will also be a holiday in honour of Soviet socialist culture. In preparing for the anniversary, and in keeping with the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, Soviet ideologists should, we believe, pay special attention to the study and popularization of the advances made by the socialist national cultures and the cultural gains of the entire Soviet nation as a new historical community. Of great theoretical and practical importance would be elaboration of the dialectics of the general and the specific in the sphere of socialist culture, a scientific analysis of the interrelations and interchange of cultural values among Soviet peoples, and a study of the common cultural interests, of the common cultural wealth of the entire Soviet people, as well as of the new psychological make-up of Soviet man. Of great im-

portance in this context would be a theoretical investigation and practical realization of a national task—the further mastering of the Russian language as the common language of the USSR. The Russian language is used and valued by all peoples of the Soviet Union. Millions of Soviet citizens of non-Russian nationality speak, read and write in Russian.

In March 1972 it will be 50 years since the publishing of Lenin's outstanding work, *On the Significance of Militant Materialism*, which, in a sense, may be regarded as his philosophical testament. This anniversary will serve to provide fresh impetus for a further elaboration and implementation of Lenin's great programme of action in defence of the scientific, communist outlook against reactionary ideologies and the influence of religion and idealism.

The Communist Party has at every stage implemented Lenin's programme for militant materialism. The alliance of Party members and non-members advocated by Lenin is practiced in science and in everyday work. The union of Marxist philosophy and science, particularly natural science, is growing stronger. The best cultural, especially materialist, dialectical and atheistic traditions of the past are being studied and developed. Marx's materialist dialectics is being further elaborated with reference to modern historical events and revolutionary processes. A materialist outlook is being developed in the people in the process of overcoming the influences of religion and idealism. The socialist ideology and communist outlook are being developed and strengthened in battles against the bourgeois ideology and revisionist falsifications.

Lenin's ideological behests retain their validity and significance at the present historical stage.

Fresh stimuli for the further implementation of these behests are provided by the 24th CPSU Congress decisions and the following precept: "The Party's theoretical effort must be directed towards a further elaboration of the pressing problems of modern social development, above all, of questions relating to communist construction."

The creative application and continued observance of the Leninist ideological traditions by our Party and workers in the sphere of ideology, as well as the further elaboration of measures to develop the socialist ideology and socialist culture on the basis of the 24th Congress decisions, are a fresh guarantee of success in our efforts to bring about the triumph of communism.

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XXIV СЪЕЗД КПСС
И РАЗВИТИЕ МАРКСИСТСКО-ЛЕНИНСКОЙ ТЕОРИИ

на английском языке

Цена 30 коп.

