

# SUPPLEMENT



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## SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

**Mikhail Suslov:**

**Improvement of the Ideological  
and Educational Work Is a Task  
of the Entire Party**

**Boris Ponomarev:**

**Detente and the Struggle of  
Ideas in the World Arena**

**I**

**1980**

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## SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

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Mikhail SUSLOV,  
Member of the Politbureau,  
CPSU Central Committee Secretary

## A TASK FOR THE ENTIRE PARTY

*Under the accompaniment of prolonged applause M. A. Suslov extended cordial greetings and best wishes from Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to all the participants in the All-Union Meeting of Ideological Workers.*

Six months have passed since the CPSU Central Committee adopted the resolution "On the Further Improvement of the Ideological, Political and Educational Work". In that period, Party organisations of the republics, territories and regions, local and government bodies and ideological institutions have held Party meetings, plenary sessions and meetings of activists at which the Communists discussed thoroughly and with great interest the propositions and recommendations of this important Party document.

The numerous letters addressed to the Central Committee by Soviet citizens show that the workers, collective farmers and office workers, economic executives, workers in literature and the arts, scholars and journalists—people from every walk of life regard this resolution as a direct appeal to them, an explicit answer to the questions posed by life in further improving educational work.

Speech by M. Suslov at the All-Union Meeting of Ideological Workers, October 16, 1979.

The CPSU CC resolution has become a major event in the ideological and political life of the Party and the entire people. It sums up the ideological-education activity of the Party, particularly in a period with milestones like the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. It gives a profound analysis of the problems linked with diverse aspects of ideological work at the present stage and points out both its strong points and substantial shortcomings. It should be emphasised that special importance attaches to the relevant directions given by Leonid Brezhnev at the November (1978) Central Committee meeting. The character of the resolution is determined by the vital requirements of the present stage in the development of the Soviet society, the specifics of the two opposite world systems, as well as the role objectively assigned to the Party's ideological activity in present-day conditions.

Our meeting, which was convened under a decision of the CPSU Central Committee, is intended to discuss fulfilment of the resolution and effective ways of realising the tasks posed by it. This is all the more important owing to its long-term character and because it represents a comprehensive programme of action in the ideological education work.

## I

The main feature of the activity of the CPSU as a party of scientific communism is *the organic blend of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of the working class and the historic creativity of the masses*. At every stage of the struggle to create a new society, our Leninist Party has invariably followed the Marxist principle of not only *explaining* the world but also of *changing* it.

The Party's leadership in the forward movement of

our society towards a communist future is based on a deep-going scientific cognition of the laws of social development, a thorough analysis of the road we have traversed, the existing situation and the leading tendencies of socio-political life. Fifteen years have passed since the October (1964) CPSU Central Committee plenum, which was a historic milestone in the life of our Party. The plenum was of great importance in strengthening the leading and guiding role of the CPSU, in asserting the Leninist norms and principles of Party life and collective leadership, and in creating an atmosphere of respect and trust in the cadre and a truly creative style of work. The plenum decisions played an outstanding role in elaborating the Party's political course in the conditions of mature socialism. The consistent implementation of this course was marked by signal achievements of the Party and the people.

All-round consideration of the new social experience, a thorough analysis of the vital requirements of the material and spiritual progress of society is the basis of the great theoretical, ideological and practical work tirelessly conducted by the Party and its Central Committee, led by Leonid Brezhnev, loyal continuer of the cause of the great Lenin and outstanding leader of our Party and the Soviet state, prominent in the world Communist and working-class movement, and tireless fighter for peace. The force of the Party's collective wisdom, the scientific substantiation of its socio-economic and political strategy were vividly expressed in the historic decisions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its theoretical strength, as well as its enormous experience give our Party exceptional ability in scientific prevision. This is borne out by the entire course of contemporary historical development.

The Party sees Lenin's precept on the need for "strictly differentiating between stages that are essentially different, soberly examining the conditions under which they manifest themselves"<sup>1</sup> as the necessary methodological basis for defining the objectives which society must resolve at each new stage of social progress.

It is only on the basis of their profound scientific understanding that our Leninist Party can resolve the fundamental problems of economic development, social relations, socialist democracy, culture and communist education. This stems from the fact that to our country, to our heroic people has fallen the historic mission of advancing along an unbeaten path, of resolving the fundamentally new and diverse tasks linked with the further development of a mature socialist society.

An outstanding achievement of theoretical thought that widens the horizons of revolutionary theory and practice is the doctrine of mature socialism as a prolonged, historically necessary stage in establishing the communist formation and transition to its highest stage. Many important directions of the theoretical and practical activity of the CPSU are directly linked with this concept, which has received all-round substantiation in the materials of Party congresses, decisions of Central Committee plenums and other Party documents.

At the stage of mature socialism, the creative potentialities of our system, its genuinely humane content are being increasingly revealed. This is reflected in the new USSR Constitution. Its adoption was not merely a historical act of strengthening the achievements of mature socialism and creative assimilation of the practice of communist construction, but also a powerful

stimulus for the further improvement of the entire system of socio-political relations. The Party's fruitful activity in guiding the socio-economic and political processes in the country, invigoration of the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the citizens' ever broader and direct participation in the affairs of the state, all this is aimed at a further consistent development of socialist democracy and strengthening the Soviet state system.

The present level of development of economic and social relations and the moral and political unity of Soviet society create a firm basis for a new powerful upsurge of the country's material and spiritual forces. On this basis, the Party is tackling complex large-scale tasks, above all in the economy and education. The successes in these two crucial spheres of social activity are organically interdependent. That is why the Central Committee adopted consecutively in April and July of this year two resolutions "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Education Work" and "On Further Improving the Economic Mechanism, and the Tasks of the Party and State Bodies". The CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers also adopted a decision on improving planning and intensifying the influence of economic mechanisms in raising efficiency and quality.

A short while ago, the CPSU Central Committee adopted, on Leonid Brezhnev's initiative, new and important decisions on key questions of developing the country's productive forces. With the aim of steadily raising the effectiveness of production, it is deemed necessary to ensure priority development of energetics, to improve the performance of such vital economic areas as transport, the fuel industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, engineering and the chemical

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 24.

industry. The Party's course towards the further upsurge of agriculture remains unaltered.

The solution of these problems, which are especially topical today, will help greatly in mobilising all existing reserves and the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to ensure harmonious, all-round development of all sectors of the economy, and of all regions of the country, first of all on the basis of intensive, qualitative factors. This will make it possible to expand the output of consumer goods and to further improve the material well-being of the people.

Thus, the latest decisions of the Party are interlinked and operate as a complex. Their fulfilment is bound to reveal more fully the Soviet people's creative forces, ensure the working people's ever broader participation and interest in the affairs of society, and substantially to raise the effectiveness of creative labour. It is of the utmost importance to give a profound, well-argued explanation of CPSU policy and the Party decisions, to mobilise and inspire the masses for the successful completion of the tenth five-year plan and to create favourable conditions for the next, eleventh, five-year plan.

The Party takes account in its activity of the close interconnection between the home and foreign policy of the USSR. Life has borne out the correctness of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses' scientific analysis of the world revolutionary process and of international development as a whole. Relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, on its political experience, our Party and its Central Committee closely follow developments and profoundly analyse the ongoing changes and are consistently implementing the Party's principled course in a complex and contradictory foreign political situation.

Stronger cohesion of the *world socialist community*

has been and remains a major objective of our foreign policy.

Fraternal friendship and cooperation between the socialist countries grows stronger with every year. The consolidation of their mutual ties and the growth of their overall economic might, which is steadily increasing on the basis of socialist economic integration, result in a flowering of the economy and culture of each people and strengthen the sovereignty of all the socialist states.

The 25th Congress's conclusion on the growing community of politics, economics and the spiritual life of the fraternal countries is being confirmed by the entire course of social development. This interconnection is also manifested in the similarity of the cardinal objectives of their ideological work. Proof of this comes from the warm interest in the Central Committee decision on ideological work among the parties of the socialist community countries. New useful steps in promoting ideological cooperation were made by the July meeting of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions.

The historic superiority of socialism, its irrefutable successes increase the attractive power of our ideas and of the socialist states' concerted foreign policy. Today, all progressive humanity knows full well that the Soviet Union and all the socialist-community countries are the main bulwark of peace, staunch conductors of the course towards detente.

Essentially, detente implies assertion of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence in practical international relations. The international recognition of these principles, including by the governments of the major Western powers, as a basis for mutual relations between

states with different social systems is a historic victory, attesting to the changed correlation of forces in the world. It is to the great credit of socialism, and a success for all the peace forces that for a fourth decade now humanity has been spared the ordeal of a world war.

An important step in eliminating the threat of nuclear war and stopping the arms race was the signing by Leonid Brezhnev and US President Jimmy Carter of the Soviet-US strategic arms limitation treaty. The entry into force of SALT-2, which is based on the principles of equality and equal security of the parties, will pave the way for working out new measures to limit and reduce strategic arms, and will promote success in limiting arms and effecting disarmament along other lines.

What Leonid Brezhnev said in Berlin in his speech on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR is of great significance in strengthening universal peace, and first of all the security of the European peoples. Reaffirming the firmness and consistency of the Leninist course of the CPSU and the Soviet state, he justly criticised the attempts of the NATO leaders to unwind a new spiral in the arms race and to achieve strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies. NATO's sinister plans for deploying new US medium-range missiles and turning Western Europe into a launching pad for nuclear weapons targeted at the Soviet Union have been exposed before the whole world.

In contrast to these plans, the Soviet Union has decided, as it was stated in Berlin, to reduce the numbers of its armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The new Soviet initiative is fresh and irrefutable proof of our country's sincere desire for world peace,

and greater confidence between the European countries. Naturally, we have the right to expect that the West European states will draw the appropriate conclusions from the constructive actions of the USSR.

The unanimous support of progressive world opinion for the provisions contained in Leonid Brezhnev's speech bears out the justice and constructive character of the peace policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and the resolve of all honest men and women to promote the detente and consolidate world peace.

Detente and the successes of the cause of peace and international security create more favourable conditions for the further development of the peoples' struggle for their national liberation and social progress. Many of them, having thrown off the yoke of colonialism and reactionary dictatorial regimes, have opted for a socialist orientation.

Understandably, the peoples' path of struggle is not an easy one, and it has to run in complicated and contradictory circumstances. Nor must we fail to reckon with the attempts of imperialist reaction to split the forces of national liberation and of the nonaligned movement, which has become an influential factor of world politics.

On the whole, the international situation is shaping up in a way that will require much effort on the part of the peoples of the socialist community countries, the national liberation movement and all the other peace forces to surmount the fierce opposition of the opponents of peaceful development, including the military-industrial complex of the USA. These efforts are aimed at the further materialisation of detente, above all at stopping the arms race, and at extending it to new spheres of international life, to every part of the world.

A serious obstacle in the fight for these goals is the policy of Peking, which has teamed up with imperialist reaction and the militarist forces. We vigorously condemn the great-power hegemonistic ideology and policy of Maoism as deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism, the interests of socialism, the cause of peace and the liberation of the peoples. At the same time, we are doing everything we can to normalise interstate relations with the PRC on the principles of peaceful co-existence. Here, everything depends on the readiness of the Chinese side to display a sober and constructive approach at the current negotiations.

Fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, their creative application to the specific conditions of each country, to the elaboration of the strategy and tactics is a reliable earnest of successes in the activity of each genuinely revolutionary party and the world Communist movement as a whole.

In our time, the authority of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, its ideological impact, the power of the example of existing socialism are greater than ever before. This frightens our class enemy. Hence the fierce attacks on Marxism-Leninism. Hence also the spate of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois falsifications of Marxism-Leninism, the appearance of new and more cunning revisionist and reformist interpretations of Marxism. Ultimately, they are all designed to discredit the experience and achievements of existing socialism, to erode and split the world Communist movement.

Our Party consistently calls for stronger cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are gratified by the fraternal parties' successes in their struggle for the vital interests of the working class and the working people as a

whole, against the absolute power of the monopolies and imperialist reaction.

The Communists of all countries—the bearers of the most humane, life-asserting world view—see their duty in fighting, armed with the forward-looking revolutionary theory, against the class enemies, giving a resolute rebuff to anti-communism, in drawing ever more millions of people on all continents and in all parts of the world to the side of socialism, into the ranks of fighters for peace and social progress.

In our ideological work we must bear in mind, as Leonid Brezhnev noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, that “the positive changes in world affairs and the detente create favourable opportunities for the broad spread of socialist ideas. But, on the other hand, the ideological contest between the two systems is becoming ever more acute, and imperialist propaganda ever more subtle”.<sup>2</sup> Our ideological workers must step up their struggle against bourgeois ideology, against manifestations of right and “left” opportunism through a creative elaboration of present-day problems of social development.

The powerful creative force of Marxism-Leninism—the theoretical basis of the CPSU's entire revolutionary-transformative activity—is ever more fully and clearly manifested in the persevering, consistent struggle for peace and social progress, as well as in the solution of colossal tasks of the economic and socio-political development of our society.

## II

The CPSU has acted and continues to act on the premise that the *moulding of the new man* is the most

<sup>2</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. 25th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, APN, 1976, p. 89.*

important part of the whole endeavour of communist construction. Education of the new man as a creative, spiritually rich, harmoniously developed individual is our programme aim.

Practice shows that great, strategic goals are never reached without fulfilling the current tasks leading to them. The formation of the new man is closely linked with the entire complex of economic, social and political problems. Without a high level of culture, education, public consciousness, ideological maturity of the people, says the Party, communism is unattainable, just as it is unattainable without a corresponding material and technical basis. This means that the moulding of the new man is not only a result, but also an important condition in building the new society.

The Party's approach is based on Lenin's well-known precept that the state is strong in the awareness of the masses, that it is strong when the masses know everything, can analyse everything and undertake everything consciously. Constant concern for steadily raising the consciousness and activity of the masses, as Lenin pointed out, remains the basis and main content of Party work.<sup>3</sup> Therefore further improvement of ideological and political-education work is considered in the CC decision as an important task for the entire party, an object of continuous concern of all the Party, state, trade union and Komsomol organisations.

The main feature, the source of the effectiveness, vital force and efficiency of our entire ideological work is its *scientific character*. The deep interest in theory, and all-round concern for its development is a splendid revolutionary tradition, an inalienable law of our Party life.

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<sup>3</sup> See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 178.

Direct drawing on the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which contain the fundamentals of our revolutionary science, by the Party cadre, all Communists, and by ever broader circles of working people is more meaningful today than ever before. It is a matter of their deep, thorough study and popularisation and not just of acquiring a cursory and superficial knowledge of individual provisions of Marxist-Leninist classics—and that is a point I should like to stress. It is essential to study thoroughly the history of the CPSU, the documents of Party congresses and the works of Leonid Brezhnev, who has made a big personal contribution to the scientific elaboration of the problems of communist construction.

This is what ensures the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, of its dialectico-materialist method of cognition. It is in this way that one truly understands the creative character of Marxism-Leninism, and the scientific character of our Party policy.

Marxism-Leninism is the supreme achievement of social science. A real mastery of it requires enormous, complex and intense effort, a constant enlargement and renewal of the store of knowledge. "... First, to learn, secondly, to learn, and thirdly, to learn," was Lenin's behest. He also warned: "... see to it that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catchphrase (and we should admit in all frankness that this happens very often with us), that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life."<sup>4</sup> These words of Lenin's remain fresh and meaningful for all Communists, particularly for workers of the ideological front. A profound assimilation and creative application by the ideological cadre of the theory and

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<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 489.

methodology of Marxism-Leninism is a necessary condition for the further improvement of the whole of ideological work.

Marxism-Leninism is a constantly developing theory. This stems from the scientific comprehension of the complex processes of present-day social development and analysis of new phenomena. In its theoretical activity, the Party constantly relies on research by Soviet social scientists.

Soviet social science has achieved definite successes in recent years. The problems of creating the material and technical basis of communism, of improving social relations, and moulding the working people's communist world view are being vigorously studied.

But life, social practice do not stand still. They make ever higher demands on Marxist-Leninist theory, and set new tasks before it. For their part, the social sciences should not lag behind life. The effectiveness of research can and must be substantially raised. While establishing an atmosphere of bold, creative quest in each scientific collective, it is essential to deal firmly with such phenomena as speculative discourse, scholasticism, quotation-mongering, superficial commentary and formalistic exercise under the guise of innovation, which are alien to genuine science.

The chief way to raise the productivity of the social sciences is increasingly to concentrate the efforts of scholars on research into the cardinal problems arising at the present stage of social progress.

Materialist dialectics, as Lenin put it, is the living soul of Marxism. The role of dialectics, as a general theory of development, as the logic and theory of cognition, determines the special importance of its further elaboration. In particular, there is a need to study the ways of its concrete application to the cognition of the

most complex phenomena and processes in every sphere of knowledge, and to the materialistic comprehension of the latest achievements of the natural sciences.

In the field of historical materialism and scientific communism, such problems as the growing social homogeneity of our society, with the working class playing the leading role, the drawing together of nations and nationalities, strengthening of the new historical entity—the Soviet people, and the general laws and specific features of the formation and development of social consciousness in the present conditions are now coming to the fore.

There are numerous particular, but equally urgent and topical questions to which our science must provide answers. The 25th Congress pointed out that the growing material opportunities must constantly be attended by rising ideological, moral and cultural level of the people. Otherwise there could be a relapse of the philistine, petty-bourgeois mentality. In this connection, our philosophers, sociologists, psychologists and teachers face a number of tasks, particularly in elaborating the problem in the formation of rational requirements. Our Party cadre and practitioners in the educational sphere expect the scholars to produce well thought-out recommendations on ways of solving this important social problem.

There is a growing need to promote an in-depth elaboration of the political economy of socialism as the basis of all the economic sciences, and the theoretical basis of the CPSU's economic policy.

Special importance attaches to the study of the entire complex of property relations in our economy, the structure of the economic mechanism and management, a more rational dovetailing of economic interests and the operation of all the sectors of the economy, and of

sectoral and territorial planning. Marxist social scientists should concentrate on a systematic study of the processes going on in present-day monopoly capitalism, and the problems of the world revolutionary movement.

The growing role of social science in ideological work is inseparably linked with raising the quality and comprehensive character of scientific research, particularly the basic research. Without basic research along every line of the social sciences, ideological, propaganda and educational work cannot fully attain its objectives. The USSR Academy of Sciences, its institutes, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC, higher-education institutions, all our theoretical and scientific cadre have an important role to play in the organisation and conduct of this research.

By striving in every way to raise the scientific character of ideological work and arming the cadre with Marxist-Leninist theory in its purest form, we shall be able to advance our common cause in such an important sector as *political education*.

It is a well-known fact that in our country millions of people are studying Marxism-Leninism. The forming of a communist world view begins at the school desk and continues in the secondary special and higher-education institutions.

The working people of our country study Marxism-Leninism in a ramified political education system. In the current academic year, more than 22 million people were enrolled in the Party education system alone. That is a big achievement. But we would err if we went no further than to note this fact, without taking note of the objective problems arising in this connection.

The task, first of all, consists in achieving a more

profound and all-round understanding by the broadest masses of the important questions of Party theory and policy. The purpose of the study of the fundamental, basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism is to enlarge the working people's outlook and to raise their political culture. Moreover, we should proceed from the principle of unity of cognitive and practical activity. That is why the CC resolution demands that *knowledge* should turn into *conviction*, a guide to action, into an active life stance of the Soviet man, who, while displaying a high consciousness and giving his energies for the common cause, uncompromisingly opposes any manifestations of any alien ideology and morality.

Needless to say, scientific ideas must be fully conveyed to the broad masses in an understandable language, resolutely weeding out all cliches and pseudo-scientific presentation. In striving for maximum popularity in the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory, it is important always to remember that there is a border line that cannot and should not be crossed. I have in mind the depth and content of thought. This is where, to use Lenin's words, the popularisation of our great doctrine in the broadest masses is distinguished from cheap popularising.

A mechanical repetition of truisms instead of creative discerning of vital problems and the formalism and tendency to use high-sounding words, the grey "trite" style of presentation which we still come across in our propaganda is particularly impermissible today. These and other shortcomings substantially lower, as the resolution notes, the impact of educational work on the consciousness and feelings of the people.

Not that too little has been said about these shortcomings earlier. The problem is a different one. It is that some functionaries find it impossible to go on

from general discussion of shortcomings to concrete deeds to eliminate these shortcomings, vigorously to root them out of our practice. And this is what the Party Central Committee resolution demands.

While orienting the Party and other organisations upon ensuring a high scientific level of educational work, the CPSU CC resolution enjoins us to increase the *efficiency, concreteness and efficacy* of our propaganda and agitation, *its ties with life*, with the fulfilment of economic and political tasks. The CC resolution obliges us to "explain the socio-economic policy of the CPSU, which is aimed at raising the material well-being and cultural standards of the people, to develop in every way socialist emulation, the movement for a communist attitude to work; actively to promote the successful solution of the historic task of combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, to sum up and widely popularise advanced experience and the successes of Soviet science and technology; to work perseveringly to strengthen labour and state discipline, to raise responsibility for one's job, for an economical and thrifty attitude to socialist property, against wastefulness, bureaucracy and parochialism. The Soviet man should be fully aware of the social significance of his personal participation in the fulfilment of economic plans, in stepping up scientific and technical progress as a decisive condition of increasing the might of the Motherland, for the victory of communism".<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *On the Further Improvement of the Ideological, Political and Educational Work*. The CPSU Central Committee's Decision of April 26, 1979, pp. 7-8 (in Russian).

Thus, the CC resolution fully reveals the formula of the link between propaganda and life. I would like to stress here that this demand is addressed not only to our entire propaganda as a whole, but also to each of its sectors, including oral agitation and propaganda. The CPSU has always used these as an important instrument of political education of the masses. Not even the most up-to-date technical means is a substitute for the direct, live contact of the agitator, speaker, lecturer with the masses. It is the propagandists, agitators and speakers who know well the local situation—at enterprises, on the shop floor, in the teams, on the collective and state farms—who are doing so much in concretising the general political propaganda objectives in application to the conditions in a given collective.

The CPSU resolution calls for the *development of a militant and vigorous character and an impassioned commitment of propaganda and agitation*. We must vigorously combat every alien influence and remnants of the past, everything that hampers our forward movement. Propaganda and agitation should mobilise public opinion against phenomena that are hostile to the Soviet way of life: drunkenness, hooliganism, parasitism, an urge to grab as much as possible from society without giving anything in return, abuse of official position, money-grubbing and bribery, mismanagement and wastefulness, bureaucratism and a callous attitude to people.

We must combine this irreconcilable struggle with all-round support for everything that is new, forward-looking and promising, with the people's valuable initiatives, all the shoots of the communist future.

*The ideological-political, labour and moral education of youth*, our successors, is a special concern of the

Party. It was pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress that the entire educational work among youth should be arranged so that their entry into a working life, and involvement in active and conscious participation in communist construction should strengthen the fervent enthusiasm and passionate belief in the communist ideals inherent in youth. It is necessary to help young people to gain a better understanding and evaluation of what has been achieved in the decades of heroic struggle of the Party and the people and all that still remains to be done with their active participation; to inculcate diligence and a feeling of civic duty from childhood.

We must continue to pay constant attention to the physical training of Soviet people, particularly the younger generation. Strengthening the physical culture movement, improving the conditions for physical culture and sport, and using to this end the propaganda potential of the 1980 Olympics is the duty of the Party and all public organisations, the heads of enterprises and institutions.

Our youth must be tempered both physically and spiritually. A splendid school in this sense is service in the Soviet Army. The CC resolution poses in this connection a series of concrete tasks before the Party and Komsomol committees, and the Soviet Armed Forces. The chief one is to inculcate in the young generation a sense of historical responsibility for the destiny of socialism, for the prosperity and security of the Motherland.

An important objective of ideological and political education is *shaping in all Soviet people of pride in our socialist Motherland, consolidation of the fraternal friendship among the peoples and proletarian internationalism*. This inviolable friendship, this great feeling

of community and indivisibility of the historic destinies of the Soviet people are established in the common struggle waged by the working people of all nations and nationalities for new successes in communist construction.

Our propaganda should show the general laws of the development of socialist nations, the concrete, visible aspects of the gradual drawing together of nations in the course of communist construction, and the fraternal cooperation of all the peoples who have built up the powerful Soviet economy, the integrated economic complex.

The interconnection and unity of patriotic and internationalist education are manifested both in respect for national dignity, for the national cultures, and an irreconcilable attitude to relapses of nationalism and chauvinism.

It is essential vigorously to oppose any preaching of national exclusiveness, any attempts to reconsider from non-class, non-historical positions any phenomenon, personality, or concept of the past. We must combat manifestations of parochialism, which frequently dons the garb of some kind of local patriotism.

The questions of patriotic and internationalist education acquire special topicality as the ideological struggle grows more intense, with nationalism becoming one of the chief stakes of the imperialist intelligence services in their subversive activity against existing socialism.

There are no unimportant, minor tasks in the sphere of communist education. We must not lose sight of a single aspect of the formation of the personality of our contemporary so as not to prejudice the entire effort of education. That is why the CC resolution, fully in accord with the directives of the 25th CPSU Con-

gress, concretises the ways of realising a complex approach to the whole issue of education, of assuring close unity of ideological, political, labour and moral education with due account for the distinctive features of diverse groups of working people.

### III

The report to the 25th Party Congress and the CC resolution drew attention to a vitally important Leninist principle of education: *unity of word and deed*. This is directly and organically linked with that which makes the Leninist Party propaganda invincible: truthfulness, insistence on principle, and realism. "If, however, we are not afraid to speak the sad and bitter truth straight out," Lenin noted, "we shall learn, we shall unflinchingly and certainly learn to overcome all our difficulties."<sup>6</sup>

These precepts of Lenin's are well known to everyone. Regrettably, however, some violate them in practice, saying one thing and doing something quite different, those who readily make commitments, but do not fulfil them, those who seek to gloss over, to sidestep unresolved problems and sharp issues, and to cover up existing shortcomings and difficulties. "Such an approach, a tendency towards window-dressing," the CC resolution notes, "far from helping, in fact hampers the solution of our common tasks. Wherever criticism and self-criticism are not in favour, where information about public affairs is insufficient, it is the activity of the masses that suffers. But the fact is that this activity is an important source of the socialist system's power."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> The CPSU Central Committee's Decision of April 26, 1979, p. 5 (in Russian).

*Unity of word and deed, agitation by deed are of decisive importance in effectively influencing the mentality and moods of man.*

The sense and significance of the education will be seriously eroded wherever empty talk is substituted for painstaking and day-to-day work, where effective measures are replaced by a flood of words, where after a lecture on economy people see rusting metal and abandoned machinery in the factory yard, where a lack of elementary order is covered up with expansive assertions and empty promises.

A concrete act, a real deed is not only the supreme result of educational work, but a mighty factor of education itself. That is why the Party demands that the main effort in the work of ideological education should be concentrated in the work collective, where, in Leonid Brezhnev's words, "the ideas of high politics and economics are being translated into practical language and where the people's attitude towards life and society is moulded to a large extent."<sup>8</sup>

The CPSU resolution is aimed at enhancing the leading cadre's responsibility for the educational consequence of economic activity, for the full use of the educational potentialities of advanced experience, socialist competition and progressive forms of the organisation of work. The practical activity of an enterprise should in itself stimulate the workers to strive for efficiency and quality, to strengthen discipline and responsibility for the job at hand, and for economy and a thrifty attitude to socialist property.

We must always bear in mind the enormous educational force of scientifically organised work, the fact

<sup>8</sup> L. I. Brezhnev. *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*. 1977, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1978, p. 37.

that such features of Soviet man as a conscious, creative approach to work, public activity, and a high moral standard are formed in the course of resolving explicit production tasks which are reliably backed up with regard to their material, organisational and moral-political aspects. Responsibility for the moulding of these qualities devolves, together with the Party and public organisations, also on the economic cadre.

The leaders of enterprises should directly participate in educational measures. The Party attaches great importance to this. But most important of all is the educational effect of the organisational and economic work itself. As practice shows, wherever the managerial cadre fails to take account of the educational consequences of its activity, the creative initiative of the masses is not brought out fully, conscious discipline is replaced by a formal approach, the necessary moral and psychological climate in the collective is not built up, and ultimately the output also suffers.

Much depends on the leaders of collectives in creating an atmosphere that tends to reveal the abilities of the individual, to stimulate his activity at work and in public affairs. The leader himself should display a creative attitude to his work, competence and initiative, a high level of Party responsibility, be unpretentious and accessible in his dealings with people, have a deep knowledge of their interests and requirements, honesty, insistence on principle, and modesty. Such a leader is capable of leading the collective, of posing before the people complex objectives linked with the fulfilment and overfulfilment of state plans and socialist commitments. Regular businesslike reports by economic executives at Party and trade union meetings have an enormous educational and mobilising significance.

Production teams, farms, and specific production

sectors are an important area of educational work. Here everyone knows everyone else and it is easier to see the potentialities of each worker, to take account of his individual capacities. Much higher demands are made on leaders of primary labour collectives and primary Party organisations and Party groups in educating young people starting work in production. Therefore in selecting foremen, team leaders, heads of Party groups, trade-union and Komsomol organisers it is essential to take account of their personal qualities, their authority, and ability to bring home to each the word of the Party.

The influence exerted by socialist emulation and by the movement for a communist attitude to work on economic processes, on many phenomena of social life is increasingly in evidence at the present time. The CPSU CC emphasises that the records set by innovators are not a goal in itself, but an important means of mobilising the labour energy of the masses for accelerated labour-productivity growth, and a powerful reserve in raising efficiency and quality. Practice has shown that where competition is not a mere formality, where it is seen as an effective instrument for raising output, its educational role is manifested most clearly: not only does a well-regulated mechanism of socialist emulation assure high labour achievements, but it also engenders examples worthy of imitation.

Yet there still are instances when heads of enterprises, instead of organising work efficiently, attempt to cover up their mismanagement, seek to lower plan targets and sometimes even doctor the records, thus deceiving the state. This spurious atmosphere of well-being directly harms the economy, and at the same time discredits the idea of socialist emulation and greatly damages the working people's education. Such an atti-

tude is also prejudicial to treating the production plan as a law.

The potentialities at our disposal can be fully realised only if every collective and each worker uses them consciously, with a deep knowledge of the content and aims of the measures adopted by the Party and the government, and if they have a clear idea of their role in the work of the vast economic mechanism. As Lenin put it, "it is a question of every politically conscious worker feeling that he is not only the master in his own factory but that he is also a representative of the country, of his feeling his responsibility".<sup>9</sup> The Soviet people's high moral qualities and their political culture are manifested in their attitude to their work, to the job at hand, to their public duty.

We are all aware of the complex conditions in industry this year, and particularly in agricultural production. The harsh winter, followed by the drought in a number of regions, required tremendous effort by millions of working people. We are justly proud of the Soviet workers' high awareness of their duty, their selfless labour at factories, mines and power stations, in fields and on farms, at construction sites, in every part of our country to fulfil the plans for 1979 and their socialist commitments.

Today, just as yesterday, as during the previous five-year plans, purposeful ideological and mass-political work is one of the most important factors in resolving all our economic tasks. Lenin's far-sighted idea that "agitation and propaganda will play a role of tremendous and ever growing importance"<sup>10</sup> in economic construction under socialism, is being borne out again and again.

<sup>9</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 403.

<sup>10</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 372.

#### IV

Our mass media have an important role to play in fulfilling the CC resolution. The Party and its Central Committee have always regarded *the press, television and the radio* as a powerful ideological weapon, a unique instrument in the communist education and organisation of the masses, and an important factor in shaping public opinion. There is virtually no ideological function that the mass media do not exercise to this or that extent. The printed and broadcast word commands great authority among the people.

At the same time, the general level of our printed and radio and televised propaganda must be brought into accord with the growing scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction, the Soviet people's rising educational and cultural standards, and the sharpening ideological struggle in the international arena.

Our mass media can fully do their duty to the Party and the people only by making their material much more concrete, meaningful and operational, and much more infused with the vibrant Party spirit, so making their statements much more effective. The emphasis here should be on the major and most important problems of our life.

Of course, the press and other mass media are made effective chiefly through the skilful propaganda of our achievements and the spread of the advanced experience and example of our best people. Positive experience should be presented in such a way as to show the substance of it, to make millions of men and women interested in it, and to help spread it most extensively in practice.

Party, state, trade-union and, primarily, economic organs must give close attention to material in the press analysing the results of socialist emulation, bringing out additional reserves, popularising progressive methods of management, labour organisation, extension of new technology, ways of enhancing the efficiency of production and the quality of workmanship. Inattention to material presenting advanced experience and methods of innovators amounts to bad management, to a failure to use reserves in production.

Party committees must display constant concern for the efficiency of the press, television and radio. This concern is directly connected with the development of ideological maturity, of a principled and professionally bold approach on the part of journalists and their readiness actively to intervene in life for the benefit of society, to bring out the complicated problems in production, the economy and culture. This is concern for producing a truly party, creative atmosphere in the editorial offices, for developing social elements in their work. It is not right to accept a situation in which, as the saying goes, "the writer keeps writing, and the reader keeps reading", without anyone bothering anyone, and everyone being satisfied with all. Journalism is a militant endeavour calling for high moral, political and workmanlike qualities, moral forces and—most importantly—deep-seated conviction and serious knowledge.

Any manifestation of passivity on the part of the organs of the press are intolerable also because in our life there are still many outstanding problems, shortcomings and sometimes even ugly phenomena cutting across the substance of the socialist way of life. The Soviet people face all this both in production and in everyday life. And if a printed organ wants to have

authority among its readers, if journalists think about how they are to fulfil their professional mission, they cannot and must not forget about the need systematically to put before public opinion the problems with which it is concerned, targeting their fire on omissions and shortcomings, and asserting the new and the advanced. That is how the press can successfully act as a militant organiser and educator of the masses, enhancing the working people's energy in overcoming shortcomings and difficulties, and solving the diverse problems in communist construction.

Working for effective statements in the press means making the items published truthful, well-argued and topical, and consistently presenting every problem in the light of the Party principles. Here, as the CPSU Central Committee's resolution stresses, the Party committees have a big role to play. Much depends on whether the Party committees foster in the functionaries of state, economic and trade-union organisations a correct attitude to criticism in the press.

The Central Committee of the Party and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev have set an example in supporting critical statements in the press and, whenever necessary, setting right economic executives and officials of ministries and departments, enjoining them to respond in a workmanlike manner to the criticism and to take corresponding measures to improve the state of things. Here, the CPSU Central Committee is guided by Lenin's precepts, for he required a thorough verification and study of the facts and response without delay to critical signals from the press, to criticism generally; he insisted on a businesslike and reasonable response, instead of a formal reply.

But the journalists themselves should always bear

in mind that the superficial worked-up, sensationalist approach as a rule reduces the significance of critical items. The main thing is the mobilising effect of criticism, its constructive character and clear-cut orientation upon eliminating the shortcomings and difficulties which emerge because of bureaucratic practices, indifference, or laxity on the part of officials of any rank or—something that happens most frequently—because they stand not for the state but for departmental and local interests.

One has to be consistent in every endeavour, and especially in criticism. Party committees and their press organs have the duty in every instance to work for the correction of shortcomings and elimination of their causes. If, for instance, after a paper has made a statement but then fails to report on the measures taken, the reader begins to suspect that the paper has not found support, that it has been unable to translate into life that which it called for. This means a negative result in propaganda, ideological terms. This tends to dampen people's ardor and produce scepticism.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution spells out in detail the measures which need to be taken by mass media editorial offices to have the level of their work meet present-day demands. Party committees are quite right in working persistently and exactly to have such measures implemented in fact. Practice shows that by supporting and daily directing the activity of their newspapers, radio and television, Party committees not only enhance the authority of the press but also increase their own ideological influence on the economic and cultural development of their district, region or republic.

One has to consider specifically the powerful educational impact of documentary, journalistic and fiction-

al works on radio and television, which have a truly vast audience. It is important to work tirelessly along this important line, without reducing the standards, bearing in mind that broadcasts which are undemanding, low in aesthetic standards, and superficial in content not only spoil the citizens' taste but also accustom them, especially the young, to pass superficial judgement on phenomena in life, and to take a light-hearted attitude to art.

A few words about the vital tasks in *the sphere of artistic creativity* in present-day conditions. The Party has always regarded the ideological and aesthetic standard of works of our literature and art in close connection with each other, as a single criterion for evaluating them. This is doubly true today, when the aesthetic comprehension of living phenomena and of socialist reality are unimaginable without a deep comprehension of the economic, social and cultural processes going on in society.

Workers in literature and the arts have been making a sizable contribution to the Soviet citizens' cultural development, moral perfection and aesthetic education. We can note with satisfaction that the development of our literature and art has run along the line of ever deeper and more productive analysis of the moral fibre of the modern character, the builder of communism, and bold handling of the intricate and meaningful problems of our day.

But it is no secret that alongside the novels, plays and films which are works of talent and have a high ideological content, we still find some mediocre works. Here and there we find traces of the tendency to depart into the realm of petty topics, naturalistic kitchen-sink descriptions, and petty-philistine emotions. In some works we also find distorted notions of the past which

have no relevance to history, an odd predilection for historical adventurers, and superficial judgements of our own day. These phenomena should not remain outside the field of vision of creative organisations and their press organs.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution establishes a direct inter-connection between the development of the creative activity of writers, artists, composers, workers of screen and stage, and journalists, and inculcation in them of high ideological awareness and civic responsibility. This brings to the fore the tasks of further improving the ideological and political education and Marxist-Leninist training of the artistic intelligentsia. Creative unions have the task of promoting the utmost broadening of the artist's ideological horizon, enhancement of his craftsmanship and concentration of his attention on socially meaningful problems.

## V

We are summing up the early results of the work by Party organisations in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee's resolution "On the Further Improvement of the Ideological, Political and Educational Work". Only the initial phase has passed, but it is an important one, marked by an in-depth comprehension of the nature of the Party's demands and the start of the effort to realise them.

We can note with satisfaction that the resolution has been discussed in a businesslike manner by Communists and working people. This should certainly be credited to our Party committees. Much work in fulfilling the resolution is being carried on by Party organisations in Moscow, Leningrad, a number of Republics, territories and regions.

However, it is important clearly to realise that any

resolution, however faultless, becomes a real force directing the course of developments only when it is consistently translated into life and exerts a concrete and positive influence on the state of affairs in the various organisations and labour collectives. That is the angle from which the CPSU Central Committee will evaluate the effectiveness of the work that is being done.

The Communists, mapping out concrete measures to fulfil the resolution, have warned that this work should not become just another campaign. This approach is undoubtedly correct. There is good reason why special importance now attaches to questions in the practical organisation of ideological and educational work and coordination of ideological activity. The point is that we must extend our ideological influence to the entire people, while reaching every individual personally. And this requires skilful use of all the instruments of ideological and educational influence. Success is, as a rule, achieved wherever Party, trade-union and YCL organisations, labour collectives, family and school, management and the public work in the same key, wherever the ideological propositions are being purposefully translated into practical acts in the sphere of labour, study and everyday life. In this connection, it is necessary to emphasise the role of the ideological commissions of the Party committees, and also of a smoothly functioning system for extending the best experience in organising educational work.

An analysis of the activity of Party committees in implementing the present resolution shows that this work still frequently reveals the very shortcomings which, the resolution points out, markedly reduce the effectiveness of the ideological impact. These are points about which Communists and non-Party people have

written to the Central Committee, and this is, as you are well aware, is being reported in our Party press.

In some organisations, talk about the importance of the resolution and about the need to fulfil it is not being backed up with real measures or a self-critical analysis of the state of affairs precisely at the given enterprise or establishment. Now and again, the whole thing is confined to abstract reasoning "about the existing shortcomings", with people remaining captive to general catchwords, and without any connection between words and deeds. Thus, as *Pravda* reported, that is the spirit in which the CPSU Central Committee resolution was discussed by the Collegium of the USSR State Building Committee.

While perseveringly working to improve in every way education and to spread advanced experience in ideological work, there is a need to avoid at all costs the stereotype approach which inevitably leads to formalism and dampens initiative. Serious harm is also done by attempts forcibly to fit the process of education into the framework of purely quantitative, formal criteria and evaluations. With such an oversimplified, bureaucratic approach only the number of measures put through remains in the field of vision. This kind of education system, which is rightly called the "points-scoring" system, and which is a combination, according to Lenin, of "the obsolete old and lifeless fad", does not in any way promote success in the work of ideological education.

Of course, the truly creative approach has nothing in common with a nihilistic attitude to the forms and methods of ideological work which the Party has worked out and tested in practice. It is no secret, after all, that formalism in educational work—a great shortcoming—is perennial and has many faces. It frequently

tends to appear as a result of application to this intricate and subtle sphere of diverse artificial innovations, of methods which are only outwardly effective, with noise and empty chatter, all of which is categorically counter-indicated to the very character and spirit of communist education.

It is important to find and broadly use new forms of work which make it possible more fully to take into account the specific features of educational activity in this or that region, involving this or that social group. For instance, allocating a special day for political education helps markedly to enhance the effectiveness of education. The experience of Party committees in a number of cities and regions shows that such days, where they are well organised, help to reach such groups of population which are frequently given inadequate attention, provide opportunities for gaining an insight into the problems which are of immediate interest to the working people, provide convincing answers and formulate relevant recommendations for ideological and other organisations.

Success in educational work largely depends on the extent to which it involves the activists and takes account of public opinion. Let us recall Lenin's refusal to tolerate any breaches of Soviet legality, especially crime, and his insistence on relentless struggle against these, with ever more active involvement of broad masses of working people in the effort.

That is also the Party's approach to the matter today. The CPSU Central Committee's recent resolution "On Improving the Maintenance of Law and Order and Intensifying the Struggle against Infringements of the Law" points to the need for more resolute eradication of crime and other anti-social phenomena.

The effort to strengthen socialist law and order is

an organic component of the Party's organisational and ideological work. There must be special concern for enhancing educational work and preventing delinquency among minors and for enhancing the role of families, schools and collectives in this effort.

One cannot tolerate the fact that some Party, state, trade-union, YCL and economic organisations tend to underestimate the importance of the drive against crime and to take a formal attitude to such problems, making little use of the range of educational and preventive measures at their disposal. The militia and the procurator's office are not always as vigorous as they should be in combating offences. One should also point out that now and again there has been a blunting of the politico-class evaluation of manifestations of the philistine morality and the acquisitive mentality.

In short, we need to use all the means of influence, and to mobilise collective efforts to make an honest attitude to work and socialist property, to one's social duties—all the principles of the communist morality—an integral part of every person's convictions and behaviour.

The fact that our mass media are giving a lead in the effort to propagandise and implement the resolution deserves approval. Items in the press, on television and radio have become deeper in content, more interesting, livelier and with a sharper edge, and—which is most important—closer to human concerns. There is now more information which is meaningful and more diverse. One notes the appearance of major controversial and critical items. There is better use of letters from readers.

One can note with satisfaction the substantial approach to and presentation of major socio-economic problems on the pages of *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and *Sovet-*

*skaya Rossia*, and some other newspapers, which have raised important problems in production and everyday life, and ethical and moral topics. The new broadcasts on Central Television and the All-Union Radio entitled "Problems, Quest, Solutions", "Meetings at Your Request", and others are addressed to the broadest possible audience. As the CC resolution required, these broadcasts involve leading executives, prominent scientists, specialists, heads of ministries and departments. They answer the working people's questions, including the Soviet people's well-justified complaints and legitimate demands, describe how the shortcomings are to be corrected, and the prospects for enhancing the efficiency and quality of work at enterprises and industries.

There are markedly fewer abstract calls in the presentation of socialist emulation. The press has quite rightly given preference to reports on emulation between collectives which have chosen well-tryed and effective methods of work. The newspapers, television and radio are helping to broadly disseminate, for instance, the experience in the emulation among collectives making use of the Lvov system of regulation of product quality, those working on the Shchokino, Ipatov and Yampolsky methods, the method used by Nikolai Zlobin's team of builders, and also the experience of Leningrad and Krasnoyarsk enterprises in the comprehensive solution of problems arising from the erection of the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydro-electric power plant.

There is certainly progress in this area, although the habit of making loud noises over flimsily grounded or purely formal innovations has yet to disappear.

On the whole, it is still too early to say that all the organs of the press and propaganda media have

got down to the deep and all-round realisation of the tasks put forward in the resolution. Their editorial offices are not yet exerting enough effort to improve the quality of their reports, to make them more timely and truly effective.

Nor can we say that the provisions of the resolution concerning the differentiated dissemination of information, the need for organs of the press to have their own "face", their own range of basic items, the need to diversify genres, and to display more concern for style and language have been fully implemented. Thus, one still frequently finds headlines with such formal calls as "to pull up", "to raise", "to redouble energy", and so on. Through frequent repetition such calls tend to be effaced and make no impact. In place of such declarations there should be a convincing presentation of the content and meaning of the labour initiatives and methods of shock-work. In this context, every grain of accumulated experience, every expression of the working people's patriotic initiatives is of interest to us.

In a relatively short period, the press, television and radio have done some work to extend and deepen *foreign-policy propaganda*. Every day, television presents new informative and topical programmes which include both the latest news and concrete political analysis. Moscow Radio's service in English now has round-the-clock broadcasts to all the continents of the world which have markedly enlarged Moscow's international audience.

Our mass media and ideological institutions must continue in every way to improve propaganda and counter-propaganda, and to show convincingly the achievements and advantages of the Soviet political and social system and the peaceable foreign policy of

the CPSU and the Soviet state. There is a need to emphasise the right to work, to education, to free medical services, and to housing, the basic human rights which are not available in the United States or other capitalist countries, and which are guaranteed in the Soviet Union.

Our propaganda must promptly respond to the changes taking place in the world, and to give a well-argued and timely rebuff to any ideological machination and insinuation, and to expose the falsehood of hostile propaganda. Here one should bear in mind that our ideological adversaries and their special services ceaselessly carry on slanderous propaganda campaigns, which frequently develop into psychological warfare against the USSR and other socialist countries, and do not hesitate to resort to downright provocation. Imperialist reaction seeks to undermine the spirit of detente, and to return the world to the beginnings of the "cold war". It is for these dirty purposes that the problem of alleged violations of human rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union was "invented" in the first place. Now that this campaign of slander and falsehood is losing steam our adversaries are casting about for other pretexts, and using other ways—everything is being brought into play. We must know how to expose the adversaries' subtlest provocations.

Soviet people must be consistently educated in political vigilance, a keen class sense, ideological cohesion and steadfastness, awareness of the superiority of our system and our ideas, and readiness to defend the Motherland and the revolutionary gains of socialism. We must skilfully expose, in a convincing and well-argued manner, the defects of capitalism as a system of exploitation, oppression and violence, and give telling examples of the fate of real people to

show the actual meaning of mass unemployment and the hopelessness of poverty, and the bloody crimes to which the imperialist bourgeoisie will resort in face of a real threat to its power.

There is a need systematically to show the successes of existing socialism and to strengthen international solidarity with the peoples of the socialist-community countries, the international working class and the national liberation movement. One constant task of the mass media is to report on life in the socialist countries in all its diversity, with special emphasis on the concrete positive experience of the fraternal parties in solving important social problems, on the political, ideological and economic cooperation of the fraternal countries, and the equitable and mutually advantageous nature of their relations. It is also important to show the selfless struggle of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties against imperialism and the danger of another war, and for the ideals of communism, for the vital interests of the working class and all the other working people, and for social progress.

The sharpening of the ideological struggle in the international arena requires further improvement of our foreign-policy propaganda, together with a raising of the level of ideological education at home. This means a need to enhance the development of steadfast conviction in communist ideals, an irreconcilable attitude to bourgeois ideology, and an ability to give a resolute and well-argued rebuff to all the machinations of the ideological adversary.

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The CPSU Central Committee's resolution "On the Further Improvement of the Ideological, Political and

Educational Work" lays down the main lines of the Party's activity in this key sphere of social life. One of the most important conditions of success in this activity is the Leninist style of work, a creative style based on a profound Marxist-Leninist comprehension of the substance and nature of social phenomena, a style which is free from formalism and the manner of working by spurts. For ideological cadres to adopt this style means to ensure not only good and efficient organisation and coordination of all ideological and political work, and to make purposeful the acts of all the ideological organisations and means of education, but also constantly to be in the midst of this work, to keep track of its actual results and to respond to the working people's growing cultural requirements.

All Party committees have worked out, approved and started to implement long-term comprehensive plans for ideological activity. It is now necessary to arrange verification of performance, and not to allow any of these lines, any of the aspects of the whole sphere of communist education to be lost sight of by the Party committees.

Similar systematic work with ideological cadres must become an organic component of this organisational activity. While combining confidence in these cadres with an exacting attitude to them, the Party believes it necessary considerably to improve their studies and orientation on the important problems of domestic and international life.

The multimillion strong army of ideological cadres enjoys high respect and affection in the Party and among the people. These are men and women who give their energy, knowledge and capabilities to the political enlightenment of the masses and education

among them of high moral qualities, and the raising of our people's spiritual and political culture.

Fulfilment of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution is a difficult and truly creative endeavour. And we Communists must not forget even for a moment this precept of Lenin's: "... *under all circumstances to go on, under all circumstances to strive for something bigger, under all circumstances to proceed from simpler to more difficult tasks.*" "Otherwise," Lenin emphasised, "no progress whatever is possible and in particular no progress is possible in socialist construction."<sup>11</sup> We are enjoined to do this by the letter and spirit of the CC resolution, which is imbued with the ideas of creative and constantly developing Marxism-Leninism; this is also promoted by the favourable political atmosphere existing in the country.

There is no task nobler than that of carrying to the masses the Party's words, of educating millions and millions of men and women in the spirit of loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and dedication to the immortal ideals of communism. We have every right to say: communist education is an important front in the struggle for communism. Implementation of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution, improvement of activity in educating the working people will help to enhance the whole of the organisational and political work in the masses aimed to score fresh successes in communist construction.

Allow me, dear comrades, whole-heartedly to wish you, and through you to all the workers on the ideological front, new and great successes!

*Pravda*, October 17, 1979

<sup>11</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 192.

Boris PONOMAREV,  
Candidate Member of the Politbureau,  
CPSU Central Committee Secretary

## IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN THE WORLD ARENA

The CPSU Central Committee's decision *On the Further Improvement of the Ideological, Political and Educational Work*, B. N. Ponomarev said, is an inspiring long-term programme of the Party's activity in the sphere of ideology and propaganda, education of man, of citizens of communist society. M. A. Suslov's report, imbued with a truly Leninist spirit, gives a comprehensive analysis of this decision; it shows what has been done and what lies ahead. B. N. Ponomarev devoted his speech to questions of ideological struggle in the world arena.

Broad masses, stirred into motion all over the world, are actively discussing detente, the arms build-up, those responsible for the arms race, and the issues of war and peace generally. People want to know what stands behind the economic crises, inflation and unemployment in the capitalist world. All life has become sharply politicized. The prospects of detente, peaceful coexistence, the world revolutionary process and disar-

A summary of the speech made by B. N. Ponomarev at the All-Union Meeting of Ideological Workers, October 17, 1979.

mament largely depend on the state of the public mind and on the activity and correct orientation of mass movements.

The imperialists are struggling doggedly to maintain their positions and decide, as before, the peoples' destinies. A definite regularity is observed: the greater the successes scored by the USSR and the socialist community, the deeper the crisis of the capitalist system, the more vigorous the conscious and the spontaneous involvement of the masses in world politics, the more the imperialist circles step up ideological struggle against real socialism, against the working class, the entire liberation movement and against the forces coming out for a lasting peace. The speaker recalled Lenin's words that "When the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the workers declines, is undermined or weakened, the bourgeoisie everywhere and always resorts to the most outrageous lies and slander."<sup>1</sup>

Today imperialism has built an unprecedentedly huge propaganda machine, a whole industry for brainwashing people. Ideological propaganda has become one of the main instruments used to politically and spiritually enslave the working people in the capitalist countries. Moreover, this propaganda apparatus is not only intended for home use; it is also directed on to the socialist countries, the non-aligned nations and the entire world. In this connection the speaker characterized the anti-Soviet activities of the propaganda services of the United States, other Western countries, and NATO.

It is this reality that determines the specifics of our ideological and political work in the international arena. "In the conditions of relaxation of tension,"

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 485.

L. I. Brezhnev stressed, "ever higher demands are placed on our ideological work."<sup>2</sup>

*This work is based on the struggle for peace combined with all our ideological activities, socialist in essence.*

It has two aspects: first, theoretical investigation of the complex processes taking place in the world today, such as changes in the alignment of world forces in favour of peace and socialism; imperialism as a source of the war danger; the general crisis of capitalism, its ills and vices; the scientific and technological revolution under capitalism and socialism; the class struggle in the capitalist states, and the national liberation movement today. Second, day-to-day propaganda of socialist ideas, elucidation of the essence of the Soviet Union's international policy, and rebuff to anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

At the present moment, the speaker said, world attention is focussed on the proposals put forward by L. I. Brezhnev in Berlin on October 6. In their decision the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers assessed the visit to the German Democratic Republic of the Soviet delegation led by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, as an event of outstanding significance, both for further developing cooperation between the two parties and the two states, and safeguarding peace and international security. Leonid Ilyich's speech is a major foreign policy act which has riveted the attention of all governments and peoples. It is permeated

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, 1977, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1978, p. 253.

with an impassioned call for consolidating detente and ending the arms race, and with a spirit of proletarian internationalism. It expresses resolve to strengthen the socialist community of nations, the greatest asset of the world revolutionary movement.

A feature of the ideological struggle in the sphere of international relations is that today few people in the West openly oppose detente, while everything possible is being done to continue the arms race, to win military superiority over us, and from these positions dictate their will. Certain quarters in the USA have been at pains to torpedo the ratification of SALT-2 which the whole world impatiently awaits. What is worse, NATO is planning to deploy new American medium-range nuclear-missile weapons in Western Europe, which would unavoidably lead to a new twist in the arms spiral and jeopardize much of what has been achieved during the detente years.

The ideological struggle in the world gains in intensity as the international positions of real socialism grow stronger and its authority increases. People in the West see that socialist society has been established visibly, tangibly and for ever. Growing interest is shown in the ideas of socialism, Marxism-Leninism. Works by V. I. Lenin, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, by Leonid Brezhnev, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist of our time, and by other CPSU leaders are published and circulated all over the world.

Speaking about the anti-imperialist liberation movement, the speaker underlined the importance of the Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea victories, the collapse of the last—the Portuguese—colonial empire, the successes of progressive regimes in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and other countries, the revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Iran, and the rising tide of

the anti-colonial movement in Southern Africa. The star of socialist Cuba shines brightly in the Western Hemisphere. Many peoples of Latin America are taking their destinies into their own hands. The venal bloody dictatorship that ruled Nicaragua has been toppled by the people. An irresistible process of replacement of moribund reactionary regimes by progressive, ever more often socialist-oriented ones, is under way.

The deep-going revolutionary changes, a significant feature of our time, are of fundamental importance for the future of all mankind. They are the result of the operation of objective laws of social development, evidence of the power of the masses awakening to independent creative work, the masses whom the new historical situation, the radical change in the alignment of world forces has provided with a real opportunity of working successfully for their national and social aims.

But imperialism is seeking to stop the revolutionary process. The crux of the approach of its ideologists and politicians to the revolutionary movement of today is "the hand of Moscow" myth. Their method is simple. A revolution occurred in Angola—the key to it one should seek in "the hand of Moscow." Another revolution, this time in Mozambique, and again the "hand of Moscow" is involved, they allege, the same omnipresent hand which is behind the revolutions in Ethiopia and Iran.

This myth is a multi-purpose propaganda weapon which is designed to mislead world public opinion and support imperialist propaganda's main thesis on a "Soviet military threat". It is also used as a smoke-screen to hide imperialist interference in the affairs of other states and justify plans for intensifying this interference. From data put out by the US Brookings

Institution, in the postwar period the United States has resorted 215 times to the use of its armed forces as a "global policy" instrument.

The speaker stressed especially that dissemination of *the truth about socialism* is the decisive aspect of our ideological struggle. Here we are backed by real successes achieved in communist construction and in strengthening the socialist community's positions. To illustrate, B. N. Ponomarev indicated the colossal scope of our construction work and the peaceable character of our plans, and called attention to such facts as the steady progress of the Soviet economy over decades, the solution by socialism of the employment problem, the right to housing, low rent, free education and health services, recreational facilities, etc.

It is of vast importance to show the socio-political life in the socialist states, in all its wealth and diversity, the humaneness of socialist society where a man in need is never neglected, where a spirit of mutual assistance reigns. Our political system must be shown in action, especially the democratic character of planning, and the role played in it by the working people's initiative. It is relevant as ever to explain the new Soviet Constitution, which not only enshrines the citizens' rights and reflects the attained level of democracy, but opens broad prospects for further advancement and perfection of socialist democracy.

The advantages of socialism are particularly vividly seen against the background of modern capitalism's intensified crisis. The events of recent years have confirmed that capitalism has entered a protracted period of sharp aggravation of contradictions, with trading, industrial, financial, energy, ecological and other crises intertwining ever more closely. Inflation and unemployment also remain rife.

The drawn-out economic crisis increases political instability in a number of imperialist states, which also poses definite threats to international relations. This forms a particularly contrasting background against which the advantages of the Soviet political system are seen in bold relief: its stability and reliability, the principled character and consistency of Soviet foreign policy, adherence to the pledges given, the sense of responsibility, and the clarity of positions.

The political crisis of imperialism is compounded by a crisis of the dominant ideology. Bourgeois theoreticians cannot offer anything reassuring to the peoples. Even their prognoses regarding the economic crisis give no solution. Nor do they show ways of curbing inflation. Dismal predictions are in currency. All this contrasts sharply with the bright, optimistic, life-asserting ideas of real socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, with the wonderful prospects they offer to the peoples.

Touching upon the processes under way in China, the speaker noted that at present the Maoist concepts are undergoing a certain revision, but not in the sphere of world politics. The stoking up of anti-Sovietism continues, and so does the line for China's ganging up with imperialism.

B. N. Ponomarev went on to describe the many-sided ties of Soviet trade unions, friendship societies and other public and scientific organizations with their opposite numbers in other countries, and stressed their important role in promoting and deepening mutual understanding between peoples and disseminating the truth about real socialism. It is necessary to use to full capacity, so to speak, all our possibilities—from fundamental works to all the means at the disposal of art and cinematography—in order to bring to the hearts and minds of people abroad the life-asserting inspiring

ideas and deeds of real socialism. A tremendous role has to be played by our mass media.

On the whole, certain successes have been achieved after the November (1978) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, at which L. I. Brezhnev laid down appropriate guidelines, and in line with the Central Committee's decision on ideological work. Our scholars have been giving more attention to analysis of the ideological activity of imperialism.

Changes for the better have taken place in the mass media's work on international problems. This is true equally of the press, television and radio. But much still remains to be done. We must make the most of our knowledge about anti-communism. What we need is a well-reasoned critical analysis, based on facts, of anti-Soviet attitudes and views, not only in scientific writings, but also and most important, in publications intended for broad sections of the Soviet and world public.

B. N. Ponomarev informed the conference about the course and results of the meetings in Moscow with the Socialist International Working Group on Disarmament. The talks, he said, revealed a considerable coincidence of views on the questions of peace, detente and disarmament, and the struggle against the arms race. Both sides expressed readiness to continue contacts and dialogue on these questions, despite ideological disagreements.

In our ideological struggle in the world arena, B. N. Ponomarev said, a vast role is played by the cooperation of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, which is developed along many channels. Of tremendous importance are L. I. Brezhnev's Crimea meetings with the leaders of the communist parties of socialist countries. For six years now, regular confe-

rences of CC secretaries of the fraternal parties of socialist countries have been an organizing factor in coordinating ideological and propaganda work.

The speaker described the role and positions of the international communist movement in our days, and the extensive and fruitful ties of the CPSU with other fraternal parties. The communist movement, he said, is the most influential political force of today. Communist parties are active in all parts of the world. It is precisely Communists who advance basic ideas on cardinal problems of world development, with the CPSU making a weighty contribution to this.

The ruling parties of the socialist community are the foremost force of the movement. The 1970s have seen a marked upsurge of the movement in the non-socialist part of the world. The Communist Parties' membership there has grown by one million. At elections they receive about 40 million votes. In 27 countries the Communists are represented in the supreme legislative bodies. Moreover, the ideological influence of the Communists is much greater than their numerical strength.

B. N. Ponomarev pointed also to the considerable development of the CPSU's contacts with more than 20 revolutionary-democratic parties in the liberated countries.

In conclusion, the speaker summed up the main aspects of the CPSU's ideological activities in the world arena: defence of the interests of real socialism; propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas; consistent inculcation of the idea that peace and socialism are inseparable, and elucidation of the factors behind militarism, the arms race and the war danger rooted in imperialism; denunciation of anti-communism; all possible consolidation of the unity of communist parties and fraternal internationalist relations in the communist movement;

explanation of our principled policy with regard to the national liberation movement and the struggle of the peoples against racism and colonialism; support for the line promoting mutually advantageous cooperation between states on peaceful coexistence principles; active struggle against NATO's militarist plans, against the military-political dictate of American imperialism, and for active promotion of international detente.

The demands the Party must meet in all its ideological work have been, will be and are:

loyalty to and defence of Marxism-Leninism as a revolutionary theory and practice, a resolute struggle against all attempts at its revision from the right or left;

a creative approach to theory, to its mastery and application, and its development in accordance with the changing conditions and tasks at different stages, struggle against dogmatism and against disregard for the realities of the revolutionary struggle, i.e., an indissoluble connection between theory and practice.

This approach will ensure new victories for the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the ideas of peace and communism.

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